









Qikiqtani Inuit Association

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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 the Photographs



Visual representation, through film and photography, is not objective. Viewers have no idea what occurred in the moments just before or just after a photo was taken, nor are they privy to what was left on the cutting-room floor. The context in which a photo was taken can affect or change what viewers feel when they engage with the photograph. During his review of the community history of Resolute Bay, John Amagoalik,

picture can be worth a thousand words, however...

executive advisor at the Qikiqtani Inuit Association, recounted a story that drives this point home.



The woman in this photograph is my mother. This photograph was taken when Governor General Vanier visited Resolute in the late 1950s or early '60s. A few weeks before he arrived, they came around to all of our homes and told our mothers that the children had to be clean-looking when Vanier arrived. If that meant sewing new kamiiks or parkas, so be it.

The day Vanier arrived, they came into our home and ordered my mother to go out and play music for him. And they ordered us children outside to dance.

Readers are asked to be mindful of the fact that what you think you see in these historical photographs does not reveal the context in which the photograph was taken.











Foreword

s 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 Iqaluit, Nunavut 2013









Preface

he Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) was established by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) to create a more accurate and balanced history of the decisions and events that affected Inuit living in the Qikiqtani (formerly Baffin) region in the decades following 1950, and to document the impacts on Inuit life. Some of the changes imposed on Inuit in these years were: their relocations from ilagiit nunagivaktangat to permanent settlements; the deaths of qimmiit, which reduced their ability to hunt and support their families; the removal of Inuit children from families for extended periods of time; and the tragic separation of families due to the lack of medical services in the North.

Many people, including Inuit and other scholars, have recognized that too much Canadian writing about the North hides social, cultural, and economic turmoil behind lovely photographs, lists of individual achievements, and nationalist narratives. In more recent years, this has been changing. Newer histories, including this QIA community-driven initiative, are putting Inuit experiences at the forefront, explaining what happened to people in a wide historical sense and in their frequent face-to-face exchanges with incomers.

From the outset, the QTC was determined to create a lasting legacy that could be used to support further research. It set out to create three parallel sets of records: a collection of historic textual materials organized in a database; digitally preserved oral testimonies with summaries; and customized histories from oral and textual sources of evidence. For this work, the QTC determined that it needed experienced professional historians who could connect stories from present-day witnesses to Inuit voices in documentary sources, and to written records produced by the government, researchers, and others. The purpose was to devise narratives linking Inuit knowledge and experience with the kinds of evidence more generally used by the wider Canadian research community. The Qikiqtaalungmiut who commissioned, funded, and managed the work expected that it would be within the main streams of Canadian scholarship, using a wide variety of sources. They were adamant that the goal was to communicate a better understanding of the past, not to assign blame or find fault.

These histories represent the collaborative efforts of a team that was responsible for research, information management, and writing. Work for the QTC began at the end of 2007. The team surveyed numerous archival collections, copying from them abundantly and scanning the results for inclusion in the QTC's database. They read deeply and widely in the literature of Inuit studies, focusing especially on individual communities. They spoke to QIA board members, attended several QTC hearings, and viewed video records, translations, transcripts, and notes from the 342 testimonies. They also interviewed academic researchers and talked continuously and repeatedly with Inuit experts. More personally, they tried to examine how their own training, motivations, and biases affected the way they read, listened to, and used the historical record. They looked at the way other social scientists have met the challenges of using evidence from community narrators and attempted to follow best practices.

Throughout the QTC phase of the work, from 2007 to 2010, the historical research and writing team was kept informed and challenged by the QTC's executive director, Madeleine Redfern. They also had regular communications with Commissioner James Igloliorte, QIA executive director Terry

Audla, and other QIA staff, especially Joanasie Akumalik. They were also helped and queried by colleagues in numerous disciplines, such as Yvonne Boyer (Aboriginal law), Carole Cancel (linguistics), Francis Lévesque (anthropology), Marianne McLean (history), Linda Radford (education), and Frank James Tester (social work and history).

In 2012, after the Commission had issued its final report, the QIA's board of directors and President Okalik Eegeesiak chose to complete the twenty-two histories and thematic studies. During this QIA phase, the writers received valued guidance from QIA executive director Navarana Beveridge and QTC project manager Bethany Scott.

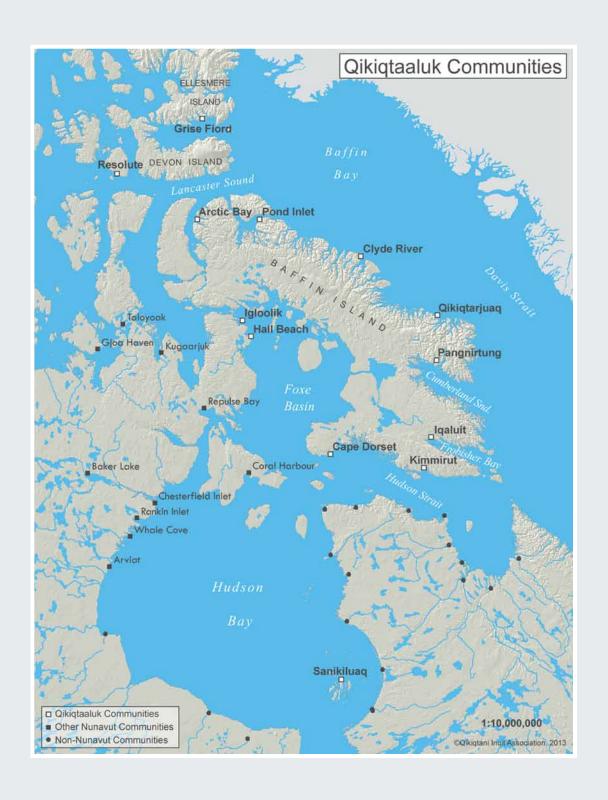
This project is part of the robust and intellectually stimulating tradition of studying Canadian "colonialism" in the North as something other than simple manifest destiny. Many share the view that Aboriginal rights, public memory, and government accountability have to be near the centre of studies of Canada's past. In preparing the histories, QTC researchers followed the important precedent set by the community approach used by the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (ILUOP), a team effort led by Milton Freeman and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami) in the 1970s. While the scope of the QTC was smaller and more condensed than that of the ILUOP, it also sought to underline the distinctiveness of groups in Qikiqtaaluk within a larger Inuit identity. ILUOP researchers who testified to the QTC, notably Freeman himself, Hugh Brody, and George Wenzel, had a direct impact on the work. In other ways, these reports also took insights from the Life Stories of Northern Leaders series and the other contemporary scholars not already mentioned above, including Nelson Graburn, Shelagh Grant, Bill Kemp, Peter Kulchyski, Louis McComber, Ann McElroy, and Peter Usher. Their publications gave us confidence and factual grounding for reporting and explaining events.

Canadians generally want truth and reconciliation to proceed together. Many people understand that bad processes and harsh consequences can occur, even where there was no desire to do harm. The QTC histories focus on

Inuit experiences, but there is much more to say about the events and people who were working in the region in the service of the state, the churches, or private ventures. There are shared histories as well as separate histories that are necessary to keep dialogues going. Everyone involved in this project hopes that the QTC histories will serve as a springboard for others, especially Inuit, to return to the testimonies and the thousands of archival documents in the QTC database to carry on with the important work of incorporating Inuit knowledge and perspectives into curriculum products, scholarship, and creative works.

In 1976, the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Report described its researchers' desire "to provide an explicit statement—by the Inuit—of their perception of the man-land relationship." In 2013, the QTC histories have a similar purpose concerning the relations of people with their government. It is a more fluid relationship than the one linking Inuit to their land, but it is important, and will be for years to come.

Such histories always contain errors, omissions, and misinterpretations. Readers are encouraged to bring them to the attention of the QIA for future printed and online editions, and to assist anyone who wants to use the histories in their own work.



The Work of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission

his book is the guide to nine special studies and thirteen community histories produced for the Qikiqtani Truth Commission's use. Many of these communities have not previously been the subject of such detailed histories.

The QTC's 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 or compensation 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. 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 knowl-

edge. He also respected the decision made by a few individuals to keep their experiences private.

In addition to learning about events and impacts through Inuit testimonies, the 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 was 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.

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS

The QTC's research team collected and reviewed accessible archival and secondary sources on the period. 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

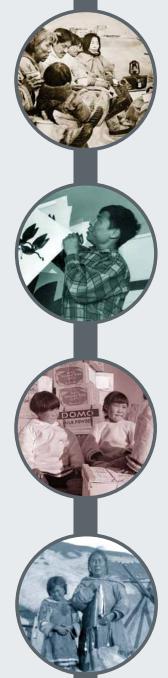
and Roman Catholic bodies. They read deeply and widely in the literature of Inuit studies, focusing especially on individual communities. Thousands of documents were digitized for the QTC's research database.

MAPS

Maps provide important details about how Inuit have lived and have 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 used the land, along with their travel routes, the best places for hunting and the animals taken there. 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).

