

QTC

Background Reports: Updates & Executive Summaries



**Prepared for the Qikiqtani Inuit Association's
Annual General Meeting**

October 21, 2009

NOTICE TO READER

This document was submitted 21 October 2009 at the Annual General Meeting of the Qikiqtani Inuit Association.

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Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Update to the QIA

The Qikiqtani Truth Commission has been busy since it first began its work two years ago, in October 2007. All the community hearings have been completed. Almost all the archival research has been done, except for some follow-up research with the RCMP with respect to their 2006 Inuit Sled Dog Report and trying to locate some historical documents referenced in the report that are relevant to the QTC mandate.

The Commission's research team has been working under the direction of the QTC's Executive Director to complete background reports on each of the historical issues identified during the hearings and through research. The team has also completed writing summaries of each of the testimonies.

The ten historical issue topics focused on the 1950 to 1975 period are: housing, health care, Inuit sled dogs, RCMP, relocations, development, alcohol, hunting, settlement life and education. I will be using the issue reports to complete my analysis and recommendations and to provide the QIA with products that it can continue to use for on-going communications. The background reports include summaries of what has been told to the Commission at the community hearings or in private interviews and what has been revealed from the archival or secondary research. I am happy to present the Executive Summaries of all these background reports to the Qikiqtani Inuit Association at the October 2009 Annual General Meeting.

The Commission's team is also preparing three ancillary reports on broader topics that go further in documenting the purpose of the Commission and the importance of examining events and decisions from the perspective of Inuit experience. The topics of the three reports are: the official mind, fiduciary responsibilities and intercultural communications. The report on the official mind (completed in draft form) focuses on what government officials intended to achieve with policies, programs and rules in the Eastern Arctic. The report on fiduciary responsibility consists of two parts. The first part (completed in draft form) examines the history and current context of the Crown's legal obligations with respect to Inuit. The second part will analyze the extent to which government actions (as examined in the historical research) met its legal fiduciary responsibilities towards Inuit. The intercultural communication report examines the different cultures and the challenges of communication, not only with the issue of different languages but cultural norms or understanding of governance, interrelationship with land, animals, resource use, etc.

An important component of my work is a review of the RCMP's 2006 Report: "*The RCMP and the Inuit Sled Dogs*". As requested by the Commission of the RCMP, the QTC will be delivering the review directly to the RCMP. An executive summary of the draft review is included in the background materials provided to the QIA for its 2009 AGM.

The Commissioner is also happy to announce that its website www.qtcommission.com or www.qtcommission.ca is now online and accessible to the public in English and Inuktitut. The website contains not only information about the Commission, such as its mandate and its rules of procedure, but also the draft community histories, summaries of the testimonies, executive summaries of the background and ancillary reports, photographs from our community visits, copies of all our press releases and newspaper articles about our work. More information and documentation will be added to the site as reports are completed and videos are reformatted for online presentation. The site will also include the final QTC report and its appendices.

I would like to thank QIA for providing the Commission extra funding to permit our return to the communities to share my preliminary findings and to consult with your communities on recommendations that are intended to promote reconciliation. I'm also very grateful that QIA has also agreed to support the production of a video report to supplement my written final report to increase the opportunity to share my work and findings using this very accessible medium.

There is much to do between now and the end of March, including our brainstorming session with some of your Board, staff, and members of our Commission team to assist me in the development of my broad recommendations. I also hope to meet with different relevant stakeholders to share with them what I have learned and to give them an opportunity to look to their agencies role in the course of history, possibly help understand and explain the state of government and Inuit relations in Eastern Arctic and then to examine their mandates to see what, if anything, their agency is prepared to do to promote reconciliation. My goal throughout my term has been to adopt an approach of reconciliation and that this Commission provides a model of respectful engagement, especially with the communities. Rather than simply delivering a report with recommendations that promote reconciliation. Nevertheless, my biggest and most important task is the writing of my final Report and delivering that to QIA by the end of March 2010.

I look forward to coming back before this Association and providing you my full written and video report.

Research Methodology

QTC Historical Research Program

In 2007, Contentworks Inc. was retained by the Qikiqtani Truth Commission to perform historical research and analysis services in support of the Commission's mandate. Contentworks consulted both archival and published sources relating to the history of the Qikiqtani Region between 1950 and 1980. Themes of interest included alcohol, development, education, health care, housing, hunting, police services, relocations, settlement life and Canadian Inuit sled dogs. The goal of this research is to collect documentary material relating to the history of the Baffin Region between 1950 and 1980 and to make this material available to researchers, writers and consultants involved with the QTC. The QTC is currently negotiation with copyright holders to make this research publically available to the Qikiqtani people and all Canadians.

Methodology

The general steps in conducting the research are described here:

Step 1: Criteria were created to set priorities for research and the recommendations concerning research priorities were reviewed by the Executive Director of the QTC. Historians identified relevant government, corporate and private collections of information based on their own knowledge of the subject areas and collections and on advice from other researchers.

Step 2: Findings aids, catalogues, authoritative publications and other research tools were reviewed to identify specific files and sources of information.

Step 3: Consultation of files began in 2008 and is ongoing. Some collections are relatively easy to access and copy; others required special permission through Access to Information forms or through discussions with archivists or other records managers. The review of documents under the control of the RCMP at headquarters or at the Library and Archives of Canada is on-going and often requires extra effort to find the correct contact within the RCMP or to obtain assistance to access and see materials.

Step 4: Documents reviewed by researchers were catalogued in a MS Access database developed for the QTC. Creation of the database was absolutely necessary to facilitate easier, faster and better management of information in both languages, including over 500 interviews and over 20,000 pages of documents.

Step 5: Relevant material was digitized and attached to the database in PDF format.

Collections Consulted for the QTC Historical Research Program

Archive	Collections
Library and Archives of Canada (Ottawa)	RG 18 RCMP RG 85 Northern Affairs Branch RG 22 Indian and Northern Affairs RG 29 Health Canada RG 17 Agriculture Canada RG 109 Canadian Wildlife Service
NWT Archives (Yellowknife)	Alexander Stevenson Fond Canada, Northern Administration Branch GNWT, Department of the Executive GNWT, Department of Economic Development and Tourism GNWT, Department of Local Government GNWT, Department of Health and Social Services GNWT, Renewable Resources GNWT, Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development
RCMP Archives Management Section (Ottawa)	Daily Diaries Confidential Monthly Report Conditions Amongst the Eskimos
HBC Archives (Winnipeg)	Northern Stores Department general managers' confidential files Personnel Division Publications SF Posts, Miscellaneous Notes
Anglican Archives (Toronto)	Diocese of the Arctic Emily Farrell Fonds General Synod of the Church of England Series 2-15 1-1, Bishop's Files 1884-1979 Sub-series 2-1, Clergy Files, 1947-1981 Sub-series 2-4, Mission Station Files, 1948-1979 Sub-series 2-5, Pastoral Letters, 1951-1974 Sub-series 2-6, Diocesan Files, 1938-1983 Sub-series 5-1, Donald Ben Marsh, 1903-1973, 1922-1971
Archives Deschâtelets (Ottawa)	Commission Oblats des Oeuvres Indiens & Eskimaux Thibert Churchill Indiens
National Anthropological Archives (Washington)	Honnigman Collection
Gene Autry Center (California)	Toshio Yatsushiro

Libraries
Library and Archives Canada
Ottawa Public Library
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Library
NWT Legislative Library
Nunavut Public Library
Canadian Mortgage and Housing Company Library

Periodicals and Newspapers Consulted
Arctic
Arctic in Colour
Beaver
Debates of the Northwest Territories Council / Legislative Assembly
Eskimo
Etudes/Inuit/Studies
Inuktitut Monthly
Inuit Today
Inuksuk and Nunatsiaq News
Moccasin Telegraph
News of the North
North
Northern Perspectives
Northwest Territories Debates
RCMP Annual Reports
RCMP Quarterly
Polar Record

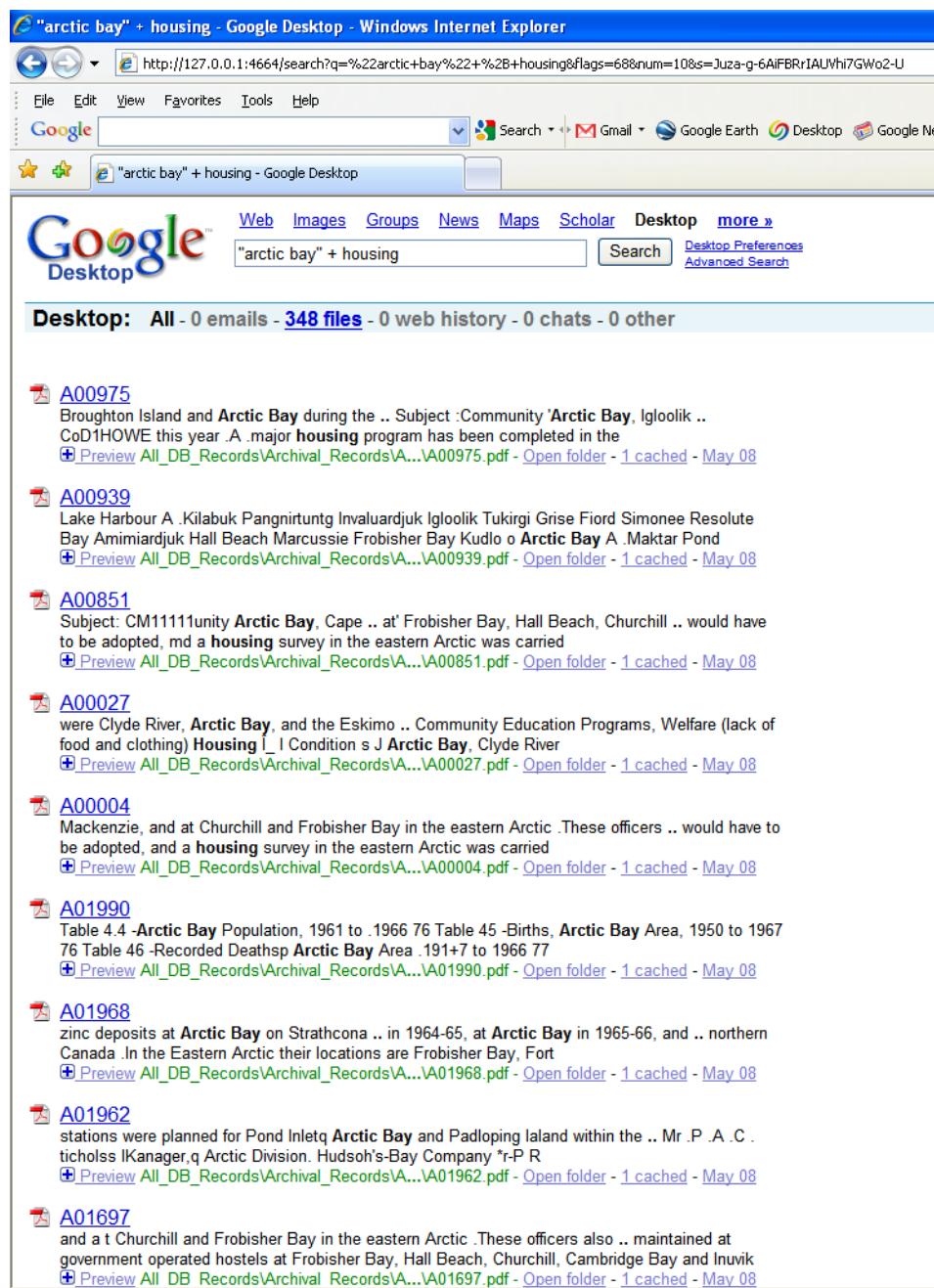
Results to Date

Category	Value
Number of archival files consulted	1 566
Number of archival documents collected and processed	2 795
Number of pages digitized	46 810
Approximate number of books, reports and articles consulted	1 500

Search-results View

Enclosed are snapshots of the results of a typical indexed document search result. Please note that this illustrates how the search tool (Google Desktop) delivers results from a search through the QTC database, not through the Internet. Google Desktop searches through the full texts of the documents.

