

LA COMMISSION D'ENQUÊTE SUR LES RELATIONS  
ENTRE LES AUTOCHTONES  
ET CERTAINS SERVICES PUBLICS

SOUS LA PRÉSIDENCE DE  
L'HONORABLE JACQUES VIENS, COMMISSAIRE

AUDIENCE TENUE AU  
88 RUE ALLARD,  
VAL-D'OR (QUÉBEC)

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**COMPARUTIONS :**

**POUR LA COMMISSION :**

**Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU**

**POUR LES PARTIES PARTICIPANTES :**

**Me MARIE-PAULE BOUCHER**, pour le  
Procureur général du Québec

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1 **OUVERTURE DE LA SÉANCE**

2 **LA GREFFIÈRE :**

3 La Commission d'enquête sur les relations entre les  
4 Autochtones et certains services publics au Québec,  
5 présidée par l'Honorable Jacques Viens, est  
6 maintenant ouverte.

7 **L'HONORABLE JACQUES VIENS (LE COMMISSAIRE) :**

8 Alors bonjour. Bienvenue en cette dernière journée  
9 d'audience à Val-d'Or avant qu'on aille à Montréal  
10 le mois prochain. Alors, je vais demander aux  
11 procureurs de s'identifier. C'est pour les fins de  
12 l'enregistrement. Évidemment, je les connais, mais  
13 pour les fins de l'enregistrement, c'est utile.

14 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU,**

15 **PROCUREURE DE LA COMMISSION D'ENQUÊTE :**

16 Marie-Andrée Denis-Boileau, pour la Commission  
17 d'enquête.

18 **Me MARIE-PAULE BOUCHER,**

19 **PROCUREURE POUR LE PROCUREUR GÉNÉRAL DU QUÉBEC :**

20 Me Marie-Paule Boucher, pour le Procureur général.

21 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

22 Alors, bienvenue à vous.

23 Et Me Denis-Boileau, pouvez-vous nous présenter  
24 le programme de la journée?

25 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

1           Oui. Donc aujourd'hui, on va entendre madame Lisa  
2           Qiluqqi Koperqualuk - excusez ma prononciation - qui  
3           va nous parler de traditions juridiques inuites au  
4           Nunavik.

5           **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

6           Bon. Alors, madame Koperqualuk, bienvenue. Nous  
7           sommes très heureux de vous accueillir à Val-d'Or à  
8           la Commission.

9           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK,**

10          **ANTHROPOLOGUE :**

11          Merci.

12          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

13          Les traditions juridiques inuites sont un sujet qui  
14          nous intéresse considérablement. Alors, nous allons  
15          vous écouter avec beaucoup d'attention. Je vais  
16          demander à la greffière de vous assermenter et  
17          ensuite, on pourra procéder.

18          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

19          O.K. Merci.

20          -----

21

22

23

24

25

1 Lisa Qiluqqi Koperqualuk  
2 Anthropologue  
3 Assermentée

4 -----

5 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

6 Merci.

7           Donc, je vais faire une brève entrée en matière  
8 avant de laisser madame Koperqualuk faire sa  
9 présentation. On a un peu de suite dans les idées  
10 quand même ici. Vous vous souvenez hier, on a eu  
11 Me Pierre Rousseau, qui était un procureur de la  
12 poursuite qui a travaillé beaucoup en territoire  
13 inuit pendant sa carrière et a parlé de, bien,  
14 l'importance des traditions juridiques inuites, de  
15 revitaliser ces traditions-là. Donc, c'est dans ce  
16 contexte-là que madame Koperqualuk vient nous parler  
17 de traditions liées au droit coutumier inuit au  
18 Nunavik. Elle a d'ailleurs publié une étude à ce  
19 sujet-là, comme elle est anthropologue. Et donc, ça  
20 s'inscrit un peu dans la continuation de témoignages  
21 qu'on a eus dans les derniers, dans les dernières  
22 semaines et dans les derniers mois, comme en  
23 décembre, les professeurs Napoleon et Friedland qui  
24 nous ont parlé de traditions juridiques de façon  
25 générale. Aimée Craft, le quinze (15) janvier, qui

1 nous a parlé de traditions juridiques de façon  
2 générale, et Jean-Paul Lacasse, qui était venu nous  
3 parler de traditions juridiques plus spécifiquement  
4 en matière innue. Donc, madame Koperqualuk nous en  
5 parle en matière inuite. Donc, juste pour replacer  
6 ça dans son contexte.

7 Maintenant, madame Koperqualuk, vous pouvez  
8 nous faire votre présentation.

9 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

10 D'accord. Bien, merci beaucoup de m'accueillir ici.  
11 Je vais commencer à me présenter en français, même  
12 si je vais faire ma présentation en anglais. Alors,  
13 comme vous savez, je viens de Puvirnituq. Je suis  
14 née à Puvirnituq. J'ai fait mes études en dehors du  
15 Nunavik à partir de treize (13) ans. Alors, il y a  
16 longtemps que j'ai commencé mes études en Ontario,  
17 puis j'ai terminé aussi des études universitaires à  
18 Montréal. Et mon anthropologie, je l'ai faite à  
19 l'Université de Laval à Québec quand j'ai habité là  
20 pendant sept (7) ans. Et il y a quatre ans et demi  
21 (4½), cinq (5) ans que j'ai redéménagé à Montréal.  
22 Et je vis à Montréal.

23 Alors, j'ai aussi de l'expérience avec des  
24 institutions inuites comme le Makivik où j'ai été  
25 agente aux communications pendant un bout de temps.

1 Et aussi, bien avant ça, j'ai été une travailleur  
2 autonome en tant que traductrice-interprète de  
3 l'anglais jusqu'en Inuktitut.

4 J'ai appris le français un petit peu comme,  
5 juste les grammaires au septième, de septième année  
6 à l'école jusqu'à onzième année, mais j'ai jamais  
7 appris le parler. Je ne parlais pas français  
8 jusqu'à mi-trentaine. Et c'est quand j'ai vécu en  
9 Afrique de l'Ouest que j'ai vraiment commencé à  
10 parler en français. J'avais pas le choix, parce que  
11 j'étais entourée avec du monde francophone là-bas,  
12 alors j'avais beaucoup de support. Et tout le monde  
13 m'a toujours encouragée, on m'a jamais dit : « Hey,  
14 t'es poche! ». Donc, c'est pour ça que j'ai la  
15 fierté à être devant vous et communiquer avec vous  
16 dans votre langue. Et aussi, dans ma langue  
17 Inuktitut. (En Inuktitut), je me sens bienvenue.  
18 (En Inuktitut) ici. Je me sens bienvenue ici.  
19 Nakurmiik.

20 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

21 D'accord.

22 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

23 Merci beaucoup.

24 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

25 Ça va.

1 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

2 Oui.

3 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

4 Et votre français est excellent.

5 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

6 (En langue Inuktitut.) Vous êtes toujours gentil.

7 Oui.

8 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

9 Nakurmiik.

10 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

11 Et il y a aussi longtemps que j'ai habité à Val-  
12 d'Or, et j'ai rencontré beaucoup de monde quand  
13 j'étais ici. J'ai vécu un an et j'ai rencontré  
14 d'autres peuples autochtones, et aussi que je me  
15 sens bienvenue ici par les Algonquins, par les  
16 Anichinabés ici. Merci beaucoup. Nakurmiik.

17 Je pense que ça va être tout pour cette mini-  
18 présentation de qui je suis, d'où je viens. Alors,  
19 je vais commencer. Aujourd'hui, le but de ma  
20 présentation, c'est de présenter qui nous sommes,  
21 comment on vit, pourquoi on fait... on faisait des  
22 choses, comme - oh, sorry. I was going to speak in  
23 English.

24 So, I'm also more comfortable doing this long  
25 presentation in English, so, I will switch to

1 English. Thank you very much. So, I'm going to  
2 talk about who we are and what our ways are, what  
3 our ways were and still are today. And this  
4 introduction includes this photo of my irniq, which  
5 means "son". And you'll understand why I call him  
6 "my son" in a little while. His name is Isa  
7 Koperqualuk. And he was my actual grand-father, but  
8 who raised me as well. So, he was my father. And  
9 he passed on his ways to his next generations, to  
10 his mother and to me. So, he's my role model. He  
11 was a true Inuk. So, I begin with him.

12 He was born in nineteen fourteen (1914) and  
13 passed away from us in two thousand one (2001). So,  
14 he live a long and wonderful life, Isa Koperqualuk,  
15 my irniq, my son.

16 Before I go on, I would like to quickly,  
17 because we receive many questions: Where do we come  
18 from? Sometimes, I still get asked this question,  
19 which even I don't have an answer for. So, I'd like  
20 to just say, introduce rather summarily an  
21 approximation, you know, of where we come from, what  
22 archaeologists know - sorry, I'm using my computer,  
23 but not changing this. There we go. So, I like to  
24 show this archaeological map that shows the  
25 migration of the Inuit who had really adapted to

1 winter living, marine living thousands of years ago,  
2 over five thousand (5,000) years ago. And when  
3 really they began to migrate, they were actually  
4 displacing another group of people who had lived  
5 even much longer in the Arctic. So, we see an  
6 eastward migration movement some four thousand  
7 (4,000) to one thousand (1,000) years ago of the  
8 ancestors of the Inuit today. They were the Thule.

