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OIKIQTANI INUIT ASSOCIATION

The Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) is a not-for-profit society, which represents approximately 15,500 Inuit in the Qikiqtani region of Nunavut. The Qikiqtani region includes 13 communities from Grise Fiord, in the High Arctic, down to Sanikiluag, on the Belcher Islands.

QIA was established to protect, promote and advance the rights and benefits of Qikiqtani Inuit. It is a Designated Inuit Organization under the Nunavut Agreement. QIA is one of three Regional Inuit Associations affiliated with Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.; the other associations include the Kitikmeot Inuit Association and the Kivallig Inuit Association. We work closely with our partners, such as Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, as well as different levels of government, to represent Inuit in the Inuit Nunangat.

Two other organizations operate under the QIA umbrella: Kakivak Association, responsible for community economic development and small businesses; and Qikiqtaaluk Corporation, created to manage economic development on behalf of QIA.



WINTER 2020





ϷϽϹϟϲ **CONTENTS**

^⊲⁵თ∿ს troduction			
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INTRODUCTION

After decades of work, on August 14, 2019, the Canadian Government finally issued a formal acknowledgement and apology to Qikiqtani Inuit for colonial policies and practices from 1950 to 1975. This apology was delivered by Carolyn Bennett, the Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations, in Igaluit.

The Minister offered the apology in the spirit of Saimaqatigiingniq – a concept that means when past opponents come together, meet in the middle and are at peace with one another. In her speech, the Minister noted that the past Inuit-Crown relationship has been marked with unfairness, inequality, and harmful treatment.

She acknowledged forced relocation and family separation, killing of qimmiit (sled dogs) and other assimilative actions subjected on Qikiqtani Inuit. The Government also acknowledged the important work of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission, an initiative led by QIA, in bringing this history to the forefront within their final report, Achieving Saimagatigiingnig.

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QIKIQTANI INUIT'S TRUTH

For years, the Canadian government rejected Inuit calls for a public inquiry into colonial practices that radically transformed the Inuit homeland and traditional ways of life from 1950 to 1975. Inuit did not have the opportunity to confront the Canadian Government about forced relocation, killing of qimmiit (sled dogs), and other assimilative actions.

Instead of an inquiry, the government directed the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to look into these allegations and report to Parliament. QIA was deeply disappointed with the RCMP report, which contradicted and rejected Inuit accounts of this history. Instead of providing an opportunity for reconciliation and healing, the RCMP report exacerbated the disconnect between Inuit and the Government of Canada about the true history of the Arctic.

For these reasons, QIA established an independent truth commission to gather its own account of what happened to Qikiqtani Inuit between 1950 and 1975. Approximately 350 Inuit participated through public hearings to uncover the truth about the Government of Canada's policies and practices.

The Qikiqtani Truth Commission's Final Report distills three years of interviews, testimony, and archival research about the experiences of Qikiqtani Inuit with modern-day colonialism.

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MOVING FORWARD AFTER CANADA ACKNOWLEDGED AND APOLOGIZED

As part of reconciliation, Canada is engaged in a process of decolonization that includes making amends for past wrongs such as the denial of Indigenous rights that led to disempowerment and assimilation.

Reconciliation, for Inuit in Nunavut's Qikiqtani Region, means acting on the Qikiqtani Truth Commission's Final Report: Achieving Saimagatigiingnig (2010).

As part of the August 14 apology made by the Federal Government, Canada and QIA signed a Memorandum of Understanding to work in partnership to build a long-term and sustainable response to the Qikiqtani Truth Commission's findings.

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"We hope to move forward from this unjust chapter in our history and together, begin turning the page. The Commissions' Final Report, with its recommendations, provides a path forward towards a harmonious future, as well as looking back and reflecting on the road we have travelled."