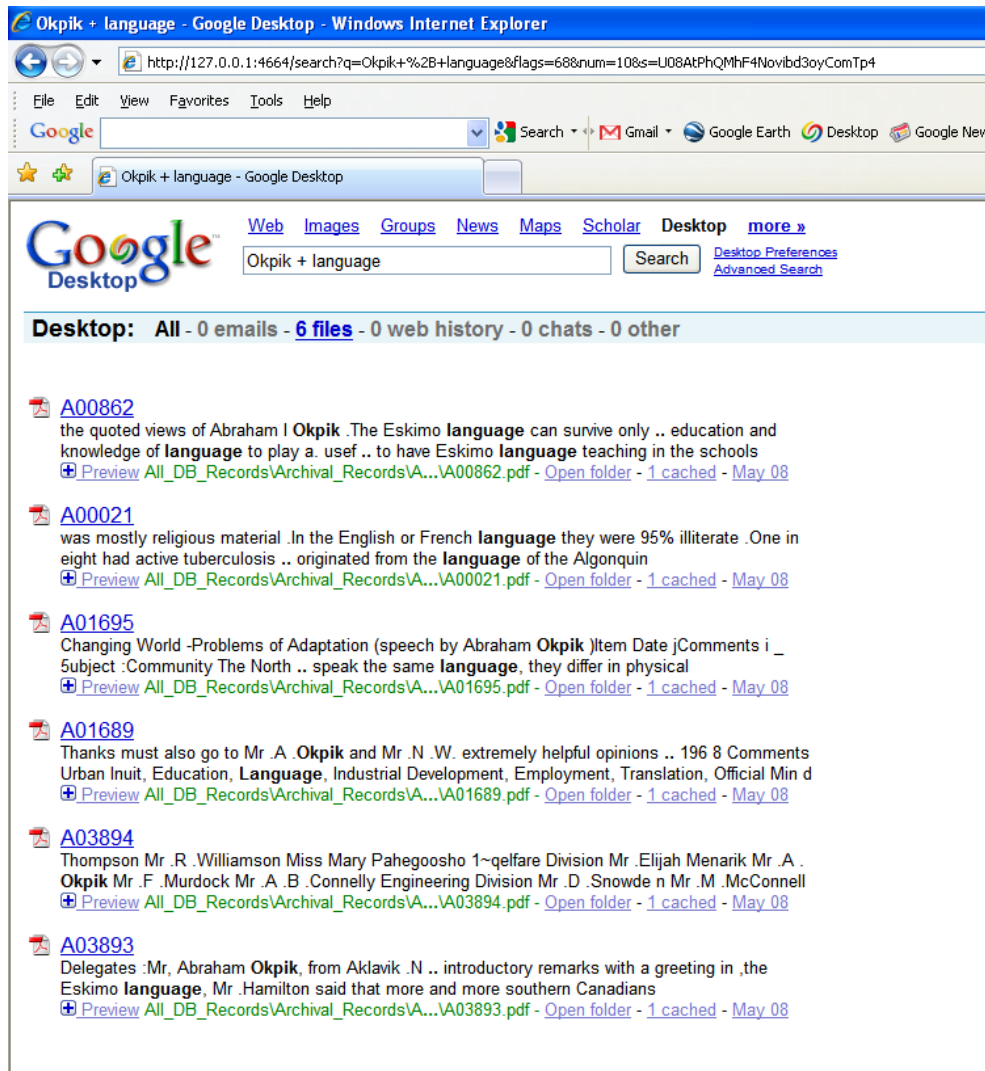
Sample search: “Arctic Bay” + housing = 348 hits in the QTC Database



The screenshot shows a Windows Internet Explorer browser window displaying Google Desktop search results. The search query is "arctic bay" + housing. The results are listed as follows:

- A00975**: Broughton Island and Arctic Bay during the .. Subject :Community 'Arctic Bay, Igloolik .. CoD1HOWE this year .A .major housing program has been completed in the
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A00975.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A00939**: Lake Harbour A. Kilabuk Pangnirtung Invaluardjuk Igloolik Tukirgi Grise Fiord Simonee Resolute Bay Amimiardjuk Hall Beach Marcussie Frobisher Bay Kudlo o Arctic Bay A. Maktar Pond
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A00939.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A00851**: Subject: CM1111unity Arctic Bay, Cape .. at' Frobisher Bay, Hall Beach, Churchill .. would have to be adopted, md a housing survey in the eastern Arctic was carried
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A00851.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A00027**: were Clyde River, Arctic Bay, and the Eskimo .. Community Education Programs, Welfare (lack of food and clothing) Housing I_ I Condition s J Arctic Bay, Clyde River
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A00027.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A00004**: Mackenzie, and at Churchill and Frobisher Bay in the eastern Arctic .These officers .. would have to be adopted, and a housing survey in the eastern Arctic was carried
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A00004.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A01990**: Table 4.4 -Arctic Bay Population, 1961 to .1966 76 Table 45 -Births, Arctic Bay Area, 1950 to 1967 76 Table 46 -Recorded Deathsp Arctic Bay Area .191+7 to 1966 77
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A01990.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A01968**: zinc deposits at Arctic Bay on Strathcona .. in 1964-65, at Arctic Bay in 1965-66, and .. northern Canada .In the Eastern Arctic their locations are Frobisher Bay, Fort
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A01968.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A01962**: stations were planned for Pond Inletq Arctic Bay and Padloping Inland within the .. Mr .P .A .C . ticholss lKanager,q Arctic Division. Hudsoh's-Bay Company *-P R
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A01962.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A01697**: and a t Churchill and Frobisher Bay in the eastern Arctic .These officers also .. maintained at government operated hostels at Frobisher Bay, Hall Beach, Churchill, Cambridge Bay and Inuvik
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A01697.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)

Sample search: Okpik + language = 6 hits in the QTC Database



The screenshot shows a Windows Internet Explorer browser window displaying Google Desktop search results. The search query is "Okpik + language". The results list six items, each with a document ID, a brief description, and a link to a PDF file in the QTC database.

Desktop: All - 0 emails - **6 files** - 0 web history - 0 chats - 0 other

- A00862**
the quoted views of Abraham I Okpik .The Eskimo **language** can survive only .. education and knowledge of **language** to play a. usef .. to have Eskimo **language** teaching in the schools
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A00862.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A00021**
was mostly religious material .In the English or French **language** they were 95% illiterate .One in eight had active tuberculosis .. originated from the **language** of the Algonquin
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A00021.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A01695**
Changing World -Problems of Adaptation (speech by Abraham Okpik)Item Date jComments i _
subject :Community The North .. speak the same **language**, they differ in physical
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A01695.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A01689**
Thanks must also go to Mr .A .Okpik and Mr .N .W. extremely helpful opinions .. 196 8 Comments
Urban Inuit, Education, **Language**, Industrial Development, Employment, Translation, Official Min d
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A01689.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A03894**
Thompson Mr .R .Williamson Miss Mary Pahegoosho 1~elfare Division Mr .Elijah Menarik Mr .A .
Okpik Mr .F .Murdock Mr .A .B .Connelly Engineering Division Mr .D .Snowde n Mr .M .McConnell
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A03894.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)
- A03893**
Delegates :Mr, Abraham Okpik, from Aklavik .N .. introductory remarks with a greeting in ,the
Eskimo **language**, Mr .Hamilton said that more and more southern Canadians
[Preview](#) [All_DB_Records\Archival_Records\A...A03893.pdf](#) - [Open folder](#) - [1 cached](#) - [May 08](#)

Sample Document from the QTC Database from the 'Okpik + language' search



ID	A00862
Repository	LAC
Collection	RG 22

Name of Collection	Indian and Northern Affairs
Series/Accessions	A-1-a
Volume/Box	1340
Files/Parts	40-10-4, pt. 4
Name of File	Educational Policy in the Northwest Territories
Item	Memo to Mr. Gordon from Director, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, re: Education
Outside Date	1958-08/68
Item Date	1964/01/21
Comments	Language; Curriculum; Schools; Natural Resource Development; Co-operatives; Health Evacuations
Subject: Community	Cape Dorset, The North
Subject: Theme	Development, Education, Health Care, Settlement life (includes Employment, Assimilation and Training)
Access Code:	32: Restricted. These records must be reviewed in accordance with the Access of Information Act and the Privacy Act before being released.

Citation Information

RG 22

Indian and Northern Affairs

A-1-a

1340

40-10-4, pt. 4

Memo to Mr. Gordon from Director, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, re: Education

Educational Policy in the Northwest Territories

1964/01/21

P 1 of 8 – Cover page of A00862



R. A. J. Phillips/nb

OUR FILE NO.
 YOUR FILE NO.

DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL RESOURCES

NORTHERN ADMINISTRATION BRANCH

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

OTTAWA, January 21, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. GORDON

DEPUTY MINISTER
 NORTHERN AFFAIRS & NATIONAL
 RESOURCES

REF: TO

MAR 5 1964

FILE No. 40-10-4

CHGD. TO

ARTICLE ON EDUCATION

In your handwritten note of January 20, you requested comments on Father Rousselière's article in the December 1963 issue of ESKIMO.

I could not help looking at this article against the background both of Father Rousselière's previously-expressed views, and his earlier articles in this journal. With this perspective, Father Rousselière's article seemed to us temperate and positive. Mr. Sivertz and I had earlier spoken to Father Rousselière about our disappointment that, in his writing, he was often vigorously negative. He quoted as facts information which was either incomplete or even inaccurate. He repeated rumours, the authenticity of which could easily have been checked out before being put on to the printed page. The articles seemed to question not merely the judgment of the administration but the sincerity and character of members of it. We strongly represented to Father Rousselière that such an approach was not helpful either to the subject being discussed or to the kind of co-operation which we sought between the Missions and the administration.

Father Rousselière was gratifyingly receptive to our comments. Since then, he has been quite helpful, sometimes asking us in private about situations which have come to his attention, in order that they can be examined and, if appropriate, remedied before being the subject of public controversy. He has also paid tribute in print to the sincerity and integrity of members of the administration, whose views he did not necessarily accept.

You will note that, in the present article, he does avoid vituperation against the administration, or individual members of it, though he takes issue with policies that we administer. This is not

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true of the brief footnote which occurs on page 12. The writer, who is not identified, questions the motives of public servants, and accuses them of either law-breaking or intent to break laws in connection with the teaching of religion in schools.

The example with which Father Rousselière begins his article is no doubt a valid one, but it is not as common as the reader might infer. There are few children who have so quickly forgotten a knowledge of Eskimo that they find difficulty in communicating with their parents. We would hope that there would eventually be none, but we 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. There are a few Eskimos, usually by accident of hospitalisation, who possess enough education and knowledge of language to play a useful role in assisting teachers. They are too few, however, and not well enough equipped to introduce the program of Eskimo teaching which we see as an objective in future years. We believe it wrong to try to persuade any promising Eskimo to leave his learning career in order to come on school staff while it is possible for him to go through higher grades of education.

While it is our long-term objective to have the Eskimo language as a subject in schools, I must emphasise that we still maintain the conviction that teaching must be in one of Canada's two national languages. Almost all experience in comparable situations elsewhere in the world, especially in Greenland, strengthens our belief in the rightness of this view. It is interesting that, although ESKIMO often quotes the Greenland example, it is the Greenlanders themselves who tried teaching in the vernacular over a long period, and have given it up to follow our pattern of instruction. This was simply because the Greenlanders themselves felt that, by being denied a knowledge of Danish, they were being relegated to an inferior class of citizenship.

At the bottom of page 5, Father Rousselière refers to an admission that, although more than twelve years have passed since the establishment of the first federal schools in the Arctic, no major steps had yet been taken to adapt teaching to local conditions. This is an overstatement.