9 And so, the movement was very rapid as has been  
10 shown to archaeological records. And it was not  
11 only just good hunting areas that brought them to  
12 the Arctic. And actually, it was also the Vikings  
13 who were living in Greaseland, in Greenland who had  
14 actually installed and created communities, and they  
15 were trading with Inuit in that area. So,  
16 initially, when the Inuit heard, probably through  
17 word of mouth, that the Vikings were living there  
18 and that they had stuff to trade, I think they moved  
19 rather quickly and some archaeologists also have a  
20 tendency to say that. So, it was a very interesting  
21 movement.

22 The Inuit of Quebec, Nunavik, came to this area  
23 a bit later than other areas of the Arctic. So,  
24 some researchers in archaeology and anthropology say  
25 that the Nunavik area was then populated about one

1 thousand two hundred (1,200), from one thousand two  
2 hundred (1,200) to two thousand (2000) years ago.  
3 And there's still evidence of the Dorset. People,  
4 the first ones who were there before the Inuit. And  
5 some other areas further to the north had be  
6 occupied since over four thousand (4,000) years, but  
7 in Nunavik actually, about one thousand (1,000) to  
8 two thousand (2000) years ago.

9 And so, Inuit actually live in the circumpolar  
10 region and are divided by borders of Siberia and  
11 Alaska, which is part of the United States. And  
12 then, Canada and Greenland, which is part of  
13 Denmark. So, as one people, we actually occupy a  
14 huge area in the circumpolar region. We are a  
15 circumpolar people.

16 And in Canada, we have four (4) main regions  
17 where Inuit live. So, there are over forty-five  
18 thousand (45,000) Inuit in Canada and Nunavik, the  
19 Inuit of Quebec, are just part of this larger  
20 population of Inuit across Canada. There are Inuit  
21 in Labrador, they have a land claim called  
22 Nunatsiavut. Their region is called "Nunatsiavut".  
23 And there's Nunavik and we have over twelve thousand  
24 (12,000) Inuit in Nunavik. In Nunavut, there are  
25 over twenty-eight thousand (28,000). And then,

1           there's the Inuvialuit region. That the Inuvialuit  
2           who are another group of Inuit call their land  
3           "Nunatvut".

4           We must be among the first Inuit in Canada who  
5           have a land claim, the James Bay and Northern Quebec  
6           Agreement, which was from nineteen seventy-five  
7           (1975), because Inuvialuit, we had their land own  
8           claim around nineteen eighty-three (1983). Nunavut  
9           was of course nineteen ninety-nine (1999) and  
10          Nunatsiavut in Labrador was like two thousand six  
11          (2006). Uh-huh.

12          So, in nineteen sixty-nine (1969), when it  
13          was... when the area of Quebec became better known  
14          to scientific research and anthropologists and so  
15          on, that population then was about three thousand  
16          five hundred (3,500) in nineteen sixty-nine (1969).  
17          And Inuit had originally occupied the whole inland  
18          and the coastal areas, and the islands around. So,  
19          every part that you see that is gray in this map was  
20          used and occupied by the Inuit of this area. So,  
21          the islands that you see in the Hudson Bay here, the  
22          Belcher, the Belchers, the Belcher islands, Ottawa  
23          islands, the Mansel island, which we call  
24          "Pujjunaq", the Nottingham island, Salisbury.  
25          Nottingham island, we call it "Tujjaat", Tujjaat.

1           And these islands also (inaudible) all around there,  
2           it's just full of islands. So, Inuit occupied all  
3           of this area. The Inuit of Nunavik (inaudible)  
4           also. Uh-hum.

5           Ah! it doesn't show. Anyway, you saw where,  
6           you know, where I was saying. So, that's quite a  
7           huge area as well. It's about one third of the  
8           province of Quebec. Uh-huh. Then, of course, in  
9           this modern map, we can see very clearly all of the  
10          Inuit communities. Now, there are fourteen (14).  
11          It's very easy to travel to Nunavik, it's not  
12          difficult. From Montreal, it takes now by jet two  
13          and a quarter hours (2 h 15) to arrive. However,  
14          there are no roads in, between the communities. So,  
15          Inuit travel by a smaller airplane, Dash 8 now, to  
16          travel from community to community, but also to come  
17          to Montreal. Two (2) jets serve the area, one from  
18          Puvirnitug to Montreal by Air Inuit, and one from  
19          Kuujjuaq to Montreal, it's First Air.

20          I won't talking (sic) about all of the services  
21          and I think there were people before me who have  
22          already explained all the services that are  
23          available. So, I will begin to introduce you to the  
24          subject at hand.

25          Marie-Andrée did mention the book that I have

1 published, which is a study on Inuit customary law.  
2 It's not comprehensive, it's a, it was a beginning  
3 and this study was born out of Inuit elders concerns  
4 and needs, and desire to pass on their knowledge to  
5 the next generations, and to have something for even  
6 the generations after. So, they wanted to ensure  
7 that something would be written about their  
8 knowledge. So, this study that I did was in the  
9 framework of a history project. And it was also to  
10 look into traditional aspects of Inuit culture such  
11 as Inuit law, to look into it with the Inuit  
12 perspective, because there has been research done on  
13 Inuit law. People, researchers initially in the  
14 very early twentieth century saying: "Well, Inuit  
15 don't have law." Right? And then, later on, other  
16 researchers in laws were starting to realize:  
17 "Well, that's not true. Inuit do have ways of  
18 dealing with social conflict, regulating social  
19 conflicts and maintaining harmony as well."

20 So, the researchers continued over the years  
21 and themselves who were experts of Western law were  
22 trying to attempt to define what this Inuit law was,  
23 but sometimes, they were doing it based on their own  
24 perceptions of what law is, which is based on  
25 Western law, right? So, that's why I'm putting the

1           emphasis on the Inuit perspective when we look at  
2           our own way of being and of relating to people  
3           around us, relating to the world around us. It's  
4           very much based on being Inuit and growing up Inuk.

5           So, some of the main notions I'm going to speak  
6           about right now about being Inuk. So, "Inuk",  
7           you're hearing me say "Inuk", but it's actually the  
8           singular of "Inuit". Some of you know by now,  
9           "Inuit" is the plural for "people, person". So,  
10          "Inuk" means "a person". But when I say I'm an Inuk  
11          and he is an Inuk, but I'm also of the Inuit  
12          descent. So, when I say "Inuk", it also means  
13          "Inuit". It's just that "Inuit" means plural. And  
14          we also have a particularity in our language, we say  
15          "Inuk", two (2) people, "Inuk". And so, I'm just  
16          clarifying this, because I will be saying "Inuk"  
17          several times while I speak.

18          And so, I'd like to introduce some notions  
19          about being an Inuk. Here, there are some things  
20          that we still practice today, which are part of the  
21          basis of how we learn who we are and how we conduct  
22          ourselves in our relationships to others. How do we  
23          know what way we should be. So, it is from the time  
24          of our birth that we learn behaviours and how to be  
25          among our people. So, one of the first things that

1 happens as you are born an Inuk, you are given a  
2 name and the name is usually carefully selected. We  
3 have a unique naming system among Inuit and when we  
4 are born, we have a sauniq. Now literally, "sauniq"  
5 means "bone", but it also means the person that you  
6 are named after. And so, when you are named,  
7 originally, it came from similar concept to  
8 reincarnation where, in the past, a mother, a  
9 pregnant mother would dream of a certain relative  
10 who had died and in that way, she would know that he  
11 wanted to be born again through her child and the  
12 child would be named after that person. And that  
13 sauniq, through that sauniq, the baby carries on the  
14 kind of like the soul or the characteristics, the  
15 traits, the personal traits of that person who...  
16 So, for my example, let's say, because my name is  
17 "Qiluqqi", I'll explain how it works. Qiluqqi was  
18 the mother of my grand-father. So, my grand-father  
19 called me, as I was growing up, "mother", "anaana".  
20 "Anaanaga", "my mother". And I called him "son",  
21 even little. And he had a lot of affection for me,  
22 but also for all his grand-children, but the fact  
23 that he called me his mother was, kind of made a  
24 special bond. This kinship bond, not only with him,  
25 but with all the rest of my family. So, Qiluqqi,

1 his real mom, his actual mom, her husband, her  
2 brother was Siluak(?) and it happens that my grand-  
3 father's young brother was named Siluak after the  
4 brother of Qiluqqi. So, in my life, I called him my  
5 brother. He was my anik. He called me his sister.  
6 That way, there was a bond occurring between every  
7 relationship I had due to the fact that I was named  
8 Qiluqqi. It created who I am. One day, when we  
9 were in a different community and an elder happened  
10 to ask me, I was probably five (5) years old, she  
11 asked me who I was. And my grand-father and my  
12 grand-mother always remembered it, because we don't  
13 hear it often. I named every name that I had to the  
14 elder. "Oh, I am anaana, I am mother. Oh, I am  
15 sister. I am sakik(?), daughter-in-law. I am wife,  
16 I am this and I am Lisa too and I am Qiluqqi." I  
17 had many names, so, this identity of mine is formed  
18 in my community, creating these, this kinship,  
19 creating this connection with my family. And this  
20 is the very basis of how an Inuk grows up to be  
21 proud of who she or he is, to have this connection  
22 with the family. And also, because it brings him or  
23 her to that connection, it brings that relationship,  
24 the need to help each other. You are close to your  
25 kin and you help each other, you're closely

1 connected to each other. So, this is the very basis  
2 of the Inuit identity. Many people are still living  
3 with sauniq today, even though the original meaning  
4 has changed, but that, the fundamental aspect of the  
5 kinship relationship, the connection with kin is  
6 created through that still today.