About the Community Histories

n 2007, the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) commissioned a unique initiative: an Inuit-led and Inuit-funded inquiry into the profound changes that were imposed on Inuit in the Qikiqtaaluk region between 1950 and 1975. Before this period, Qikiqtaaluk Inuit lived in more than one hundred small, family-based groups that moved seasonally to use the resources of the land around their ilagiit nunagivaktangit. By 1975, almost all Inuit lived in thirteen government-created permanent settlements. The speed and scope of the changes, over which they had little or no control, led to unnecessary hardship and poor social, health, and education outcomes for Inuit. The Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) was tasked by the QIA with creating an accurate history of decisions and events that affected Qikiqtaaluk Inuit between 1950 and 1975, and to document the impacts on Inuit life.



The Qikiqtaaluk region covers a wide geographical area, with a diversity of terrains and climates. The northernmost community, Grise Fiord on Ellesmere Island, is situated in a dramatic landscape of mountains and fiords, and is one of the coldest communities on earth, with the sea frozen for ten months of the year. Sanikiluaq, the southernmost community, is located in a large archipelago of low, rocky islands in Hudson Bay where summer temperatures average around 10 degrees Celsius. Such variations, with accompanying differences in availability of game, have helped shape quite distinct ways of life.

Each of these community histories begins with a discussion of the landscapes that sustained people who now live in the hamlet or city, and considers the local conditions that led people to move away from full-time hunting and trapping. The histories are organized into three time periods. The first is "Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta," which means "when we lived on the land." The second is "Sangussaqtauliqtilluta," which means "the time when we started to be actively persuaded (or made to) detour (or switch modes)." The final time period is "Nunalinnguqtitauliqtilluta," which means "the time when we were actively (by outside force) formed into communities." The story of each community within these time periods is different, but there are many common elements.

The thirteen Qikiqtaaluk communities are listed here in alphabetical order. Each name is hyperlinked to a downloadable copy of that community's history.

Arctic Bay	Igloolik	Qikiqtarjuaq
Cape Dorset	lqaluit	Resolute Bay
Clyde River	Kimmirut	Sanikiluaq
Grise Fiord	Pangnirtung	
Hall Beach	Pond Inlet	

About the Special Studies

he nine Special Studies provide more detailed examinations of topics covered in "Achieving Saimaqatigiingniq."

ANALYSIS OF THE RCMP SLED DOG REPORT

This report examines the RCMP's 2006 report on the killings of qimmiit in communities in Nunavut and Northern Quebec between 1950 and 1970. The origins of the RCMP report date back to the late 1990s, when the deeply felt grief about the killings of qimmiit led a number of Inuit to publicly charge that the RCMP had been acting under government orders, so that they would lose their mobility and any possibility of returning to their traditional way of life. In 2005, the federal government rejected a parliamentary committee's advice to call an independent inquiry into the killings, and instead asked the RCMP to investigate itself. The resulting RCMP Sled Dogs









Report confirmed that hundreds and perhaps thousands of qimmiit were killed by RCMP members and other authorities in the 1950s and 1960s. However, as the QTC analysis of this report points out, the RCMP took a narrow approach to their investigation. They focused on whether particular actions by RCMP members were sanctioned by legislation and concluded that the killings were legal. They also looked for but did not find patterns that might show that RCMP actions were directed toward forcing Inuit off the land and into settlements. In addition, much of its analysis was directed toward discrediting Inuit memories and interpretations of how, why, and by whom the qimmiit were killed at that time.

While the QTC also found no evidence of a conspiracy to force Inuit off the land by killing their qimmiit, it did find a series of interconnected government policies and laws put into effect and enforced by the RCMP that quickly undermined traditional Inuit ways of living. When authorities in Ottawa revised the Northwest Territory's Ordinance Respecting Dogs in 1949–50, they effectively outlawed traditional Inuit ways of handling qimmiit, wherever this seemed to conflict with the needs or practices of a growing Qallunaat population. The Ordinance was inextricably linked to other actions, laws, and policies affecting Inuit, most of whom were drawn into settlements. The standard government policy was to assume Inuit must, at their own expense, accommodate newcomers' needs and wants.

The QTC's analysis concludes that the government of Canada failed in its obligations to Inuit when it placed restrictions on their use of qimmiit without involving Inuit directly in finding ways to make restrictions less onerous or in finding mutually acceptable solutions to real or perceived threats posed by qimmiit in their new surroundings.

THE OFFICIAL MIND OF CANADIAN COLONIALISM

"The Official Mind of Canadian Colonialism" explores the beliefs of government officials who oversaw the transformation of Qikiqtaaluk. Underlying the policies they proposed and implemented in the North was a firm conviction that progress was inevitable, and that it was the government's role to ensure Inuit had access to the benefits enjoyed by all Canadian citizens. At the beginning of the period, there were two opposing views of how this should be accomplished. One was that Inuit should be encouraged to continue with their traditional way of life, while taking advantage of better health care and employment opportunities offered in the Qallunaat settlements. The second, opposing view was that Inuit were destined to leave the land and be assimilated into a new northern economy focused on military installations and mineral, oil, and gas exploitation. By 1960, the latter view had become dominant, and Inuit were increasingly encouraged to move into permanent settlements, where it was cheaper for the government to provide education, health care, and other services. The many harmful results of this transformation of Inuit life were in part due to ignorance. While officials were committed to promoting the well-being of Inuit and claimed to respect their culture, few had any experience of life in Qikiqtaaluk. Equally important, during most of this period, is that there were no serious or consistent attempts to consult with Inuit about the programs they devised.

ILLINIARNIQ: SCHOOLING IN QIKIQTAALUK

"Schooling" describes how a centuries-old way of bringing up children was replaced by an educational system that ignored Inuit realities, culture, and expectations, and failed in its goal of preparing Inuit to find places in a wage

economy. Traditional Inuit education was founded on observation and practice of the skills required for life on the land. In the first half of the twentieth century, some formal education was provided on a sporadic basis by missionaries. After the Second World War, however, the Canadian government began developing a structured, regulated system of schooling for the region, modelled on provincial education programs in southern Canada.

The construction of day schools and hostels proved to be a major catalyst for the movement of Inuit into the settlements. Initially, government officials believed that Inuit would leave their children in the hostels for the school year, and then return to their ilagiit nunagivaktangit. Parents, however, were unwilling to do this, and moved into the settlements to be near their children. The curriculum that children were taught had no relevance to life in the North, and was delivered exclusively in English. The result was a cultural and generational divide between parents and children. This divide was even sharper and more painful for families whose children were sent away to residential schools. 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." Even on its own terms, schooling in Qikiqtaaluk was a failure in this period, because it rarely gave people the skills and knowledge they needed to fully participate in the economic changes that were planned for their communities. Men were trained for manual labour positions, and women for secretarial and institutional work, and there were never enough jobs available even at these lower levels.

NUUTAUNIQ: MOVES IN INUIT LIFE

For centuries, Inuit were mobile, moving seasonally in a symbiotic relationship with the land and its resources. After 1950, the nature of Inuit mobility changed dramatically. The report on mobility examines a mix of voluntary, pressured, and forced moves between 1950 and 1975, usually in response to

government priorities. Many of these cases involved the coercion of families to leave ilagiit nunagivaktangit and live in settlements, or to send their children to school in settlements, often by threats of losing access to health care or family allowances. In cases of voluntary relocations, Inuit were often given assurances that they would find housing, proper schooling, income support, and health care. Some people misunderstood what they were told, but others were given empty promises. Other cases included individuals who were required to move south for extended periods for education or health care, evacuations of ilagiit nunagivaktangit to other locations in real or perceived emergencies, and the closing of communities.

Every Inuk who appeared before the QTC testified to the traumatic effects of relocations, medical evacuations, or schooling. Many expressed frustration that the government made decisions without asking Inuit and without addressing the consequences of the decisions. They felt deep cultural and personal losses resulting from severing family ties and ties to the land, and anger that a substantial amount of Inuit culture and land-based knowledge was lost in exchange for unfulfilled promises. The archival record demonstrates that Inuit were not consulted, that they did not understand the full implications of the moves they were asked or compelled to make, and that very little was done to address the negative effects of moves, especially with respect to housing.

PALIISIKKUT: POLICING IN QIKIQTAALUK

The RCMP and Inuit have a long shared history in Qikiqtaaluk, dating back to the early 1920s when the RCMP first arrived. "Policing" documents this relationship, one that has been fraught with complications and misunderstandings. Until the 1960s, the core responsibilities of the RCMP were to visit ilagiit nunagivaktangit to report on health and economic conditions, register births and deaths, deliver family benefits, investigate complaints

and game ordinance violations, and deliver the mail. The RCMP relied on Inuit appointed as special constables to guide them, feed their dogs, and interpret Inuktitut. With the growth of permanent settlements, RCMP relinquished their official social welfare duties to new administrators and focused primarily on enforcement of laws, including the Dog Ordinance, as described above. As so many testimonies to the QTC demonstrated, the killing of qimmiit proved to be one of the most damaging divides between Inuit and the RCMP. Strict enforcement of game laws, in the name of wild-life conservation, was another source of resentment and mistrust. Inuit saw RCMP officers as powerful and threatening agents in the community who could dictate to Inuit where to go, what to hunt, and how to behave.