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The Curriculum Section, which existed on paper for many years, has been a functioning organization only for about the last three years. During that time, it has made entirely satisfactory progress in adapting curricula to local conditions. Attached to this memorandum are examples of reading material which has recently been produced by that section. There have, of course, been many other ways in which teaching has been adapted to local conditions.

It is unfortunate that, on page 6, Father Rousselière seeks to establish a difference in viewpoint between recent articles by Mr. Sivertz and myself. The three articles referred to, being major statements of policy, were the subject of long discussion and eventual clearance at the Deputy Minister level. (My article on citizenship, called "Three is not a Crowd", benefitted greatly from the help of both Mr. Côté and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.)

By isolating a few sentences of Mr. Sivertz' article, Father Rousselière has inferred that the Director was in favour of a policy of assimilation which would exclude emphasis on the preservation of the Eskimo culture. This is simply not true. There are many examples, of which the new orthography is the biggest, of the way in which the Branch has placed strong emphasis on the preservation of Eskimo culture in the Canadian pattern.

On page 7, Father Rousselière says that the recent experience of Rankin Inlet has shown that mining is too hazardous to serve as the sole basis of Eskimo economy. With this we wholeheartedly agree. At no time has mining ever absorbed more than 100 Eskimo wage earners across the Arctic. Mining is, however, one aspect of the diversification necessary to replace the dangerous, one-crop economy of fur.

We doubt Father Rousselière's statement that the most qualified specialists of the Arctic now agree that the north will provide "a poor economy".

We thoroughly agree that the Eskimos should be given the opportunity of choosing a skill or trade useful to them in their own country, but we do not agree that their education should be such as to limit their future careers. The Eskimo must, if he so chooses, be equipped to find a meaningful life outside the Arctic. We have the objective that, in being thus equipped, the Eskimo will not be a carbon copy of the

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southern Canadian. Otherwise, we would not have put an enormous effort into the design of curricula and the design of an orthography which will permit the Eskimo language to survive.

Father Rousselière himself gives credit to the development of handicraft and fishing co-operatives which are, of course, the full responsibility of this Department.

It is an exaggeration to say that the Sir John Franklin School, or Akaitcho Hall, are "sterilized of all that might resemble an Eskimo atmosphere". About a third of the students at Akaitcho Hall are usually Eskimo. Their cultural tradition enriches the whole life of this institution, and a great deal of encouragement is given to it.

It is true that many Eskimos go to southern Canada for treatment of serious illness. This is not because of the inability of the medical services to organize northern hospitals, but it is simply because, for the treatment of serious tuberculosis, one cannot maintain, even at enormous expense, hospitals of the same standard as are available in southern Canada. This is because only in large southern hospitals, usually associated with medical teaching, can one maintain staffs of the very highest professional calibre. This is a very old controversy, in which there has simply been no meeting of minds between the administration and Missionaries. The controversy has, however, lost much of its sharpness in recent years.

We deplore as much as Father Rousselière the thoughtless examples of our material civilisation given to Eskimos in matters of dress, and so on. To keep perspective, however, it must be remembered that in the Canadian Arctic the wearing of southern dress began long ago, when the first traders and Missionaries came into the land. It has been represented that the encouragement of southern dress was partly at the instance of traders, and partly at the instance of certain Missionaries who in particular attributed immorality to the traditional women's costume based on the wearing of sealskin pants. In Greenland, the traditional dress was not opposed and was not so lightly discarded. We think the Greenland example has much to commend it. At any rate, we do not believe that we should be blamed for the emphasis on southern styles which began long before the entrance of the administration, and which has continued in spite of it.

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Of course we agree that the Eskimos have the right to be different, and we firmly support the quoted views of Abraham Okpik. The Eskimo language can survive only if it is given a rational orthography; otherwise it is as doomed as the dodo. In this view, we have generally had the support of northern Missionaries, though we have encountered extreme opposition from Bishop Marsh and one or two members of his diocese.

Father Rousselière's statement on page 9, that the opinion of the average Eskimo is not generally sought, is simply wrong. These opinions are constantly sought, through many devices. We do not doubt the accuracy of the quotations given by Father Rousselière. Amongst Canada's 11,000 Eskimos, however, there are many divergent views, and it has been our experience that, amongst all but the oldest Eskimos, there is a strongly-expressed desire not only for education in general, but for a knowledge of English in particular. This, of course, does not exclude a continuing knowledge of the Eskimo language and culture.

Perhaps this is not the place to express our views on the alleged plans of Quebec for Arctic teaching, for several versions have been submitted. Within the past year or so, it was announced that all teaching would be in Eskimo. The praise which Father Rousselière gives to the apparent decision to teach French is in contradiction to principles of self-determination. One would have thought it would be better for the Eskimos to decide whether they prefer their children to learn French or English as a second language.

Father Rousselière, on page 10, slips from his high standards to question the motives of, and to attribute political objectives to, the Department's educational program. This, perhaps, does not require an answer, but it should be reiterated that there have been constant and concerted efforts to seek Eskimo views, not merely recently but over many years past. The encouragement of local Eskimo Councils has been one important vehicle for the expression of Eskimo views and, in earlier days, the Eskimo Affairs Committee, meeting annually in Ottawa, was another means.

Father Rousselière urges camp teaching, and quotes Miss Hinds in support of this system. Miss Hinds was long the advocate of this

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approach, and worked on it for many years at Cape Dorset - long enough for us to judge the effectiveness of it. While I cannot accurately quote the statistics from memory, I recall that, after something like five years of this kind of teaching, not a single child had passed the Grade II level. This was under almost ideal conditions, where the teacher herself had a good knowledge of the Eskimo language, and was prepared to live under primitive conditions to carry out her mission. Even here, with all these advantages, the system failed to provide any real education. Interestingly enough, during all Miss Hinds' teaching years, there was considerable reservation by the older people about the role of education. More recently, as the school has produced results, this opposition has markedly diminished, if not disappeared.

Father Rousselière proposes that we recruit teachers in Greenland and Alaska. We have tried to do so, but with only limited success. Last term there was a Greenlandic teacher in Baffin Island. It is difficult, however, for Greenlandic teachers to be spared, and we cannot institute an exchange system because the Greenlandic authorities require a thorough knowledge of Danish language, history and culture in all their teachers. In Alaska, of course, all teaching is done in English, and there are few qualified teachers there with a knowledge of even Alaskan dialects.

We have accepted, in whole or in part, all of Father Rousselière's other proposals. Of course there is specific recognition of the Eskimo's right to keep their language. This right is most articulately expressed through our Eskimo language publications, through the orthography and through other work of the Eskimology Section.

A special training program is available for Eskimos who wish to become teachers, but their normal education must not be cut short to achieve this short-range purpose.

Eskimos always have the right to choose between remunerative work or further study.

We are not sure what Father Rousselière means by the "second language".

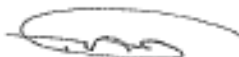
There is a comprehensive scholarship scheme for higher education - the most generous in Canada.

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We have tried camp teaching, but it has not proved successful.

Please let us know if we can provide you with any further views or information on this subject.



Director.

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Review of The RCMP Report, “The RCMP and the Inuit Sled Dogs” (2006)

Executive Summary

Written by: Dr. Philip Goldring, Historian, and Madeleine Redfern, Executive Director, QTC

Date: 14 October 2009

BACKGROUND

Staff and historians working for the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) have reviewed the report released in 2006 by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) titled: *The RCMP and the Inuit Sled Dogs (Nunavut and Northern Quebec: 1950-1970)* hereafter cited as *RCMP Sled Dogs Report*. Commissioner Elliott of the RCMP and QTC Commissioner James Igloliorte have asked for an examination of the *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* as part of the research and analysis of the QTC.

In 2005, the federal government rejected advice to call an independent inquiry and asked the RCMP to investigate itself. The resulting *RCMP Sled Dogs Report*, instead of aiming for a broad perspective, was as bitter and scornful as the statements which gave rise to the inquiry, and was not as coherent or as accurate as an independent inquiry could have been.

The *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* looked for and failed to find evidence of either a coordinated government policy or unlawful behaviour in the actions of the RCMP in killing Inuit sled dogs between 1950 and 1970. Most of the analysis was directed not at understanding how society and governance worked in this era, but at discrediting Inuit memories and interpretations of how and why dogs were killed by the authorities at the time.

Nonetheless, as an inventory of documents, facts and memories, the *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* can help Inuit and other Canadians move towards an accurate understanding of the 1950s and 1960s in Nunavut and Northern Quebec. It identified topics of mutual interest whose explanation will help Inuit and the RCMP understand shared parts of their past. It also misses opportunities to advance that understanding. In their analysis, QTC staff and historians identified a number of areas of interest which need to be explored to arrive at the accurate history which the QIA has called for in order to explain the “Dog Slaughter”, “Relocations” and other decision-making of the Government up until 1980, and their effect on Inuit culture, economy and way of life.

AREAS OF INTEREST

1. Northwest Territories legislation included an *Ordinance Respecting Dogs*, which dealt with the control of dogs for purposes of public health and public safety. The *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* did not adequately analyse the Ordinance or explore its details, the difficulties of

applying it in the actual conditions in the Baffin Region, or the question of whether the RCMP had adequate resources to do so.

2. Until the mid 1960s, the RCMP tended to support camp life, and they valued dogs wherever camp life still prevailed. The *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* did little to explain the common past of the RCMP and Inuit. Although different in culture and world view, they were partners in creating communities in Nunavut and Northern Quebec.
3. *The RCMP Sled Dogs Report* failed to examine the telling of the “dog slaughter” experiences as an important exercise in public memory. Instead, it dismissed this memory as false and condemned Inuit leaders who brought the incidents to public notice. There have been exhaustive social scientific studies, mostly publicly funded, concerning what communities remember about the past, and why. The *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* does not explore these avenues but resorts to a simple conspiracy theory in which Inuit fell into line behind their political leaders in accepting a narrative of the dog slaughter. The lengthy silence of Inuit on this issue is interpreted by the *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* as evidence of dishonesty.
4. The *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* does not explain how the RCMP used increased funding to the agency to benefit Inuit. The RCMP budget north of 60° grew from \$881,000 in 1953-54 to \$2,291,721 in 1968-69. As a result, the report misses an opportunity to broaden and deepen Inuit and Canadians’ understanding of the part played by their national police force in administering the Arctic in the middle decades of the 20th century.
5. The *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* does not examine the dynamics of RCMP-Inuit interaction in the dispersed camps, on the trail, or around the trading establishments, either before or after centralized settlement became official policy. This interaction, whether positive or negative, was relevant to the evolution of the settlements from Qallunaat enclaves to present-day communities.
6. The adversarial rhetoric of the *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* admitted that police killed some dogs, but did not address the fluctuating frequency of these incidents, or consider these killings as part of a pattern of police domination and Inuit resistance. It failed to document the cases, probably very numerous, when police and other dog officers may have killed dogs without complying fully with the *Ordinance Respecting Dogs*. It did not evaluate the accuracy or effectiveness of police efforts to communicate the meaning of the *Ordinance Respecting Dogs* to Inuit.
7. The *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* has fundamental methodological flaws in its effort to explain the documentary record for which the RCMP was solely or principally responsible. Police created documentation that is sometimes the only public record pre-dating 1970 about these communities. The report also did not describe the relationship of RCMP documents to other archival records. The fate of much of this documentation remains unclear. In addition, the QTC and RCMP staffs continue to search for RCMP documents and files included as references in the *RCMP Sled Dogs Report*. While the RCMP conducted extensive research to locate these records for its report, it did not properly describe the locations of most documents and it has told the Commission that at least one key document was provided by a retired RCMP officer, not collected in context from the RCMP archives. It is possible that

some of the documents cited in the report may never be found at either at the RCMP headquarters or at the Library and Archives of Canada, especially in time for the QTC to complete its work.

Conclusion

The *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* is not a history of relations of Inuit and Mounted Police; it is a forensic assessment of selected documentary evidence and recent witness statements about the way the RCMP dealt with dogs and their owners. The *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* does document the fact that RCMP and Inuit have a large shared history, much of it within living memory, and much of it covering years of social upheaval.