7 Then, another aspect of our identity is when  
8 you are born, you have a sanajik. Originally, a  
9 sanajik for a child growing up is the midwife. It  
10 was a midwife, someone who was present at the birth.  
11 Very often, if I happen to be present at the birth  
12 of my niece or nephew, they can become my angusiaq  
13 if it's a boy or arnaliaq if it's a girl.  
14 "Arnaliaq" means "a girl made", "angusiaq", "a boy  
15 being made". Sanajik, if I am his or her sanajik, I  
16 am her builder. "Sanajik" means "someone who  
17 builds". So, a lot of the construction people in  
18 the North, they are called "sanajik", but there's  
19 also this special relationship with an assigned  
20 sanajik and the children who are growing up. So, as  
21 the child is growing up and learning to do things,  
22 they have, for boys, it's very important for them to  
23 learn how to hunt, because they will provide a  
24 living for their family through their abilities.  
25 Feeding their family, providing for their family.

1           So, the learning of hunting, harvesting, is rather  
2           important in their youth and their first catch is  
3           given to the sanajik usually. And then, the sanajik  
4           will share it with all that he or she wants. And  
5           when the sanajik receives that first catch, it could  
6           be a small little animal, it could be a fish, it can  
7           be a whole seal, it could be a whole caribou as  
8           well. She he or takes everything and he or she will  
9           encourage this young child: "Oh, you have done  
10          well. You are doing good, keep it going." And  
11          sometimes, they do, they did actions, sometimes,  
12          they took the hand of the child and pretended to  
13          bite. This was giving them greater strength for  
14          their next harvest, for their next animal. And in  
15          that way, this child was learning to become a good  
16          provider for his family, yes, that's...

17                 When we look at one of the elders I interviewed  
18                 from Kangiqsualujjuaq, he was born in nineteen  
19                 twenty-eight (1928) and was very happy to share how  
20                 he grew up. And he's a very well respected member  
21                 of the community of Kangiqsualujjuaq today and at  
22                 his young age, he gave all his first catches to his  
23                 arnaqutik, which, in Ungava, is the same as the  
24                 sanajik, because "arnaqutik" is the woman in Ungava  
25                 Bay.

1           In the absence of his arnaqutik, other people,  
2           like, let's say his sanajik, his arnaqutik was not  
3           present and was living in a different community,  
4           there would still be others that would say to him,  
5           wishing you success in future hunts. "Stay on the  
6           course, (inaudible), continue, stay on the course."  
7           And he said this is a very good part of our  
8           tradition. You feed - there's other things that he  
9           learned when he was little - so, feed the people and  
10          you will be rewarded substantially. So, as he was  
11          growing up, he was taught that it's super important  
12          to help others in help. If one is selfish and did  
13          not wish to take part, to part with one's first  
14          catch, his luck could change in the future. He may  
15          not be able to have further catches and this is a  
16          notion that a lot of people in the North, we still  
17          have. If we are not generous with what we have, we  
18          will always be poor, you know. And so, that notion  
19          is very complicated. Ah, it's not complicated at  
20          all. That is the message and it's not complicated.

21          So, up to this day, harvesting remains  
22          important. It has always remained important. You  
23          will see a little later that food and the animals  
24          around us are very important for Inuit. And so,  
25          when people come into the homes, everyone is welcome

1           to the food that is available and you are offered  
2           and welcomed in the homes very easily.

3           So then, sharing of the food is important and  
4           elders cite, they cite, they say that if it were not  
5           for the caring of each other, if it were not for the  
6           sharing of food and other things, if it was not for  
7           helping each other, Inuit would not survive in the  
8           Arctic. If there was no love, there would be no  
9           survival in the Arctic, yes.

10          And so, practically speaking, the food was  
11          distributed. If there was a common hunting of a  
12          group of men, the men or the men who had all of the  
13          hunting equipment would share the good choices and  
14          then, the rest would be distributed among those in  
15          need in the community. Because you know for sure,  
16          there could be a woman who was widowed and she no  
17          longer had a man with her, and she had children to  
18          support. And so, she would also receive a share of  
19          food. There was also the first catch, of course,  
20          that was given directly to the sanajik. So, those  
21          were the main ways of distributing food.

22          So then, a child learns to help others and in  
23          doing so, he also learns obedience early on. Now,  
24          the elder Tivi Etok said: "One of my first memories  
25          was being told to help others and to act on what was

1           being ordered for us to do." So, as soon as you  
2           have been told what you have to do, you must act on  
3           it. Don't even say "Yes", don't even say "No, I  
4           don't feel like doing it", "let me sleep", it was  
5           not like that at all in the past. So, they had to  
6           get up right away and usually, there is a word,  
7           there is a little word we say when someone tells us  
8           what to do, we say: "Aq(?). Right away, I'll do it  
9           right now." And "Aq" is very important. As a  
10          child, we easily say "Aq". And then, as we become  
11          teenagers, we don't want to say it. We say "hey,  
12          yes, all right". And which is kind of normal, eh?  
13          And as we grow older, we realize: Oh, respect,  
14          that's really important, even if I'm an older person  
15          now, someone might ask me a favour. Then, I say  
16          "Aq". It's a very important notion for us, that  
17          respect.

18                 So, so, listening and following orders, this  
19                 was, these were part of our way of life and always  
20                 have been. And that was the common way to raise a  
21                 child for, if we didn't, life would lead to  
22                 disorder, (inaudible). Life would lead to disorder  
23                 in no time. So, obedience was very important.

24                 Ilira is another notion that I should speak of  
25                 a little bit, because ilira was something that most,

1           in Tivi's age, especially in Tivi Etok's time,  
2           especially, ilira was the deference to authority.  
3           You must do what the authority tells you and the  
4           authority in your life is your parents, your older  
5           siblings, the elders. Ilira. When the Qallunaat,  
6           "White people", came, Inuit had a lot of ilira for  
7           the White people. And Inuit had a tendency to  
8           follow what the White people wanted them to do.  
9           Yes. So, that notion ilira is an Inuit notion that  
10          we kept. It was for obedience, yes, to authority.

11                 Tivi Etok continues. "When we start  
12          disobeying, part of the good relationship is  
13          removed, the part that keeps society in good order.  
14          If one begins not following this order early in  
15          life, it gives, it disrupts one's training in life.  
16          And if one follows a training from the start, then,  
17          one will be whole, a complete Inuk. Yes. So, and  
18          that was our part of life." And he laughed, saying:  
19          "Although, you know, no one is perfect, not everyone  
20          wants to share everything that they have, but, you  
21          know", he says, "we try not to be selfish all the  
22          time." Yes, that's pretty important.

23                 Sorry. So, before I go on to talk a little  
24          further about customary Inuit, customary law, I'd  
25          like to draw your attention now to the context. I'd

1           like to bring a larger picture of the historical  
2           context, the socioeconomic situation in which Inuit  
3           found themselves up to the time that Tivi Etok was a  
4           little boy. Recall that he was born in nineteen  
5           twenty-eight (1928) and by this time, Inuit were now  
6           christianized.

7           We'll go a little further back, back to the  
8           time before my great-grand-father Alasouak(?) was  
9           born, to the eighteen sixties (1860s), that area.  
10          I'd like to, so we are looking here of a group of  
11          Inuit who lived around the area of Little Whale  
12          River. That's near Umiujaq today. Yes. And that  
13          we call Qilalugarsiuvik.

14          A trading post there was begun in seventeen  
15          fifty (1750), which then was moved up here near  
16          Umiujaq. Near Umiujaq, there was a trading post  
17          that was begun in nineteen, in seventeen fifty  
18          (1750). And then, that particular trading post was  
19          moved to this where you see the image of  
20          Qilalugarsiuvik. And in seventeen fifty-six (1756),  
21          and then, it moved on to Kuujjuarapik a little  
22          later. And so, in this area, the trading post was  
23          opening and closing, and opening and closing  
24          intermittently.

25          And at some point after that, the Inuit of this

1 area were encouraged to go to the trading post that  
2 was in Fort George at the time, which is now  
3 Chisasibi. And that was where the Crees were  
4 trading with the fur traders. And it was then that  
5 the relationship between the Crees and the Inuit  
6 started to relax when the Inuit and the Cree were  
7 starting to get to know each other better. You  
8 know, because they were fighting, having a war  
9 against each other before then and killing each  
10 other, actually. It's a fact, it was part of our  
11 history and today, it's very different, of course,  
12 but at that time, you know, they were having a lot  
13 of conflict.