- Minister Crown-Indigenous Relations



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HIGHLIGHTS OF THE QIKIQTANI TRUTH COMMISSION AGREEMENT

INITIAL INVESTMENTS AGREED TO BETWEEN QIA AND GOVERNMENT OF CANADA towards action on the recommendations of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission include:

- \$15 MILLION TOWARDS QIA'S LEGACY FUND
- OVER \$2 MILLION FOR INUIT HISTORY AND GOVERNANCE PROGRAMS
- \$2.9 MILLION FOR A QIMMIIT REVITALIZATION PROGRAM
 - INCLUDING \$100,000 IN ANNUAL SPONSORSHIP TO THE NUNAVUT QUEST FROM 2020-2027
- OVER \$1.2 MILLION FOR A TRAVEL AND HEALING PROGRAM FOR INUIT IMPACTED BY THE DUNDAS HARBOUR RELOCATION. AND THE CLOSING OF KIVITOO, PAALLAVVIK, AND SOUTH CAMP COMMUNITIES.

ישסעכסתלישכששירי יףףישכש לכלדש ףיכלטשלישחי **ACTION ON THE QIKIQTANI TRUTH COMMISSION**

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Saimagatigiingnig Fund

QIA is seeking to advance a Memorandum of Understanding with the Government of Canada to address the findings and recommendations of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission, as well as QIA's proposal for the Saimagatigiingnig Fund.

The establishment of the Fund allows Canada and OIA to turn the page on the apology process and look toward the future well-being of Inuit with long-term support for core social and cultural programs as well as innovation and capacity development initiatives.

True reconciliation requires measures that not only acknowledge past wrongs but also create an enduring foundation to rebuild what was lost and ensure future social. cultural. and economic success.

QIA will govern the Saimagatigiingnig Fund. QIA has entrenched financial policies that ensure accountability and transparency of financial decision-making. The Fund will be managed in accordance with these policies.

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TIMELINE OF QIA'S WORK ON THE **QIKIQTANI TRUTH COMMISSION**

የትምርዓም ለምክህረት ∆⊅ጋ∆⁰∿ግъс የ₽₽₽ሮ≏ ५⊂⊀Ľ₽ <u>ዮ</u>ርረዋፈ₀ሁር ⊳ው₽₽ምራ ₽₰₠₢₻₡₽₽₽₽₽ ጘዾተг₽ሀኪቀ ᠋᠂ᡃ᠘᠘᠆ᡐᠾᡄᢂ᠄ᡆ᠘᠆ᡔ᠘ᡄ᠌ ዾ፞ፚኯኯ፟ዾዀ፟፝ጞዀዀ ዾቍ፟፟፟፟ፚ፟ዾዀዾዀዀ ^ናይኦትሪንሀርትዮላበ የእስት የመንግሥ

QIA publicly releases the Qikiqtani Truth Commission reports, Final Report: Achieving Saimaqatigiingniq, Community Histories, Thematic Reports and Special Studies.

የኮምርትዋና 13 ግግግ የምምርት >֊ና֊▷ኈጋና ጋኣኈበናሀትኈጋኈ፟፟፟፟ጏሁ ᠈᠋ᡃ᠔᠆ᢣᢣ᠔ᡄᢀ᠈ᠣ᠋ᡔᡆ᠄᠙᠙᠉᠆ᢕᢣᠺ <u>ዮ</u>ርረፈ₀ሀዋር ⊳ዹ፼_ይъъ

QIA staff travel to each of the 13 Qikigtani communities to share the findings of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission reports.

٬የዖኈር፦bď ມር፞^ኈህኈበሊ∟ዖኈጋኈ **⊲**۶⊳∿⊃∆**σ**∿σ∿C∿სԺ ሀርጎኖችግሀ_የ የፈንግሀ ᠋᠂᠋ᠳ᠘᠆᠋᠌᠌᠌ᡅ᠕᠆᠔᠘ᠴ᠒ᢛ ᢀ᠆᠆᠕᠆᠕᠆᠕᠆᠕᠆᠕᠆᠕᠆᠕

QIA renews lobbying efforts to compel the Government to take action on the recommendations made by the Qikiqtani Truth Commission.

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Minister Bennett formally acknowledges and apologizes for the Government of Canada's actions towards Inuit in the Qikiqtani region between 1950 to 1975 and announces the initial investment towards action on the recommendations of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission.

