Schooling in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

Qikiqtani Truth Commission

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Dedication

This project is dedicated to the Inuit of the Qikiqtani Region. May our history never be forgotten and our voices be forever strong.

About This Report (2024 Edition)

This report was originally produced by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) from reports drafted by the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) in 2010 and published by QIA in 2013. In 2024, QIA updated the reports by reinstating footnotes, correcting official place names, making minor corrections to grammar and syntax, correcting maps, and changing some images. The Inuktitut versions also added footnotes.

Foreword and Introduction texts from the 2013 edition are found at the end of the 2024 report to provide context about the work of the QTC.

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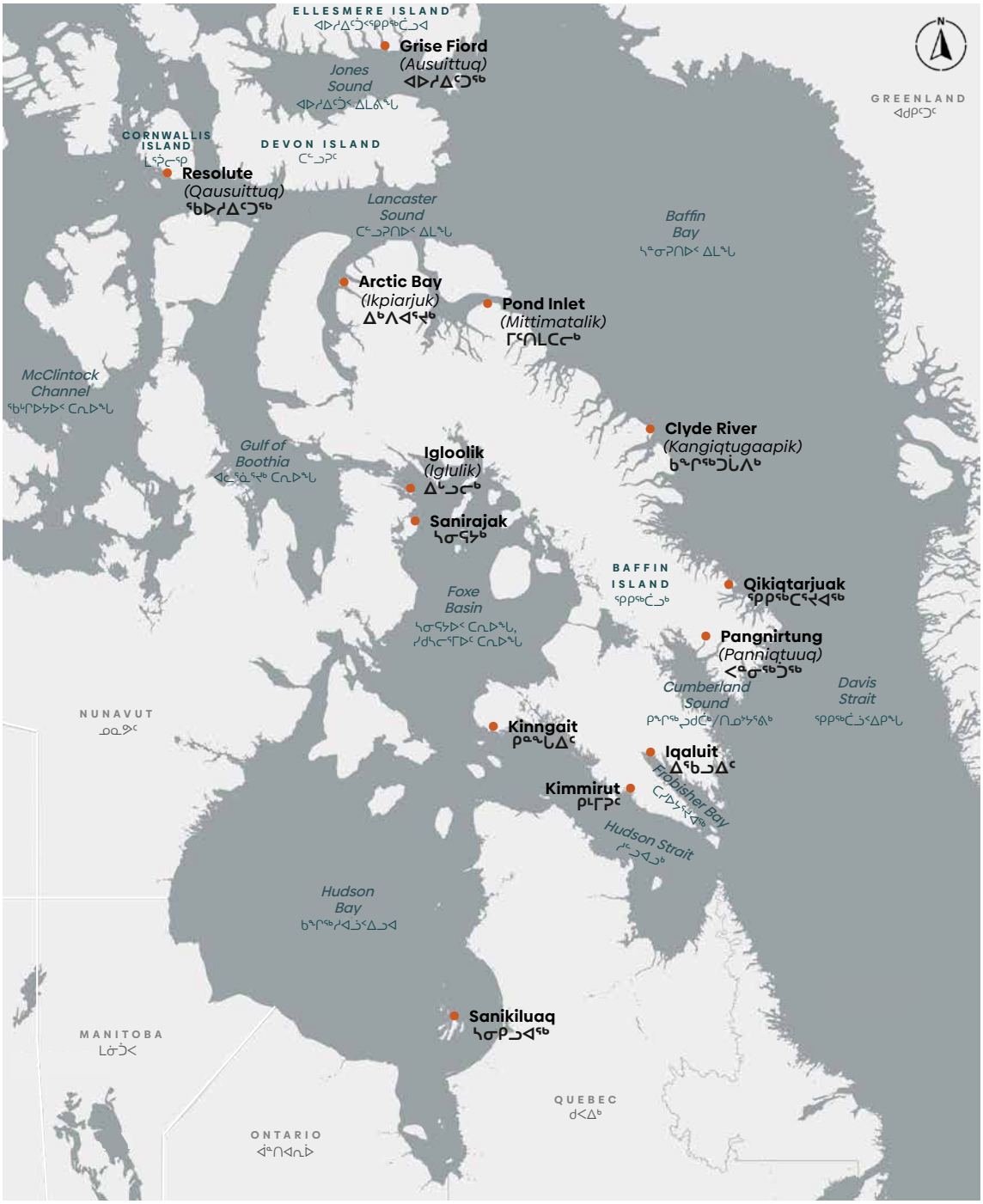

Illinniarniq: Schooling in the Qikiqtani Region

This report focuses on the implementation of a formal schooling system by government[i] in the Qikiqtani Region[ii] from 1950 to 1975. Constant changes in formal schooling in this period generally took the direction of having more children in school, without—at least until after 1975—important and needed advances in policy, curriculum, and teacher training.

Rapid changes in this period had far-reaching effects on Inuit life. Often, the catalyst was the provision of a school and a school hostel by the government. Schools and hostels were placed in settlements with the expressed purpose of transferring responsibility for the teaching of children away from parents and Elders in ilagiit nunagivaktangit[1] and giving it to teachers employed by the government. The government saw schools as one rung on the ladder towards acculturation. In 1963, a former Northern Services Officer wrote in a government publication that "the stiff requirements of job-holding in competitive Canadian enterprises" would require Inuit to have:

> *a great deal more than simply knowing sixth or even eighth grade arithmetic, or of having acquired the ability to read a few schoolbooks. It will depend much more on the degree of acculturation he has reached; on the extent to which he has become aware of the qualities expected in a worker by Canadian employers; on his recognition of the attitudes and values he must acquire if he is to become a respected and welcome member of Canada's labour force.*[2]

i This report uses the term "government" to include all the bodies that existed under Canadian federal legislation to serve and control people, mostly Inuit, in the Qikiqtani Region. These bodies exercised all the powers that were distributed among federal, provincial and municipal orders of government in the rest of Canada. In Ottawa and locally, most government programs in the Qikiqtani Region were delivered by the Northern Affairs Branch and the RCMP. Inuit had no voice in their own government, and there were no legal codes to protect their individual or collective rights.

ii This report uses current geographical place names, with Inuktitut place names added.

Until the 1950s, education by Qallunaat in the Qikiqtani Region had been scattered and inconsistent. Many Inuit used the knowledge attained from missionaries visiting their ilagiit nunagivaktangit or during seasonal visits to missions to learn and teach others how to read and write Inuktitut in syllabics (an Inuktitut writing system developed by missionaries stationed in the Arctic).[3] By 1945, however, the federal government was planning for a structured, regulated system of schooling for the region, modelled on provincial education programs in southern Canada.[4] Initially, the government experimented with schooling delivered by travelling teachers. By the early 1950s, the system was focused on fixed classrooms in settlements, even though many Inuit were still living on the land in ilagiit nunagivaktangit.

The 1950 to 1975 period was one of continuous change for individuals and institutions in the region. Many communities had never seen a teacher before the 1950s; in others, instruction was given only from time to time, depending on the talents and energy of the clergy or their wives. Throughout the 1950s, formal schooling was scarcely available to Inuit, except to the children of the few Inuit who worked full-time in the settlements. According to figures assembled by Diamond Jenness around 1961,[5] 727 pupils were enrolled in schools in the "Arctic District" that year, but 677 of these, or 93%, were in Grades 1 to 3. Only two were above Grade 5, and none above Grade 7. Typically, boys started school around age nine and dropped out at twelve, when old enough to make a serious contribution to hunting for the family. Progress was uneven as shown in Table 1. By 1970, every school offered at least Grade 6, and four offered Grade 8 or above.[6]

Schools in Qikiqtaaluk 1962, 1970 and 1979[7]

Place	1962			1970			1979		
	Teachers	**Students**	**Grades**	**Teachers**	**Students**	**Grades**	**Teachers**	**Students**	**Grades**
Arctic Bay	1	13	1 to 4	3	66	1 to 6	6	114	k to 8
Kinngait	3	76	1 to 6	9	163	1 to 8	11	220	k to 9
Clyde River	1	37	1 to 5	3	79	1 to 6	6	123	k to 8
Grise Fiord	1	20	1	2	31	1 to 6	1	26	k to 8
Sanirajak	No schools			3	57	1 to 6	5	121	k to 8
Igloolik	3	50	1 to 5	8	187	1 to 6	13	290	k to 9
Iqaluit	16	237	1 to 10	35	572	1 to 10	See below; 92 students in the hostel		

Place	1962			1970			1979		
	Teachers	**Students**	**Grades**	**Teachers**	**Students**	**Grades**	**Teachers**	**Students**	**Grades**
Iqaluit—GREC							22	312	7 to 12
Iqaluit—Nakasuk							23	379	k to 6
Iqaluit—Nanook							4	66	k to 6
Kimmirut	No school			2	61	1 to 6	4	76	k to 8
Paallavvik	1	15	1	School closed 1968					
Pangnirtung	2	59	1 to 6	10	198	1 to 6	16	322	k to 10
Pond Inlet	1	34	1 to 6	6	117	k to 8	9	204	k to 9
Port Burwell	Not reported			2	36	k to 6	Not reported		
Qikiqtarjuaq	2	34	1 to 3	5	97	1 to 8	6	130	k to 8
Resolute	1	26	1 to 6	3	51	1 to 7	3	59	k to 8
Sanikiluaq (Belcher Island)	1	18	1 to 5	No report; not in Baffin region in 1970			6	115	K to 8

An ambitious program began in 1965 to build or enlarge schools, teachers' houses, small hostels for students, electric generators for the communities, and related infrastructure. The choices made by the government about where to locate schools determined where other types of services would be provided. The omission of the settlement of Paallavvik (formerly Padloping Island) from the plan signalled that the government intended to withdraw government services and close the community, which occurred in 1968.

The plans for northern education lacked the essential ingredients of its southern counterparts: a reliable local funding base, equal opportunity for all students to attend schools, adequately prepared teachers, and elected school boards made up of local residents who could speak to the unique needs of their communities.[8] As a result, Inuit were expected to make do with inexperienced teachers, books and subjects of no relevance to their lives, shoddy school buildings, and almost no opportunities to make changes to programs.