14 So, anyway, Inuit finally were going to  
15 Chisasibi a little bit, so, Umiujaq, you see, is in  
16 the southern area of Nunavik. I wanted to show  
17 exactly around this area, Little Whale River is  
18 around this area down. Ok? Seventeen fifty (1750).

19 So, around that same period, as we know all  
20 very well, the commercial activities brought whalers  
21 to the waters around Nunavik in the late nineteenth  
22 century. And on land came the fur traders like the  
23 Hudson Bay Company and Revillon et Frères. So, the  
24 commercial whaling and the fur trade with the Inuit  
25 was beneficial to both, of course, because the Inuit

1           were gaining material products like fast and  
2           efficient hunting equipment, sewing materials,  
3           needles, sewing equipment, all very, very useful  
4           stuff for the life of an Inuk living in the Arctic.  
5           Then, there were other products like foods, flower,  
6           tea, sugar. So, that material procurement was  
7           pretty important for Inuit and the financial  
8           procurement was very important for the traders.  
9           However, the Inuit were still just little pawns in  
10          this commercial activity where profits were removed  
11          and going out of the territory.

12                 But in that time, the Inuit continued to live  
13          in their family camps around the inlands and the  
14          coasts of Nunavik through to the early twentieth  
15          century. Here, the traditional tents are made of  
16          skins, but as trade continued, these tents turned  
17          into canvas, canvas tents. And though, so, family  
18          camps remained all across Nunavik.

19                 Another introduction of Qallunaat was the  
20          explorers who came to the area. It was at this time  
21          that my great-grand-father would be born in the  
22          eighteen eighties (1880s).

23                 So, the presence of ships and whaling ships was  
24          concerning the Canadian government a bit and even  
25          the presence of some countries like the U.S., the

1 United States, and Scandinavian countries claiming  
2 islands in the Arctic waters, it was really  
3 concerning the Canadian government and so, they sent  
4 expeditions of explorers and scientists to explore  
5 the area and study ice movements and geology and  
6 wind. So, as a result of those expeditions, there  
7 were some stations that were put in place to places  
8 like Killiniq. Kangiqsujuaq, near Kangiqsujuaq,  
9 near Ivujivik and (inaudible).

10 So, these are around, so, Killiniq would be -  
11 oh, for some reasons, doesn't show on this one.  
12 Killiniq is the point to the right above, to the  
13 right of Ungava Bay, there is a point up there.  
14 That's where Killiniq is. (Inaudible) is the island  
15 above Ivujivik, the first island above Ivujivik.  
16 Kangiqsujuaq is, I'm sorry, my pointer doesn't work  
17 on this map. Here. Around there. And near the  
18 place was around Ivujivik. So, in these places  
19 that's where Inuit were starting to have contact  
20 with more Qallunaat and also, you know, with - for  
21 the possibility of trading with them and working for  
22 them as well. We know of certain families who did  
23 work for them.

24 So, Tutsiat?. Ivujivik. I think Salluit is  
25 around here and Kangiqsujuaq. I don't see Wakeham.

1           Here we are, Kangiqsujuaq. And Killiniq. Killiniq.  
2           Okay? So, there were stations and Qallunaat men  
3           were stationed there, they were working there. And  
4           so, there was a lot of point of contact by then.  
5           That was in the eighteen eighties (1880s).

6           In the meantime, Inuit were also living here  
7           and there were whalers, Scottish whalers coming to  
8           these islands. And there was a lot of movement,  
9           there were no borders separating Inuit from here to  
10          Baffin land, Baffin Island. So, there was a lot of  
11          movement between the two (2) and that's why there's  
12          a lot of relationships and kinships, still, from  
13          Baffin Island people and Nunavik people.

14          What else was happening there? So, the people  
15          of Sanikiluaq, who are now part of Nunavut, they  
16          were, they are related to people here. We are  
17          related here. So, even though they are belonging in  
18          a jurisdiction of Nunavut by blood and by  
19          relationship, we're still close together. Yes.

20          Okay. So, I spoke about the explorers and  
21          prudent for the contact with Qallunaat and it  
22          continues, and along with the missionaries and the  
23          Christian missionaries came to be among the Inuit of  
24          Nunavik starting in Little Whale River. The first  
25          missionary came there, his name was Edmund Peck.

1 He's known by Inuit as "Uqammaq" Uqammaq was, means  
2 "he who speaks really well". Now, he learned  
3 Inuktitut. He's English, he came directly from  
4 England. He was working for a missionary society  
5 and his goal was to convert, of course, the Inuit to  
6 Christianity. So, in the eighteen eighties (1880s),  
7 Inuit were not yet Christians and that's about the  
8 time, the first missionary came to Nunavik, actually  
9 in eighteen fifty-nine (1859) and their first task  
10 was to learn to language, but that's the only way  
11 they could connect with the Inuit. So, they did, he  
12 did that, and more and more missionaries came  
13 following that. There was a missionary station  
14 based in Inukjuaq by the nineteen twenties (1920s)  
15 and then, there was this picture which is from  
16 Kuujjuaraapik was from nineteen fifty-eight (1958).

17 So, after, you know, their continued preaching,  
18 the Inuit finally became Christian, full Christian  
19 by the nineteen thirties (1930s). Everyone, all  
20 Inuit had converted to Christianity. All Inuit were  
21 baptised, all Inuit were being married within the  
22 Church. Every activity and Church ceremonies were  
23 being done the Christian way. So, the missionaries  
24 had convinced the Inuit that shamanism, angakkuuniq,  
25 came from Satan. So, the Inuit were convinced and

1           came to believe, and actually accepted new ideas  
2           from the missionaries.

3           And it wasn't because they didn't resist. They  
4           initially did. And there are some instances  
5           documented where Inuit are heard to say: "Bah! God  
6           doesn't exist. No God exists like that" So, even  
7           laughing, you know? But eventually, you know, as  
8           one Inuk was converted, the other Inuit followed.

9           And there were rituals to do that conversion,  
10          because there were some very specific things that  
11          Inuit followed regarding food that they were not  
12          allowed to touch, whether, well, it was because for  
13          a certain period of time, they were not allowed to  
14          touch or it was just never allowed to be touched.  
15          And when they accepted Christianity, what they did  
16          was to take part of that food, to eat from that food  
17          that had once not been allowed, thereby letting go  
18          of the Inuit way and accepting the new way.

19          Another ritual was when they were in an igloo,  
20          it's my great-aunt who remembered this from stories  
21          of the past that in an igloo, there were two (2)  
22          poles set up and Inuit used to exercise using these  
23          poles, and with a long cord attached between the two  
24          (2) poles that are held strongly, they would do sit  
25          ups. These were like exercises and they would do,

1           you know, hanging movements for strengthening and  
2           agility, and so on, but for the ritual of turning  
3           into Christianity, there was an instance where they  
4           would hang on this cord and they would traverse,  
5           let's say, they would pass from one end to the  
6           other, signifying that they were letting go of the  
7           Inuit way and passing to the Christian way.

8           So, there were some very serious actions taken  
9           to show that they had turned Christian and that they  
10          would no longer talk about angakkuuniq, being a  
11          shaman, "angakkuuniq". And the angekkok eventually  
12          - who had auxiliary spirits, who had connection with  
13          the animals spirits and different spirits in the  
14          world, who had connections with the undersea worlds,  
15          the sea worlds spirits and had helpers, and were  
16          good and were bad. Some were good helpers, some  
17          were just plain too powerful and too connected with  
18          themselves, they were selfish, but some were very  
19          good. They let go of all this special knowledge  
20          that they had and replaced by the missionary. So,  
21          the missionary replaced the leadership, the healing  
22          aspect, the guidance that the angekkok had provided  
23          in the past.

24          And the way it worked for the missionaries was  
25          that they recruited Inuit to preach to other Inuit,

1           because if there was only one (1) missionary in  
2           Qilalugarsiuvik, he talked an Inuk who was able to  
3           travel easily among other Inuit farther, farther  
4           north and to preach to fellow Inuit, where they did  
5           conversions, and so on. So, because they learned  
6           Inuktitut, because they recruited Inuit, they were  
7           able to eventually just convince Inuit to convert  
8           into Christianity.

9           This is Inukpaq of Inukjuak and after I have  
10          finished explaining some of the concepts I heard him  
11          speaking about in one of my searches, I think we'll  
12          take a break after I explain (inaudible). Now,  
13          Inukpaq was the man who was trained by one of the  
14          missionaries to be an Anglican Catechist, a layman.  
15          He talked other Inuit about being a good Christian.  
16          And I've heard him talking, because I was searching  
17          for, you know, old concepts. What are these rules  
18          that we followed? And one of them is Allirusiit.  
19          So, I mentioned food. I talked about the harvest of  
20          food and the importance of animal foods, and  
21          different parts of the animals. Now, tirigususiit  
22          were rules that were applied to prohibiting someone  
23          from doing something. So, let's say, as an example,  
24          the angekkok was called in to help heal someone and  
25          by asking questions, and finding out what they did

1           and to help them, he would say: "Well, now, you  
2           have to refrain from eating such part of such animal  
3           for a certain period of time." And that person had  
4           to follow this prohibition in order to get better.  
5           And for a woman in menstruation, it could be telling  
6           her that, well, she has to stay inside and she  
7           cannot go around, walking around while she's  
8           menstruating.