Many QTC testimonies express the sense of awe or fear (illira) in which Inuit held RCMP officers, which led them into doing things they did not want to do, such as move graves, tie up dogs, send children to settlement or residential schools, visit the annual medical ship, take unwanted jobs, and move from ilagiit nunagivaktangit to the settlements.

PIVALLIAJULIRINIQ: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN QIKIQTAALUK

"Economic Development" examines the transformation of the region's economy from one of hunting and trapping primarily for local benefit, toward one designed by southern planners with the interests of the South in mind. Economic development was a major motive for concentrating Inuit in the thirteen Qikiqtaaluk communities. The strategy in broad terms was to build infrastructure such as schools, housing, diesel generators, landing strips, and navigation aids; to encourage local hiring for mining and other development projects where possible; and, as in the days of the fur trade, to organize production of other exports. However, the very slow pace of development, along with the shift of people from the land to the settlements, resulted in

widespread unemployment or underemployment. Exploitation of minerals, oil, and gas, in particular, did not live up to expectations in this period.

Initially, training to prepare Inuit for the new economy focused mainly on trades. However, the development of community organizations, first in Igaluit and then in the smaller communities, helped to prepare Inuit for higher-level jobs in sectors such as local retailing; trading in renewable resources; production and sale of carvings, prints, weaving, and sewing; and tourism. Cooperatives, first developed as vehicles for the sale of arts and crafts, and later expanded to market a wide range of services, proved to be successful vehicles for local economic development led by Inuit. Despite the impediments posed by settlement life, many Inuit continue to this day to value hunting as a foundation of their local economy, and where possible, combine hunting with wage employment. As expressed in a 1989 statement by the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut: "... we want to design a society and economy that enables us to participate effectively in the old ways based on the land and its bounty, as well as in the new ways based on space-age technology and world-wide communication."

IGLULIRINIO: HOUSING IN OIKIOTAALUK

Government promises about the quality and cost of housing were an important factor in convincing families that it might be worthwhile to move into a settlement. One of the most consistent themes of Inuit testimony to the QTC was that these promises were not kept. The report on "Housing" demonstrates that successive government housing programs for most of this period failed to meet their objectives, and that Inuit were never consulted about appropriate and affordable accommodation. The Eskimo Housing Loan Program, launched in 1959, was a rent-to-own scheme that attempted to keep costs low by offering small "matchbox" houses that were unsuitable for the Inuit lifestyle and poorly constructed. These houses were unaffordable for most Inuit who subsisted on hunting and seasonal employment, and by 1965, 90 per cent of Inuit who were contracted to buy houses had failed to make payments. This program was replaced by the Eskimo Rental Housing Program, with rentals based on income and housing type, and administered by housing councils intended to give Inuit a voice in housing options. The system was complex, and testimonies to the QTC show that many Inuit felt they had been misled by false promises of low rents that would not increase.

Government programs were never able to keep up with demand for housing in this period, and another common theme in QTC testimonies was the frequent delays finding housing once a family moved to a community. Often, Inuit spent months and even years after they moved to permanent settlements living in tents and other temporary dwellings, which were sometimes not sufficiently winterized. In the 1950s, poor housing was repeatedly identified as a leading cause of high rates of illness among Inuit. Although one of the goals of government housing programs was to provide homes that would improve health outcomes, overcrowding and poor ventilation in settlement houses were major factors in high rates of tuberculosis and infant mortality.

AANIAJURLIRNIQ: HEALTH CARE IN QIKIQTAALUK

After the Second World War, the government's recognition of Inuit as Canadians entitled to the full benefits of citizenship resulted in a new focus on Inuit health. "Health Care" describes the evolution and impacts of government health care programs in Qikiqtaaluk from 1950 to 1975, and the health issues Inuit faced as a result of life in the settlements. Beginning in the 1920s, the Eastern Arctic Patrol (EAP) provided limited medical services to Inuit during its annual visits to RCMP posts. After 1945, the EAP and its medical facilities became crucial to carrying out the government's policy

for treating an epidemic of tuberculosis among Inuit. After 1950, medical personnel on the new medical patrol ship C.D. Howe screened Inuit for TB and other infectious diseases or ailments, and took away those found to be infected, for treatment in southern Canada. The human cost of this policy of medical evacuation was high: many Inuit testified to the QTC about the fear and sadness they experienced while isolated in southern hospitals, as well as the lasting pain of never seeing relatives again.

Following the creation of Indian and Northern Health Services in 1946, a chain of outport nursing stations was established in Qikiqtaaluk communities, first in Cape Dorset and Kimmirut, and later in Igaluit (1955), Hall Beach (1957), Cambridge Bay (1958), and Kuujjuarapik (1962). In remote areas, these provided a variety of care, including some dentistry, mental health care, counselling, pre- and post-natal care, and local public health inspections, as well as public health education. In more populated communities, such as Iqaluit, nurses would screen patients and perform diagnostic tests that visiting specialists followed up on. The establishment of nursing stations, as well as a hospital in Igaluit in 1964, reduced the need for the EAP, which came to an end in 1969. Overall, government programs in this period were relatively successful in controlling tuberculosis and improving access to regular health care for Inuit. However, the policy of centralization produced a new range of negative health effects among Inuit, including many physical ailments associated with poor nutrition and overcrowded or substandard housing, as well as high rates of suicide and substance abuse.

QIMMILIRINIQ: INUIT SLED DOGS IN OIKIOTAALUK

This study expands on the role of qimmiit in Inuit economy and culture, the management of qimmiit in the period when Inuit were moving into settlements, and the harm done to relations between Inuit and the RCMP and other government agencies by the killings of qimmiit.

"Since time began, the dogs have been the most important possession of Inuit," one Inuk testified to the QTC. In winter, qimmiit pulled hunters and their equipment for long distances, helping to locate game and brought it back to ilagiit nunagivaktangit or trading posts. During storms or blizzards, qimmiit could track scents to follow paths. They were also able to recognize dangerous area on the ice, and protected hunters against polar bear attacks.

As Inuit moved into settlements in the 1950s and 1960s, jobs, houses, and schools all worked against the keeping of qimmiit, and they began to lose their central place in Inuit life. While qimmiit were still necessary for families wanting to return to the land to hunt, the requirements of the Ordinance were difficult to comply with and detrimental to the health of the dogs. There were no serious attempts to consult Inuit about other ways of accommodating qimmiit in settlements. Instead, qimmiit were shot when they were found loose, or when they were deemed sick. By the mid-1970s, almost every team of qimmiit in Qikiqtaaluk had been destroyed. This study documents the fate of qimmiit in each of the thirteen Qikiqtaaluk communities, and draws on the QTC testimonies as well as the archival record to demonstrate the anger, shame, and feelings of powerlessness caused by the killings.

In their testimonies to the QTC, many Inuit spoke of the relief they felt in unburdening themselves of the painful memories of this period. It is the QIA's hope that these nine reports will help Inuit and Qallunaat alike to continue the process of understanding and healing. As these studies make clear, the history of Qikiqtaaluk between 1950 and 1975 is a complex one. This work will have served its purpose if it challenges readers to further explore the significance of the personal stories and archival evidence uncovered by the QTC, and to investigate new sources that will provide insight into the period.

About the Future

he work of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission is all about the future as well as the past. The Commissioner noted this in his final report, Achieving Saimaqatigiingniq. The witness statements and the work of the Commission itself provide opportunities for change that will help heal the wounds that remain from this period of cultural, social and economic transformation, promote recognition of the worth of Inuit culture and reconciliation with Qallunaat institutions, and contribute to numerous efforts being made by Inuit to take control of their futures from now on.

These opportunities make it important for people to continue to read and understand the information gathered by the Commission. There should be many audiences. They include the Inuit of Qikiqtani region themselves, especially young people in school who need to know and understand their own history. It is also important for Qallunaat, both in Nunavut and in the rest of Canada, to read about the experiences of Inuit, given in their own words. Finally, it is important for anyone interested in the history of the Qikiqtaluk region to use these community histories and special studies to begin exploring more deeply into the recent past and to continue the work of writing their own history.