Because of its narrow approach, however, the report significantly delayed the process of seeking an accurate history of how different stakeholders took part in the great transformation of Inuit life in the Qikiqtani Region between 1950 and 1970, and using elements of that history in the cause of reconciliation.

It will be possible to use some of the documentation in the *RCMP Sled Dogs Report* to help understand how Inuit experienced the difficult transitions from camp life to settlement life between 1950 and 1970. A more balanced analysis of the evidence in historical records and testimonies provided by retired RCMP officers could have promoted healing for those who suffered wrongdoings, and also heal relations between Inuit and the Government by providing an opportunity for uncovering all pertinent facts and allowing for acknowledgement and forgiveness.

Historical Reports: Executive Summaries

Government and Development in the Baffin Region, 1950 to 1975

The history of development in the Baffin Region in the period from 1950 to 1975 includes government projects, military programs, private-sector development in the non-renewable resource field and local economic development initiatives. In spite of major investments and the move of many Inuit to settlements where most wage-paying jobs were located, the Baffin Region became a place of high unemployment where formerly self-sufficient families could face hunger and homelessness. The steps taken by government to steer the Inuit economy away from hunting and trapping are important to the mandate of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission. The steps were key elements in government decision-making between 1950 and 1975 that had significant effects on Inuit culture, economy and way of life.

After 1950 the Canadian government aggressively extended the northern roads, airfields and weather stations that were built during the Second World War. Most were in Yukon and the Western Arctic, but new airfields also existed at Iqaluit and Coral Harbour. In the Baffin Region, the federal government completed programs of aerial mapping and geological exploration. Official records show that these developments were monitored at the highest level; numerous official publications expressed optimism about the future of the region.

DEW Line stations provided some limited employment, especially for Inuit living in Hall Beach and Qikiqtarjuaq. The installations had a greater economic impact, however, in stimulating Iqaluit's growth as an administrative centre and forwarding point, and in the development of its airport.

Federal authorities looked primarily to the privately controlled non-renewable resource sector (mining and oil & gas exploration and extraction) for future employment of Inuit, not only to relieve pressures on social assistance, but also to create a tax base for further development of the Baffin Region. By 1975 there were two productive mines on the Parry Channel, Nanisivik and Polaris, and studies were underway to exploit and ship oil and gas. Preliminary work on iron deposits repeated a lesson already learned at Rankin Inlet, namely, that mining projects were highly vulnerable to national and international economic conditions. In the 1970s, environmental concerns were also being voiced, and later in that decade, international economic conditions and a new awareness of Aboriginal rights (prompted in large part by the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry) led to a more cautious approach to resource development in the Arctic.

Federal and later territorial officials and Inuit themselves also searched for development opportunities in the local economy. Cape Dorset provided an early example – which some other communities followed – of earnings from carving and print-making. Its West Baffin Eskimo Co-op also pioneered commercial hunting and fishing camps. In Iqaluit, a fish-processing plant operated in the 1970s, but closed due to the depletion of Arctic char from the Sylvia Grinnell

River. In 1972, the federal government began to develop a national park between Pangnirtung and Qikiqtarjuaq, although few Inuit received ongoing benefits from the park's creation.

In supporting resource development and local economic development opportunities, the federal government's goal was to bring southern standards of living to each northern community. In the view of many officials, housing programs, large diesel generators, airfields and the communications potential of the Anik satellite were the core technologies needed to realize the goal. Housing programs, for various reasons set out in a separate QTC report, never fulfilled their promises, but many infrastructure improvements were delivered by the end of the 1970s. Many infrastructure and development projects were owned or managed by community-based co-operatives. There were gaps: hydro-electric potential was recognized but not exploited, and the growing fleet of sea-lift vessels continued to discharge cargo using barges because no ports were built. In at least one community – Kimmirut – Inuit built and maintained an airfield in advance of government improvements.

A set of "Area economic studies" sponsored by the Northern Administration Branch in the 1960s found that people in the Baffin Region had reasonably secure access to game animals, though with few surpluses for sale outside the region. At a broad regional level, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development carried out planning studies in the late 1960s which reopened questions about large-scale relocation of Inuit far beyond their home regions. After devolution of social services to the NWT these plans seemed inappropriate, and federal development statements in the 1970s were more cautious. They continued to insist that southern demand for raw materials would drive future northern development but also warned that government grants, tax relief, development infrastructure and services could accelerate development, but not create it. In fact, throughout the period under study, Inuit men were most likely to be employed in government-directed construction programs while Inuit women were hired as clerks, office assistants, teacher assistants and cleaners.

The very slow pace of development, coupled with the shift of people from the land to the larger settlements, caused massive unemployment for Inuit. Most people had previously been self-sufficient or substantially so when living on the land, even when partly reliant on supplemental family benefits. But with resettlement occurring well in advance of the hoped-for development, Inuit were more likely to need social assistance than to benefit from 'development'. At the same time, whatever hunter support programs existed were hesitant and helped only a minority. This period marked the beginning of a general reliance on the state and intergenerational cycles of poverty and loss of initiative for self reliance.

During the QTC hearings, the Commissioner heard people say that they believed that they were mistreated or intimidated by managers and employers working for development enterprises and that some people were never paid for services, such as guiding, provided to government

employees. Others spoke of the importance of even temporary wages to raising their standard of living. Several people testified that they were sent South (sometimes repeatedly) for training, especially in trades, but had few opportunities to apply their skills to paid employment in their home communities. They faced returning to jobs that were either seasonal or depended on their acceptance of frequent moves to follow jobs across the territories. Some Inuit also spoke to the impact of intensive aerial surveys and development planning on wildlife.

Research conducted to support the work of the QTC provides a clearer picture of the impact of development projects on Inuit hunting practices, family relationships and cultural traditions. Documents refer to the importance of private development in providing Inuit with a much-welcomed alternative to the near-monopoly held by the federal government on well-paying jobs in the Baffin Region in the 1960s and 70s. Historical records also provide evidence about less positive contexts of developments, such as the difference in wages paid to Inuit and Qallunaat workers; the behaviour of Qallunaat employers in communities; and the challenges in sustaining communities where development jobs were easy to obtain one year and impossible to find the next. In general, the archival record shows the results of very little meaningful Inuit involvement in decision-making about development of any kind, other than cooperatives, in the period.

History of Education in the Baffin Region, 1950 to 1975 (DRAFT)

Note: This draft requires revision prior to the writing of the draft report. It is based on an outline of the background report.

This report focuses on the implementation and use of the northern education system by the Canadian government in the period from 1950 to 1975. In this period, formal education programs for Inuit replaced the patchwork collection of full-time and intermittent teaching projects led by missionaries. The federal government set an ambitious target – to provide formal, southern-style education to Inuit in the Baffin Region (and the rest of the north) by the year 1968.

The government’s program was designed to meet the related goals of integrating Inuit into Canadian culture and its economy (as defined by the federal government) and ensuring that Inuit had access to a wider range of educational opportunities consistent with Canada’s position as a leading democracy. The planning, staffing and construction program created a network of government day schools, hostels, residential schools and experimental programs led by professional staff engaged from the south. The educational experience of Inuit students was compromised, however, by a lack of adequate funding, curriculum disagreements, confusion over educational goals, challenges in retaining teachers and few efforts to create culturally appropriate programs that would be valued by Inuit parents and students.

The report examines the transition of education programs and policies in parallel to other policies related to Inuit in the Baffin Region. Prior to World War II, federal government formal education policy was to “keep the Native Native”, with some allowance given to churches to provide basic education to Inuit living in settlements or those that could be visited in nearby camps. During the war, external and internal political pressures, as well as observations of government staff, led the Canadian government to set up programs that changed policy directions in the Baffin Region. The government shifted emphasis from providing education to Inuit obliged to live in settlements to providing education to all Inuit through public education programs. The shift was part of a broader, but contradictory strategy, to integrate Inuit into mainstream Canadian society on one hand and to create a trained population for the new northern economy on the other. The difficulties in achieving the goals set by the government can be seen in all aspects of education – curriculum, facilities, staffing, testing and graduation rates – and from all points of view – students, parents, educators, employers and policy-makers.

The Commission heard many testimonials from Inuit about events related to education. Some people said they were unfairly threatened in the 1960s with the loss of Family Allowance payments if children did not attend school. Inuit who continued to sustain themselves on the land, this meant a stark choice of either abandoning camp life and relocating to a settlement, or remaining on the land and leaving children to live in one of the new federal small hostels. These alleged threats coincided with the 1961-1962 introduction of small hostels as a cheap alternative

to sending all Inuit children to residential schools after federal cutbacks to northern education virtually halted construction of education facilities and raised anxiety among federal bureaucrats that the government's objective of providing a formal education to all the north's youth by 1968 may not be realized.

The Commissioner also heard testimonies from people:

- Punished for speaking Inuktitut or for failing to use Qallunaaq cultural manners and dress
- About difficulties getting children to attend school
- About reasons why Inuit left school at an early age
- About serious problems at residential schools
- That settlements were consolidated because schools were being built requiring families to move
- That families were ordered to send children to the Churchill Vocational Centre
- That student attending Churchill Vocational Centre spent many months waiting for news about their families

One person also testified that she was sent away from home as part of an “experimental Eskimo education” program. She only discovered very recently that her experience was due to a government program, not to the wishes of her family or her hosts.

Extensive archival records and numerous published accounts by Inuit and educators have been consulted. The documentation not only adds to the stories told to the Commissioner, but it also provides evidence about other issues as well. The design and evaluation of education programs occurred with no Inuit involvement. Inuit parents were aware that they were handing their children over to another culture with different values and expectations every day that they were sent to school but the alternative was no schooling. Education programs achieved the desired result to make Inuit children aware of the broader world, but they did little to prepare them to take meaningful places in that world. Those lessons were learned from their parents and Elders or through their own initiatives. The government's intention to use education to create workers for the new northern economy did not work because there were too few jobs; its intention to use education to integrate Inuit into mainstream Canada did not work because the conditions for a solid education – good teachers, appropriate housing, high levels of community support for education, well-design curriculums – were not in place.

Healthcare in the Baffin Region, 1950 to 1975

Between the years 1945 and 1980, the rules, practices, people and agencies responsible for delivering non-traditional healthcare to Inuit in the Baffin Region changed constantly. This report looks at the history of healthcare from the HBC-Mission period (1920s to 40s), when Euro-Canadian healthcare was limited to the yearly rounds of the Eastern Arctic patrol and to care from missionaries, the RCMP and HBC personnel, to the late Modern era (1970s), when Inuit joined professionals in calling for more emphasis on both preventive health programs and on improvements to social conditions as ways to improve the health of Inuit.

This report considers both the goals of healthcare programs and the tools used to deliver healthcare services to Inuit in the Baffin Region from the 1950s through the 1970s. The results of the programs were uneven, as the following selection of examples shows. Communities could be assigned a nurse, but the position might not be staffed. Inuit unable or unwilling to meet medical officers during annual visits by the *CD Howe* were often located by helicopter and ordered to go to the ship. The federal and territorial governments wanted to train Inuit nurses, but potential nursing students in the North were limited by poor primary and secondary education program and could not meet the minimum requirements for nursing college. Healthcare workers often lacked translators to allow for effective communications with patients. Tuberculosis (TB) was a serious infectious disease in the Inuit population, but governments insisted on treating Inuit in the south. Inuit returning from treatment often arrived with disabilities and no reasonable training or employment options to support themselves or their families. Infant mortality rates continued to be well above the rates in the rest of Canada for reasons that were well-documented and understood, but not completely addressed.

Many Inuit chose to speak to the Commission about healthcare. Their testimonies were primarily related to the TB epidemic and its treatment. Inuit spoke of: being sent south for treatment; having family members sent away for treatment, sometimes never to return; losing contact with family members sent south; Inuit returning north having lost their culture; fear, confusion and anger over being sent away with little or no explanation, lack of advance warning or a chance to say goodbye; and many other similar accounts. The cultural impact of the TB epidemic and the government's response to it overshadows nearly all other aspects of health and healthcare during the period (except infant mortality rates), and is a clear indication that TB affected each and every family with painful and long-term effects during this period.