9                     Another one was the actual case of a woman who  
10           had several children, but who died very early when  
11           they were little. And when she became pregnant,  
12           again, she wanted to have a strong baby and asked  
13           for the help of an angekkok, and he gave her  
14           prescriptions, what she has to do and what she has  
15           not to do, so that her baby would be born strong.  
16           Now, there was one thing that she had been told not  
17           to drink water at certain, certain times. But she  
18           was out one day and it had been raining, and she...  
19           there was a boulder, a big boulder with a little bit  
20           of water on top of it and she was indeed thirsty,  
21           and she took a sip of this water, but she remembered  
22           it for the rest of her life, because she had been  
23           told: "Don't drink water." And near her dying  
24           days, she still regretted, because she had been so  
25           afraid that her baby might not be strong. Yes.

1           So, these kinds of rules, they were very  
2 helpful in helping to conduct the lives of people.  
3 They provided guidance for people, because they  
4 wanted to live long, peaceful lives. It helped them  
5 to follow what they had to do, what they had to do,  
6 they had duty. Duty, that sense of obedience, that  
7 sense of duty was very important for Inuit at that  
8 time.

9           The other notion, the other concept was  
10 allirusiit. Allirusiit. These are two (2) notions  
11 that we are not so aware of today. Allirusiit is  
12 similar to tirigusuusiit, but allirusiit is more  
13 related to, it has not anything to do with food.  
14 Tirigusuusiit could have to do with food, but other  
15 prohibitions as well, but allirusiit was more based  
16 on types of actions. "You cannot do this, you  
17 cannot do that. You have to do this, you have to do  
18 that on certain periods of time." So, for example,  
19 when a person had died - oh, sorry, that falls under  
20 the category of tirigusuusiit. When a person - I'll  
21 explain it quickly - when a person died, there was  
22 also certain rituals to follow. So, you could not  
23 eat certain foods for, let's say, six (6) days, and  
24 after that period passed, you could go to the grave  
25 of your loved one and have a meal of his favourite

1 food, for example. That's another tirigususiit.  
2 Allirusiit was no actions. So, we used - and the  
3 missionaries used this word for showing people how  
4 to be on Sundays, the days of rest. You weren't  
5 allowed to go hunting, you weren't allowed to go  
6 trading, you weren't allowed to work, you weren't  
7 allowed to sow, nothing. Even while I was growing  
8 up, I was told I couldn't pick up a needle on  
9 Sunday. I couldn't do any knitting and it's the  
10 most quiet day in the whole wide world, because  
11 you're not really doing anything, eh? And today, we  
12 call it "allitut" in Inuktitut. In Ungava, it's  
13 "allituqaq". It's the day where, it's a day of rest  
14 and the Sunday, you don't do anything. You're not  
15 allowed to do anything.

16 So, that word, when I learned about it, I was  
17 like "Oh, that's where it comes from." The Inuit  
18 way, it comes from the Inuit way, originally. Yes.

19 So, we'll take a break from here.

20 **VOIX MASCULINE NON IDENTIFIÉE :**

21 Yes, fifteen (15) minutes.

22 **LA GREFFIÈRE :**

23 Suspension de l'audience quinze (15) minutes.

24 SUSPENSION

25 -----

1 REPRISE

2 **LA GREFFIÈRE :**

3 Reprise de l'audience.

4 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

5 Alors, rebonjour. Alors, nous poursuivons avec  
6 notre témoin, madame Koperqualuk?

7 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

8 Oui, voilà.

9 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

10 Anthropologue. Alors, nous vous écoutons encore  
11 avec beaucoup d'intérêt, c'est intéressant. On  
12 apprend beaucoup.

13 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

14 Très bien.

15 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

16 We're learning a lot.

17 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

18 Good. It's the idea.

19 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

20 We continue?

21 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

22 Thank you. So, we were talking about some of our  
23 notions of rules and provisions, and so, I earlier  
24 mentioned that it's the missionaries who then took  
25 over and sort of had control over the leadership of

1           the Inuit. And in doing so, they also recruited  
2           Inuit to become the catechists, those who are  
3           bringing the message of Christianity to their fellow  
4           Inuit, and that's how it worked so well, their  
5           method, to convert Inuit. So, by the nineteen  
6           thirties (1930s), all Inuit were Christian, and  
7           Inuit also became missionaries themselves. And in  
8           that way, it was the Inuit who became missionaries  
9           that also became the leaders of their camps and  
10          communities, but in the Christian way. And so, what  
11          we see today is mostly Inuit who are Anglican  
12          ministers in each of the churches. And all of the  
13          churches, all of the communities have mostly  
14          Anglican churches in Nunavik. And so, the place of  
15          Christianity has an important role in the  
16          communities.

17                 In that time, the Inuit society leadership was  
18          based on spiritual leadership. So, there was no  
19          division between political leadership and religious  
20          leadership. The two (2) were merged together at  
21          that time while Inuit were still living in their  
22          family camps. So, this man, as I mentioned earlier,  
23          Inukpaq, he was known as an (inaudible), a  
24          missionary, the one who ayurji, teaches and shows  
25          how one should live, ayurjituyi. No longer did the

1 word "angekkok" exist anymore and Inuit were not  
2 allowed to speak of angakkuuniq at all. This was to  
3 prevent knowledge of angakkuit to be passed on to  
4 the next generations. And so, even today, even my  
5 own grand-father, he didn't want to talk to me at  
6 all. Even if I would ask a question: "I know  
7 nothing of this." It's the main answer. And Inuit  
8 mostly say today: "We do not condone angakkuuniq,  
9 because it was so strong instilled in them that it  
10 comes from the Devil, that it comes from the bad."

11 However, I may qualify that to say that anyway,  
12 there are some people who may still believe that,  
13 because angakkuuniq had bad and it had good. So,  
14 anything that is bad and that is good necessarily  
15 comes from the supreme good, which is God. So, even  
16 angakkuuniq may also come from God. That has been  
17 something that I've heard among the people that I  
18 interviewed to, so that it's not like the end of the  
19 world for angakkuuniq, but the knowledge of those  
20 angakkuit, there may have to be a lot of work to be  
21 able to revitalize, perhaps, some of the good  
22 aspects of angakkuuniq. And some have said: "If we  
23 can leave behind the bad aspects of angakkuuniq, it  
24 would be all right, it would probably be very  
25 helpful to the Inuit to bring some of the good

1 aspects of angakkuuniq back." Which is very  
2 interesting.

3 I would like to move on to some stories as a  
4 way to show how the RCMP and the police really came  
5 to also come to be involved in the lives of Inuit in  
6 Nunavik. So, I have some stories that I searched  
7 out and tried to gain as much information about them  
8 as possible, to kind of see that transition from,  
9 well, how did Inuit treat bad people in their  
10 society before the Western law came? And then, how  
11 were they treated when the Western law and the  
12 justice system came?

13 So, I have a concrete example of Aukkautik, the  
14 story that is known all across Nunavik and that had  
15 been told through oral history. And also,  
16 fortunately, it was recorded in nineteen fifty-eight  
17 (1958) through the story told by the same Inukpaq,  
18 the man whose image we saw just previously. And he  
19 says and describes Aukkautik as a man like any other  
20 man in eighteen ninety-nine (1899) at that event  
21 when he went on a hunting expedition with Kumainnaq  
22 who had a son named Koperqaluk. It happens to be my  
23 last name! The young boy was - they were on a kind  
24 of an ice flow and they were hunting for  
25 (inaudible), aq, which is a marine bird. And

1           Aukkautik, he saw one of these birds passing by and  
2           he had had his rifle over his shoulder, and quickly,  
3           tried to bring it to be able to use it in front of  
4           him, but he shot Koperqaluk by accident, the son of  
5           Kumainnaq. Kumainnaq was older than Aukkautik, a  
6           bit older, and Inukpaq tells us that Kumainnaq was  
7           very short-tempered. And you could tell, by the way  
8           he was, you know, around and acting, and it's very  
9           hard to tell if they had said anything to each  
10          other, but Kumainnaq had gone back to the family  
11          camp and before Aukkautik realized it, Kumainnaq had  
12          killed Aukkautik's wife and his children in a rage.