2013

2014

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2019







שלאטה גטטייסט אכאנה

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ABOUT THE QIKIQTANI TRUTH COMMISSION

	just betv the Rep	QIA initiated the Qikiqtani Truth Commission to undertake a comprehensive social justice inquiry into the Government's colonial policies, programs and decisions between 1950 to 1975. The Final Report: Achieving Saimaqatigiingniq, chronicles the Government of Canada's colonial practices subjected on Qikiqtani Inuit. The Report distills three years of interviews, testimony, and archival research about the experiences of Qikiqtani Inuit with modern-day colonialism.		
The Qikiqtani Truth Commission's related activities:		Qikiqtani Truth Commission's investigation undertook two closely ted activities:		
	1.	Gathering testimonies about events between 1950 and 1975 from Inuit who lived through this difficult period, as well as from their children who continue to remember the suffering of their parents and other relatives.		
	2.	Completing an extensive archival research program and interviews with non-Inuit who worked in the region during this period. The interviewees included a retired RCMP officer, government officials and academic researchers.		
	Inuit shared personal accounts of coerced relocation, mass removal of children from families, residential school experiences, slaughter of qimmiit, separation of families due to a lack of healthcare infrastructure, and the separation of Inuit from their culture, language and the land.			
	The report also recognizes that Inuit still suffer from the impacts of past colonial policies and programs and that the legacy of colonialism still lingers within present-day Government frameworks.			
Inuit want to move forward by implementing the 25 recommendations for action in the Qikiqtani Truth Commission's Final Report. These recommendations are grouped into four themes:				
	•	Acknowledging and healing of past wrongs		
	•	Strengthening Inuit governance		
	•	Strengthening Inuit culture		

Creating healthy communities

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Acknowledging and Healing Past Wrongs

Formal acknowledgement of the findings of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission, including recognition of the intergenerational trauma caused by historical wrongs, is necessary for a meaningful reconciliation process.

- The Qikigtani Inuit Association should formally present the full Qikigtani Truth Commission Report to the Government of Canada and request a formal acknowledgement of the report's findings.
- The Qikiqtani Truth Commission historical collection (reports, database 2. and testimonies) should be made accessible to all participants and anyone interested in understanding and presenting an accurate picture of the Qikiqtani region's history.
- The QIA and the RCMP should formally recognize the contributions of Inuit Special Constables and their families to the work of the RCMP in the Region.
- The Government of Canada should set up a Dundas Harbour Relocation Trust Fund to allow descendants of families separated as a result of this relocation to travel between Cape Dorset and Arctic Bay for periodic family visits.
- The Government of Canada should provide funding for on-site healing 5. programs for the families affected by the closing of Kivitoo, Padloping and South Camp (Belcher Islands) communities.
- The Government of Canada should defray the costs of allowing Inuit to locate 6. and visit the burial sites of family members who died in southern Canada during medical treatment, in order to provide closure for those families.

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Strengthening Inuit Governance

Canada's modern-day colonial policies in the Arctic systemically targeted Inuit self-governance. Reconciliation should include restoring Inuit jurisdiction and capacity for governance. This will require effort from each level of government.

- The Nunavut Legislative Assembly should formally assert that Nunavut and the Government of Nunavut were created by the Nunavut land claims negotiations as vehicles for Inuit self-government, and, therefore, that Inuit goals and aspirations can and should be advanced through the Government of Nunavut working collaboratively with Inuit organizations.
- The Government of Nunavut should conduct its day-to-day operations in keeping 8 with its obligations and responsibilities under the Nunavut Agreement and section 35 of the Constitution.
- 9 The Qikiqtani Inuit Association should establish a program that will enable Inuit to develop and utilize the governance skills they will require to strengthen their political and community engagement in a civil society.
- 10. The Governments of Nunavut and Canada should take all necessary action to make their programs and services for the people of Nunavut accessible at the local level.
- The Qikigtani Inuit Association should develop a framework (principles, policies and techniques) for all private, public and research agencies to use in conducting consultations with Inuit.
- To ensure that Inuit culture is better understood by government employees 12. whose work affects the Inuit, the Governments of Nunavut and Canada, assisted by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association, should develop and deliver cultural training to all such employees.
- 13. The Governments of Nunavut and Canada, and all Inuit organizations, should respect and incorporate Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and Inuit Traditional Knowledge in all decision-making in Nunavut.
- 14. The Government of Canada should immediately endorse the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples without qualifications.