List of Witnesses

QTC INTERVIEWS (2008–2010)





Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Arctic Bay	Akikuluk	George	اده۹ک	40,
Arctic Bay	Akumalik	Mucktar	ddL⊂b	L₽Ċ ^q ₽
Arctic Bay	Alooloo	Sarah	ذد⊳	イクケ
Arctic Bay	Attagutaaluk	Mary	⊲⊂اد⊂َےه	「 4c
Arctic Bay	lpeelie	Ataguttak	$\triangleleft \triangle \land \subset$	⊲CJ _c C _p
Arctic Bay	Issigaittuq	Jobie	Δ / Δ C 56	ήV
Arctic Bay	Kalluk	David	p _c ¬ _p	CΔ6c
Arctic Bay	Kalluk	David	p _c ¬ _p	$C\Delta \delta^c$
Arctic Bay	Kaujak	Pauloosie	p⊳r>p	\د<>>
Arctic Bay	Kilabuk	Tommy	⁵ PC<<	ĊГ
Arctic Bay	Komangapik	Qaunaq	۲dL∿ڶ∧ه	^ç ₽⊳₅⊄ _е
Arctic Bay	Koonoo	lpeelie	d_o _P	$\triangleleft \triangle \wedge \subset$
Arctic Bay	Kugitikakjuk	lkey	₽JċUŖď⊀₽	⊲∆ρ
Arctic Bay	Kugutikakjuk	Olayuk	₽JcUp≀≺₽	Þċڔۥ

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Arctic Bay	Okadlak	Leah	⊳₁p。⊂₽	- ⊲
Arctic Bay	Olayuk	Simeonie	Þċᢣ	7LÞQ
Arctic Bay	Oyukuluk	Koonoo	⊳49⊃ _P	d_p
Arctic Bay	Oyukuluk	Moses	トロト	」 ノイ
Arctic Bay	Qavavouq	Lisha	⁵ b≪≪⊳ ⁵	دΔ۲
Arctic Bay	Qavavouq	Tagoona	⁵ b≪≪⊳ ⁵	CJ¿Ç¿P
Arctic Bay	Shooyook	Isaac	رباحه	⊲∆∖₽
Arctic Bay	Taqtu	Juda	CdpD	√C
Arctic Bay	Tatatuapik	Tommy	$CcOdV_{\rho}$	ĊГ
Arctic Bay	Tattatuapik	Tommy	C _C C)	ĊГ
Arctic Bay	Tunraq	Rhoda	う ^ҁ ∿し ^ҁ ь	کٺ⊲
Cape Dorset	Akesuk	Miluqtituttuq	√P	L¬ ₂₀ U⊃ ₂₀
Cape Dorset	Ejetsiak	Ejetsiak (Zeke)	∇ \forall c \forall d 2p	∇>c\ - (\\ \cdot \bar\)
Cape Dorset	Etungat	Ishuqangituq		Δ 5 6 6 6 7 6
Cape Dorset	Kelly	Sandy	PdC	'n°∩
Cape Dorset	Kellypalik	Mangitak	٩ρ근<<근٥	Γ_{ρ}
Cape Dorset	Nungusuituk	Qimmiataq	ᢀ᠘ᠺ᠐ᡧ	⁴ ριΓ⊲ ⁴ βĊ ⁴ β
Cape Dorset	Oshutsiaq	Omalluk	▷ \(\alpha \c \alpha \q \lambda \	⊳L-¬₀
Cape Dorset	Oshutsiaq	Simeonie	▷ \(\alpha \c \alpha \q \lambda \	7LÞQ
Cape Dorset	Ottokie	Pingwartuk	₽¢⊃°P	∧°℃₽₽
Cape Dorset	Padluq	Quppirualuk	く _こ つ _と	مر475م
Cape Dorset	Parr	Atiituq	<	dŲc⊃dp
Cape Dorset	Parr	Nuna	<	ഫ
Cape Dorset	Peter	Ejetsiak	ÀС	∇ \forall c1 \triangleleft c1 \triangleleft c1
Cape Dorset	Peter	Ningeochiak	ÀС	ᠸᡥᡳᢂᠬ
Cape Dorset	Pootoogook	Kananginaaq	>DJ ⁵⁶	₽Ġ _௴ ᡎᠲ
Cape Dorset	Pootoogook	Kanayuk	>>J ⁵⁶	Po√ _{12P}

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Cape Dorset	Pudlat	Qarpik	> ⁻ Cc	₽₽V₽
Cape Dorset	Qaqjurajuk	Laisa	^५ ८५८५५५	cΔ5
Cape Dorset	Qimirpik	Kellypalik	⁵ ρΓ ⁵ ⁶ Λ ⁶	⁵ ρ⊂ ⁵ 6<⊂ ⁶
Cape Dorset	Qimirpik	Aninrmiuq	² ρΓ ² ⁶ Λ ⁶	◁σˤ∿Γ▷ˤ♭
Cape Dorset	Saila	Meekeeseetee	۲∆ر	ር ይጓህ
Cape Dorset	Saila	Pauta	۲۵⊂	<>C
Cape Dorset	Samayualie	Anirmiuq	トロトトイクト	◁⁰σˤΓ▷ˤ⁰
Cape Dorset	Takpanugai	Quvianaqtuliaq	C _P <⊳್∩∇	⁵ d&40-50C456
Cape Dorset	Toonoo	Sheojuk	مر	∖⊳ ≺₅₽
Cape Dorset	Tunnillie	Tayara	Эσс	ርታና
Clyde River	Aipellee	Geelah	$\triangleleft \triangle \wedge \subset$	^ب کر
Clyde River	Aipellee	Loseeosee	$\triangleleft \triangle \wedge \subset$	トロント
Clyde River	Apak	Johanasie	< < b	√ 40₽√
Clyde River	Apak	Jonah		√ 0
Clyde River	Apak	Jayko		b∆d
Clyde River	Arreak	Aulaqiaq	₫ ~ ₫ ⁵	
Clyde River	Illauq	Arnaq	Δ ^c \subset \triangleright ^{q_b}	√40 ← 40 ← 40 ← 40 ← 40 ← 40 ← 40 ← 40 ←
Clyde River	Illauq	Joanasie	$\Delta^{c} \subset \triangleright^{q_{b}}$	4 ⊲₽ .
Clyde River	Illauq	Nicodemus	Δ c \triangleright Sb	-dUjγ
Clyde River	Illingayuk	Levi	Δ C $^{\circ}$ U $^{\varsigma_{b}}$	$\neg \emptyset \Delta$
Clyde River	Iqalukjuak	Peter	マュアファイクィャ	ΛĊ
Clyde River	Iqalukjuak	Jacobie	マィクファイクィャ	γ∇qV
Clyde River	Iqalukjuak	Moses	マュタファイクィャ	ゴ ヤイ
Clyde River	Iqaqrialu	Susan	᠘᠙᠘᠘᠘	<i>خنام</i> م
Clyde River	Iqaqrialu	Mary	᠘᠙᠘᠘᠘	「<<
Clyde River	Jaypoody	Sheba	ᢣ᠘᠌᠌ᠵ᠒	<i>با</i> <
Clyde River	Kautuk	Alooloo	p⊳⊃ _p	∿ذد⊳

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Clyde River	Kautuq	Elijah	₽⊳⊃⋴	ΔςΔγ
Clyde River	Kuniliusee	Hannah	do-C>√	H∢o
Clyde River	Kuniliusee	Peter	do-C>√	ΛĊ
Clyde River	Natanine	Leah	<u>څ</u> رم∆	- ⊲
Clyde River	Palituq	Sam	<;-c⊃ _e	نړړ
Clyde River	Palluq	Sivugat	く _こ つ _と	75Pc
Clyde River	Palluq	Jason	くっつぴ	ታΔ ጎ °
Clyde River	Paneak	Peter	<σ (σ<! </td <td>ÀС</td>	ÀС
Clyde River	Panipak	Oqqalak	< ♂ b<	⊳ _è , ⊂ _e
Clyde River	Panipak	Jacobie	< ♂ b<	ל∆d∧
Clyde River	Panniluk	Leah	< ♂ ⊅⁰	c ⊲
Clyde River	Panniluk	Thomasie	<57°	ĊLγ
Clyde River	Poisey	Angawasha	>4	⊲ უს∖⁰
Clyde River	Qillaq	lga	۶ρ-۲ _۵	⊲∆U
Clyde River	Qillaq	Mariah	۶ρ-۲ _۵	JSAb
Clyde River	Sanguya	Akitiq	५ %/৮	⊲PcU _{eP}
Clyde River	Sanguya	Hannah	\ ⁵ U>	H∢o
Clyde River	Tassugat	Paul	Chrc	<u> </u>
Grise Fiord	Akeeagok	Jaypeetee	⊲ 5₽ ⊲ 25₽	<u></u>
Grise Fiord	Audlaluk	Annie	⊲⊳۔دےہ	বঁত
Grise Fiord	Audlaluk	Larry	⊲⊳۔دے	こくし
Grise Fiord	Audlaluk	Annie	⊲⊳۔دے	বঁত
Grise Fiord	Kiguktak	Jarloo	PJPCdP	ر-۲۹
Grise Fiord	Kiguktak	Jopee	PJPCdP	ήV
Grise Fiord	Kiguktak	Meeka	ρ	ЃЬ
Hall Beach	Allianaq	Eunice	√ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √	<u>4</u> σΔγ
Hall Beach	Arnajuaq	Ben	ط ⁴ هـ ۲۹۹	V⊲ ₀