The Commission also heard testimonies relating individual stories of widespread depression and mental illness, both perceived as a result of the sudden transition from a traditional hunting lives to permanent settlement life.

An analysis of the archival record supplements many of the testimonies, including the importance of the TB epidemic in Inuit history, and demonstrates that: there was confusion about

who was eligible for treatment from whom and under what circumstances; Inuit wanted access to modern medicine, in spite of the lack of culturally appropriate programs; Inuit believed that government acted too slowly in the north and that the level of service was too low; government decision-makers did not attempt to listen to Inuit when designing healthcare programs; healthcare workers with extensive knowledge about conditions in the Baffin Region were ignored; government agents and decision-makers believed that their actions and decisions were reasonable; governmental policy was constrained by the logistical difficulties and the cost of providing medical services to a widely dispersed population living in a challenging environment; and poor communication between medical staff and Inuit caused anguish and frustration among all parties, and a mutual feeling of disrespect.

Housing in the Baffin Region, 1950 to 1975

In 1950 approximately 1,100 Inuit were living in settlement; in 1961, the number was likely closer to 1,800. By 1976, however, 7,500 Inuit or more were living in settlements. Most of the people lived in houses of varying quality and suitability constructed by the federal government or by the NWT through federal assistance.

For some Inuit families, the transition from camps to settlements involved a quick succession of increasingly comfortable homes; for others, however, housing in settlements was woefully inadequate and contributed to health problems. The investment in housing (accompanied by the numerous studies undertaken to create land-use plans for communities) was also the largest government program directed at Inuit in the 1950 to 1975 period. It formalized relationships between Inuit and the federal government, made settlements possible, and altered cultural practices and social norms. It also introduced a new set of indicators to mark the differences between Inuit and Qallunaat, and between Inuit families.

The first Inuit living permanently in settlements were attracted by jobs rather than housing. They were employed by the RCMP as special constables or by the church or HBC as guides, cooks or cleaners. They were quickly joined in the settlements in the early 1950s by Elders who could no longer live on the land due to declining health. Some Inuit employed by the three agencies, including the RCMP, were provided with small houses alongside a trading establishment or mission; aged or infirm Inuit lived with relatives or in mission establishments. Well into the 1960s, Inuit were just as likely to be living in shacks or over-crowded dwellings as in wooden frame houses, with or without amenities such as running water.

Large-scale construction of frame housing and military installations began in the Baffin Region during the Second World War and continued into the 1960s for Qallunaat workers drawn to the North for construction and maintenance of military installations and for government employment. These projects, in parallel with Inuit housing, provided sources of income for Inuit and with additional surplus (or discarded) materials that could be used to build more permanent versions of housing forms otherwise more typical of seasonal camps.

The bureaucracy discussed Inuit housing needs repeatedly from the mid 1950s onwards, but there was little direct action. Even when Inuit were relocated to Grise Fiord in 1954, the government expected them to live in traditional houses. The impetus for formal housing policies and action came in the 1950s when poor housing was repeatedly identified as a leading cause of high rates of illness and poor chances of recovery. The need to remove the “slum conditions” prompted the government to begin studying ways of providing “appropriate” housing to the North. The initial studies focused on technical challenges that tried to match three objectives: solid engineering, culturally acceptable forms, and affordability.

The initial construction project in the late 1950s, which included building Styrofoam igloos, insulated tents, and small rigid-frame dwellings, was roundly criticized. The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) set out to develop a program that would provide houses to Inuit at a price that they could afford, without a level of subsidy that would be unacceptable to Canadians. Numerous strategies were considered to convince Inuit that owning a house was in their best interests, even though the economics and legal conditions of property ownership bared little resemblance to the financial equations and security offered by home ownership in the south.

By 1964, the government admitted that attempts to provide Inuit with appropriate (cost, design and quality) housing had failed. Very few Inuit were paying rent or other monthly costs for their houses. Some people had could not afford even a minimal amount of rent; others were convinced that the federal government did not need their money; and others entered into agreements believing that free rent or small rents would be continued in perpetuity. The language of housing agreements was ambiguous and the population was very mobile, which also made it difficult for government agents to collect money. Added to this was the lack of an effective option if people did not pay rent.

A new housing program in that year called for a massive construction program to place 1,600 multi-room houses to the Arctic. The program included the establishment of housing councils to give Inuit a voice in housing options and, just as importantly, to make it easier for government agents to collect rents, manage contracts and teach Inuit how to live in the new houses. By 1966, 194 of these homes had arrived Baffin Region. The new multi-room houses were only slightly better than the matchbox houses of the first government housing initiative.

Housing continued to be built in all settlements but the number of houses remained insufficient and only a portion of Inuit paid rent. The federal government turned over full responsibility for housing in the Baffin Region and other parts of the NWT to the Territory in 1974.

Testimony provided to the QTC reinforces the theme that the housing programs were poorly conceived and that they were unaffordable for many families. Many people appreciated the chance to live in permanent frame houses. Others told the Commission that they had been promised housing if they moved to the settlement, but when they arrived in the settlement there was no housing available and they had to board with friends or family or living in tents. In a testimony to the QTC, an Inuk stated "... we were homeless, living in a tent." Forms of homelessness, such as living in make-shift shelters or in over-crowded conditions, were common. Many people recounted their memories of poor housing condition to the Commissioner, elaborating on the pain that it caused them and their parents. Others spoke about the constant rising cost of housing and the differences between government/corporate housing

and Inuit housing in terms of the size, qualities and amenities provided. Testimony was also given that families were promised free housing in perpetuity in settlements.

The archival record demonstrates that housing was recognized as a legitimate arena for government activity in the Baffin Region by the early 1960s. The programs were championed by bureaucrats who were divided on whether to assign priority to affordability, quality or quantity, and how to address the reality that many Canadians could not afford their own homes, even as renters. The record is also clear that Inuit were not consulted about housing until the 1970s when it became apparent that nothing could be resolved without their involvement and political structures had developed that government recognized as legitimate.

Hunting and Harvesting in the Baffin Region, 1950 to 1975

Hunting and harvesting was and is an integral part of Inuit culture and survival. The importance and relationship with animals and birds for Inuit is sacrosanct. In a hunting culture, being a competent hunter is not only a means for continued survival of the group; it also grants status and value within society.

Inuit have always had their own laws, customs and practices with respect to hunting and harvesting. They have also adapted new techniques of their own making or those introduced by outsiders to increase the chance of successful hunts and harvests. While the introduction of guns in the 19th century and power boats in the early 20th century altered some hunting strategies, many Inuit still continued to use kayaks, sled dogs, spears and harpoons into the 1950s and 60s. An intimate knowledge of the ice, sea and land allowed them to move hundreds of kilometres in search of food.

Since early Qallunaat contact with whalers and fur-traders, Inuit became active participants in these two additional forms of harvests. The income Inuit derived from them was very important to the hunter and his family, to the point that many Inuit had become dependent on this supplementary source of income to help subsidize the purchase of their hunting and trapping equipment along with basic food staples. When whaling ceased, Inuit became more reliant on fur trading. However, fox fur or sealskin prices fluctuated yearly depending on the free market demand and as such, the price paid by HBC or other fur traders to Inuit also fluctuated, which Inuit often found incomprehensible or suspicious. There was often only one trading post for Inuit to sell their furs and this monopolization is often understood to create inequality in the bargaining relationship. Inuit were paid in store tokens used as a form of monetary payment and credit rather than cash. When fur prices steadily declined after World War II Inuit had few options. They could harvest more animals; suffer from bouts of starvation; or rely more on social assistance from government.

When the Canadian state began to exert its presence over the north in the early 1920s by posting RCMP officers in the Arctic, Canadian hunting laws and regulations were also introduced and then sporadically enforced. Canadian wildlife laws focused on the preservation and conservation of species, as a result of several notable extinctions or near extinctions, such as the carrier pigeon, bison and bowhead whales. The Canadian Wildlife Service (CWS) was very concerned that Aboriginal peoples, including Inuit, would over-harvest animals in switching from traditional to modern technologies, including motor boats and rifles. The government ignored Inuit hunting culture and conditions, which still relied on traditional hunting strategies and applied traditional knowledge in choosing where, when and how much to hunt. In spite of a lack of reliable scientific information about Arctic game populations, the federal government adopted the precautionary-principal approach to achieve the goal of conservation. Game laws were

developed that were aimed at regulating hunters' access to animals through strict prohibitions and restrictions concerning the dates of hunting seasons and types and number of animals that could be taken. The RCMP was given responsibility for enforcing laws and observing game numbers and conditions. In practice, however, they relied almost entirely on hunters themselves for information.

Both Inuit and RCMP officers living in the Baffin Region recognized that the CWS game laws were unduly restrictive, based on unproven theories and irreconcilable with the hunting-trading economy of the region. Data was incomplete, normal animal population cycles observed by Inuit were ignored, and the nutritional requirements of a hunting family and its dogs were miscalculated.

While the CWS put pressure on the RCMP to inform Inuit about game laws and the penalties for their violation, many RCMP officers observed that the laws were impractical and that violations were reasonable or necessary. For other officers, discretion about the application of the laws became another tool they could use to manage their relations with Inuit. In general, Inuit disregarded game laws in favour of their own hunting laws and customs.

After World War II, however, Inuit adopted a series of important technologies –transistor radios, cheaper boats, lighter rifles and snowmobiles – for hunting and they moved in increasing numbers to settlements where they had access to wage employment, education, permanent housing and social benefits. Fewer men hunted, boys were less likely to combine hunting and schooling, and more hunting activity was focused around settlement life. Snowmobiles provided hunters with a means to travel long distances quickly (which became even more necessary as game numbers dwindled around settlements) without having to sustain a team of Inuit sled dogs year-round. As a result, the number of dogs kept by Inuit dropped quickly.

Some Inuit testified before the Commission that Canadian hunting laws were wholly inappropriate and inconsiderate of Inuit and their reliance on game for their survival. Inuit noted that Canada failed to appreciate that Inuit had their own game laws that were based on respect for and conservation of wildlife, and that wildlife research was poorly conceived and that the data was flawed. As a result of known or perceived unreasonable hunting laws, Inuit often had to hunt 'illegally' and hide such hunting from the authorities; otherwise they could face significant financial penalties and/or threatened incarceration. Some Inuit also said that they shared their illegal catches with RCMP members, silently delighting in their guest's ignorance and co-opting them in the breaking of the game laws.

The archival record shows that up until the 1950s the government understood the importance of hunting in the Baffin Region both to Inuit and to traders. The record also demonstrates an evolution in official thinking about hunting. Government studies in support of the wildlife laws

in the 1950s make no mention of the use of traditional knowledge (even knowledge captured to a certain extent in the RCMP reports of the period) to develop conservation rules or to choose places where Inuit would eventually settle. In the 1960s and 70s, hunting was no longer important in the minds of most officials who were focused on community economic development programs and on major development projects, such as mines. A few programs, such as guiding for sport hunting, were sustained or resurrected over time to address the limited availability of jobs in communities and to raise income levels, improve community life, and keep Inuit occupied. Both levels of government – federal and territorial – also supported hunting as a means to improve nutrition and keep cultural traditions alive over generations.

While many government officials rarely if ever consulted with Inuit in the policy or decision-making on any issue, their laws, regulations, policies and decisions about hunting and harvesting almost always had an immediate and disproportionate affect on Inuit.

RCMP in the Baffin Region, 1950 to 1975

This history of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in the Baffin Region focuses on the period between 1950 and 1975. When the RCMP first arrived in the Eastern Arctic in the early 1920s, law and order was the responsibility assigned to the officers. Establishing a Canadian presence in the Arctic Islands was a primary goal for the agency itself. Since there was very little crime and there were no other government representatives in the area, RCMP officers were also expected to deliver a carefully selected set of services to residents and visitors. In the absence of the RCMP, some of these services could be delivered by missionaries and traders.