13                 So, in the meantime, Aukkautik was bringing  
14          back the body of Koperqaluk on a polar bear skin and  
15          brought his body to the shore, and then, went to see  
16          Kumainnaq, and then, informed him that his son's  
17          body was on the shore. And then, he went home and  
18          realized horribly that his family had just been  
19          completely annihilated, killed. And we can imagine  
20          that he must have loved his family very much,  
21          because he reacted terribly and he wanted to then  
22          kill Kumainnaq, and they fought. Kumainnaq ended  
23          up, because he was weaker than Aukkautik, being the  
24          one who was killed. Because actually, Kumainnaq was  
25          trying to go after Aukkautik. Aukkautik was

1           actually not attacking first. So, Kumainnaq had  
2           gone to attack Aukkautik when he came back, but  
3           because he was weaker, he ended up being overpowered  
4           by Aukkautik who defended himself, but ended up  
5           being enraged, killing Kumainnaq. And then, the  
6           wife of Kumainnaq was coming, chasing after  
7           Aukkautik, but of course, she's older and weaker.  
8           And he, Aukkautik, end up killing the wife. And  
9           then, it just lost control from there. Other people  
10          were killed.

11                 And then, a great fear enveloped all of the  
12          people around Aukkautik. And they fled. They were  
13          very afraid that Aukkautik would chase after them.  
14          And this happened in-between Akulivik and Ivujivik.  
15          In the area of Kuuvik, there's a river that's called  
16          Kuuvik, that Inuit are still going fishing there  
17          today, and it happened in that area. And people  
18          fled so far by walking, because they just picked up  
19          a net out of fear with not much at hand. A little  
20          boy was left, because he couldn't walk anymore and  
21          they were going so far, and he died on the road.  
22          Four (4) people starved while they were heading on  
23          their way to Salluit. And so, the Aukkautik event,  
24          which happened in eighteen ninety-nine (1899),  
25          really impacted a lot of people. They migrated,

1           they died, not necessarily from him, but because  
2           they were fleeing and it was winter, and they  
3           starved, and now, today, Inuit are living in  
4           Kangiqsujuaq, they're living in different  
5           communities due to that event, you know? They  
6           stayed in those areas, so, this migration had  
7           occurred because of Aukkautik. And also, three (3)  
8           years later, he is seen by Salualualuq(?).  
9           Salualualuq had three (3) sons who are now, whose  
10          descendants are now in Puvirnituaq. And he,  
11          Salualualuq, decided that he would take in  
12          Aukkautik. Perhaps he thought that Aukkautik could  
13          change and become a better person, and move on, but  
14          the Inuit around were fearful of Aukkautik, because  
15          they felt like he he was not changing. He was  
16          always nervous, he was jittery, he was jumpy and he  
17          always stayed behind the group when they were  
18          walking out on hunting expeditions with a rifle in  
19          hand, so, they were always very nervous around him.  
20          And in the end, three (3), the three (3) sons of  
21          Salualualuq executed Aukkautik. And so, that is the  
22          life of a man who had become so enraged, because his  
23          family had been killed through an action which was  
24          not done on purpose, because he had accidentally  
25          killed a son of a man who had a very short temper.

1           And so, there's even a song written in Puvirnitug  
2           about Aukkautik. And it tells the story of the  
3           fight between Aukkautik and Kumainnaq, and how  
4           Kumainnaq had died at that time.

5           So, even though Aukkautik is depicted as a  
6           terrible and evil, a terrible person, in reality, he  
7           had lost his loved ones and it just impacted him so  
8           much, it changed his life completely. So, that's  
9           happened before any interventions or any  
10          investigations would be done, which were in the  
11          following cases.

12          David, who was near Ivujivik, had been making  
13          threats and menacing his community, and people in  
14          the community near Ivujivik were just putting in so  
15          much effort, trying to keep him calm, because over  
16          the years, his state, his mental state had worsened  
17          and he was now making threats to kill people close  
18          to him, threats to kill his children, to kill his  
19          wife. He was becoming violent, he was shooting at  
20          people. And this type of mental state was  
21          deteriorating over years. So, the people near him,  
22          including his brother, had discussions, and they  
23          decided that it was really the best decision to  
24          execute him, because nothing was working. And they  
25          did so in nineteen twenty-five (1925), but by then,

1           there was an RCMP detachment based in Killiniq. And  
2           so, it was decided between the RCMP and, I think,  
3           the government, that there would be an investigation  
4           into this case. Someone would have to go to see the  
5           people near Ivujivik and interview them to see  
6           exactly what happened.

7           Now, at that time, the Quebec police were still  
8           not making any investigations nor travelling to  
9           Nunavik. And at that time, there was an agreement  
10          when that region was still under and called  
11          "Rupert's land", that it was the Hudson's Bay  
12          Company district manager who would be assigned the  
13          task of doing investigations. And it was a person  
14          by the name of Ralph Parsons who would do this  
15          investigation, and he was a district manager of the  
16          Hudson's Bay Company. Now apparently, there was an  
17          agreement then that it would be the district manager  
18          to do this type of thing.

19          And so they investigated it and found that  
20          while the act may be a criminal act, still, it was  
21          the best decision that the Inuit could make at that  
22          time. But I'd like to add a quote where it was  
23          said, as we finish, as they finished the course of  
24          their investigation: "The foregoing, is, in brief,  
25          the exact facts of this case". So, they described

1 exactly what the Inuit had said and that, you know,  
2 finally, what they did was for the best for the  
3 community.

4 "So, the same account was given me in every  
5 detail by all those whom I questioned - So, it  
6 was clear - And I have no reason to believe  
7 that anything but the truth was told. - Good  
8 investigation was done. - Technically, it may  
9 be that a crime was committed by these two (2)  
10 men. Morally, I consider that they were wholly  
11 justified in their action."

12 So, he was saying:

13 "Well, there was a crime, but morally, they  
14 were justified."

15 It's a little bit... biased, I would say, but  
16 "they acted for the community and with its  
17 approval. And if there's any culpability, it  
18 rests with the whole community rather than on  
19 its two (2) agents".

20 "In dealing with the case, I emphasized to the  
21 natives the object of the present inquiry and  
22 warned them that similar actions would be taken  
23 in every case that was brought to our notice.  
24 And that if any breach of our laws were  
25 committed, the guilty ones would be punished."

1                   So, that is the beginning. It must be the very  
2                   beginning of the Western law being applied to Inuit  
3                   for...

4           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

5                   Yes. Sorry. Do you want to just read?

6           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

7                   Yes.

8           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

9                   Because I love the next sentence.

10          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

11                  Yes.

12          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

13                  Just (inaudible).

14          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

15                  Yes. The next sentence.

16          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

17                  Yes. Like, I'm having the French in front of me.

18          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

19                  Yes.

20          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

21                  « Advenant une violation de nos lois, les  
22                  coupables seront alors punis. »

23                  That's where you stopped. And if you could  
24                  just go on with the next one?

25          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

1 "The guilty ones would be punished."

2 I said.

3 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

4 Uh-huh.

5 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

6 "I do not consider that any further action on the  
7 present case is necessary."

8 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

9 Yes, thank you. I just thought it was interesting,  
10 that sentence as well. Sorry.

11 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

12 Yes.

13 **Me MARIE-PAULE BOUCHER :**

14 Est-ce que ce serait possible d'avoir la page, s'il  
15 vous plaît? The page?

16 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

17 Which page?

18 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

19 In English, page 519. In French...

20 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

21 519...

22 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

23 In French, it's page 314 et 315. 315, en fait.

24 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

25 So, thank you.

1       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

2           It is very interesting, it really shows us the steps  
3           that have occurred of the introduction of the  
4           justice system according to Western law. And  
5           there's also the case of Usuarjuk in nineteen  
6           thirty-three (1933). And this event happened in  
7           Pujjunaq, Mansel Island. This is the island quite  
8           north beside Ivujivik. Right? It's west of  
9           Ivujivik. Or north-west of Ivujivik.

10           So, Mansel Island, Usuarjuk and his family had  
11           moved to Mansel Island in search of fox furs in  
12           order to trade them to Ivujivik, which is not so  
13           far. And it was a very tough winter for his family  
14           and the extended family around who had just arrived  
15           for the winter. And Usuarjuk's case was a bit  
16           similar to David's, due to his mental state. He had  
17           become agitated. And when a person becomes agitated  
18           and becomes menacing, and saying threats, there are  
19           people around him who assign him a person to be  
20           close to him, to talk to him, to try to get him to  
21           change the way he was talking, to change the way he  
22           was being, to get him to feel better, to get him to  
23           do activities with him. So, there was always this  
24           encouragement from this assigned person. Anyone  
25           that he had a good contact with, that he had a good

1 connection with.

2 After a while, it stopped working and he was  
3 threatening to kill people and many of the main  
4 hunters were ending up having to not go hunting,  
5 because they end up having to watch over him. And  
6 after a long while, because his state was coming  
7 worse, they finally talked to one another and they  
8 had assigned two (2) people, the brother of  
9 Usuarjuk's wife and another man, and it took them a  
10 while to really do the action, to execute him. They  
11 hesitated for such a long time, but finally, they  
12 did it and he died, of course, by gunshot wounds.

13 Then, later on, an investigation did occur as  
14 well. And once again, the RCMP officer who was in  
15 Killiniq was not able to make it for some reason,  
16 and it was again the district manager of the  
17 Hudson's Bay Company who came to do the  
18 investigation. And again, it was the same reactions  
19 as was had by the David event in nineteen twenty-  
20 five (1925). It was found that the Inuit, really,  
21 they had no choice and they ended up doing that,  
22 although this may have been, could be described also  
23 as a criminal event, they decided, well, they had to  
24 do it, so, morally, they were sort of bound to do it  
25 for the safety of their community. Yes.