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Hall Beach	Ikeperiar	Jake	Δ P Λ α q q q	ᢣ᠘᠍ᡃ
Hall Beach	Irqittuq	Deborah	∇ℯρο⊃ℯρ	∩>⊲ና
Hall Beach	Kaernerk	Simeonie	ᡏᢐ᠘ᠮᠳᠮᡑ	7LDQ
Hall Beach	Piallaq	Gemma	√⊲د⊂ه	۲۰L
Hall Beach	Piallaq	Joe	√⊲د⊂ه	4
Hall Beach	Piungituq Siakuluk	Ruth	\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	∩ذ⊲
Hall Beach	Qanatsiaq	Solomon	⁵bà°∩⊲⁵⁵	نٰرد∟٩
Hall Beach	Qanatsiaq	Solomon	⁵bàc∪⊲₅	نٰرد∟٩
Hall Beach	Simonie	Jayko	5Δ Ισ	b∆d
Hall Beach	Simonie	Jayco	5Δ .jσ	b∆d
Igloolik		Georgia		4 4 c >4
Igloolik	Akulmalik	Joanasie Kiqutaq	ddLcr₀	44 0 % 60cCp
Igloolik	Amaroalik	Julia	⊲L P⊲⊂ ⁶	₹ ८₫
Igloolik	Ammaaq	Mary	⊲Ĺ ^ς ь	「 4c
Igloolik	Augutimavik	Dominic	⊲უ∪ _Ր ՐՄ₽	Ċ٢σ٠
Igloolik	Illupalik	John	∆ے<ٰ⊂⁰	<u>ن</u> ام
Igloolik	Innuaraq	Laimiki	∆_0	СΔΓР
Igloolik	Ipkamak	Eugene	∆ <p₂orp< td=""><td><u> ۲</u>۶۰</td></p₂orp<>	<u> ۲</u> ۶۰
Igloolik	Irngaut	Celina	∆ ^ҁ ∿∪⊳ҁ	ィーロ
Igloolik	Irngaut	Celina	∆ ^ҁ ∿∪⊳с	ィナー
Igloolik	Kanatsiaq	Hannah	₽₽€८५₫₽	H∢o
Igloolik	Kigutaq Akulmalik	Joanasie	PJ♭C⁴♭	4 ⊲ □ ,
Igloolik	Kublu	Thomas	ح>4	ĊLγ
lgloolik	Kublu	Thomas	د>ه	ĊLγ
Igloolik	Kunuk	Zacharias	q¬p	ᢩ᠘ᡏ᠘᠘᠘

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
lgloolik	Kunuk	Phoebe	d_p _p	$\dot{\wedge} \wedge$
Igloolik	MacDonald	John	۲₀Çೌ₅	<u>ن</u> ام
Igloolik	Macdonald	John	۲₀ÇФ₅	<u>ن</u> ام
Igloolik	Otak	Leah	⊳C♭	~ ⊲
Igloolik	Qaunaq	Deborah	₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽	∩>⊲ና
Igloolik	Qaunaq	Deborah	₽⊳₀σ _ч	∩>⊲ና
Igloolik	Quassa	Paul	⁵ d⊲5	<u> </u>
Igloolik	Quassa	Elisapee	⁵ d⊲5	Δ C Λ
Igloolik	Quassa	Clara	⁵ d⊲5	PC-45
Igloolik	Ulayuk	Rebecca	Þċ√♭	ÞċŌ∆b
Igloolik	Ulayuruluk	Abraham	>ċ√√7√7√7√777777778787888788 <td>⊲∆>ċ¹</td>	⊲ ∆>ċ¹
Igloolik	Ulayuruluk	Abraham	>ċ√7 <td>⊲∆>ċ[∟]</td>	⊲ ∆>ċ [∟]
Igloolik	Uttak	Louis	⊳C♭	Δد
Iqaluit	Akavak	Mosha	₫ b �º	ゴム
Iqaluit	Akeeshoo	Joseph	√P	ήγΛ
Iqaluit	Alainga	Mathew	⊲∟∆∿∪	L∩⊳
Iqaluit	Amagoalik	John	⊲L 2 ⊲ ८⁵	اج ا
Iqaluit	Boaz	Henry	>₫ ^ւ	H⊲△c
Iqaluit	Erkidjuk	Celestin	∇ℯbͱϤϲ	ነር ነ \dot{L}
Iqaluit	Flaherty	Rynee	ペ∟⊳ሒበ	SΔσ
Iqaluit	Gardener	Mike	i∩⊾	LΔ ^b
Iqaluit	Ineak	Odluriak	$\Delta \Delta \sigma \Delta^{\varsigma_b}$	⊳ ₋ ⊃√⊲ ₂
Iqaluit	Ineak	Odluriak	$\Delta \Delta \sigma \Delta^{\varsigma_b}$	⊳ ₋ ⊃√⊲ ₂
Iqaluit	Joamie	Alicee	ŔΓ	⊲د۲
Iqaluit	Joamie	Sytukie	ゼ ロ	ΔDP
Iqaluit	Joamie	Akeeshoo	ŔΓ	⊲p،اه
Iqaluit	Josephee	Sammy	ήγΛ	5.

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Iqaluit	Juralak	Iqaluk	√ 5८७	Δ ² b⊃ ^b
Iqaluit	Kakee	Jeetaloo	_P _P _P	- کرے
Iqaluit	Kakee	Josephee	_P _P _P	477
Iqaluit	Kelly	Jonah	Pdc	√ 0
Iqaluit	Kilabuk	Simanuk	ᡏᡉ᠋᠙᠙᠙ᠮ	∖ΔLσ ^{ςь}
Iqaluit	Kipanik	Saila	⁵ ρ<<°σ ⁵⁶	۲∆ر
Iqaluit	Kunuk	Okee	d_p	⊳°P
Iqaluit	Mike	Meeka	LΔ ^b	ЃЬ
Iqaluit	Naglingniq	Natsiapik	ᠳ _᠘ ᠸ᠆ᠳᠳᠲ	
Iqaluit	Nauyuk	Annie	₽	বঁত
Iqaluit	Nauyuk	Annie	₽	বঁত
Iqaluit	Pearson	Bryan	∧⊳५°	>9\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\
Iqaluit	Peelaktoak	Evie	\wedge C $^{\circ}$ O $^{\circ}$	Δ۵
Iqaluit	Peter	Jacopoosie	ÀС	אַd>ר
Iqaluit	Qaummariaq	Sammie	₁₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽	ЧГ
Iqaluit	Rennie	Gordon	<u></u> പ⊲ഗ	JdC°
Iqaluit	Saata	Akaka	i\C	⊲bb
Iqaluit	Sageaktook	Enoapik	₹₽₽₽₽₽	$\Delta \Delta \Delta V_{\rho}$
Iqaluit	Shappa	Annie	\<	বঁত
Iqaluit	Takpanie	Tommy	℃ぐσ	ĊГ
Iqaluit	Tikivik	Joe	∩P&b	4
Iqaluit	Tikivik	Martha	∩P&b	ĹC
Kimmirut	Akavak	Sandy	₫b₡ ⁶	نر⊶∩
Kimmirut	Aqpik	Simeonie	√ √ b	ソレク
Kimmirut	lkkidluak	Nominai	$\Delta P^c \supset Q^{q_b}$	۵ΓοΔ
Kimmirut	Ikkidluak	Joannie	∆6-¬⊲ _{2P}	√ √0 <i>σ</i>
Kimmirut	ltulu	Elisapee	درې	Δ C Λ

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Kimmirut	Judea	Goteleak	√ 1 1	JNC45b
Kimmirut	Judea	Goteleak	よし4	J∩⊂⊲ ^₅
Kimmirut	Judea	Akulukjuk	√U⊲	マロシャイト
Kimmirut	Killiktee	Akeego	ᠬ	⊲ ₽₽
Kimmirut	Kootoo	Jamesie	dЭ	ナトト
Kimmirut	Michael	Eliya	L∆d°	ΔςΔγ
Kimmirut	Michael	Matto	L∆d°	LD
Kimmirut	Michael	Elijah		
Kimmirut	Okpik	Temela	⊳ _P ∨ _P	∩۲ذ⁴ه
Kimmirut	Okpik	Temela	⊳ _P ∨ _P	∩۲ذ∿
Kimmirut	Onalik	Simata	Þà⊂b	LΔLC ^{ς₀}
Kimmirut	Padluq	Ejesiak	く。つ。。	∇ λ c λ \triangleleft c β
Kimmirut	Padluq	Elijah	く。つ。。	ΔCΔ۶
Kimmirut	Pudlat	Mary	> _c ⊂ c	「くこ
Kimmirut	Rennie	Gordon	൨഻഻഻഻഻	JdC°
Kimmirut	Rennie	Sarah	പ⊲ഗ	イタケ
Kimmirut	Temela	Taqialuk	∩۲ذ∿	C26647p
Ottawa	Alexander	Colin	d⊂هن۹⊃	bc°
Ottawa	Brody	Hugh	>ċ∩	Н∆⊳
Ottawa	Flaherty	Martha	ペ∟⊳ሒ∩	LC
Ottawa	Irnirq	Peter	$\Delta^{\varsigma}\sigma^{\varsigma_{b}}$	ÀС
Ottawa	Irnirq	Peter	$\Delta^{\varsigma}\sigma^{\varsigma_{b}}$	ÀС
Ottawa	Jenkin	Terrance (Terry)	^გ -β-	$\bigcap \triangleright \cap$
Ottawa	Kunnuk	Simeonie	d_p	ソレン
Ottawa	Neville	Bud	۵۵⊳۰	<c< td=""></c<>
Ottawa	Papatsie	July	<<'c\	√ح∆