Until the 1960s, the core public responsibilities of the RCMP officers in the Baffin Region involved visiting Inuit camps 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. Special Constables lived with their families at the detachments; the families often served in a caretaker role for the RCMP officers and the detachment. RCMP even acted as a Justices of the Peace to hear cases in the communities they served.

The core administrative responsibility of each RCMP detachment until the late 1960s was to produce annual “Conditions Amongst the Eskimos”, “Patrol” and “Game Conditions” reports. Officers travelled thousands of kilometers by dog-sled in the winter and motor boat in the summer to gather information for these reports; the travelling conditions of these missions were often difficult and dangerous. The “Conditions” reports required RCMP to comment on a standardized list of topics, such as health, morale, clothing, general activities and pursuits, hunting equipment and dogs, population in relations to resources, percentage of males and females, intermarriage and suggestions for improving economic conditions. From the early 1960s onwards, the “Conditions” reports focus increasingly on the challenges Inuit faced in moving to settlements. The report on game conditions was intended to describe the status (numbers, health and location) of various wildlife species relevant to traders, Inuit and conservation. By the end of the 1960s, the sled dog patrols had been replaced entirely by visits to camps by air, by radio reports from camps to RCMP division headquarters, and by snowmobile rounds to camps located close to settlements.

The duties of the RCMP underwent important changes in 1954 and 1955 when the construction of the DEW Line led the federal government to turn its attention toward the Arctic. Two main DEW Line stations were constructed in the Baffin Region at Broughton Island (Qikiqtarjuaq) and Hall Beach. The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources hired Northern Services Officers (NSOs) to work as local government administrators, but they were also assigned responsibilities previously within the sphere of the RCMP. NSOs working along the DEW Line were officially designated as game officers, fur export officers, commissioners of

oaths and coroners. They were asked to negotiate, facilitate and expedite the work of building the DEW Line and to leave enforcement to the RCMP. RCMP officers were asked (within input from the Hudson's Bay Company) to help identify Inuit men suitable for DEW Line employment, giving preference to young men who were unlikely to make "a satisfactory livelihood from hunting and trapping."

The replacement of RCMP by civilian staff did not stop at the NSOs. Area administrators, teachers, nurses, and social workers took over many RCMP duties, leaving law and by-law enforcement, crime prevention and emergency services to officers. At the same time, Inuit who had moved into settlements were often unable to find work and were bored by settlement life. Infractions and crimes related to drunkenness, theft and physical conflicts brought Mounties into many more adversarial situations with Inuit.

RCMP appear to have handled Qallunaat crimes and infractions (including sexual assaults) differently than Inuit ones. When Qallunaat serving as staff of military agencies and construction companies committed offences, RCMP often chose to allow the agencies to handle the offender, through firings or no action.

The history of the RCMP in the Baffin Region also concerns the history of Inuit sled dogs. During most of the 1950s and into the 1960s, most Inuit in the region still lived in a trading-traditional pattern, coming into settlements for brief periods to socialize and trade. The RCMP recognized the important of dogs to Inuit culture, hunting and survival and they used dogs themselves for travel. They knew that the NWT *Ordinance Respecting Dogs* (as amended in 1950) allowed them to shoot loose dogs in settlements but it appears that the RCMP rarely invoked the ordinance in the Baffin Region at this time. The RCMP worked to prevent the spread of infectious disease in dog populations by managing inoculation programs and through a practice of killing dogs that might be carrying an infection. When an epidemic struck the dogs of Cumberland Sound in 1962, for example, the RCMP worked to replace the dogs and attempted to introduce other breeds of dogs they hoped would be more resilient to disease. The actions of the RCMP in killing dogs to prevent disease were rarely appreciated by Inuit who were accustomed to killing sick dogs but did not use killings to prevent disease.

With the growth of settlements and an increase in the Qallunaat population in the mid 1960s, the number of dog killings under the ordinance by RCMP, dog officers or others increased dramatically. By this point, RCMP believed that Inuit sled dogs were no longer essential to Inuit hunting and that dogs posed health and safety risks in the settlements. Added to these changes in RCMP perceptions about Inuit hunting practices and to a lack of understanding about the role of dogs in Inuit culture was the altered role of police officers in communities and the growing populations of both Inuit and Qallunaat (especially in Iqaluit) that made it less likely that RCMP would meet and become familiar with Inuit culture and families.

Inuit testifying before the Commission revealed that they were always aware that the RCMP was watching them. Some Inuit praised the work and attitudes of some RCMP officers and condemned the actions and cultural insensitivity of others. Many testimonies demonstrate the extent to which Inuit chose out of awe or fear (best expressed through the Inuit concept of *illira*) to keep their opinions about RCMP actions and individuals to themselves. Inuit told the Commissioner that some RCMP officers forced them to do things that they did not want to do, such as move graves, tie up dogs, send children to settlement school or residential school, visit the annual medical ship, taking unwanted jobs, and move from the camps to settlements. The Commission also heard that: Inuit felt a lack of respect was shown by RCMP officers towards Inuit and Inuit culture; RCMP appeared to act unpredictably; and Inuit felt intimidated in all their dealings with the RCMP. Retired RCMP officers who have spoken to the Commission or to the RCMP during its study of dog killings described: the difficulty of working in communities that were so clearly divided by culture and language; their attempts to improve social conditions in communities; and difficulties they faced in enforcing laws that were inappropriate or not understood in the Baffin Region at the time. Inuit women in other contexts have also spoken about relationships with RCMP officers resulting in numerous Inuit who can trace their lineage to RCMP officers.

The archival record about the RCMP in the Baffin Region up until the late 1960s is a rich source of information about the activities of officers, the lives of Inuit in camps and in settlements, and the relationship between RCMP and Inuit. The RCMP's own records are supplemented by the records of other organizations and government committees; by the memoirs of individual officers and special constables; and by oral histories and correspondence of Inuit who interacted with the RCMP for a variety of reasons. They show that senior RCMP officials in the 1950s were well-informed and personally aware of conditions in the Baffin Region and government policies affecting Inuit. RCMP officials from the mid 1960s onwards were removed both personally and administratively from the reality of Inuit daily life.

Inuit Moves and Relocations in the Baffin Region, 1950 to 1975

Inuit of the Baffin Region were often “on the move” in the 1950 to 1980 period because of decisions and policies made by the Canadian Government. Many Inuit were strongly encouraged to move to settlements or simply chose to move. In other cases, however, moves were expected to be permanent, but proved to be temporary; others were expected to be trial moves, but ended up as permanent. This report examines five types of relocation events that have particular importance in Eastern Arctic Inuit history:

1. The transfer of families by the federal government to new or other settlements.
2. Families coerced, largely by threats of losing access to health care or family allowances, to leave camps and live in settlements or to send their children to school in settlements.
3. Individuals required to move south for extended periods of time for education or healthcare.
4. Individuals returned to the wrong community after living in the south for education or healthcare.
5. Decisions made by the federal government to concentrate government services in another settlement.
6. Forced relocations of Inuit to other camps.

The testimonies given at the community hearings repeated themes about each of these types of relocations. Some people spoke about the way in which RCMP suddenly appeared to remove people from camps, sometimes separating women and children from men out hunting. Individuals expressed frustration that the government made decisions without asking Inuit and without addressing the expected consequences of the decisions. They felt deep cultural and personal losses resulting from severing family ties and ties to the land. They expressed anger that a substantial amount of Inuit culture and land-based knowledge was lost in exchange for unfulfilled promises. There were feelings of both regret and guilt that Inuit did not do more to either stop the moves or change the conditions under which they moved.

An analysis of the archival record demonstrates that: Inuit were not consulted and that consent was not given, even within the context of the period; that Inuit had little influence with government decision-makers until late in the period under study; government agents and decision-makers believed that decisions were justified; very little was done to address negative impacts of moves, especially with respect to housing; and, relocations fundamentally altered Inuit life and made people more reliant on government services. The documents also show that Inuit shared a human desire to improve their lives so they were willing, when necessary, to take risks about “unknowns”. Contemporary research, which is largely outside the scope of this

study, has gone further in understanding the cumulative impact of relocations and other events on communities, families and individuals.

Settlement Life in the Baffin Region, 1950 to 1975 (DRAFT)

Documenting Inuit experience in settlements in the 1950s, 60s and 70s is critical for understanding changes to Inuit culture and the relationship between Inuit and government. Whether moving to settlements by choice, under pressure or with no choice, Inuit were subject to a set of government programs and policies created by others. The term ‘settlement’ refers here to the 13 existing Qikiqtani communities where the government established facilities to serve people living in the settlement – Qallunaat or Inuit – and Inuit in the surrounding area. Until the 1950s, only a few Inuit lived in close proximity to the settlement – most continued to live a traditional hunting-trading life on the land. The final paper will examine how the places that are best described as ‘bases of operation’ for traders, churches and the RCMP evolved very quickly into the permanent communities that exist today.

Largely due to the construction of the DEW Line, resource-development potential and well-publicized cases of Inuit hardship, the government focused more attention on the North in the mid 1950s. With a growing bureaucracy as its disposal, it set up a northern administrative regime to deliver more services and to give Inuit direct access to social transfers, especially Family Allowance, Welfare and Old Age Pensions. Two communities – Iqaluit and Cape Dorset – were initially selected to be the sites for offices of Northern Services Officers (NSO). The Iqaluit NSO was an RCMP officer seconded to Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources (DNANR) for a two-year period. His primary responsibility was to protect the interests of Inuit employed on the construction of the Eastern part of the DEW Line. A second NSO was sent to Cape Dorset in 1953. DNANR relied on the NSO’s to develop economic projects, handle welfare programs and report back to Ottawa on conditions. Welfare teachers were to concentrate on teaching children, running adult education programs and developing community fitness and recreation programs. In communities where there was no permanent NSO, the welfare teacher was responsible for individual and community welfare.

Between 1958 and 1963 government agencies rapidly appeared in all of the Baffin Region communities. Schools were set up in: Resolute (1958), Igloolik, Qikiqtarjuaq, Pond Inlet, Clyde River and Sanikiluaq (1960), Grise Fiord and Arctic Bay (1962). Co-ops were established in Cape Dorset (1959), Grise Fiord and Resolute (1960) and Igloolik (1963). DNANR offices were established in Qikiqtarjuaq in 1957 and in Pond Inlet in 1959.

The federal government initially expected that Inuit would only congregate in settlements to receive services for short periods of time before dispersing to traditional camps or to drop off their children who would live in school hostels. At the same time, however, it reported that Inuit were unable to live off the land due to population growth and a shortage of game, and that wage employment options were needed. Bureaucratic confusion about the future of the land-based

economy and the role of the settlements in serving as places for wage employment continue for most of the period under study.

By the early 1960s, more Inuit were extending their stays in settlements, even if they arrived with the intention to remain only as long as necessary for a child to complete schooling or for a relative to return from health treatment in the south. The extent to which these moves were voluntary or forced depends of the specific context of the family and the time frame. As testimonies to the QTC and archival records attest, parents felt obliged to send their children to school and some were threatened by government officials or the police with losing social benefits if the children did not attend. Other parents agreed to schooling, but found it difficult to leave their children in hostels. Added to this were families who did not want to leave elderly relatives alone in the settlements, often in very poor housing, and families dislocated by the absence of men, women and children due to tuberculosis treatment in the south.

The government was not prepared for the growth of the settlements. Even into the 1960s, it could not adequately estimate who would stay on the land and who would be obliged or choose to stay in settlements. The history of housing adds further information to the context in which the settlements grew and, to a certain extent, failed the people who moved off the land.

The federal government found funds to move bureaucrats to settlements, open offices, and build schools and health clinics. A bigger challenge lay in finding a function for the settlements, and, by extension, creating employment opportunities for Inuit. One government official saw “hope” in the employment of Inuit because, in his words, they would “form a stable and cheerful labour force, one that does not demand premium wages to work in this austere land.” The government hoped to “integrate”, rather than “assimilate” (without an explanation about the difference in meaning) Inuit into the Canadian economy through education and training in settlements or in the south.