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Strengthening Inuit Culture

The systemic colonial policies and education initiatives from 1950 to 1975 threatened Inuit language and cultural practices. In the spirit of restitution, Inuit ask for a commitment to reinvigorate, strengthen and preserve Inuktitut and Inuit culture.

- 15. The Government of Nunavut Department of Education should develop and distribute an Inuktitut and Inuit-based curriculum to all communities and direct school officials to implement it as soon as possible.
- 16. The Government of Nunavut's Department of Education should include historical material from the Qikiqtani Truth Commission reports in the Nunavut education curriculum.
- 17. The Government of Nunavut should develop and deliver more programs that actively promote intergenerational experiences between Elders and Inuit children and youth to ensure that young people continue to learn from Elders, and that Elders become more involved in the daily lives of communities.
- 18. The Governments of Canada and Nunavut should work together to develop and fund Inuit Language programs that will ensure that all Inuit and Qallunaat in Nunavut have the opportunity to learn the Inuit Language.
- 19. The Qikigtani Inuit Association should initiate an Inuit History Month. launching the event in Nunavut and later extending it to all of Canada.

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QIKIQTANI TRUTH COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

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Creating Healthy Communities

Inuit continue to grapple with the social and economic challenges resulting from colonial practices including inadequate healthcare, housing, education and economic resources. Reconciliation calls for addressing the inequality between Inuit and other Canadians.

- 20. The Government of Canada should formally acknowledge that the levels of suicide, addiction, incarceration and social dysfunction found in the Qikiqtani Region are in part symptoms of intergenerational trauma caused by historical wrongs.
- 21. The Governments of Canada and Nunavut should ensure that sufficient Inuit social, mental health and addiction workers and programs are available to meet the needs of all Nunavut communities.
- 22. The Governments of Canada and Nunavut should ensure that government health, social and education programs and services are available to the people of Nunavut on a basis equivalent to those taken for granted by Canadians in the South.
- The Governments of Canada and Nunavut should address Inuit housing 23. needs through provision of short-, medium- and long-term funding to ensure adequate and safe homes for all.
- 24. The Government of Nunavut and the Qikigtani Inuit Association should work together to facilitate and promote Inuit participation in hunting, fishing and gathering practices that will sustain and strengthen Inuit culture and food security, improve nutrition and support local economies.
- 25. The Governments of Canada and Nunavut should provide training and other support that will allow Inuit to actively participate in Arctic environmental studies and activities.

▷∿ሀርናσኈ ॥ ለኦሲኈረLርኈበ՟_ጋህ. baር▷< ⁶δηρως τρωσιαίας το συσιας $^{\circ}$

After World War II, the Canadian government initiated profound social, economic and cultural changes in the North that had far-reaching, negative and lingering influence on Qikiqtani Inuit. The colonial policies conceived and approved in Ottawa by the Government of Canada had a profoundly disruptive and traumatic effect on the lives of Inuit.

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Coerced relocation and family separation

Before the 1950's Inuit lived in small kinship-based groups that moved among strategically located camps optimal for seasonal harvesting. From 1950 to 1975 Inuit kinship-groups were fragmented by colonial practices and over 100 traditional settlements in the Qikiqtani Region were reduced to 13 communities in locations dictated by the Canadian government. In effect, Inuit were used as human flag poles to achieve Canada's nationbuilding agenda in the Arctic. In the process families were separated, communities fragmented, and cultural traditions lost.

— ĊL[\] d[<]→. Δ¹→⊂[∿]Γ

> "We were a close-knit family getting along and working in cooperation to get things done. Compared to the family life and relations we have now, we were a close family. I miss that the most."

— Thomas Kublu, Igloolik

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"We left our houses with only our clothes that we were wearing,
we left everything else behind . . . thinking that we were
coming back."
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— Lottie Arragutainaq, Sanikiluaq

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"All our belongings, we had to take only what we can carry, that is what we brought here."