The key factors in ensuring that schools supported the government's acculturation objectives were the teaching of English; the schools' role in enticing families to live in settlements; and curricula that ignored Inuit realities, culture, and expectations.[9] A legacy of this system was distancing Inuit children from their culture, language, and environment. Removing children from family settings at critical moments in their development had detrimental effects.

Schooling rarely gave Inuit the skills and knowledge they needed to fully participate in the economic changes that were planned for their communities, while simultaneously negating their Inuit identities and damaging their sense of self-worth. For some people, however, learning to read and write English was useful for gaining positions with the federal or territorial governments or in the private sector.

This report examines the history and impact of schooling from the perspectives of Inuit students and parents, as well as Qallunaat administrators. The evidence comes from archival records and published sources, as well as oral histories and memoirs. Former students and parents testified directly to the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) and the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) about the impacts of the government's education programs on their lives, and on their children and parents' lives. Their words are quoted often in this chapter.

The following list of terms helps clarify the types of programs that are discussed in this report.

Education *refers to the act of acquiring knowledge, by either formal or informal means; this knowledge can be imparted by family, through practical experience, or within a formal classroom.*

Schooling *refers exclusively to the education received in an institutional setting using a common curriculum.*

Federal day schools *are publicly funded schools established in settlements by the federal government, and before 1960 were attended primarily by children of the few families who lived year-round in those settlements.*

Residential schools *in the region were of two kinds: small hostels designed to accommodate about one dozen pupils in the settlements nearest to where their families lived and hunted, and large hostels made to accommodate eighty or more students from a much wider territory. There was no large hostel in the Qikiqtani Region until 1971. Before then some pupils were sent to Chesterfield Inlet and (after 1964) to the Churchill Vocational Centre.*

Southern schooling experiences *refer to programs that sent Inuit children south for schooling, usually as boarders in Qallunaat homes. One was the Experimental Eskimo Education Program, a federal program that operated briefly in the early 1960s to train selected Inuit children to become leaders.*

Welfare teachers *are federal employees who were responsible in the early 1950s for a variety of government programs within settlements. The term "teacher" is used generally before 1958, but not all teachers had formal teaching qualifications.*

Education in the North: A Timeline

TRADITIONAL AND INUIT LEARNING

Prior to the 1960s, most children learned skills through observation, practice, and everyday experiences integrated into daily life. They moved very quickly from childhood to adulthood. For a young man, an ability to hunt and travel successfully signalled his readiness to become a husband because he could now support and feed his own family. For a young woman, knowledge of traditional skills, such as sewing tents and clothing (both essential tools for hunting) and caring for children, made her more desirable as a wife. Young couples usually lived with one set of parents for several years until they were self-sufficient. July Papatsie, an Inuk artist, recalled during his QTC interview in 2008 that "We are very good with our hands because we had to be. That's why a man who did not know how to make an iglu could not marry a wife and a woman who could not sew could not marry a man."[10]

The process of learning in Inuit families is described in Heather McGregor's book, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic*. Learning by observation, practice, and 'being' transferred Inuit knowledge to children about the environment, personal responsibilities, and beliefs that persisted across generations.[11] It also placed Elders in a position of authority. Asked how he learned to hunt, Qimmiataq Nungusuituk described going on hunting trips with his father. He said, "We didn't like asking too many questions, so we had to learn how by seeing what they do."[12] Girls worked side by side with their mothers and grandmothers. Nangaq Idlout of Resolute described her experience of learning to sew at the age of nine, stating, "Because our parents were perfectionists when we were growing up, we had to do everything properly. We had to imitate them, to get it done the way they do, because you have to stretch the pelts properly in order to fit them as clothes. Those are the things we start learning."[13]

MISSIONARY SCHOOLING

When Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in the region in the early 20th century, often at the same time as traders, the missionaries began to teach Inuit how to read and write Inuktitut using syllabics and, less often, in English or French using Roman orthography. With very small grants from the government and more extensive support from English and Canadian donors, missionaries generally visited Inuit families living in ilagiit nunagivaktangit. The missionaries also saw Inuit whenever they came to trading posts during religious holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, to attend services and join in communal celebrations and games. While the missionaries influenced ideas about marriage, shamanism, and parenting, Inuit continued to speak Inuktitut, live on the land, and follow most Inuit practices, all while simultaneously absorbing many Christian ideas.[14] Missionaries were not trained educators—they focused more on religious ideas than on math, science, and social studies. They taught basic syllabic literacy to give converts the skills needed to read and assimilate religious teachings from the Bible and Western moral codes embedded in storybooks. Inuit recount that missionary teaching allowed them to enjoy high rates of Inuktitut literacy, with most people being able to read and write syllabics.

Inuit children in a classroom at the Mountain Sanitorium for tuberculosis patients in Hamilton, ON. Inuk boy is helped with his homework in a hospital setting, [1957].
Credit: *Walter Curtin / Walter Curtin Fonds / Library and Archives Canada / e011502551.*

Beyond basic literacy, however, the missionaries could offer very little because they lacked the means to provide a curriculum-based schooling system that was reliable and staffed with trained teachers. In one of many pieces of correspondence with government officials about the pitiable state of schooling in the Arctic, Dr. A. L. Fleming, Anglican Bishop of the Arctic, described government grants for education (when government schools were only provided in the western Arctic) as "hopelessly inadequate."[15] The timing of Fleming's letter—1946—coincided with the beginning of the period when the government was turning its attention both to its responsibilities for the well-being of Inuit in all parts of the north and to its interest in the north's economic development.

LEGAL CONTEXT FOR GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN INUIT EDUCATION

Before 1950, education was a federal responsibility in the Northwest Territories (which included Nunavut) because all government programs in the territory were under federal control. In practice, schools in the territory were limited to places in the central and western portions that could be reached by river boats along the Mackenzie and Slave rivers, where the Anglican and Catholic churches were willing to build and staff them. One exception was Yellowknife, which was wealthy and populous enough to have a local school board. Nowhere in the eastern Arctic was considered wealthy, populous or accessible enough to have any sort of school. Casual programs were set up in a few places where missionaries or their wives used a room in their homes to teach English to a few children. In these cases, the government paid for classroom supplies. In the Qikiqtani Region before 1950 there were few or no qualified teachers, no purpose-built schools, and no standard curriculum for either Qallunaat or Inuit children.

Unlike the education of Dene children in the Western Arctic, Inuit schooling was not controlled through the Indian Act. For a few years in the 1920s, Indian Affairs paid for a few government services provided to Inuit, but not schools. In the 1930s, responsibility for Inuit programs was returned to the Department of the Interior as part of its general responsibility for people and resources in the north. This situation was unchanged by a 1939 decision of the Supreme Court of Canada concerning responsibility for Inuit in Quebec.[16] The Court settled a dispute between Canada and Quebec by assigning responsibility for Inuit welfare to the federal government. This confirmed that Inuit had rights as Aboriginal people, but the decision had no other effect outside Quebec. In 1951 the Indian Affairs department tried to bring all Inuit under the Indian Act, but this was easily defeated by the northern administration. In theory this victory was supposed to protect Inuit from the kind of segregation practiced by Indian Affairs, but in practice, the growing government involvement in the Eastern Arctic began to show paternalism and forms of social control similar to those being practiced by Indian Affairs. This was particularly true in the area of education.

Prior to the Supreme Court of Canada's ruling in 1939 (commonly referenced as "Re: Eskimos") that Inuit were to be treated as "Indians" under the Indian Act, the federal government took advantage of the confusion about its responsibilities for Inuit. A dispute between the governments of Canada and Quebec (which was the only province with an Inuit population) about who should be responsible for the costs of assisting destitute Inuit finally reached the Supreme Court of Canada and led to the 1939 ruling. The federal government immediately appealed to the Privy Council in London, but the start of the Second World War delayed the case. While the 1939 ruling effectively became law, the federal government carried on delivering a minimal level of services (specifically health, education, and welfare) to Inuit through various agencies without the benefit of a policy or legislative framework specific to Inuit.

Since the 1880s, the government had provided services for "destitute" Inuit in parts of the Arctic through mission schools and medical attention. With an obvious need to deal with infectious diseases in the Arctic, especially tuberculosis, the government amended the Indian Act in 1924 to give the Indian Department responsibility for "Eskimo Affairs." The meaning of the term "Eskimo Affairs" remained undefined, and the government continued to back away from any interpretation that meant that it was responsible for the people themselves, rather than just the land where they lived. Even after the government transferred responsibility for Inuit to the Northwest Territories Council, the Indian Act made no reference to Inuit.

During the 1940s, the Second World War focused the government's attention on sovereignty issues, rather than social ones, and the "Re: Eskimo" decision had little effect on the delivery of government services or programs for Inuit. In 1945, however, the responsibility for the health of First Nations and Inuit was transferred to the Department of National Health and Welfare and "officialdom for the first time publicly recognized the Eskimos as citizens of the Dominion by distributing among them family allowances to which a bill enacted a few months before had entitled all Canadian citizens."[17] Such family allowances became representative of the government's national social welfare programs, like health care, which were being developed during the postwar years in lieu of funding charities established by religious organizations.

FEDERAL SCHOOLING

In March 1947, the new deputy minister at the Department of Mines and Resources established a permanent program designed to build community day schools and remove Church influence from schooling across the Arctic.[18] Progress towards both objectives was slow, although by 1950, eight new schools for Inuit were opened in the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec. As one example, the school at Kinngait —the first in Qikiqtani Region—experienced its share of challenges. Attendance in the school's first two years can be best described as sporadic. Many children in the settlement or surrounding area of Kinngait simply did not attend, and a measles outbreak closed the school in early April 1952. Later that year, administrator J. H. Houston conducted a "tent school" near the community, but even this effort only lasted a short time.

As part of the program, the federal government did not just build schools—it ran them. While some church personnel continued to teach at federally funded schools, federally appointed teachers, initially known as welfare teachers, soon outnumbered them. Welfare teachers had responsibilities far beyond their classrooms as they also took over other aspects of the government's relations with individual Inuit, including administration of relief.