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Ottawa	Papatsie	July	<< <u>'</u>	₹ ∟∆
Ottawa	Pitseolak	Phoebe	\c\⊳Ç _{≀₽}	$\dot{\wedge} \wedge$
Ottawa	Rudnicki	Walter	ς ^c σ-ρ	⊳dcC
Ottawa	Ryan	Terry	հ⊽ր	∩⊳∟
Ottawa	Singoorie	Susan	≀ુંત	<i>بار</i> م
Ottawa	Tester	Frank	しへん	প্ র্বিশ্চ
Ottawa	Uniuqsaraq	Meeka	᠈ᠵᠣ᠘᠙᠙	ЃЬ
Ottawa	Wenzel	George	⊳⊲۰۲۰	イヘット
Ottawa	Williamson	Robert (Bob)	₽∆ᠸᢣ᠘ᠲ	ς>c
Pangnirtung	Akpalialuk	Leopa	۵ <<⊏۵ےه	C ▷<
Pangnirtung	Akpalialuk	Simeonie	۵<<८م ه	7LÞQ
Pangnirtung	Akulukjuk	Geela	497,46	^ن اح
Pangnirtung	Angmarlik	Eena	⊲ LLC-6	Δo
Pangnirtung	Angnakak	Meeka	ქ₅ ი ₅ხ₅	ЃЬ
Pangnirtung	Battye	Mary	<∩	「 4c
Pangnirtung	Evic	Leah	Δ6 ^b	c ⊲
Pangnirtung	Evic	Levi	Δ6 ^b	$\neg \emptyset \Delta$
Pangnirtung	Ishulutak	Lasaloosie	∆ر _ح ⊃C _d ه	ذاخ
Pangnirtung	Kakee	Elijah	ნ _ნ ნ _ნ	ΔςΔγ
Pangnirtung	Kakee	Leesee Mary	b _P P _P	にとして
Pangnirtung	Kakkee	Elijah	ნ _ი ნი	ΔςΔγ
Pangnirtung	Keenainak	Daisy	ΡοΔ°ο ^{ςь}	$C\Delta$
Pangnirtung	Kilabuk	Adam Pudloo	ᡴ᠘᠙᠙᠙ᠮᡈ	√
Pangnirtung	Komoartuk	Lucy	₁qr¬dc⊃д₽	٧خـ
Pangnirtung	Komoartuk	Norman	₁qr¬dc⊃д₽	∆⊲L°
Pangnirtung	Kuniliusee	Lootie	docpr	∩ذ
Pangnirtung	Mike	Jamese	LΔ ^b	ラ トト

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Pangnirtung	Mike	Jeannie	LΔ ^b	Żσ
Pangnirtung	Mike	Johnny	$L\Delta^b$	نام
Pangnirtung	Mongeau	Ron	۲۰۰	Ġ°
Pangnirtung	Nowyuk	Pauloosie	σ⊳	<⊳_√
Pangnirtung	Papatsie	Oleepa	<<'c\	⊳ċ<
Pangnirtung	Qappik	Mosesee	₽₽V₽	ゴ ヤイ
Pangnirtung	Shoapik	Rachel	~ 4√ ₽	ک⊽دکرہ
Pangnirtung	Sowdluapik	Geela	᠘▷᠘᠕᠙	^ب کر
Pangnirtung	Sowdluapik	Markosie	ጎ ▷°ጋ ⊲ Λ⁰	LdY
Pangnirtung	Veevee	Adamie	నీది	dCL
Pond Inlet	Alooloo	Jayko	ذد⊳	b∆d
Pond Inlet	Amagoalik	Manasie	⊲L?⊲ ⊂⁰	Lay
Pond Inlet	Arreak	Malachi	₫ ~ ₫ ⁵⁶	L⊂b∆
Pond Inlet	Enoogoo	Willy	المـ∆	୬ ∆⊂
Pond Inlet	Enuarak	Charlie	△△⊲५५	نار
Pond Inlet	Erkloo	Samson	Δ_{dP}	ڶڔٮڔڡ
Pond Inlet	Idlout	Joshua	$\nabla_{c} \subset \triangleright_{c}$	₹ ८₫
Pond Inlet	Katsak	Rosie	٥٩ ا	٧ذ_<
Pond Inlet	Killiktee	Apphia	ᠬ	4/4
Pond Inlet	Killiktee	Jaykolasie	ᠬ	۲∆dخ
Pond Inlet	Komangapik	Paomee	⁵dL∿Ù∧ь	<⊳Г
Pond Inlet	Kudloo	Ham	p _c ¬ _p	H∢i₋
Pond Inlet	Kyak	Elizabeth	чь; чь;	Δ C \setminus Λ
Pond Inlet	Kyak	Letia	чь; чь;	ċ∩⊲
Pond Inlet	Muctar	Theresa	ΓρÇ _ζ ρ	UŸſ
Pond Inlet	Nutarak	Cornelius Kadloo	△C५º	طٰσے۲ هئے۔

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Pond Inlet	Omik	Sandra		
Pond Inlet	Ootoova	Elisapee	でしる。	Δ C Λ
Pond Inlet	Panipakoocho	Elijah	<0-6 15/db</td <td>ΔςΔγ</td>	ΔςΔγ
Pond Inlet	Panipakoocho	Rachel	<0-6 15/db</td <td>۲۵⊂کرد</td>	۲۵⊂کرد
Pond Inlet	Peterloosie	Ragilee	∧⊂⊳ڬ╯	ናΔ ^ւ ቦር
Pond Inlet	Qiyuapik	Isaac	₂ b4⊲Vρ	⊲∆∖₽
Pond Inlet	Simonee	Joanasee	۲Δ.Ισ	4 401
Qikiqtarjuaq	Alikatuktuk	Loasie	√C4pD2p	- \4\
Qikiqtarjuaq	Alookie	Harry Daniel	اد⊳	H석C Ċの4C
Qikiqtarjuaq	Alookie	Joshua	۹د	₹ ८४
Qikiqtarjuaq	Alookie	Tina	۹د	СДФ
Qikiqtarjuaq	Angnako	Silasie	√ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √	۲∆۵۲
Qikiqtarjuaq	Angnakok	Raigalee	√2 ← √2 ← √2 ← √2 ← √2 ← √2 ← √2 ← √2 ←	ናΔ ^ւ ቦር
Qikiqtarjuaq	Audlakiak	Jukipa		₹P<
Qikiqtarjuaq	Audlakiak	Ooleepeeka		ÞċŌ∆b
Qikiqtarjuaq	Audlakiak	Markosie	< <p><<p><<p><<p><<p><<p><<p><<p><<p></p></p></p></p></p></p></p></p></p>	Ĺdł
Qikiqtarjuaq	Audlakiak	Loasie		- \4
Qikiqtarjuaq	Keeyootak	Annie	₹ργίς	ব্ৰত
Qikiqtarjuaq	Koksiak	Leetia	494494	ċ∩⊲
Qikiqtarjuaq	Kopalie	Elisapie Meeka	d< ⊂	Δς-५Λ Γ΄b
Qikiqtarjuaq	Kopalie	Eliyah	d<⊂	ΔςΔγ
Qikiqtarjuaq	Kopalie	Peteroosie	d< <i>⊂</i>	۲نـΟ٨
Qikiqtarjuaq	Kudlualik	Jaypeetee	d ^د ے⊲ر⊏ ^ہ	<u></u>
Qikiqtarjuaq	Kuniliusee	Joanasee	docbł	√ 40∟ /
Qikiqtarjuaq	Mikualik	Billy	Γd⊲⊂ ^ь	۸
Qikiqtarjuaq	Mitsima	Joshie Teemotee	Γ¢γL	חבט אל

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Qikiqtarjuaq	Nauyavik	Ipeelee Abel	ᡆ᠌▷ᡃᡪᡧ᠙ᢛ	$\triangleleft \triangle \land \subset \triangleleft \triangle >^{\varsigma}$
Qikiqtarjuaq	Nookiguak	Meleah	∿P2⊲ ⁴	Ѓс⊲
Qikiqtarjuaq	Nuqingaq	Jacopie	᠊ᠣᡕᡉᢛᠰ᠘ᢑ	γ∇qV
Qikiqtarjuaq	Nuqingaq	Leah	᠊ᠣᡶᡖᢛᠰ᠘ᠻ	~ ⊲
Qikiqtarjuaq	Nutaralaq	Peepeelee	ےC5ذ ^ہ	$\dot{\wedge} \wedge \subset$
Qikiqtarjuaq	Nutaralaq	Levi	ےC5≟ ^ہ	$\neg \emptyset$
Resolute Bay	Amagoalik	Simeonie	⊲L?⊲ ⊂⁰	7LÞQ
Resolute Bay	Idlout	Martha	$\nabla_c \subset \triangleright_c$	ĹC
Resolute Bay	Idlout	Nangaq	$\nabla_c \subset \triangleright_c$	Q ^a %U ^{qb}
Resolute Bay	Idlout	Simon	$\nabla_c \subset \triangleright_c$	5ΔL°
Resolute Bay	Idlout	Martha	$\nabla_{c} \subset \triangleright_{c}$	ĹC
Resolute Bay	Kalluk	David	p _c ¬ _p	$C\Delta \delta^c$
Resolute Bay	Manik	Saroomie	Lo ⁵⁶	اد۲
Resolute Bay	Padluk	Dora	<د ^ح اره	PĊ
Resolute Bay	Padluk	Ludy	く。つ。。	∩ذ
Sanikiluaq	Appaqaq	Ali	< ⁵⁶ b ⁵⁶	₫ ⊂
Sanikiluaq	Appaqaq	Sarah	< ⁵⁶ b ⁵⁶	イクケ
Sanikiluaq	Appaqaq Arragutainaq	Annie	< ⁵⁶ b ⁵⁶ <td>বঁত</td>	বঁত
Sanikiluaq	Arragutainaq	Lottie	ᡏᢣ᠋᠘ᢗ᠘ᠳᠳ	<u>ذ</u>
Sanikiluaq	Arragutainaq	Joe	ᡏᢣ᠋᠘ᢗ᠘ᠳᠳ	4
Sanikiluaq	Audla	Walter	4 >C	⊳d°C
Sanikiluaq	Audlaluk	Larry	۵⊳ ^د دی	C√∩
Sanikiluaq	Cookie	Lottie	dР	<u>ذ</u>
Sanikiluaq	Cookie	Annie	dР	√ు
Sanikiluaq	Cookie	Lottie	dР	<u>ذ</u>
Sanikiluaq	Crow	Jobie	dŻ	ήV