— Elivah Kopalie. Oikiatariuaa



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Slaughter of gimmiit (sled dogs)

When large numbers of Inuit were relocated into condensed communities, conflicts arose between settlers and Inuit over gimmiit. These dog teams were vital for harvesting and safe travel across vast distances in the harsh Arctic climate and a key component of Inuit culture.

The RCMP response to the conflicts over gimmit ultimately resulted in a mass dog slaughter. This meant that Inuit were unable to leave the communities they were forced into and unable to feed themselves and their families.

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> "Dogs were the only source of living. We are alive today because of our dogs. They were our only source of transportation, **our way of life** in the past..."

> > — Juda Taqtu, Arctic Bay

"they slaughtered our dogs. I grieved for them, they were our only means of transportation... They made it impossible for us to go, we were stuck."

— Jacopie Nuqingaq, Qikiqtarjuaq

"... 10 JCD - 10 - 20 יףיריאכאאר אלככא יירישי..."

"... I had a snowmobile after we were told to kill our dogs. I walked more than once after my snowmobile had broken down. If I had dogs they would have never broken down ... " — Goteleak Iudea, Kimmirut

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Lack of housing

The new communities created by the Canadian government officials were inadequately equipped to support relocated Inuit. Promises of free housing and social services were unfulfilled and most relocated Inuit could not afford an adequate western-style home.

Inuit were forced to live in makeshift shacks or tents and had to forage for scrap materials from dumpsites. The situation was exasperated by the Government imposed game ordinance that restricted hunting, limiting access to traditionally used materials to insulate, such as caribou skins.

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"After three years, my parents got their house. It was one of those little square ones, a Qallunaat house. It had a little stove. It had no furnace, and no bedroom, just one room. We lived there. My father had twelve kids and we were all living in there ... My husband was also here... I was looking after my sister's children and we were living in a house that was not healthy ...The floor was all wet. The inside became ice. It was very hard to dry it up... I think about the house sometimes and I cry."

Leah Okadlak, Arctic Bay

> "It was very cold when we pitched our tent. I had to stay up all night because I was worried that one of my children would freeze." — Markosie Sowdluapik, Pangnirtung





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⊲νϞρἰ°°°Γσσν Λνζηιός_ρίτζε σίρνζινείος ΔοΔε דיףיגיילסקליביד. ליש מער געבע, געביי געבייע פור שבריש פיני שנייבי לייביע מער געבייע בייע בייע שנייני שנייבי בי 6 የሥረት የሚያን የ የምንግ የ ምንግ የ የምንግ የ የምንግ የ የምንግ የ የምንግ የ የምንግ የ የምንግ የ ምንግ የ የምንግ የ ምንግ የ የምንግ የ ምንግ የ የምንግ የ ምንግ

Malnutrition and starvation

Several factors contributed to malnutrition and starvation among Inuit between 1950 and 1975. Forced relocation meant that many Inuit were moved to unfamiliar areas with radically different climate and wildlife which made it difficult for them to find and harvest food. For example, Inuit from Inukjuak in Northern Quebec were relocated to Resolute Bay in the High Arctic, a distance of 2,250 km, approximately the distance from Toronto to Miami.

The gimmiit slaughter also contributed to the scarcity of food as Inuit were robbed of the essential means of travel for harvesting.

> $(1)^{(1)} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac$ ▷≪∿レጋ⊲∿ษ°∿Րጋ™. ᡣbC°℃I∩bb℃D™ **ႱぃbCÞ≪ィ┽**."

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"When there were no more dogs and there was no snowmobiles introduced yet, we would get hungry. I wasn't the only one, but as a family we would crave to eat."

— Shorty Shoo, Igaluit

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"... there was no housing in Pond Inlet, we ended up in a tent near the river. The whole winter we stayed in the tent. It was so difficult for us. We didn't have any food to eat. Every morning we woke up to everything frozen.... All I remember is my grandmother trying to use a teapot to cook with."