These multiple roles often took time away from the actual job of teaching. As A. F. Applewhite, the first welfare teacher at Kinngait, pointed out to his superiors in 1951, he could not find the time to commit to intensive teaching while the community was also dependent on him to hand out family allowances, repair machinery, and solve other problems as they arose.

At times, the teachers in these early schools were allowed to experiment.[19] Not all stayed in the settlements; some travelled to the ilagiit nunagivaktangit as well. When Margery Hinds arrived in Kinngait, she decided to forego the existing schoolhouse in favour of visiting children in their ilagiit nunagivaktangit or waiting for them to arrive at the trading post. She travelled with her own supplies and set up school in a tent. When she returned to the settlement, she welcomed eager students who came with their parents to have work corrected and new assignments sent out. This type of teaching became known as the Cape Dorset Experiment. Hinds personally opposed hostels or residential schools that required the children to leave their families during their formative years and to miss out on Inuit skills and knowledge that were so important to survival and cultural fulfillment.

In 1952, the government established the Subcommittee on Eskimo Education. The Subcommittee was comprised of government officials and professional educators, as well as senior churchmen who had a strong stake in the old ways of providing northern education. By the mid-1950s, the government began to design services to be delivered exclusively in a handful of centralized places. Advocates of centralization argued that modern health care, communications, transportation, social benefits, economic development, and schooling could only be delivered in a few places—the settlements where staff and facilities would be made available.[20] The northern officials were rightly suspicious of the model provided by Canada's Indian Residential Schools system, and put most of their initial effort into expanding day-school programs for the handful of Inuit already living year-round in settlements and for the larger numbers expected to join them there.

At a 1954 meeting, the Subcommittee on Eskimo Education considered recommendations presented by E. N. Grantham, an inspector and education officer. Like Hinds, Grantham believed that education should be adapted to community-specific needs. Following an inspection of school facilities in 1954, Grantham made several interesting suggestions, including proposing the creation of settlement councils to deal specifically with issues of education. He proposed that the council be composed of selected Inuit operating under the guidance of Qallunaat leadership. He wrote that, "It may be found in time that Eskimo people themselves have some worthwhile ideas to contribute."[21] It is important to note that this proposal fell far short of an elected school board, but it was not realized.

Throughout the 1950s, key questions about schooling in the territory continued to center on the very real problems of vast distances between settlements, Inuit patterns of seasonal moves, a lack of appropriate knowledgeable and motivated teacher recruits, and the roles of English and Inuktitut languages. Government administrators supported the creation of hostels and a limited number of residential schools. A 1954 report by the subcommittee referenced the "nomadic character" of Inuit and stated: "The residential school is perhaps the most effective way of giving children from primitive environments experience in education along the lines of civilization leading to vocational training to fit them for occupations in the white man's economy."[22]

The building of small or "family-type" hostels was suggested for the Mackenzie District in 1957. There was some early hope these hostels might be community-run, perhaps encouraged in the Qikiqtani Region by the Eskimo Loan Fund, but government ownership became the rule. The option of using small hostels rather than large residential institutions for education was debated into the early 1960s.[23] Some bureaucrats believed that larger residential schools could lead to more rapid assimilation. Others noted that small hostels offered the benefits of flexible, community-specific teaching and continued links to family and home life. In the end, the government opted for small hostels for primary students, and planned to move them to larger residential institutions as the first wave of students moved up through the grades.

The government believed that hostels could help boost attendance at day schools by accommodating children whose parents continued to live and hunt on the land. This option was also considered to be a more humane option for younger children than the residential schools forced upon First Nations children in the south. The hostels were staffed by Inuit to emulate a home environment. Mosesee Qappik and his wife testified at the Commission hearings that they supervised children at a hostel in Pangnirtung for three years, beginning in 1964. Mosesee said that, along with his wife, he was responsible for eight children each year and loved them as if they were his own children.[24]

From 1960 to 1964, a rapid construction campaign of both day schools and hostels showed the government's continued uncertainty about how education plans fit with the future of the traditional Inuit economy.[25] Day schools were designed to bring conventional schooling to as many young Inuit as possible, but the hostels were built to allow the older generations, and particularly the parents of pupils in school, to remain on the land. By 1963, there were small hostels serving day schools at Igloolik (24 beds), Kinngait (24 beds), Pangnirtung (24 beds), Qikiqtarjuaq (24 beds), Sanikiluaq (12 beds), and Grise Fiord.

Despite the government's intentions to combine schooling with seasonal patterns of life, there were early warnings from the communities that hostels could disrupt the traditional economy. A 1961 RCMP report from Clyde River forecast such trouble:

> *[If] the camp Eskimo children started to attend school regularly there could be some trouble with loitering. The main reason for the loitering would be parents being reluctant to leave their children in school, as this would tend to "break up" the family, as the Eskimos refer to the situation. It is felt that most of the trouble would come from the Eskimo mother.*[26]

Despite these concerns, a major new school and hostel building program was designed in 1965 to include plans for additional small hostels at Kimmirut (12 beds), Arctic Bay (12 beds), Clyde River (24 beds), and Pond Inlet (36 beds), along with a pair of 100-bed hostels at Pangnirtung and Igloolik.[27]

The government completely miscalculated the impact its program would have on Inuit families and seasonal life. An RCMP officer at Pond Inlet observed:

> *The only foreseen problem in the immediate future … will be the mass migration from the camps to the settlements. This has been quite noticeable this year in Pond Inlet … This is brought about mainly by the parents wishing to be close to their children, when they leave the camps to attend school in the settlement. Because of the close-knit Eskimo family, this will continue to be a problem, and in the future, I would imagine a very great one. This past year a whole camp moved into the settlement, the only reason given, to be close to their children attending school.*[28]

The opening of hostels and day schools accelerated the growth of settlements as Inuit parents relocated whole families, and at times, entire ilagiit nunagivaktangit, to be closer to their children attending school. The tight-knit kinship bonds so prevalent in Inuit society simply would not withstand government-imposed separation between parents, children, siblings, grandparents, and extended family members.

Numerous witnesses told the QTC that their decision to relocate to a settlement was driven by separation from school-age children. Within a few years, officials admitted that the existing hostels were mostly being used for other purposes. Out of 32 small hostels in the Arctic District, only 12 were actually in use as pupil residences, the cause being the "very rapid urbanization in the Arctic District settlements,"[29] meaning that many families were living year-round in the settlement. Speaking of his own decision to move from his ilagiit nunagivaktangat to the Pond Inlet community in 1967, Gamailie Kilukishak stated that he decided to move because his eldest child was expected to attend school. Unless the family moved, his son would be living in a hostel. Gamailie explained to QIA interviewer Davidee Qamaniq, "No one told me [to move], I don't remember being told but because I wanted to follow for the love towards my child and I didn't want to be separated, I voluntarily moved here."[30]

There were no large hostels in the region until 1971, when a high school, the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre (GREC), opened in Iqaluit and an old air force barracks became the school's Ukkivik Residence. This was not the only experience Inuit had with the larger residential schools. Previously, some students from the Qikiqtani Region had attended the Joseph Bernier Day School in Chesterfield Inlet where they lived at the Catholic-run Turquetil Hall. In 1964, the Churchill Vocational School (CVC) in northern Manitoba offered academic and occupational training for older students from the Eastern Arctic and Nunavik who lived in the school's residence. The opening of the high school and residence in Iqaluit made the closure of the Churchill school in 1973 possible.

Agents of the federal government, priests, RCMP, or day-school teachers generally selected students for residential schools. The anxieties of parents were heightened because there was no real consent given to have their children taken to residential schools. Students' feelings of isolation were often magnified by the vast physical distances between themselves and their parents, as well as by the profound social and cultural dislocation that came from being in a foreign location. Ooloosie Kopalie of Qikiqtarjuaq was one of many students from the region who was sent to Churchill for further academic and vocational training. In a 2005 QIA interview, Kopalie spoke of missing her home during her years at residential school, stating that, "I used to be so homesick because I didn't know the environment, so I used to yearn to return to Paallavvik [the settlement that was her original home]!"[31] The population of Paallavvik, about forty in a typical year, was much smaller than the number of youth attending school in Churchill.[32]

Other students had more positive experiences, especially at Churchill.[33] This institution brought Inuit students from many communities together where they were directly exposed to emerging ideas about civil rights and anti-colonial movements. The educational and social opportunities at Churchill allowed many students to become aware of their political rights, and to receive the education needed to take positions in the territorial government and campaign for land claims. As John Amagoalik of Resolute Bay described:

> *The attitude was different, and we had excellent teachers. To this day, we still talk about them … They treated us as ordinary people. We had never experienced this sort of attitude before and it was, in a way, liberating to be with new teachers that treated you as their equal.*[34]

GREC, the first secondary school in the region, opened its doors in 1971. While still separating children from families from outside Iqaluit, GREC and its companion hostel, Ukkivik, did offer the advantage of permitting students to remain in the region. For the Government of Canada, GREC provided both a cheaper and administratively easier option, especially when it came to transferring students to and from their home communities. GREC was a junior and senior high school, as well as a vocational school. GREC earned some respect from Inuit because it was established in an era when courses in traditional Inuit skills and the Inuktitut language began to be offered. However, the high school disappointed and frustrated many Nunavummiut in other respects. GREC was located in Iqaluit, the largest community in the Eastern Arctic, with the highest Inuit and Qallunaat population. Iqaluit had a poor reputation among Inuit as a disorderly community, with problems with violence, drugs, alcohol, and other abuses. Without consultation and without true consent, parents were expected to send their children to reside in this community, and risk exposing them to vices for long periods of time.