1                   So, that's, those are the stories that I wanted  
2                   to share with you. Perhaps you had a question? No?

3           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

4                   Yes, I've got one.

5           **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

6                   It's okay.

7           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

8                   Yes.

9                   After this story, the last one that you explained of  
10                  Usuarjuk?

11          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

12                  Usuarjuk.

13          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

14                  You're saying in your book that after that, even if  
15                  the RCMP, well, decided that the community acted  
16                  according to what they had to do and they decided to  
17                  not press charges, and the fact that the RCMP was  
18                  starting to get into the Inuit affairs had an impact  
19                  on the Inuit community, because they were being told  
20                  by the Qallunaat...

21          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

22                  Uh-huh.

23          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

24                  ... that if they kept doing these types of things,  
25                  like killing people because of what happened in the

1           group, as you were explaining...

2       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

3           Yes.

4       **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

5           ... they could, this could get them into jail.

6       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

7           That's right.

8       **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

9           It's starting to have an impact on...

10       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

11           Yes.

12       **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

13           ... people and the decisions they were taking?

14       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

15           That's right. So, it was at this time that Inuit  
16           were starting to say that the police, the way we  
17           named police at the time were (inaudible),  
18           (inaudible), they take, they take you. They take  
19           you. So, they were very aware, they were then very  
20           aware of the police presence. That, at any time,  
21           that anything happened, even if they felt that it  
22           was the best decision that they could make, they  
23           were really afraid. They became more careful of  
24           their actions.

25           The police involvement in the investigations,

1           they started to be more numerous. In my book, you  
2           will read of other cases that happened, but in  
3           Nunavut. There was some starvation where two (2)  
4           men had fought and out of delirium, one of the men  
5           killed the other. And then, there was a woman who  
6           was there also. You might have heard of this case.  
7           The woman ended up trying to walk for help to  
8           another camp that was farther away and she was  
9           dragging one of her children. She was carrying one  
10          of her children and she ended up having to abandon  
11          one of the children, hiding the child in the snow.  
12          And when she arrived, and later on, she was being  
13          charged firstly for, sorry, killing the man who had  
14          killed her husband, and she was defending herself,  
15          because the man had become insane. And secondly,  
16          she was also being charged for abandoning her  
17          children. Which, really, she had no choice, she was  
18          trying to save herself and her other child too. So,  
19          thankfully, she was acquitted of those charges.

20                 So, yes, absolutely, for everything that the  
21                 Inuit were doing, which, for them, there was no  
22                 criminal intent whatsoever, it could be seen as  
23                 criminal. So, there was criminalization happening  
24                 already where, you know, in my eyes, there shouldn't  
25                 have been, you know? So, when we read about that

1 story and we say: "That's ridiculous", you know?  
2 That certainly did, yes, impact. And I think this  
3 criminalization, I suppose we could have long  
4 discussions about it. It does continue today in any  
5 case. There may be a lot of things we could do  
6 about it to improve the situation, I'm sure. Yes.

7 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

8 We're listening.

9 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

10 Uh-huh?

11 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

12 We're all listening, trying to understand what may  
13 help.

14 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

15 Yes, yes. Yes. But before I get into that, I'd  
16 like to also - okay - talk about some of the  
17 experiences based on my interviews with the Inuit  
18 and elders of Nunavik, I'd like to, it will be a  
19 different subject a little bit, different from the  
20 police presence in Nunavik, this will be about their  
21 experiences, Inuit elders experiences into  
22 adulthood.

23 So, I spoke to you earlier about the young Inuk  
24 who had to learn how to be the Inuk that his parents  
25 teach him to be, to be obedient, to help others so

1           that he'll become autonomous and a productive member  
2           of Inuit society. And to also really be capable of  
3           providing for his family, to remain independent, so  
4           that because in the Arctic, you really have to be  
5           independent. You learn the value of this  
6           independence. You really need to be independent and  
7           innovative to be able to live through the long  
8           winters of the Arctic. So, before that, as they are  
9           growing older, for women, they learn how to do  
10          things with their hands, the fabrication of clothes,  
11          helping their mother, tending to the home, taking  
12          care of the younger children. Becoming a  
13          responsible woman, learning how to tend the oil  
14          lamp, the qulliq, because when she grows older, she  
15          will have her own. How to make skin boots for  
16          herself first. When she learns how to make her own  
17          boots for herself, that's a proud moment. It means  
18          that she'll be able to make for others. And there  
19          was one woman who told me that "Since the day of my  
20          birth, I have seen only sewing. I had ten (10)  
21          brothers. I helped my mother sewing clothes for all  
22          of my brothers and my father all my life." That's  
23          how she grew up. She was a master, she's a master  
24          seamstress.

25                 "And so, my eyes saw only sewing, you know?"

1           From the day that I was in the amauti of my mother,  
2           that's what I was seeing, you know?" The amauti is  
3           the parka where you carry your baby as a woman.  
4           It's a woman's parka, the amauti.

5                     And so, that was her story and it really  
6           touched me, because wow, that is something. When  
7           you have to do this all the time, you're being  
8           responsible for the survival of your men when you're  
9           a woman. You help your men and the men are helping  
10          you as well. And so, when you grow older, this is  
11          what you're doing, this is a complimentary  
12          relationship.

13                    The men, on their side, they had to... of  
14          course, they're harvesting, I told you earlier about  
15          the sanajik, and bringing in the first catch and  
16          growing to be a good hunter, but to be a good  
17          hunter, you must also have a dog team. You must  
18          know how to raise dogs and how to keep the dog team.  
19          They are an average of twelve (12) dogs to one man.  
20          You must know how to make a qajaq, the kayak. It's  
21          made with wood from the trees that are not in the  
22          tundra, so you must know how to wear and where to go  
23          get the wood, and the skin. The women are putting  
24          the skin together in the qajaq. If you do not have  
25          these capacities, you are not yet able to have a

1           wife. When you have those capacities, you will be  
2           respected by the family of your future wife. And  
3           when you go to the family and ask to marry their  
4           daughter, they will certainly look at you and see if  
5           you are really able to take care of their daughter,  
6           never mind children that are going to be in the  
7           future, you know? So, the family unit, so important  
8           in the Inuit society, because that family unit has  
9           to learn to be autonomous in the Arctic. They must  
10          work together and if the husband dies, that leaves  
11          the woman without his man, her man, and the children  
12          without a teacher to teach them how to hunt. So,  
13          very often, if they were orphaned and if they lost  
14          both their children, sometimes, an orphan lived a  
15          very hard life. Yes.

16                 So, there were arranged marriages, right? As  
17          we all know, sometimes, two (2) young people knew  
18          who they would, that they would be getting married  
19          when they got older. Or sometimes, marriages were  
20          arranged, but they didn't work out in the end,  
21          because the woman was too independent and didn't  
22          want that man, and had another, had her eyes on  
23          another man. Or vice versa, the man. But  
24          sometimes, that sense of duty was really there in  
25          each individual and no matter how much they cried,

1           they still had to go with their new husband.  
2           Sometimes, it was someone they didn't meet in their  
3           whole lives. It was the first time they had met  
4           that person. But sometimes, it was someone they had  
5           already known.

6           And so, the elders today are saying very often,  
7           these elders, they told me, you know, and they had  
8           remained with one person all their lives with their  
9           husband or their wife, and they had told me: "You  
10          know, today, our youth..." If it was an elder  
11          woman, she would say: "Ah, the young woman are  
12          going, chosing, oh, this man. Oh, then, they decide  
13          that they're not going to be with that man. They  
14          chose another one." And it's just one relationship  
15          after another and it doesn't work. It doesn't work.  
16          And on top of that, they're not capable of  
17          supporting their own family, they're not capable of  
18          supporting their child. Children are having  
19          children. In the past, when a young couple had a  
20          child, and yet, they were still not ready to be  
21          parents, it was the grand-parents who raised that  
22          child. And over the years, there was a lot of  
23          stress put on grand-parents in these recent decades  
24          to raise their grand-children. And so, the  
25          adoption, the traditional adoption, that concept has

1           become somewhat a concept that we have to be very  
2           careful about, because sometimes, these young people  
3           having children are just passing their children to  
4           their parents without necessarily it being the  
5           correct way.

6           So, the importance of being capable, being  
7           autonomous, is one of those very important  
8           capacities for Inuit. So, at that time, it was  
9           really unthinkable for any young couple to get  
10          together before they really knew how to support  
11          themselves, and then, others.