Statistics for various communities in the period between 1956 and 1967 show that wage employment was increasing in importance for Inuit and the economy of the Baffin Region, but that it was largely due to government work. In 1956, in Pond Inlet, the total value of wage employment was estimated to be \$5,000; in 1963 it was \$23,000. In 1966, three Inuit men employed by the federal government were earning over \$6,500 per year, slightly above the average wage of a man in Canada at the time; six others were earning an average of \$2,000 per year; and the remaining 40 men and women were earning anything from \$5 to \$950. Service agreements with other Inuit (and perhaps with Inuit who supplemented income in the employed category) included hostel parents, classroom assistants, a camp guide for weekly trip to the Iglugisat Camp, and a carpenter. In 1966, therefore, wage income had doubled in Pond Inlet, but the work was almost entirely related to government employment and services. Conditions in other communities were similar.

From time to time, economic development projects were considered as potential solutions to reduce reliance on social transfers. While the government was optimistic about large resource-development projects, it had little to propose concerning sustainable community-based projects, other than support for co-operatives. In 1971, for instance, the Deputy Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs considered a scheme to increase the level of NWT involvement in housing construction. The planners said from the outset, however, that applying the scheme to the Baffin Region was unreasonable because the demand for housing was weak and the area's transportation infrastructure was poor.

Governance of the communities was almost entirely regulated through federal staff until the 1970s. In effect, the settlements were a form of company town, albeit run by government. Officials used various means to encourage and discourage potential residents; they set the rules; they provided employment and wage subsidies; they offered and withdrew opportunities for consultation; and, with the development of housing programs, they even set the cost of residency.

Inuit applied various strategies to reconcile traditional practices and social norms with settlement life. They continued to hunt, whenever possible, not only to supplement store-bought food for nutritional purposes, but also to sustain their connection with the land and with each other. The *Ordinance Respecting Dogs* limited the ability of Inuit to keep sled dogs, while also demanding that dogs be managed in a manner that was contrary to effective management of working dogs. It also provided a rationale for the killing of Inuit sled dogs brought into settlements. With more income from wages and even more from social transfers Inuit purchased and maintained snowmobiles when they became more reliable. Inuktitut, in spite of the overwhelming presence of English in daily life and through schooling, was spoken in every community. By the 1970s settlement living was the dominant form of community in the Baffin Region. All Northern residents had a greater say in the communities, but Qallunaat were over-represented on councils, in politics and in the weight of decision-making.

The move from the land to settlements is a persistent theme in Inuit memories of the 20th century. In the oral histories recounted in the book *Saqiyuq*, Rhoda Kaujak Katsak described the sudden appearance of a boat in the family's camp to take the children away to school in Pond Inlet. From then on, her life revolved around settlements. Every Inuk remembers when they left camps for settlements; those born in settlements know the stories of their parents. Some were gradual moves – one family member at a time – others were quick.

Almost every person who spoke to the Commissioner mentioned the personal and family impact of settlement life and the difficulties faced in adapting to the wage economy or to precarious livelihoods depending on social transfers. The settlements, especially Iqaluit, brought people from all parts of the Baffin Region together. Traditional marriage practices changed. Some

people felt that they were living in crowded communities because their neighbours were strangers – a situation that was completely new for Inuit in settlements. Some Elders recalled feeling “useless” when they arrived in a settlement and women said that their husbands and sons, in particular, were unable to reconcile their culture and desire to provide for their families with settlement life. Without dogs, they were unable to hunt so they were stuck in the settlement or began to rely on others to share dogs or snowmobiles for hunting. Others spoke highly about the opportunity to work, to have housing or to go to school. Specific stories related to the sadness or discomfort felt by children reflecting the feelings of their parents; to the impact on families of access to alcohol and gambling in settlements; and to the difficulty of finding or affording food. A former NSO who lived in Igloolik in the 1960s described how Inuit living in settlements received yearly food rations in big boxes, generally with a row of rice, then a row of tomatoes, then a row of canned meat, etc. Since their houses were so small, they could not unpack the box so they ate from the top of the box down, trying to ignore that they had to eat the same industrial food day after day.

The archival record concerning settlement life is plentiful. In the government papers, settlements generally emerge as physical objects, rather than as places where people lived. Secondary sources, anthropological studies and scattered archival documents provided a wealth of insight into how residents adapted to southern store-bought diets, household composition, leadership, alcohol consumption and other social changes imposed by settlement living.

Inuit Sled Dogs in the Baffin Region, 1950 to 1975

Inuit dogs (known in Inuktitut as *qimmit*) were an integral part of Inuit life and survival in the Baffin Region. Dogs played important practical roles in transportation, hunting, and, as a last resort, nutrition, but they were also fully integrated into Inuit cultural life (family structures, hunting, spiritual life, story-telling, boy-to-man transition, etc.) Between 1950 and 1975, however, the number of Inuit dogs in the Baffin Region declined dramatically. Five types of events, overlapping in time and place, are discussed in this report. The report explains changes in the role and number of Inuit dogs in the Baffin Region. It also highlights events that clarify why Inuit feel compelled to examine the history of their relationship with RCMP and other government agencies in this period.

The first type of event concerns a dramatic decline in the number of dogs in specific communities at specific times due to contagious diseases. Distemper, hepatitis and rabies affected dog populations in the Baffin Region regularly, so Inuit were accustomed to killing sick dogs to stop the spread of contagious diseases within a population. Through breeding or exchange with other Inuit, dogs were quickly replaced. Between 1957 and 1966, however, a dog disease, thought to be canine distemper, spread across the entire Baffin Region, possibly due to the increased level of contact between Inuit and Qallunaat. The RCMP (acting under the authority of the *Animal Diseases Act*) attempted to halt the disease through inoculations and by the pre-emptive slaughter (a term used here to describe the purpose killings of one or more animals to stop disease) of dogs that might be infected. In cases where camps were faced with starvation because dogs had died, the government provided rations directly to Inuit; in the case of the very severe epidemic in Cumberland Sound in 1962, the government evacuated Inuit to the settlement of Pangnirtung. The dog populations always recovered within a few years after being struck by disease. The exception to this was the areas where the disease appeared in the late 1960s and the number of dogs was already declining due to less full-time hunters and the introduction of snowmobiles. Although these communities still maintained dog teams, the number of dogs was significantly less than before the arrival of disease.

A second type of event is the expected decline in the number of Inuit dogs due to changes in cultural practices. When Inuit moved into settlements in the 1950s and 60s, even before snowmobiles were in wide-spread use, many or most Inuit were often unable to successfully combine settlement living with regular hunting for food for themselves and their dogs. Fewer full-time hunters meant fewer dog teams. With greater access to snowmobiles in the late 1960s, many remaining part- and full-time hunters, especially those living in the permanent settlements, quickly replaced dog teams with snow machines.

The third type of event concerns the disappearance or killing of Inuit dog teams owned by Inuit sent south for healthcare, usually tuberculosis treatment. Some teams were given to the family

members responsible for caring for their dependents; other teams were killed or unharnessed with the dogs left to fend for themselves. When an Inuk returned from treatment, he was often unable to re-establish his dog team and hunt again.

A fourth type of event that led to a reduction in the number of Inuit dogs was the killing of dogs perceived (primarily by non-Inuit) to be a nuisance or danger to people in settlements. These killings were consistent with the intentions of the *Ordinance Respecting Dogs*, but the requirements set out in the *Ordinance* were rarely followed. The *Ordinance* was adopted in the NWT in 1928 as a set of rules designed to dictate dog ownership and respect the rights of dog owners and farmers in agricultural areas. It was amended and replaced several times to directly address loose dogs in settlements in the Northwest Territories. The NWT *Ordinance* amendments included the addition of RMCP as *ex officio* dog officers in 1950. The *Ordinance* instituted standards for dog ownership in settlements and made it possible for officers to fine owners and to seize and destroy dogs for offenses under the *Ordinance*. Prior to shooting a loose dog or dogs in harness that were not muzzled or under the control of an adult, an officer was required to capture the dog, impound it, notify the owner, provide for the return of the dog if a fine was paid or for the sale of the dog by auction if the owner failed to claim the dog within a set number of days. Originally dogs could only be shot immediately if the officer could not catch the dog. Few communities within the Baffin Region had adequate dog pounds in the 1950s or early 1960s. There is no evidence that public auctions were ever held. For dog officers, shooting dogs was simply easier than chasing and capturing them. Numerous incidents concerning the killing of Inuit dogs have been documented.

To date, QTC researcher have found documents that demonstrate at least 1,200 dogs were killed in the Baffin Region during the period under investigation. This number was arrived at by consulting the archival records. Inuit testimony about specific incidents of dog killings was not included in this number. It should be noted that more than 500 of these deaths occurred in Iqaluit and Pangnirtung between 1966 and 1967.

The fifth type of event concerns threats and actions to kill Inuit dogs as individual acts of intimidation by RCMP officers. The RCMP had a limited number of options available to control Inuit or punish individuals breaking laws or Qallunaat cultural expectations. Police detachments were few and small and Inuit traveled in family groups. Threatening to kill dogs was a particularly easy method to get Inuit to comply with orders, whether the orders were reasonable or not. Inuit valued their dogs more than any other possessions; Inuit knew RCMP could and did kill dogs; the RCMP could always use the broad language of the *Ordinance* to justify their actions if necessary; and Inuit in the transition period were faced with a “closed” justice system that provided no independent method of complaint or appeal against unreasonable police tactics.

Almost every Inuk witness who testified before the Commission spoke about the importance of sled dogs to Inuit identity, culture and survival. They shared memories of using dogs for hunting and travel between settlements or camps. Many people also testified about the sudden replacement of dogs by snowmobiles in the 1960s as a primary means of winter travel; others said that they believed and accepted that some dogs needed to be shot because the dogs were ill or dangerous. Inuit also spoke about the connections between the loss of dog teams and increasing reliance on government services and employment. In sum, Inuit believe that the government was aware of the impact of the loss of dogs on Inuit culture, health and wellbeing but that it did nothing to ease the situation. They also blamed many of the killings on the level of ignorance on the part of officials concerning the care and handling of dogs. Inuit were particularly critical of Qallunaat who had no knowledge of the impact of chaining dogs on the behavior of working animals. Inuit also expressed both frustration and remorse – frustration that they could not understand why many dogs, especially those in harness, hiding under homes, or those that in their opinion did not pose a real safety or disease threat were shot; and remorse that they did not do more to stop the killings.

The documentary records and oral accounts of government officials, RCMP officers and individuals working and living in the Baffin Region provide extensive evidence concerning the role of Inuit dogs in all aspects of Inuit culture and the changing role of dogs and hunting in the economic structure of the Baffin Region. In the 1950s and most of the 1960s, everyone – Inuit, RCMP, medical staff, HBC staff, teachers and missionaries – relied on dogs to travel between settlements. During this same period, however, the importance of hunting for food and trading was declining and the government was quickly shifting its assumptions about the future of the region and its people.

RCMP records, NWT Debates, newspaper articles, and memoirs directly document many incidents concerning the killing of dogs perceived to be either a nuisance or a threat and some incidents concerning dogs killed as a warning to Inuit to leave settlements in favor of traditional life on the land. Many specific incidents are included in the RCMP's own report, *The RCMP and the Inuit Sled Dogs (Nunavut and Northern Quebec: 1950-1970)*. The records also show that dog officers rarely followed the rules of the *Ordinance*, but also that it was very difficult for them to follow a set of rules designed for a southern rural, rather than Arctic, environment.