RCMP authorities also recognized the problems associated with GREC. In a 1973 Inspection Report, A. M. Cart, then Chief Superintendent of G Division, noted that:

> *The older Eskimos are experiencing and suffering some disillusionment with what is defined as progress … The problem arises when the children are sent to [Iqaluit] to continue in the higher grades. There, they are subjected to outside interests and influences not compatible with their home environment and way of life. When and if they return, many of the older students are changed and create problems because of new attitudes and in some cases due to the inordinate use of alcohol and drugs.*[35]

Students from GREC returned to their home communities with tales of violence and disorder, and as a result, dropout rates at the school were high.[36]

Another set of students also experienced profound dislocation and cultural differences from their educational experience as part of the Experimental Eskimo Education Program.[37] Through this government initiative, a small number of Inuit students considered to be academically gifted were taken out of their communities in the early 1960s and sent to southern Canada. The stated purpose was to further their education and test their ability to compete academically among their southern Canadian counterparts. Some of these students thrived both socially and academically. They acknowledge the positive benefits that resulted from their participation in the program, including having an education that allowed them to eventually return north and take on important leadership roles. Because of their immersion in southern Canadian society, these students often returned home to find that they were indispensable in helping to bridge the gap between the people of their home communities

and government authorities. Many of these students also went on to be trailblazers in fighting for Inuit rights and recognition. For example, Peter Ittinuar, who attended high school in Ottawa for two years, became the first Inuk Member of Parliament in the Canadian House of Commons. Despite his success, Ittinuar also admits that for many Inuit the program had mixed results. In his autobiography, he writes that fellow student Zebedee Nungak always said that "he has never regretted the experience, but he has also never recovered from it."[38] The QTC heard from other former students of the program who spoke of a profound sense of cultural dislocation. Loseeosee Aipellee was made to attend high school in Ottawa from 1963 to 1965, and he described his experience as "traumatizing."[39] The Commission also heard the story of Jeannie Mike, who was only seven years old when she was sent to school in a small Nova Scotia village, along with two other girls. Mike has been unable to find much information about why she went and what was expected from her experience. When asked by the QTC why she was sent away, she responded, "My dad said he was told that we were to go to school, but I don't know the whys and hows and for what purpose."[40] Mike testified that it was only in 2006 that she even discovered that the decision to send her to Nova Scotia was a federal one, and not one made by her parents. In her hearing testimony, she went on to describe her pain:

> *Finding out that it was the federal government who had sent us there made me very angry … The hardest part of it was re-integrating back into Inuit society … I came back thinking more like a Qallunaat than an Inuk and people noticed that. I remember being in my teens and feeling very isolated because … I didn't feel Inuk among the Inuit, and because I looked [Inuk] so I was not accepted by the Qallunaat … It was always like trying to walk a fine line between both worlds … They might as well have sent me to the moon, because the environment, the culture was so different … Sometimes I really wish, I dream of the day that I can sit across from some policymaker within the Government of Canada and say "Here, this is what your policy, and your decision has done to my life."*[41]

One of the lasting consequences of her experience was an inability to leave her community again for post-secondary school. Her academic aptitude led her to be taken out of the community, but the trauma she suffered stopped her from ever taking advantage of her schooling or intellectual abilities.

POST-1970: TERRITORIAL TAKEOVER OF EDUCATION

In April 1970, the federal authorities in Ottawa transferred authority for the administration of education in the territories from federal departments to the territorial government in Yellowknife.[42] The transfer was part of a general delegation of powers over social programs from the federal to the territorial government. One result was an increased interest in providing Aboriginal "cultural content" in courses in community schools and more proposals to involve parents in choices about education. As McGregor has cautioned, however, these trends did not defeat the administration's respect for traditional southern curricula. In addition, the idea of multiculturalism that was used to justify some experimentation in classrooms was highly inappropriate in parts of the Arctic where the "minority" that was being accommodated was not a minority at all but made up over 90% of the population.

As shown by McGregor, the resulting curriculum incorporated some aspects of Inuit language and culture, while also formally stating that the continuation of traditional Inuit practices should be accommodated through the education system. A desired balance was difficult to achieve, however, because decision-making power about education was still largely in the hands of Qallunaat authorities. A 1974 article by Desmond Sparham, a former settlement manager at Kinngait, records signs of change in that particular community by making reference to a "steering committee" of five local

Inuit who acted as an advisory board on matters of education.[43] As Sparham acknowledged, much more effort was needed to make education relevant to the entire community. It was only in 1982, with the creation of regional boards of education with greater Inuit representation, that Inuit were finally allowed a more significant role in the decision-making process for education.[44] Even with this change, broader educational policies were still set in Yellowknife, with little community input. To this day, local access to decision-making power remains a challenge of northern education.

The government effort to educate every child in the north, from teachers to classroom methods to curriculums, had profound consequences for Inuit children, families, communities, and culture. Some of these consequences were intentional, and some were not.

Cumulative Impact of Education

The stated goal of government-sponsored education for Inuit was to create good Canadian "citizens." In practice, this meant teaching English and skills that the government believed were important to becoming employable in northern economic ventures that would help fund government services. In sum, it required Inuit to assimilate and "catch up" with the practices of the rest of Canadian society. As a government official noted in an internal statement in 1949:

> *In this task of interpreting the Canadian way of life, education is certainly the key point. In order that the Eskimo may accomplish the adjustment to civilization successfully, the education set-up must afford understanding of, and practice in, Canadian and democratic ways of living. Development towards citizenship should be the chief criterion in judging the success of our educational program, and other factors such as the development of specific skills or techniques, while important, should be subordinated to this end.*[45]

The government attempted to reconcile a standard southern-style curriculum with the protection of Inuit culture, which appears to have meant the capacity to live and work in the north, sustained by some language, folklore, and craft skills. The same 1949 memorandum commented:

> *The Northwest Territories Administration has the opportunity to bring these people into civilization without the maladjustment and loss of independence and initiative which have resulted in many parts of the world when a similar task was attempted amongst other primitive races.*[46]

However, in spite of the rhetoric and the promise not to divorce Inuit children from their culture, the policy of assimilation seems to have prevailed once the children began schooling.

The first serious debates about curriculum took place in the mid-1950s in connection with the Alberta curriculum used in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories. Further east, teachers were allowed to adapt other provincial curricula. This practice cost the Department little, and familiar curriculum smoothed the way to recruiting teachers from the south to work in a challenging natural and social environment. The government also argued that a recognized provincial curriculum would allow Inuit students to pursue further education in the southern provinces. In fact, however, most Inuit students would never study in southern Canada, and if they tried, would find their way blocked because standards were lower in the Arctic than the equivalent grades in the south.

Further, the curriculum had little actual relevance to Inuit lives in the north. This proved especially true in Qikiqtani Region, where Inuit were even less exposed to southern life and values than their Inuit, First Nation and Métis counterparts elsewhere in the Northwest Territories.

As early as 1955, the need for a northern curriculum that referenced the values and traditions of the north was recognized by officials. The problem was that the stated goals of the new curriculum often seemed confusing and even contradictory. In 1955, the contradictions were laid bare in a memorandum from J. V. Jacobson, Superintendent of Education. He described the two main purposes of revisions to the curriculum as being "to prepare the pupil to return to his own native way of life" and "to prepare a student for occupations in the white man's economy."[47] To this end, classes in game and conservation were proposed, as well as courses in marksmanship and trapping. These courses were rarely, if ever, delivered since teachers did not have the skills needed to teach them. In addition to an academic curriculum, vocational training after Grade 7 was offered for those students with less academic interests or abilities. While the motives behind vocational training might have been to give students the skills required to thrive in the evolving north and oncoming wage economy, in some respects vocational training also limited the opportunities available to Inuit youth. By preparing students to enter into the "white man's economy," the government was typically offering students opportunities for manual work, often directed towards the growth of oil exploration or other construction activity. Inuit students were typically trained to be machine operators rather than professionals, managers, business owners, policy analysts, or decision-makers. Vocational training limited the types of opportunities for Inuit as they grew older, especially if manual labour became too difficult. In effect, they were set up to be servants, assistants, or dependents on their own land. It amounted to systemic discrimination.

The Eastern Arctic District curriculum was given even less attention than its counterpart in the Mackenzie District, where there were a greater number of Qallunaat children. Teachers relied on a mixed curriculum from Alberta, Manitoba, Quebec, Ontario, and Newfoundland. Bland materials such as the "Dick and Jane" series of readers repeatedly referenced people and situations that had no relevance to Inuit experiences. In addition to learning to read English, children were expected to learn entirely new concepts and a new worldview. Many who went through the educational system remembered being made to forget their Inuit roots. Speaking to the QIA in Pond Inlet, Kaujak Kanajuk said that he was encouraged to forget his prior life experience. "We weren't allowed to draw dogs or tell stories about them, anything that had something to do with being Inuk, about iglus or anything, as soon as we came [to Pond Inlet]."[48]

The lives of Inuit students and the experiences of those depicted in schoolbooks (as well as the life experiences of the teachers) were worlds apart. Inuit students knew little about farm animals, trains, cities, and wartime. Teachers had no direct experience with Inuit environments or beliefs. In southern Canada, teachers typically shared similar cultural values, language, customs, and connections to location as their students. This divergency in culture, life experiences and goals between students and teachers had many consequences.

To help bridge the gap between curriculum content and student experience, educational theorists called on teachers to incorporate examples of northern culture in their everyday lesson plans. In a 1961 article entitled, "The Opening Door," R. A. J. Phillips, Chief of the Arctic Division in Ottawa, suggested teaching arithmetic by counting walruses rather than cows, a suggestion that was probably not needed by any competent teacher. Phillips explained that these types of cultural references would reinforce the value of schooling to students,[49] but also recognized that northern teachers were expected to teach pride in a culture which they themselves knew very little about. As one former teacher noted, "A lot of teachers tried to incorporate these things [aspects of Inuit life] in the curriculum to the extent that they understood it themselves, which, in most cases, wasn't very much."[50]

Most teachers arrived in the north with a southern education and preconceived ideas about Inuit and what they should learn. Orientation for teachers, which ranged in length from one day to two weeks, failed to prepare them for the cultural and language

barriers that they encountered and could not overcome. Motives for enlisting were mixed, but experiences were similar. In the early 1960s, Diamond Jenness found that the 30% annual turnover clearly showed the results of hiring people who "seem incapable of enduring the hardships and deprivations of a northern life." He speculated about the roots of the failure:

> *[I]ts cause lies deeply rooted in our New World civilization, which demands an educational system that will train our children to earn their livelihood and perhaps enrich their pockets, but does not require that it should simultaneously enrich their minds and their lives … A government can easily select well-trained teachers by studying the papers they submit in support of their applications. But how is it to determine whether they possess also the temperaments to rise above the difficulties of an arctic life, and the problems of teaching children who, however lovable, still speak and think in a different tongue?*[51]

With teachers staying for only one or two years, students experienced frustration with inconsistent teaching quality, lesson plans that were repeated year after year, and gaps in the curriculum.