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Sanikiluaq	Ekidlak	Pauloosie	∆٩٩ر८	>∟<
Sanikiluaq	Emikotailak	Annie	$\Delta\Gamma^{\varsigma_b}dC\Delta \subset^{\varsigma_b}$	√ σ
Sanikiluaq	Emikotailuk	Simeonie	$\Delta\Gamma^{\varsigma_b}dC\Delta \subset^{\varsigma_b}$	7100
Sanikiluaq	Eyaituk	Davidee	Δ P Δ C Δ G	$C\Delta \& \cap$
Sanikiluaq	Eyaituk	Isaac	Δ Δ COSb	⊲ Δ∖Ρ
Sanikiluaq	Eyaituq	Mina	Δ Δ CO6	LΔo
Sanikiluaq	Inuktaluk	Lucassie	۵۵۰۵۵	الماذ_
Sanikiluaq	Inuktaluk	Mina	۵۵۰۹۵	LΔo
Sanikiluaq	Inuktaluk	Mina	۵۵۰۵۵	LΔα
Sanikiluaq	Ippak	Louisa	∇< <p>p</p>	<i>ے</i> Δ5
Sanikiluaq	Iqaluk	Mary	∆ _د p¬ _۹	「<
Sanikiluaq	Iqaluk	Joanasie	△₅₽¬₽	√ 40₽√
Sanikiluaq	Iqaluk	Joanasie	$ abla^{\varsigma}b $	√ 40₽√
Sanikiluaq	Iqaluk	Jeannie	△₅₽¬₽	' Σσ
Sanikiluaq	Iqaluk	Peter	$ \Delta^{\varsigma} b \supset^{b} $	ÀС
Sanikiluaq	Iqaluk	Mary	△₅₽¬₽	「 4c
Sanikiluaq	Kattuk	Alice	₽Ċ⊃₽	⟨ال
Sanikiluaq	Kattuk	Peter	Pc⊃₽	ÀС
Sanikiluaq	Kowcharlie	Davidee	₽₽¡८С	$C\Delta \& \cap$
Sanikiluaq	Kowcharlie	Davidee	bÞ∖c	$C\Delta \& \cap$
Sanikiluaq	Kudlualuk	Sarah	۹۰۵۵۰	イクケ
Sanikiluaq	Meeko	Caroline	Γd	Ьс∆
Sanikiluaq	Meeko	Nellie	Γd	σ⊲⊂
Sanikiluaq	Meeko Sr.	Samson	FG 4°U4°C4°	ڶڔۮڔڡ
Sanikiluaq	Meko Jr.	Johnny	Ļġ ¬P₂₽U₂₽	ᡠᠣ
Sanikiluaq	Mickeyook	Joe	Lb4 _{eP}	Ą
Sanikiluaq	Mickiyuk	David	Lb4 _{eP}	$C\Delta \&^c$

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Sanikiluaq	Mickiyuk	Pauloosie	Lb4 _{dP}	\ح<>>
Sanikiluaq	Nuvalinga	Annie	ᠫᢀᠸᢇᠰ	₫ σ
Sanikiluaq	Sala	Markossie Sr.	نرد	Ĺdł
Sanikiluaq	Sala	Rhoda	نرد	کٺ⊲
Sanikiluaq	Takatak	Emily	C⁰bC⁰	۵۲ς
Sanikiluaq	Takatak	Charlie	C⁰bC⁰	ناد
Sanikiluaq	Tookalook	Annie	احار	বঁত
Sanikiluaq	Tookalook	Johnny	احار	٥٠٠
Sanikiluaq	Tookalook Sr.	Caroline	ეგენ ეგენ ეგენ	bcΔ
Sanikiluaq	Uppik	Davidee	⊳ <vp< td=""><td>$C\Delta \& \cap$</td></vp<>	$C\Delta \& \cap$
Sanikiluaq	Uppik	Jacob	⊳ <vp< td=""><td>b∆d</td></vp<>	b∆d
Sanikiluaq	Uppik	Jacob	⊳ <vp< td=""><td>b∆d</td></vp<>	b∆d
	Freeman	Milton	۶'n۲۰	LD,C,
	Rheaume	Gene	ΛĎι	₇ ح
	Schuurman	Hubert		

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Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Arctic Bay	Akumalik	Mucktar	⊲dL C ⁶	L₽Ċ ^{ſ₽}
Arctic Bay	Issigaitok	Jobie	Δ $^{\prime}$ $^$	ήV
Arctic Bay	Kalluk	David	مر⊃ _ہ	$C\Delta \& c$
Arctic Bay	Koonoo	Ipeelie	d_p	$\triangleleft \triangle \land \subset$
Arctic Bay	Kugitikakjuk	lkey	PJcUP _e ≺ _P	⊲∆P
Arctic Bay	Oyukuluk	Koonoo		d¬p₀
Arctic Bay	Taqtu	Juda	CepD	4C
Cape Dorset	Ashoona	Mayuriak	ط ^{رن} ه	Lイヘク ₂ P
Cape Dorset	Kelly	Sandy	PdC	₹₀U
Cape Dorset	Kellypalik	Mangitak	ᡃ᠙ᠸ<<ᠸ᠌	Γ_{ρ}
Cape Dorset	Ottokie	Numa	₽ċ⊃ċ₽	فL
Cape Dorset	Peter	Ejetsiak	ÀС	∇ \forall c \uparrow \triangleleft de \models
Cape Dorset	Pootoogook	Paulassie	>)J ⁵⁶	<>⊃ר
Cape Dorset	Quvianaqtuliaq	Pudlalik	⁴ 000000000000000000000000000000000000	>-८-
Cape Dorset	Toonoo	Sheojuk	مر	∖⊳ ≺²₽
Clyde River	Apak	Johanasie	<	√ 40₽√
Clyde River	Arreak	Elisapee	₫ ∩ ₫ ⁹⁶	Δ C Λ
Clyde River	Illingayuk	Levi	Δ C $^{\circ}$ U $^{\varsigma_b}$	$\neg \emptyset \Delta$
Clyde River	Iqalukjuak	Jacobie	∇ィρ⊃ӷ≺⊲ィ。	γ∇qV
Clyde River	Iqaqrialuk	Mary	$ \Delta^{b}b^{c}\Delta^{b} $	「くこ
Clyde River	Kunilliusie	Peter	do⊂⊳≀	ÀС
Clyde River	Paniloo	Pauloosie	くのシ	\ح<>
Clyde River	Qillaq	Toopinga	۰۹۹۲	⊃∧∿ს
Hall Beach	Allianaq	Moses	ძ⊏ძი _² ь	J۲۲
Hall Beach	Issigaitok	David	Δ Γ	CD&c

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Hall Beach	Panipakutuuk	Neomi	<5°C9CD6	σ⊳Γ
lgloolik	Airut	Lukie	⊲ ∆≥c	٩ڬ
Igloolik	Akkitirq	Atuat	⊲₽⊳∩ _{₹₽}	4D4c
lgloolik	Amaroalik	Julia	⊲L 2 ⊲ ८⁰	イ
lgloolik	Arnatsiaq	Maurice	۵ ² ۵۲۰۸۹	J ⊲ ⊬,
lgloolik	Awa	Peter	বৎ	ÀС
Igloolik	Ipkamak	Eugene	Δ <b<sup>5Q-⁶</b<sup>	<u> ۲</u> ۶۰
Igloolik	Qulitalik	Pauloosie	۲۵Cc	\ح∠>
Igloolik	Ulayuruluk	Abraham	۵۔۔ ح ال	⊲ ∆>ċ [∟]
Igloolik	Uttak	Louis	⊳C♭	Δد
Igloolik	Uyarasuk	Rachel	Dhah	۲۵۵۲
Iqaluit	Adamie	Jacobie	dCL	γ∇qV
Iqaluit	Alainga	Inga	⊲∟△∾∪	Δ° U
Iqaluit	Audlakiak	Maliaya		LcΔ۶
Iqaluit	Audlakiak	Charlie		نر
lqaluit	Audlakiak	Malaya		LcΔ۶
Iqaluit	Aupaluktaq	Mae	⟨□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□	LΔ
Iqaluit	Boaz	Henry	>< ·	HJDC
lqaluit	Flaherty	Rynee	୯∟⊳ ⊾∩	SΔσ
Iqaluit	Inookie	Uqutjuaqsi	٩٥ـΔ	マ・ロイク・マイ
Iqaluit	lpeelee	Koomoatuk	$\triangleleft \triangle \wedge \subset$	⁴ d ^L J⊲ ^b D ^{4b}
Iqaluit	Ishuklutak	Panapasie	∆ر ^د ےC ^۲ ه	<0<'\
lqaluit	Joamie	Alicee	Ϋ́Γ	الأحا
lqaluit	Joamie	Akeeshoo	ήL	√0 / 10 / 10 / 10 / 10 / 10 / 10 / 10 /
Iqaluit	Juralak	Iqaluk	۲ ۲۵-۲	∆ ⁵ b_> ⁶
lqaluit	Kelly	Jonah	Pdc	4 Φ
Iqaluit	Kilabuk	Martha	⁵ ρ_««	ĹC