Government records, police patrol reports, scholarly research, newspaper and magazines articles from the 1950s, 60s and 70s show that dogs were killed in the Baffin Region often without due regard for the safety of and consequences on Inuit families and because Qallunaat were scared of dogs. Dog officers rarely followed the rules of the *Ordinance*. The details of these shootings in historical documentary evidence – dogs being shot near houses, at the dump, or while tied – consistently support the told by Inuit to the Commission. In 1958, for instance, an anthropologist

hired by federal government conducted interviews with Inuit in what was then Frobisher Bay (now Iqaluit) about housing, nutrition, marriage, etc. He included a question about the killing of dogs. One of the people interviewed in 1959 said that RCMP officers were killing dogs under and between homes and expressed concern that children might get hurt. Perhaps in a moment of dark humour, he also wondered if Inuit might be the next targets.

Every type of event considered in this report is well-documented in either government records or in memoirs and oral histories of RCMP officers, Inuit and individuals who lived in the Baffin Region or studied its conditions. The records document the decline in the population of dogs and in the dramatic change in hunting practices that coincided with the move to settlements, the importance of snowmobiles and the growth in wage-based employment.

Alcohol in the Baffin Region, 1950 to 1975

Inuit rarely drank alcohol when they lived in camps; it was settlement life that brought Inuit into regular contact with Qallunaat and alcohol. Until 1959, the NWT Liquor Ordinance expressly forbade non-Inuit from selling, trading, gifting or sharing alcohol with Inuit, but many people ignored the law, some to make a profit, others because they thought it was unfair. After the law was over-turned by the courts in 1959, Inuit had legal and easier access to alcohol.

Well into the 1960s, Inuit outside of Iqaluit (then Frobisher Bay) had limited access to beer, spirits and home-brew and were less affected by alcohol and substance abuse than many other Aboriginal groups. In spite of this, officials and the general Canadian public identified alcohol as the “root of social disorganization amongst the Eskimos”. Drinking was a widely accepted, but rarely tested, explanation for the social problems among all Aboriginal peoples in Canada, obscuring the effects of other realities, such as residential schools, unemployment and cultural change, on individuals, families and communities.

By the 1970s, when almost all Inuit were living in settlements, many families knew first-hand the devastating consequences of alcohol abuse, including alcoholism, assault, sexual abuse, neglect of children and death. In Iqaluit and Resolute, in particular, drunkenness brought Inuit into increasing conflict with government authorities, including the RCMP and welfare officials. From the beginning of the settlements, Inuit were aware of these problems; some people participated in Alcohol Committees and other local groups in an attempt to control access to alcohol in their communities. Their success was limited, however, because their efforts were restricted to controlling the product, not the individual. Traditional cultural practices and taboos – the rules to ensure survival – were neither relevant nor possible in the settlement context. Inuit were expected to exercise self-control and to respect legal controls consistent with Qallunaat social norms, even though they were provided very little support to deal with the negative effects of alcohol use and they were living in social conditions which made them particularly prone to alcohol abuse.

This report examines the history of access to alcohol in the Baffin Region, the efforts made by Inuit to control liquor sales, the experience of Inuit drinking in settlements, and government responses to problems that occurred. It also looks at the contradictory and clumsy attempts by governments to control alcohol, limit drunkenness, maximize government tax revenues, and keep Qallunaat workers happy.

Some Inuit chose to speak to the Commissioner about the painful impact of alcohol use on their childhoods and adult lives. People clearly recalled the connection between moving into settlements and the beginning of alcohol use or abuse on the part of themselves, their spouses, their parents or other family members. While both men and women technically had equal access to alcohol, there were gender differences regarding access, impacts and activities. Relationships

between Qallunaat men and Inuit women, which are well-documented in the archival record, could often be traced to drinking events. For Inuit men, drinking created increased conflict within families and between men and RCMP officers.

The archival record provides similar documentation about the history alcohol in communities and the impact on families. Inuit were caught in a web, not of their own making, in which they were expected to be fully assimilated into Canadian culture, while they were also punished for failing to handle a core indicator of assimilation – social drinking – appropriately.

Context Reports: Executive Summaries

Fiduciary Responsibilities Between the Federal/Territorial Governments and Inuit Peoples

The government of Canada has fiduciary obligations to Inuit which is constitutionally entrenched and is recognized by the Supreme Court of Canada. This responsibility establishes important guiding principles for Crown/Inuit relations.

Over extended periods, Canadian governments misunderstood or disregarded this responsibility. Any breaches that occurred between 1950 and 1975 fall within the Qikiqtani Truth Commission's mandate "to promote healing for those who suffered wrongdoings, as well as to heal relations between Inuit and the Government by providing an opportunity for uncovering all pertinent facts and allowing for acknowledgement and forgiveness."

To ensure a full understanding of facts and positions, the QTC is including a study of government fiduciary responsibilities to Inuit in the set of its background reports for the Commissioner and to the QIA. The author of the report is Yvonne Boyer, an Aboriginal lawyer currently completing a doctorate in law at the University of Ottawa. Ms. Boyer is a part-time Commissioner on the Canadian Human Rights Commission and General Counsel to the Native Women's Association of Canada. She has written extensively on Aboriginal health and the law. The first of two parts of the report has been drafted for review by the Commission and the Executive Director of the QTC. As described below, it reviews the context of fiduciary responsibilities of the Crown toward Inuit. The second part of her report, will rely heavily on the QTC historical research, will examine breaches that may have occurred in the period from 1950 to 1975. A brief discussion of the first part of the report is included here.

Fiduciary obligations flow from the fiduciary relationship. The fiduciary duty requires the Crown to meet strict standards of conduct. Some of the guiding principles that must be met include:

- a fiduciary is subject to the highest standards of legal conduct;
- a fiduciary relationship has trust at its core and is *sui generis* [an established legal definitions that means: of its own kind, unique or peculiar] in nature;
- a fiduciary relationship may demand different actions depending upon the circumstances.
- a fiduciary obligation requires loyalty, good faith and avoidance of conflict of interest;

The Crown's fiduciary responsibilities towards Inuit come from existing Aboriginal rights which the Crown is obliged to uphold. Until the middle of the 20th century, the origin, nature, and continuing relevance of Inuit sovereignty and Inuit rights were neither understood nor accepted by many Canadians, including government officials. Some landmarks in the evolution of the current understanding of these rights include:

- *The Royal Proclamation of 1763*, which set out principles for respecting the rights and interests of Aboriginal peoples in much of what is now Canada.
- *British North America Act, 1867*, now part of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, provided for the later admission of northern and western territories into Canada and assigned responsibility for managing “Indian” affairs to the federal government.
- Supreme Court of Canada decision *Re. Eskimos, 1939*, established that the federal Crown, not the provincial Crowns, had responsibility for Inuit.
- *Constitution Act, 1982*, recognized and affirmed “The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada”.
- *Section 35(2)* defines Aboriginal peoples to include Inuit
- Numerous decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada since 1972, notably the 1997 decision *Re. Delgamuukw*, establish that since the time the British sovereign asserted jurisdiction over Aboriginal lands, imperial law has protected First Nations (and Inuit) legal traditions and territory. This protection generated an obligation to treat Aboriginal peoples fairly and honourably. They are to be protected from exploitation and this is a critical component of the duty characterized as a constitutional ‘fiduciary’ obligation. The assertion by the imperial Crown over Aboriginal territories did not replace the pre-existing Inuit sovereignty and legal orders, but protected them. Since Aboriginal title is an independent and *sui generis* legal regime, Inuit protected interest in their lands under British law is a pre-existing legal right and not created by the *Royal Proclamation*, or by any other executive order or legislative provision.

traditional Inuit held “silence and respect as twin virtues.” Respect for the *isuma* (the capacity to think and reason) was also fundamental. Inuit were reticent to make verbal demands on others because they believed that “each individual would willingly carry out his duties to every other.”

The Inuit worldview, even after a century and a half of trading and contact, had not changed when the federal government turned its attention more fully to the Arctic with the construction of the DEW Line in the 1950s. The Qallunaat worldview, however, had become even more entrenched in a positivist, rationale philosophy that emphasized planning and control from the cradle to the grave, and placed great emphasis on the future, rather than the present.

The police officers, government administrators and bureaucrats charged with modernizing the Baffin Region in the 1950s and 60s made few attempts to fully understand Inuit culture or even the Inuit language. In high-minded language they spoke knowingly of the fact that silence and quiet agreement did not mean that an Inuk fully understood, let alone agreed with a proposition. On the other hand, they ignored opportunities to bridge cultural and linguistic divides. Their efforts were generally limited to the translation of rules and information into Inuktitut with varying levels of effectiveness. RCMP officers gave translation roles to special constables with a partial understanding of English and no experience with western justice; Inuit children were expected to translate complicated documents for their parents; and publications were produced in Inuktitut to teach Inuit how to mimic Canadian habits related to dress, personal hygiene, table manners, etc. More substantial, albeit unevenly executed, attempts to support the exchange of information and opinions were made in the creation of housing authorities, hamlet councils and early co-operative ventures.

Some officials went a little further by providing Inuit with opportunities to speak to senior officials. For various reasons, including astute assessments of the wisdom of challenging authorities in public venues, Inuit generally avoided participation in government-organized forums. More damaging to Inuit, however, were education programs – residential schools, day schools and experimental programs that sent selected Inuit children south for schooling – designed to create cultural intermediaries between Inuit and Qallunaat.

Inuit responded to messages from Qallunaat at an individual level, depending on circumstances and on the sex, age, position and linguistic capabilities of each party. While Canadians had long used a representative bureaucracy to communicate collective messages and put their beliefs into action, Inuit had to wait until 1971 for an effective organization – ITK – to begin to represent collective Inuit voices about the present and the future. Throughout the period, however, Qallunaat demonstrated a sense of cultural superiority and a belief that their role was to shepherd Inuit through difficult times. The patronizing position of Qallunaat, interspersed with actions that showed either hostility or indifference to Inuit culture, made it very difficult to

The Official Mind of Canadian Colonialism: Government authorities and the Qikiqtani Region, 1950 to 1975

From 1950 to 1975, Canadian officials saw the Qikiqtani Region (formerly the Baffin Region) as an isolated, under-developed and potentially embarrassing area which they wanted to incorporate economically, socially and politically into the rest of Canada. Until about 1969, Ottawa was delivering federal, provincial-type and municipal services to a small, dispersed population. In this period, the problems of the North were usually defined by people with little or no personal experience of the Arctic. The same people developed solutions, without asking any or much advice from Inuit. A greater understanding of Ottawa’s motivations and ideas helps to explain how events unfolded in the Baffin Region and to understand which results were intended and which were not.

Canadian officials were part of a generation that believed that the future would be better than the past, that Canada was a decent and progressive country, that education and training were keys to a better life, and that any remnants of cultural traditions among Canada’s Aboriginal groups were likely to end due to un-named “forces beyond our control”. The archival record and QTC testimonies also show that people with first-hand knowledge of the North were less certain about applying southern solutions and expectations to northern conditions, but that they were usually over-ruled by those with less understanding but more power.

Two issues were high on the federal agenda for the North in the 1950s, 60s and 70s. The first was planning for economic development – especially exploitation of minerals, oil and gas. By the early 1950s, to support future development, the federal government performed extensive aerial mapping and mineral resource surveys, which covered most of the Arctic. It promoted and helped pay for defence projects which developed the Frobisher Bay townsite in Iqaluit, as well as runways and weather stations at selected Arctic locations. These investments were expected to provide new jobs to replace the traditional land-based economy for a portion of the Inuit population, to reduce social assistance costs and to generate wealth for the whole country. Official admitted, however, that there was no certainty that the effort would lead to a sustained increase in wage employment for Inuit.

The welfare of the people – the “human problems” – provided the second area of major concern. Three central worries concerned officials: (1) health; (2) possible scarcity of game animals; and (3) a belief that Inuit needed intensive retraining for the industrial economy. Ottawa sought change by increasing its own involvement in almost all aspects of Inuit life, from areas of expected government interest, such as education, healthcare and employment, to more personal concerns, such as child-rearing strategies and house-keeping. Early in the period, one high-ranking official wrote that his job was “to hasten the day when in every respect the Eskimos can