One of the solutions that had been proposed since the 1940s to reduce teacher turnover was the training of Inuit as teachers.[52] As one southern Canadian teacher who went north in 1966 reflected, "I think perhaps a lot more value would result in terms of cultural inclusion from having more and more Native people entering the teaching profession, not so much as classroom assistants, but as regular teachers."[53] The vision of Indigenous teachers working in the classroom would not be realized until years later. The Northwest Territories Teacher Education Program was established in 1968 with the goal of increasing First Nations and Inuit staff in schools.[54] This program was supposed to improve communication between teachers and students, increase Aboriginal employment, and improve teacher retention and continuity in the schools. The program received substantial investments throughout the 1970s, but only succeeded in training Inuit as teachers' assistants, not as teachers. In addition, differences in objectives and issues over curriculum between the various parts of the territory plagued the program, resulting in the creation of a separate Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program (EATEP) in Iqaluit in 1979.

It is important to note that Inuit teachers were intended to solve staffing problems, not to provide Inuktitut instruction. Few, if any, teachers could have taught Inuit children in their own language. Unlike the missionary teachers before them who needed to speak Inuktitut to proselytize, government teachers conducted their work in English. Typically, they lived separate from the Inuit community and socialized with other Qallunaat—nurses, government administrators, and RCMP officers.

For both practical and ideological reasons, English-language instruction was the foundation of the curriculum. For the most part, Inuit were very eager to have their children learn English and looked forward to the benefits of these programs as they were promised by government administrators. As remembered by one Inuk parent, Taqtu:

> *Later on the children had to go to school, which was all right too—they had to learn if they were not going to be staying out in camp. They had to take jobs, which was also all right. There was really no choice, and I accepted it gladly because our children had to learn. I wanted them to learn English so that they can have good jobs when they [grew up].*[55]

The practical obstacles to bringing Inuktitut into classrooms were addressed in 1964 by the Director of the Northern Administration Branch:

> *[W]e simply are not equipped to have Eskimo language teaching in the schools. We have far too few teachers with a command of the Eskimo language to make it possible for them to teach the language, and we still must wait several years before there is a body of Eskimos who have had time for sufficient education to pursue teaching careers.*[56]

While the lack of Inuktitut language delivery was recognized as a major factor inhibiting the success of Inuit students, no language-training programs, even at a basic level, existed for teachers (then and in 2013). In fact, the department openly discouraged the use of Inuktitut in the classroom. As one former teacher recalled that at his orientation for northern teaching, he was advised not to learn Inuktitut by Gordon Devitt, the District Superintendent of Schools. The former teacher stated that Devitt cautioned:

> *'Don't you dare learn Eskimo—that would be the worst thing you could possibly do.' The children would have no incentive to learn English because they would know that even though you weren't going to speak to them in the classroom in Eskimo, you could understand them anyway and have that crutch, so there would be no real impetus for them to learn English.*[57]

Another teacher who had taught in Kimmirut confirmed this statement:

> *It was [the] policy of the department at that time that there was to be no native language used—you had to use English as much as possible—and to drive to get the English language skills there. And I'll admit it on tape that we didn't follow the policy if we thought it was to the benefit of the kid if we used his language. We used interpreters if we had to and the older kids helped.*[58]

Many teachers accepted the departmental preference and forbade the use of Inuktitut both in and out of the classroom. For some, it was a way to "civilize" the child. A number of former students testified to the QTC about physical and mental abuse when they were unable to learn English quickly enough, or when they spoke Inuktitut among their own peers. Kinngait resident Quppirualuk Padluq remembered: "It was very scary to speak in Inuktitut because we were punished if we spoke in Inuktitut unexpectedly. Our teacher always told us not to speak any Inuktitut whatsoever in class."[59] Geela Akulukjak of Pangnirtung wept as she related the story of her abuse:

> *I was told to go to school here and tried my best to go to school. Ever since then I was scared of Qallunaat because a teacher I had would slap me, would slap the children who could not speak English, with a ruler stick, with a yardstick; she was a woman. That always hurts me, because I couldn't speak English, she forced us to be able to speak English.*[60]

July Papatsie also testified about similar abuse he experienced in the same school:

> *Children who spoke Inuktitut were punished. I remember their first punishment: they had to put their hands on the desk and got twenty slaps on the back of their hand. The second time they got thirty slaps on their bare bum in front of all the class.*

> *They were forced to eat a bar of soap. They would throw up for two to three days. They were told that it was because they spoke an evil language.*[61]

The frequency of corporal punishment was especially traumatic, since spanking was rarely used in Inuit culture and young children were typically treated gently and showered with affection.

The extent to which Inuktitut was deliberately suppressed as a means of acculturation is difficult to establish with certainty. In 1967, for the *Edmonton Journal*, Robert Williamson, an elected representative to the Council of the Northwest Territories and a former federal bureaucrat, described the federal government's previous position that Inuktitut "should be allowed to die" as both "prevalent" and "abhorrent." The author of the article also stated that, "One of the most serious charges filed against the federal government's territories education system is its refusal to recognize [Inuktitut] as a language in school."[62]

Even if the intentions were not clearly stated, it was predictable that children were more likely to lose proficiency if they did not use a language at an early age. The impact of the loss of Inuktitut through continuous exposure to English was intensified by changes in what children ate or how they dressed when they attended school. This was particularly true for children in large hostels.

Students at residential schools were steered away from eating country food, such as raw meats that were a staple of the Inuit diet. The government often stated that it wanted to eliminate the risk of trichinosis, but it continued to provide all types of meats common to Qallunaat diets, such as pork, that needed to be cooked.

Staff at the large hostels also threw away the children's traditional clothing when providing them with school uniforms. Similar pressures existed at the day schools in the Qikiqtani Region. As Elizabeth Kyak of Pond Inlet testified to the QTC in 2008, "When we were going to school, if there was a blizzard in winter and we go to school with wind pants on, we were slapped and sent to go home and go put on a skirt, in a blizzard we would go home, change to a skirt."[63] Elizabeth went on to recall how members of her community attempted to maintain some of their traditional ways of life, even when discouraged from doing so. Speaking specifically to the issue of food, Elizabeth testified:

> *The Inuit were encouraged not to eat traditional foods back then … They used to hide if they were eating quaq, [or other] traditional food … If they heard somebody coming in, they would hide it right away because they were encouraged not to eat traditional foods. If a white man was coming in, they'd sneak around, they would pretend they were not eating.*[64]

Despite some of the children's best efforts to hold onto their culture, what often resulted was a deep cultural and generational divide between students away at school and their parents, as well as further diminishment of the value of Inuit knowledge. Children who had lost the ability to speak in Inuktitut could no longer communicate with parents, grandparents, or other adults who knew little to no English.[65] Children who were raised in schools with southern foods and values went home and questioned, challenged, criticized, or denigrated their parents' customs and values. Furthermore, the knowledge of Elders was perceived as outdated, unnecessary, or uncivilized. This new cultural divide often proved hard to repair. In the words of former residential school student Paul Quassa, "We lost that knowledge that would have been transferred if we did grow up with our parents."[66] All formal schooling, especially residential schooling, disrupted traditional family life. These changes had a profound impact and contributed to a sense of confusion regarding traditional gender roles and identity within Inuit culture.

In the 1970s, as Inuit gained representation in the territorial legislative council in Yellowknife and the council took charge of educational policy, community

leaders in the eastern Arctic became articulate critics of the school system, demanding local control. Sympathetic Qallunaat shared these ideas and offered an even more fundamental denunciation. Language teacher Mick Mallon wrote in 1977:

> *Our school system is alien not only because it has been developed and is being run by non-Inuit: it is alien because it is a system. There were no places in traditional Inuit culture where children were herded together for a set number of hours a day to learn how to become functioning adults; there was no sub-set of adults who devoted their lives to instruction … To put it as extremely as possible: the mere building of a school could be said to be an alien act of cultural aggression.*[67]

As Mallon implied, Inuit parents had very little opportunity to provide input into questions of curriculum, language, teaching methodology, teachers, or the location of their children's education. Nonetheless, they were often very receptive to change. Inuit parents were optimistic that the promises about the quality and value of Canadian education as explained by government officials would come true. They knew by observation and their own experience that inability to speak English was a drawback economically.

The receptiveness of Inuit to change, and their ability to adapt to changing circumstances, emerged clearly at Iqaluit during research sponsored by the department in 1963. John J. and Irma Honigmann published *Eskimo Townsmen* after six months of intensive observation, and noted that in almost every area of life, Inuit "have successfully, often easily, learned much new behaviour, many tastes, and increasing responsibilities."[68] The Honigmanns went on to attribute their millennia of survival in the Arctic to this ability to adapt and learn. They also noted that some of the children with the best school attendance records came from the most traditional families. However, even parents who let their children be educated by the government did not understand the full extent of cultural loss that would result. Many parents believed that knowledge and culture could be sustained even with exposure of children to formal schooling. The demands of classrooms and hostels challenged all assumptions. In the end, Inuit parents were denied the fundamental right to have their children educated in accordance with some of their own cultural beliefs and values.[69]

For some parents, the guilt over sending their children away for education remains to this day. Speaking to the QTC in 2008, Louis Uttak of Igloolik described his deep regret:

> *I hate myself for agreeing to send my children out to Chesterfield Inlet. I am sorry I was not smart at that time, smart enough to know what I had to do. It was good for a while; our children started learning another culture. We tried to be parents to them, but they were growing up so they changed too. The parenting part then was broken and we didn't know how to fix it. But the two cultures, the Qallunaat and the Inuit culture, are so different from each other, so they were using this culture and we couldn't quite be in contact with them anymore.*[70]