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Iqaluit	Kilabuk	Pauloosie	ᡴ᠘᠆᠙᠙᠙ᠮ	\ح<>
Iqaluit	Kilabuk	Ashoonaa	ᡴ᠘᠙ᡧ᠙	مرن م
Iqaluit	Kilabuk	Simanuk	5PC&62P	LΔLσ ^{ς₀}
Iqaluit	Kipanik	Saila	⁵ ρ<<°σ ⁵⁶	5∆८
Iqaluit	Kopalie	Josephie & Ooloota	d <c< td=""><td>√\\</td></c<>	√\\
lqaluit	Kopalie	Ooloosie	d< <i>⊂</i>	ا√ذ_⊲
lqaluit	Kopalik	Morasie	d<⊂	7927
Iqaluit	Kownirk	Aku	⁵₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽	⊲d
Iqaluit	Kunuk	Okee	d_p	⊳°P
Iqaluit	Mark	Manasie	Ľ٥	La۲
lqaluit	Michael	Simonie	L∆d ^c	ΔΑΙσ
Iqaluit	Mike	Eliyah	LΔ ^b	ΔCΔ۶
Iqaluit	Natsiapik	Sakitak	σ _c γ⊲∨ _ρ	Ч≀bсС≀ь
lqaluit	Nowdlak	Annie	ت⊳ _د ⊂ _{ځه}	বঁত
Iqaluit	Nowdluk	Metuq (Meeto)	ت⊳ _د ⊂ _{۱۹}	LcD _{2P}
Iqaluit	Nowdluk (Jimmy)	Kilabuk	ح⊳د⊂ره (۲۷)	5PC < < < >5b
Iqaluit	Nowyook	Elijah	∪ D≺ь	ΔCΔγ
Iqaluit	Nowyook	Annie	∪ D≺ь	ďσ
Iqaluit	Nowyuk	Annie	∪ D ≺ p	বঁত
Iqaluit	Peter	Josie	ÀС	47
Iqaluit	Peter	Oolootie	ЛĊ	∩ذ⊲
Iqaluit	Peter	Sammy	ÀС	ί Γ
lqaluit	Pitseolak	Jayco	∧ч⊳ċ [⋴]	b∆d
Iqaluit	Qaummagiaq	Sammy	¹b⊳¹LՐ⊲¹⁰	ί Γ
lqaluit	Saata	Akaka	i\C	⊲bb
Iqaluit	Sageaktook	Enoapik	<u></u> \\\\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \	

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Iqaluit	Shoo	Shorty	نہ	~ ⊲∩
Iqaluit	Tikivik	Joe & Martha	∩P&b	خ طىلت إC
Iqaluit	Uniusargaq	Geosah	₽σ₽чі́\∪ч	Ր⊳Կ
Kimmirut	Judea	Goteleak	√U4	J∩⊂⊲ ^₅
Kimmirut	Michael	Eliya	L∆d ^c	ΔCΔ۶
Kimmirut	Mike	Elijah	LΔ ^b	ΔCΔ۶
Kimmirut	Okpik	Temela	⊳ _P ∨ _P	∩۲ذ∿
Kimmirut	Temela	Taqialuk	NFنے۹ه	C ₂ P⊲¬ _P
Pangnirtung	Akpalialuk	Peter	۵<< دطےه	ÀС
Pangnirtung	Akulukjuk	Anna & Geetaloo	497,4p	الأم طالت بُلات
Pangnirtung	Alikatuktuk	Ananaiyasie	√C ⁵⁶ D ⁵⁶ D ⁵⁶	√طممک
Pangnirtung	Angmarlik	Jaypeetee	⊲¹ĹĆ♭	<i></i>
Pangnirtung	Anilniliak	Loasie	ರರ್¹ರ್ ೦ ರ್	→
Pangnirtung	Anilniliak	Evie	ರರ್ ⁵ ರ್⊂ರ ⁵ ಿ	Δ۵
Pangnirtung	Battye	Mary	<∩	「 4c
Pangnirtung	Evic	Levi	Δ6b	$\neg \neg $
Pangnirtung	Evic	Leah	Δ6b	$\neg \triangleleft$
Pangnirtung	Ishulutak	Elisapee	Δ $^{-}$ $^{-}$ $^{-}$ $^{-}$ $^{-}$	$\Delta C \Lambda$
Pangnirtung	Keenainak	Josephie	ΡοΔ°ο ^{ςь}	₹\V
Pangnirtung	Kilabuk	Nellie	ᡪᡉ᠋᠆᠙ᡧ᠙ᠮ	σ⊲⊂
Pangnirtung	Kilabuk	Josephie	ᡏᡉ᠋	イ トハ
Pangnirtung	Kooneeloosie	Peepeelee	الخےط	$\dot{\wedge} \wedge \subset$
Pangnirtung	Maniapik	Joanasie	$L^{\circ}\sigma \triangleleft \wedge^{\flat}$	₹ 40₽,
Pangnirtung	Maniapik	Sarah	$L^{\circ}\sigma \triangleleft \wedge^{\flat}$	イクケ
Pangnirtung	Mike	Jamesie	LΔ ^b	ナトト
Pangnirtung	Nowyook	Pauloosie & Malaya	Φ D Υ'b	<>>_\ L∆\ L∆\

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
Pangnirtung	Qarpik	Peterosie	₽₽V₽	۲۶−۲
Pangnirtung	Qiyuakjuk	Mosesee	⁴ P√444	٦٠٢
Pangnirtung	Qiyutaq	Solomonie	₂ b4ρÇ ₂ ρ	نحانح
Pangnirtung	Qupee	Quanaq	⁵d∧	₽₽₽₽₽₽₽
Pangnirtung	Sowdloo	Nakashuk	५ ⊳⁴ے	<i>م</i> ـه
Pangnirtung	Sowdluapik	Marco	५ ⊳°⊿ ⊲ ∧७	Ĺd
Pangnirtung	Tautuajuk	Hannah	CDcJdrイp	HÞÍOL
Pangnirtung	Veevee	Adamie	ልል	⟨icr
Pangnirtung	Veevee	Pauloosie	ልል	\ר_⊲>
Pangnirtung	Veevee	Rosie	నీది	4ذ_⊲
Pangnirtung	Veevee Sr.	David	\$8 4°U<">6'5'5	$C\Delta \&^c$
Pond Inlet	Aksarjuk	Timothy	√ √ √ b	UTU
Pond Inlet	Amagoalik	Mary	4 L24 <i>⊂</i> ⁶	「<<
Pond Inlet	Arreak	Joanasie	₫ ₼ ₫ ⁵⁶	소 40만
Pond Inlet	Atadjuat	Joanasie	4Cc4dc	소 40만
Pond Inlet	Enuarak	Charlie	∆_∆_∆_√√<	نر
Pond Inlet	Ipeelie	Kunuk	$\triangleleft \triangle \wedge \subset$	d¬ _P
Pond Inlet	Kadloo	Timothy	₽c⊃	UTU
Pond Inlet	Kanajuk	Kaujak	Po-√ _{2P}	ნ⊳ ^{გგ}
Pond Inlet	Kasarnak	Moses	ხ\ ^ҁ ჲ ^ҁ ⁰	١٠٢
Pond Inlet	Katsak	Ishamael	الادباره الاحتاره	Δ/LΔC
Pond Inlet	Killiktee	Elisabeth	ᡣ	Δ C Λ
Pond Inlet	Killiktee	Jaykolasie	ᠬ	۲∆dċ۲
Pond Inlet	Kilukishak	Gamailie	⁵ ρ_ ⁵⁶ ρίζ ⁵⁶	ULΔC
Pond Inlet	Kilukishak	Mary	⁵ ρ_ ⁵ βρίζ ⁵ β	「<
Pond Inlet	Kippomee	Apak	Ρ>Γ	
Pond Inlet	Kudloo	Ham	₉ ر¬ _۹	H⊲i₋

Community	Last Name	First Name	Last Name (IN)	First Name (IN)
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ote: This selected bibliography includes most of the printed materials used in the research for the QTC histories. The archival sources are included in the endnotes to each of the reports.

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