— Apphia Kiliktee, Pond Inlet

"የቦ└广ና ለ└LႭዾこዾናውጋና σናየው\ናውረቅጋበቦታውና_ጋበው ... ናየ_២/ሥታና الالم المعالية عنه منه منه المعالية معالية المعالية معالية معاليية معاليم معاليمانية معاليم معاليمال ΠΓΓJ^c 4^d - ^w² - ^{w² - ^w}</sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup> ᡆᡃ᠋ᡣ᠋ᡃᡃ᠑ᢪᡆ᠘ᡃᠧᡃ᠋᠋᠆ᢕ᠊᠋᠋᠋ᡔᢄ᠊᠋᠋ᡔ᠌ᢂ᠋᠋᠋ᠱ᠘᠘᠘᠋ᡬ᠘᠘᠘᠘ σ∩ペיטכ LLDCDייס."

− أے أס יףליכי <°סייםידם</p>

"Dogs were an important source for providing food ... we would use the dogs to travel long distances to hunt caribou or seals inland or on sea ice ... It seemed as though I became disabled with no transportation available for subsistence hunting. After my dogs got killed, we stopped hunting altogether and stopped consuming seal meat and only ate store-bought foods that was provided, especially during the winter months ... We struggled to survive ... we only survived on luncheon meat that was provided for us."

— Solomonie Qiyutaq, Pangnirtung

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Inadequate healthcare and the spread of disease

Overcrowding and lack of adequate housing and nutritious food created the conditions for the spread of diseases such as tuberculosis. This was compounded by exposure to new diseases imported from the south such as measles.

With little to no local health services. Inuit were forced into treatment facilities in the south for months or years and often without consent or their family's knowledge. By 1955, almost one thousand Inuit had been evacuated to sanatoria in southern Canada. Treatment generally averaged twenty months. This meant that in 1956, one in seven Inuit were in hospitals in the South.

Being far away from home and under the care of people who didn't speak Inuktitut or understand Inuit culture, resulted in disempowerment and loss of individual autonomy for Inuit patients.

Children were also vulnerable to the loss of cultural knowledge and language and to lasting psychological impacts. Poor record-keeping led to the return of some patients to the wrong communities, and to tragic circumstances in which families waited for their children or parents to return, not knowing that they had died at the hospital.

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"I really do want to go home. I do want to stay outside. I cannot tell you about my health, as I am not able to understand English ... I am obeying the medical staff. I take aspirins ... It is hard to tell ... Also, I cannot cure myself ... I very, very much want to speak English. I am just trying to obey the directions of the medical people. I want to get home too. Sometimes I appear not to be listening ... I want to follow the wishes of the medical people. I, however, do not understand."

- An Inuk patient's letter

Qikiqtani Inuit Association

Δ<u>σ</u>^eσ<u>4</u>^sσ^s^b, Δ^sb₂^sΓ ^bb₄^sΓ^b <u>4</u>^L₂ Ϫϲ·ͽϥϞͽͶϧϷͽͽϧϲͻϿϷ

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Education, language loss and cultural assimilation

Inuit families were coerced into enrolling their children in schools located away from their traditional camps. Enrollment in schools and family allowances were connected as teachers were the distributors of this government assistance. Family allowance programs were similar to today's child tax credit and ranged from \$5 to \$8 per month depending on the size of family. Payments, which often were the only income a family had, were used to force parents to send their children away to be educated or to coerce entire families to permanently move into settlements. Education was used as an assimilation tool, fragmenting families and disconnecting Inuit children from culture and community.

 $C\Delta L\Delta^{L}$ $P \wedge^{\circ} \forall b C \sim D^{\circ} D^{\circ} \cup d^{\circ} P \cap P L^{\circ} \cup U$ - ٧- ٢- d<<

> "I used to be **so homesick** because I didn't know the environment, so I used to yearn to return." — Ooloosie Kopalie, Qikiqtarjuaq

– גֹסָלי ינֹא∿. <°סייסיד⊳יי</p>

> "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."

> > — Peterosie Qarpik, Pangnirtung

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> "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 ... That always hurts me, because I couldn't speak English."

> > — Geela Akulukjak of Pangnirtung