In some cases, Inuit children returned home and asked their parents how they could have agreed to send them away from their families and allow them to have been abused. Years after dealing with the trauma of being sent away for school at age seven, Jeannie Mike recalled for the QTC a confrontation with her mother. Looking at her own children at seven years old, Jeannie stated she felt compelled to ask her mother, "How could you let me go?" In response her mother replied, "when Qallunaat asked for something there [was] no choice of refusal."[71]

These mothers were not alone in offering little or no resistance when government authorities ordered them to send their children away to school. There are reasons to explain this appearance of submitting to authority. The first reason is a concept named

by Inuit as "ilira." Ilira can be described as "a great fear or awe," and Inuit use it to describe the feelings that they once held towards Qallunaat.[72] This sense of fear or awe made even the notion of questioning the authority of RCMP officers or government administrators unthinkable to Inuit, especially during the period in question. Furthermore, Qallunaat, for the most part, projected an air of absolute authority, and most Inuit did not have a sufficient understanding of southern Canadian society or their own rights to challenge them. In describing her experience with the RCMP, Mary Battye of Pangnirtung stated, "The Qallunaat would go to the camps. We were scared even though they didn't do anything wrong … We went out of our way to do our best because we were so scared of the RCMP."[73] When Elisapee Ootoova was a young child, she felt these same anxieties around Qallunaat. Ootoova recalls seeing RCMP officers, Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) staff, and Anglican and Catholic priests while in Pond Inlet. She remembers, "It seems they were really scary, and they were so clean, they smelled so clean, and very tidy. We used to sit very still when we were visiting." She also went on to describe Qallunaat in the Grise Fiord area as being very "bossy" and "controlling." Based on these past experiences, Ootoova says that she completely "caved in" when it came time to send her own children to Churchill for an education.[74]

Parents also told the QTC and QIA that they were threatened with the loss of Family Allowance payments if they refused to send their children to school or move into settlements. Family Allowance payments began across Canada in 1945. Payments generally ranged between $5.00 and $8.00 per month, depending on the age and number of children per family. In the north, as in the south, family allowance was intended to promote the nourishment and general well-being of children. However, in the north, paternalism was also ingrained into this program. Payments were used to force parents to send their children away to be educated or to force entire families to permanently move into settlements. By 1950, many Inuit families relied heavily upon these payments, especially when hunting or trapping was poor.

The threat of having family allowances cut off was taken very seriously. As Peterosie Qarpik stated at the QIA hearings in 2005, his own move to Pangnirtung was motivated by a government agent:

> *We started to be told that our children needed an education and they said that if we did not agree, they would stop paying us the child tax and we felt we had no choice but to move here to Pangnirtung. We felt we had no choice as we had some children and that was our only income. It was like they were trying to scare us using the money that we received.*[75]

Likewise, Annie Paingut Peterloosie moved her family to Arctic Bay for related reasons:

> *We moved because the children had to go to school, we were told that if we didn't move we would not be receiving any child tax benefits, that time we were receiving children benefits when we were still in the camp, and we moved so that we would not lose the money we were getting.*[76]

Similarly, many families were also offered housing, either free or at a fixed low rate, as an added inducement to moving to settlements and putting their children in day schools. Many people also testified that housing promises went unfulfilled, as the QTC report *Iglulirinig: Housing in Qikiqtaaluk, 1950–1975* explains in more detail.[77]

For their part, local administrators in the north and RCMP officers saw the threat of suspended Family Allowances as one of their only effective tools for getting parents to send their children to school. While the Family Allowance Act did require that children be in school in order to receive payment, there was never an official policy sanctioning its suspension in isolated settlements. Nevertheless, the government was aware that this practice was used by local officials as an "economic hammer," as environmental ethnographer Milton Freeman described in his QTC testimony.[78]

Conclusion

In the 1950 to 1975 period, some students (many of whom became the Inuit leaders that forged the path to the Nunavut Agreement) were given access to both new knowledge and skills from schooling and opportunities through the efforts of Elders, parents and other, to know their own culture and knowledge. They found space and support to retain their Inuktitut language skills while remaining fully in touch with Inuit knowledge and practices. For many of these students, paths opened for them to become Inuit leaders in negotiating the Nunavut agreement. The overwhelming result of the government education programs and policies was a failure in terms of the number of children who enjoyed school, maintained a sense of community and family, and found ways to apply the knowledge learned to daily life and material well-being.

Many parents in the Qikiqtani Region were convinced by government administrators to give up their children for schooling with the promise that the experience would result in a good education and a chance to participate fully in future opportunities in the north. In the early 1950s and 1960s, parents were optimistic that government-provided education would resolve some of the challenges of living in settlements, even though they were always reluctant to leave children in small hostels or allow them to be sent to residential schools. Evidence of Inuit resistance to formal schooling and its impact on Inuit language and culture is present over and over again in archival records and in the testimonies to the QTC. The top-down method of managing schools and setting policies, however, meant that parents had little or no influence on the way children were taught or how formal education was integrated with Inuit culture and language.

The testimonies of Inuit at the QIA and QTC hearings showed how damaging and long-lasting the effects of these practices have been. Through tears, former students spoke of cultural dislocation and confusion, of abuse, and of missing their homes. Parents spoke of the horrors of watching their own children be taken away, of feeling forced to choose between a livelihood on the land, or a move to the settlement if only to be near their children. Together, they spoke of losing their traditions and practices, maintained so strongly in generations before.

Inuit community leaders and political leaders in the 1970s were very vocal about the problems with the education system (controlled by then in Yellowknife) and its assimilation objectives. Parents and leaders sought to secure a role for Elders in the classroom and asked that more grades be offered in communities so only older students would need to go to Iqaluit. Even with these changes, however, the underlying school curriculum and administration was based on English-language instruction and a standardization of approaches across the territory.

Reasons for the poor results of government schooling efforts and the suffering they caused among several generations in Qikiqtani include inadequate funding, a lack of serious commitment towards curriculum development, no strategy for training Inuit teachers, and hostility towards the use of Inuktitut and Inuit culture. The government aimed to change Inuit through formal education for a wage economy, so that, in the eyes of the government, Inuit would be like other Canadian citizens. At best, the government failed to provide an appropriate standard of education to achieve this goal. However, more devastatingly, the government imposed unquestioned Eurocentric values and, in the process, marginalized Inuit. Changes in education were brought too quickly and too forcefully. Attempts to consult Inuit about how they would like their values represented within their own education system came too late and were inadequate.

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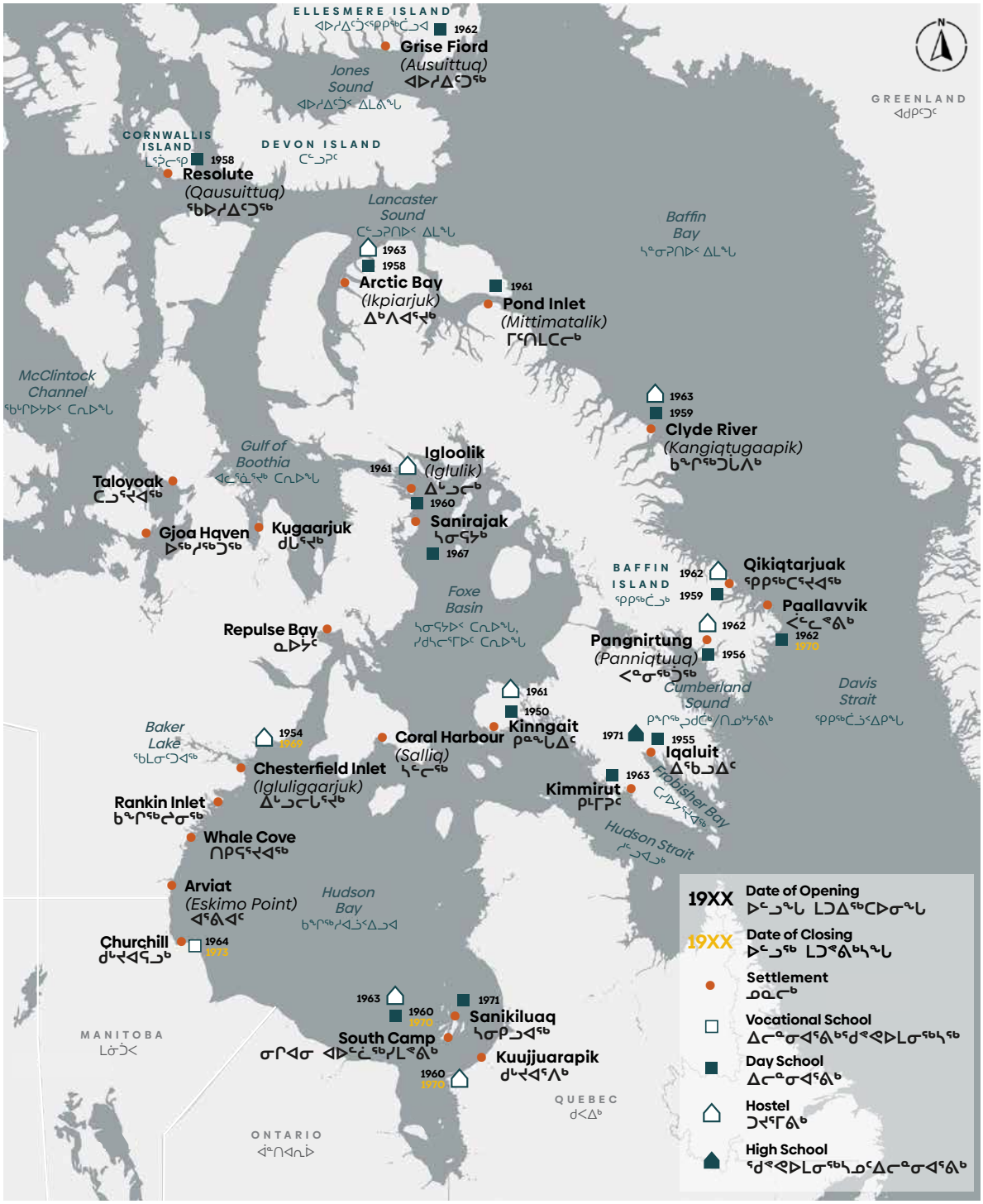
Government Schools and Hostels Serving the Qikiqtani Region, 1950-1970



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Endnotes

1 The Inuktut term *ilagiit nunagivaktangit* is a more accurate name for places called "camps" in the historical record created by ethnographers, bureaucrats and police. Ilagiit nunagivaktangit were places regularly used for hunting, harvesting and gathering. Inuit groups traditionally had several ilagiit nunagivaktangit, which allowed them to move to follow game.

2 A. F. Flucke, "Wither the Eskimo," *Northern Affairs Bulletin* 10, 1 (January–February 1963), 17.

3 Kenn Harper, "Writing in Inuktitut: An Historical Perspective," *Inuktitut 53* (September 1983), 19–24.

4 For an extensive history of education in the eastern Arctic, including Inuit practices and federal government education plans modeled on southern Canadian programs, see Heather E. McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010). McGregor refers to 1945–1970 as the colonial period in the Eastern Arctic, when formal schooling was integrated into other assimilation policies by federal bureaucrats and administrators.

5 Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II: Canada* (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964), 130–132.

6 The 1962 and 1970 figures are from N. J. MacPherson, *Dreams and Vision: Education in the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife: NWT Department of Education, 1991), 207. Note that the Arctic Quebec District at times, administered Port Burwell and the Belcher Islands (Sanikiluaq) and returns here are incomplete. Figures for 1979 (including hostels) are from a recruiting pamphlet: Northwest Territories Department of Education, *Teach in Canada's Arctic* (Yellowknife, 1980), 22.

7 The 1962 and 1970 figures are from N. J. MacPherson, *Dreams and Vision: Education in the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife: NWT Department of Education, 1991), 207. Note that the Arctic Quebec District at times, administered Port Burwell and the Belcher Islands (Sanikiluaq) and returns here are incomplete. Figures for 1979 (including hostels) are from a recruiting pamphlet: Northwest Territories Department of Education, *Teach in Canada's Arctic* (Yellowknife, 1980), 22.

8 Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession D-1-A, Volume 1462, File 600-1-1, Part 22, Education, Schools NWT, General and Policy File, "Memorandum from A. Stevenson, Administrator of the Arctic to Director, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, re: local control of education," 3 January 1967.

9 Examples of the stated aims of schooling can be found in Northwest Territories Archives (NWTA), Department of Executive Fonds, Series G-1988-004, Box 7, File—Miscellaneous Reports, "[District Superintendent's Annual Report] Arctic District Report on Education, 1962–3".

10 July Papatsie, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 27 November 2008.

11 McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools*, 39.

12 Qimmiataq Nungusuituk, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 29 January 2008.

13 Nangaq Idlout, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 14 April 2008.

14 The impact of Christian teaching on Inuit beliefs is a complex and interesting subject that is outside the scope of this paper and the QTC's research mandate. For more information about this topic see: Frédéric Laugrand and Oosten Jarich, *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

15 The grants for schools in the western Arctic reference by Fleming totalled $400 a year for residential schools, $200–$250 for mission day schools, and $500–$1,500 for public day schools. For further information, see R. Q. Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 96.

16 See "Reference as to whether "Indians" includes in s. 91 (24) of the B.N.A. Act includes Eskimo in habitants of the Province of Quebec," 1939 CanLII 22 (SCC), [1939] SCR 104. Online at www.canlii.org/en/ca/scc/doc/1939/1939canlii22/1939canlii22.html.

17 Sarah Bonesteel, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development*, edited by Erik Anderson (Prepared for Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, June 2006), 7.

18 McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools*, 61. For welfare teachers, see B. W. Lewis, *Education in Cape Dorset to 1967* ([n.p.], 1970); quote from page 26.

19 Margery Hinds, *High Arctic Venture* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968), 135–137.

20 NWTA, Collection 263, Alexander Stevenson Fonds, Accession N-1992-023n, Box 17, File 7, Policy—Inuit 1935–1959, "Memo to Field Staff for Information, re: Eskimo Affairs," 11 March 1959.

21 LAC, RG 22, Indian and Northern Affairs, Accession A-1-A, Volume 805, File 40-8-9, Part 1, Education of Eskimos, "Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education," 29 October 1954.

22 LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession D-1-A, Volume 1507, File 600-1-1, Part 7, Northwest Territories, General Policy File, Education and Schools, "Report entitled, 'Education in Canada's Northland' discussing the history and problems of education in the North," 12 December 1954.

23 R. A. J. Phillips, "The Opening Door," *North 8*, 1 (January–February 1961), 11–17; LAC, RG 22, Indian and Northern Affairs, Volume 1331, File 40-2-136, Part 5; and LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1463, File 600-1-5, Part 6.

24 Mosesee Qappik, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 15 May 2008.

25 NWTA, Collection 331, Northwest Territories Department of the Executive Fonds, Accession G-1988-004, Box 7, Miscellaneous Reports, "Arctic District Report on Education 1962-1963," 1 January 1963; and NWTA, Collection 331, Northwest Territories Department of the Executive Fonds, Accession G-1988-004, Box 5, Oral History—Transcripts Teachers Mc-s, "Dates".

26 LAC, RG 18, RCMP, Accession 1985-86/048, Volume 55, File TA-500-8-1-3, Conditions Among the Eskimos—Clyde River, "Conditions Amongst Eskimos Generally—Annual Report, by R. E. Boughen," 7 January 1961.

27 LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1463, File 600-1-5, Part 6, "Draft Memorandum to Cabinet," 21 April 1965.

28 LAC, RG 18, RCMP, Accession 1985-86/048, Volume 55, File TA 500-8-1-12, Conditions Among Eskimos—Pond Inlet, "Conditions Amongst Eskimos Generally, by R. E. Boughen," 7 January 1966.

29 LAC, RG 22, Indian and Northern Affairs, Volume 1331, File 40-2-136, Part 5, "Director of Deputy Minister Gordon," 15 February 1968.

30 Gamailie Kilukishak, Oral History, Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 1 July [n.y.].

31 Ooloosie Kopalie, QIA, 23 March 2005

32 "Missing Records Complicate Residential School Claims," (7 January 2008) available online at www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/missing-records-complicate-residential-school-claims-1.717273, accessed March 2013 and 12 May 2023.

33 McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools*, 110–111.

34 J. Amagoalik, *Changing the Face of Canada* (Nunavut: Nunavut Arctic College, 2007), 43–46.

35 LAC, RG 18, RCMP, Volume 3642, File G-232-21-6, Commanding Officer 'G' Division, "Inspection Report by A.M. Cart, Chief Superintendent, Commanding Officer, G Division to Commissioner, re: inspection of G Division," 1 May 1973.

36 Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut*, 119-120. Dropout rates were, and remained over, 75% with extremely few people ever completing and graduating Grade 12. Even those precious few who graduated would not have had a comparable standard or level of education as their southern counterparts.

37 Zebedee Nungak, "Experimental Eskimos," *Inuktitut 87* (2000), 16; and Peter Freuchen Ittinuar, *Teach an Eskimo How to Read ... Conversations with Peter Freuchen Ittinuar,* ed. Thierry Rodon (Iqaluit: Language and Culture Program, Nunavut Arctic College, 2008).

38 *Teach an Eskimo How to Read*, 65.

39 Loseeosee Aipellee, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 8 September 2008.

40 Jeannie Mike, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 14 May 2008.

41 Jeannie Mike, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 14 May 2008.

42 McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools*, Chapter 4.

43 Desmond Sparham, "Education at Cape Dorset: An Evaluation," *Eskimo 31*, 7 (Spring–Summer 1974), 12–16.

44 For regional boards and Inuit roles in decision making processes, see McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools*, 3 & Chapter 5. The Nunavut Legislative Assembly dissolved the Regional Education Boards in 2000 with all powers and responsibilities reverting to the Department of Education, Government of Nunavut.

45 LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession D-1-A, Volume 1130, File 254-1, Part 1A, Eskimo Education (incl. Subcommittee on Eskimo Education), "Report on Education for the Eskimo of the Eastern Arctic, by Carter B. Storr," 1 June 1949.

46 LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession D-1-A, Volume 1130, File 254-1, Part 1A, Eskimo Education (incl. Subcommittee on Eskimo Education), "Comment on Dr. Storr's Report, by J.C. Jackson," [n.d.].

47 LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Memo from J. V. Jacobson for the Director, "Memo for the Director on the operating costs for education," 22 March 1955.

48 Kaujak Kanajuk, Oral History, Qikiqtani Inuit Association, [n.d.].

49 R. A. J. Phillips, "The Opening Door," *North 8*, 1 (January–February 1961), 11–17. Especially, see pages 12–13.

50 NWTA, Collection 331, Northwest Territories Department of the Executive Fonds, Accession G-1988-004, Box 8, Oral History–Transcripts Teachers (Harper), "Interview with Kenn Harper," 31 May 1979.

51 Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II*, 129.

52 Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut,* 108. Some teachers did not last their first year or failed to return after the first year of summer holidays. It has been reported that occasionally a teacher would arrive on the plane, only to re-board the same plane.

53 NWTA, Collection 331, Northwest Territories Department of the Executive Fonds, Accession G-1988-004, Box 8, Oral History—Transcripts Teachers (Harper), "Interview with Kenn Harper," 31 May 1979.

54 McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools*, 96–97.

55 Taqtu is quoted from Rhoda Innuksuk and Susan Cowan, *We Don't Live in Snow Houses Now: Reflections of Arctic Bay* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Producers, 1976), 97.

56 LAC, RG 22, Indian and Northern Affairs, Accession A-1-A, Volume 1340, File 40-10-4, Part 4, Educational Policy in the Northwest Territories, "Memo to Mr. Gordon from Director, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, re: Education," 21 January 1964.

57 NWTA, Collection 331, Northwest Territories Department of the Executive Fonds, Accession G-1988-004, Box 8, Oral History—Transcripts Teachers (Harper), "Interview with Kenn Harper," 31 May 1979.

58 NWTA, Collection 331, Northwest Territories Department of the Executive Fonds, Accession G-1988-004, Box 5, Oral History—Transcripts Teachers Mc-S, "Interview with Elizabeth Simms, re: a history of Northern education," 9 June 1981.

59 Quppirualuk Padluq, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 30 January 2008.

60 Geela Akulukjak, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 14 May 2008.

61 July Papatsie, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 27 November 2008.

62 "Eskimo Language – Worthy or Worthless?" *Edmonton Journal*, 15 March 1967.

63 Elizabeth Kyak, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 10 December 2008.

64 Elizabeth Kyak, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 10 December 2008.

65 McGregor, Inuit *Education and Schools*, 55 and 68.

66 Paul Quassa, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 12 September 2008.

67 Louis-Jacques Dorais, *The Language of Inuit: Syntax, Semantics, and Society in the Arctic* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 195.

68 John J. and Irma Honigmann, *Eskimo Townsmen* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, University of Ottawa, 1965), 157, 158, and 247.

69 The "fundamental rights" denied to Inuit parents is a reference to Article 13 of the United Nations International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (see private collection: Mark Gustafson, personal papers, "Memorandum to NTI from Mark Gustafson, re: Aboriginal Rights in Relation to Language and, in Particular, in relation to Language in Education," 14 October 2008).

70 Louis Uttak, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 12 September 2008.

71 Jeannie Mike, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 14 May 2008.

72 Rosemarie Kuptana, "Ilira, or Why it was Unthinkable for Inuit to Challenge qallunaat Authority," *Inuit Art Quarterly 8*, 3 (Fall 1993), 7.

73 Mary Battye, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 14 May 2008.

74 Elisapee Ootoova, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 11 December 2008.

75 Peterosie Qarpik, Oral History, Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 11 April 2005.

76 Annie Paingut Peterloosie, Oral History, Qikiqtani Inuit Association, [n.d.].

77 Qikiqtani Truth Commission, *Iglulirinig: Housing in Qikiqtaaluk*, 1950–1975 (Iqaluit: Inhabit Media Inc., 2013), online at https://dam-oclc.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/7c3fd4d7-a133-44fa-9ea6-fe7276c292fe, accessed 12 May 2023.

78 Milton Freeman, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 4 June 2009.

Foreword (2013)

As President of the Qikiqtani Inuit Association, I am pleased to present the long-awaited set of reports of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission.

The *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Community Histories 1950–1975* and *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Thematic Reports and Special Studies* represent the Inuit experience during this colonial period, as told by Inuit. These reports offer a deeper understanding of the motivations driving government decisions and the effects of those decisions on the lives of Inuit, effects which are still felt today.

This period of recent history is very much alive to Qikiqtaalungmiut, and through testifying at the Commission, Inuit spoke of our experience of that time. These reports and supporting documents are for us. This work builds upon the oral history and foundation Inuit come from as told by Inuit, for Inuit, to Inuit.

On a personal level this is for the grandmother I never knew, because she died in a sanatorium in Hamilton; this is for my grandchildren, so that they can understand what our family has experienced; and it is also for the young people of Canada, so that they will also understand our story.

As it is in my family, so it is with many others in our region.

The Qikiqtani Truth Commission is a legacy project for the people of our region and QIA is proud to have been the steward of this work.

Aingai,

E7-1865

J. Okalik Eegeesiak, President, Qikiqtani Inuit Association

Introduction to the Work of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission

This work began with the breaking of a long silence. In the 1990s, Inuit made great strides in taking charge of their own affairs through the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the creation of Nunavut. They were then ready to examine the past, including the harm done during the period of greatest change, from 1950 to 1975. They wanted to understand more about their own lives and those lived by their parents, grandparents, and siblings in an era that was profoundly marked by game laws, residential schools, medical evacuations, substantial population movements, and broken promises about housing and jobs. One especially sensitive source of anguish and disturbing memories was the government's campaign to eliminate qimmiit (Inuit sled dogs) from the settlements. Qimmiit were often shot without warning by the RCMP and others, leaving many people without any means of winter transportation. In a culture where qimmiit were vital to hunting and travel, and valued as companions, this campaign struck very close to the well-being of every Inuit family. The history is still a painful wound for many Inuit in the Qikiqtani Region.

For a long time, many Inuit grieved in silence. Others spoke out in anger, aware that their experiences seemed to follow a pattern that was hard to decipher, but was important for understanding the problems in communities today. These feelings led the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) to interview Elders in 2004 about various issues related to moving into settlements. In 2007, the QIA created the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC), a forum where Inuit could speak openly about difficult events in the decades after the Second World War and understand more about how communities took shape and the true costs of the changes. The QTC's investigation had two closely related activities. The first was to gather testimonies about events between 1950 and 1975 from Inuit who had lived through this difficult period, as well as from their children who continue to remember the suffering of their parents and other relatives. Commissioner Igloliorte and QTC staff travelled to all thirteen communities in the Qikiqtani Region between January 2008 and May 2009, and invited all interested residents to share their memories and feelings about how their lives had changed. They also held hearings for the Inuit community in Ottawa, and paid return visits to all communities in early 2010 to report on findings and ask for comments on proposed recommendations. Including interviews that the QIA had already conducted in 2004, the QTC had testimonies from approximately 350 individuals. Hearings were conducted with more flexibility than normal legal proceedings, but to emphasize the seriousness of the task, Commissioner Igloliorte asked all witnesses to affirm that they would tell the truth to the best of their knowledge. He also respected the decision made by a few individuals to keep their experiences private.

In addition to learning about events and impacts through testimonies, the Qikiqtani Truth Commission also completed an extensive archival research program and interviewed Qallunaat who worked in the region during this period. Among the people interviewed were several retired RCMP officers, government officials, and academic researchers.

The Evidence

THE WITNESSES

The QTC is indebted to the many men and women who attended meetings and opened their homes to give their testimonies. People welcomed the commission warmly into their communities and spoke freely and honestly about their lives. Without their testimonies, the commission would not have been able to fully appreciate what happened to Inuit during this period of immense transition. They also provided very thoughtful and constructive feedback and suggestions regarding the kind of recommendations that would promote reconciliation between Inuit and government. A full list of individuals is included in the List of Witnesses on the QTC website.

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS

The QTC's research team collected and reviewed accessible archival and secondary sources for the period in focus, 1950 to 1975. This included examinations of relevant records from Library and Archives Canada, as well as the Archives of the Northwest Territories, the RCMP, the Hudson's Bay Company, and Anglican and Roman Catholic bodies. Thousands of documents were digitized for the QTC's research database.

MAPS

Maps provide important details about how Inuit lived and used the territories surrounding their present-day communities. These maps reject a common idea in the south that the Arctic is "empty." In addition to showing the sites of ilagiit nunagivaktangit, details on twentieth-century maps include place names indicating how Inuit knew and utilized the land, along with their travel routes, and the best places for hunting. This kind of information began to be set down on paper before 1840. However, some of the most thorough maps are those created by Inuit for the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (1976) and the Nunavut Atlas (1992).

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION (2024 EDITION)

The reports drafted in 2010 for the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) were prepared under the direction of James Igloliorte, Commissioner, and Madeleine Redfern, Executive Director, QTC. The Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) project managers in 2013 were Bethany Scott, Navarana Beveridge, and Sandra Kownak.

The primary authors of most reports were Julie Harris, Contentworks Inc. and Philip P. Goldring, Ph.D. Writing and research support was provided by Joan Bard Miller, Francis Levésque, Ryan Shackleton, Frank J. Tester, Anna Gilmer, Alice Glaze, Teresa Iacobelli, Natascha Morrison, Linda Radford, Dr. Yvonne Boyer, and Brian Cameron.

The translation team for the reports produced in 2013 included Jay Arnakak, Mali Curley, Julia Demcheson, Veronica Dewar, Elisapee Ikkidluak, Emily Illnik, David Joanasie, Leonie Kappi, Pujjuut Kusugak, Nina Tootoo, and Blandina Tulugarjuk. Additional translation for the 2024 editions was provided by Ruth Kadlutsiak.

The work of the QTC would not have been possible without the financial support of the following organizations: Qikiqtani Inuit Association; Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated; Makivik Corporation; Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation; First Air; Air Inuit; Unaalik Aviation; Kenn Borek Air Ltd.

The 2024 editions of the QTC reports were prepared by Julie Harris, Augatnaaq Eccles, Zarina Laalo and Anne Brazeau of Contentworks Inc. under the direction of Inukshuk Aksalnik, Jennifer Ipirq, and Simon Cuerrier of QIA.

For many years, Inuit Elders in the Qikiqtani (Baffin) Region have been haunted by a deep sense of loss as they remember how their lives changed in the decades after 1950. The thematic reports and special studies in this collection explore themes that emerged during the work of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission. What started as an inquiry into the slaughter of sled dogs quickly grew to include other experiences of profound colonial change.

Commissioner James Igloliorte's Final Report, titled *Achieving Saimaqatigiingniq*, and 22 companion thematic and historical reports published by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association in Inuktitut and English weave together evidence from testimonies and documents collected during the Qikiqtani Truth Commission about the consequential 1950–1975 period.

QTC Report Collection

Aaniajurliriniq: Health Care in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

Achieving Saimaqatiqiingniq: Final Report of the Commissioner of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission

Analysis of the RCMP Sled Dog Report

Igluliriniq: Housing in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

Illinniarniq: Schooling in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

Nuutauniq: Moves in Inuit Life in the Qikiqtani Region to 1975

Paliisikkut: Policing in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

Pivalliajuliriniq: Economic Development in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

Qimmiliriniq: Inuit Sled Dogs in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

The Official Mind of Canadian Colonialism

Arctic Bay (Ikpiarjuk) Community History, 1950–1975

Clyde River (Kangiqtugaapik) Community History, 1950–1975

Grise Fiord (Ausuittuq) Community History, 1950–1975

Igloolik Community History, 1950–1975

Iqaluit Community History, 1950–1975

Kimmirut Community History, 1950–1975

Kinngait Community History, 1950–1975

Pangnirtung Community History, 1950–1975

Pond Inlet (Mittimatalik) Community History, 1950–1975

Qikiqtarjuaq Community History, 1950–1975

Resolute Community History, 1950–1975

Sanikiluaq Community History, 1950–1975

Sanirajak Community History, 1950–1975

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QIKIQTANI TRUTH COMMISSION