12          So, as I said, some women especially, it was  
13          women especially who said: "Well, it was a sense of  
14          duty. I had no choice, even though I was crying  
15          inside. I went ahead and I had to be married, I had  
16          no choice." But sometimes, you know, they would go  
17          to the home of their new husband and they were  
18          young, sometimes, sixteen (16), sometimes, seventeen  
19          (17). They wouldn't allow this man to go near them,  
20          because in those days, the women, they didn't want  
21          to get married, they didn't want to be with a man,  
22          they were afraid of them. So, when they were  
23          brought to the family of the man, they wouldn't...  
24          they would stay far away from this person. So, the  
25          man, either he was, you know, hopefully, he was very

1 patient, and if he had good guidance from his  
2 parents, he would be patient. He would wait, he  
3 would become friends with this woman. He would go  
4 on hunting expeditions with her and they would  
5 become friends, they would get to know each other  
6 and she'd realize: "Oh, he's not so bad, after  
7 all." And they end up having a very good  
8 relationship. So, these arranged marriages were for  
9 the good very often. Very often. Because a lot of  
10 these elders have stayed with just one partner all  
11 their lives.

12 Sometimes, it was some of these forced  
13 marriages were sad. There was a case of a woman  
14 being to tethered to a sled and being brought to her  
15 husband, her new husband's community by force while  
16 she was crying. So, that's another thing, that's  
17 different. She had to do her duty, but she was  
18 forced to do her duty. Yes, she was crying and  
19 screaming, not wanting to go, so, it was a very sad,  
20 sad moment for her, and very difficult for her in  
21 her life, because she was really forced. It was  
22 forced.

23 Then, at the time that the missionaries came,  
24 the presence of the missionaries, these arranged  
25 marriages were occurring, because the arranged

1 marriages were between families and that was  
2 something that the missionaries did not stop. So,  
3 some of the forced marriages were actually occurring  
4 in the Anglican churches. And there's a case of one  
5 woman in Inukjuak who was told: "Well, there's this  
6 man you're going to go marry." The missionary was  
7 then ready to do the marriage ceremonies and several  
8 couples, young couples were brought to the church.  
9 And when it was her turn to marry her new husband,  
10 she turn back to her mother and said: "You're the  
11 one who wants me to get married! You marry him!"  
12 And so, there was indeed a lot of, you know,  
13 colourful people, a lot of independence and there  
14 was a lot of versatility, resilience in face of  
15 these things that we are sometimes forced to do as  
16 women.

17 Anyway, her parents realized: "Well, we can't  
18 force her now. We'll let her wait. Okay. We won't  
19 let her get married now." So, each was different,  
20 though, but in that context of the traditional way  
21 of arranging marriages. So, it's a very interesting  
22 part of our history. Today, Inuit, the young Inuit  
23 women, they cannot imagine this happening to them.

24 When the elder women look at how it happened  
25 then, they also, like my great-aunt Nelly, she

1           passed away on her ninety-first (91st) birthday just  
2           a year ago. This is not her, but this is another  
3           lady from Inukjuak, (inaudible) Inupaq. She's a  
4           very well known seamstress in Inukjuak.

5           So anyway, my aunt Nelly, she says... she said:  
6           "I regret that time how I had reacted." And she's  
7           very soft-spoken and very, still, she was very  
8           reasoned in her life. "I had given my future  
9           husband such a hard time by saying I was not going  
10          to marry him." She said: "I was even dancing,  
11          saying: "I'm not going to get married! I'm not  
12          going to get married!" And you know, she was young,  
13          but she said: "I shouldn't have done that, you  
14          know. I regret that. It was my duty to accept  
15          him", she said, because at the end of their lives,  
16          they loved each other very much. They were very  
17          gentle with each other, they were good, you know?  
18          They were good for each other. She realized that he  
19          was good to her. You know, this is what happened to  
20          a lot of Inuit women. So, that again, that sense of  
21          duty.

22          So, what I'm talking about really falls into  
23          the category of family law. So, even though that  
24          has changed today, I think there is some basis about  
25          this family law that we can try to look into and to

1 understand, so that we can help improve the actual  
2 situation today of what is happening, of young  
3 people having children too early. They need to care  
4 for one another. The need for that autonomy, the  
5 need for being independent and being a productive  
6 member of Inuit society. I think we can look to our  
7 family law for that. And then, you know, when - I'd  
8 like to just, I mentioned orphans a little bit and I  
9 really wanted to bring it up here as...

10 In the days when the introduction of diseases  
11 and then, hunting accidents, because hunting is a  
12 risky, a very risky affair, many accidents have  
13 occurred. Inuit men drowning, accidental shootings,  
14 disappearing. So, Inuit men have died leaving their  
15 children and their wives, and sometimes, when the  
16 woman remarries and marries somebody else, the  
17 children are left behind and they end up behind  
18 adopted, almost like orphans. And when they're  
19 being brought up by another family, in the olden  
20 days, I'm talking about, if it was a family, a hard  
21 family, sometimes, they end up being, like, slaves.  
22 They ended up being like slaves to that family,  
23 unless they had a family member who heard what was  
24 going on and who came to pick them up and removed  
25 them from that situation. If they happened to stay

1           in that situation, they grew up having no  
2           protection, no protector, almost like slaves to the  
3           family: "Do this, do that." "Do this, do that."  
4           And they grew up like that. And there are stories  
5           and legends of orphans who have been in this  
6           situation and these stories bring morals, a moral to  
7           Inuit, how we should treat orphans, how we should  
8           treat children who who have no parents, because when  
9           they grow up, they become strong. They become great  
10          successes and they can take revenge on you. But  
11          this comes from one of our legends, Qauchayuk(?),  
12          which was done in a theater group, actually, by  
13          Avataq Cultural Institute. Yes.

14                 So, legends and stories have also a very  
15                 important place in our society. They could be a way  
16                 of showing how we need to conduct ourselves, what  
17                 are the ways in which we must relate to others.  
18                 What are our laws. So, legends have a very  
19                 important place. Well, I say they have. In fact, I  
20                 should be saying we need to bring the importance of  
21                 legends to the present day. And I think that's why  
22                 Avataq Cultural Institute was doing a theater group  
23                 to do a play of "Qauchayuk(?), the orphan boy", to  
24                 bring it back into contemporary society, as told by  
25                 youth. So...

1 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

2 Sorry, madame Koperqualuk, so, the legends right  
3 now, they are being less shared, so the young people  
4 don't know them as much?

5 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

6 As well, as much, that's right.

7 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

8 Okay.

9 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

10 I should qualify that by saying some of the legends  
11 are being told in the schools in the North.  
12 However, as the youth become older, they are not so  
13 aware of these legends and the importance of the  
14 place of legends and stories in our society. And  
15 that's why the elders found it important, we need to  
16 write these things down. Some of these legends are  
17 becoming more well known right now, because there is  
18 a movement today to know more about these legends.  
19 Origin, the origins of the sun and the moon, the  
20 origin of the fog, the stories of Inuit dwarfs and  
21 giants, were ways in which we related to the world  
22 as Inuit. And I think the Inuit youth, they are  
23 hungry to know these things, they want to know these  
24 things. There are some of who are starting to know  
25 more and more. Uh-huh. Of these things. Okay.

1           I think, unless you have questions right now,  
2           because my next section is going to deal with  
3           another of my research. So, I'd like to take in any  
4           questions you may have right now.

5           **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

6           When you spoke about food not allowed to be eaten by  
7           people...

8           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

9           Yes.

10          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

11          ... and I was just wondering what kind of food?

12          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

13          Oh yes!

14          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

15          Arctic char? Caribou? I don't know.

16          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

17          Right, yes.

18          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

19          What parts of the...

20          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

21          Eh, eh.

22          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

23          ... of the animal couldn't be eaten by people?

24          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

25          Um... yes, it's a good question.

1       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

2               Hum.

3       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

4               I had spoken about tirigususiit. And so, as an  
5               example, the woman who - the one I explained had not  
6               been allowed to drink water. She was pregnant.  
7               Now, during the summer, when her husband had caught  
8               a caribou, he could bring it into the home, but she  
9               could not eat from his fresh catch, she would have  
10              to cut a piece of it and go outside to cook it  
11              outside. She could only eat it cooked outside.  
12              That was caribou meat and any part of the caribou  
13              meat. So, that's one tirigususiit regarding a  
14              pregnant woman and her relationship with food at the  
15              time that the angekkok told her she had to be doing  
16              it like that.

17              However, when it was the ritual of converting  
18              to Christianity, you know, Inuit were eating the, I  
19              believe it was the heart of the seal, cutting it  
20              into little pieces, getting together and eating  
21              pieces of this heart which originally they were not  
22              allowed to eat and showing that that was their way  
23              of getting rid of the tirigususiit. Yes.

24       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

25              Qujannamiik.

1 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

2 Ilaali.

3 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

4 Do you have other questions?

5 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

6 Yes.

7 There seems...

8 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

9 Me Denis-Boileau?

10 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

11 Yes.

12 There seems to be a lot of rules around food,  
13 like...

14 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

15 Yes.

16 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

17 ... throughout you study, I was, it's just strike...  
18 struck me...

19 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

20 Struck you, yes.

21 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

22 Because yes...

23 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

24 Yes.

25 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

1           ... food seems to be very important, like, don't  
2           treat it in any way...

3           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

4           Ah-ah.

5           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

6           ... there's a lot of rules surrounding it.

7           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

8           Yes. Yes. So, as I mentioned, food and animals  
9           have direct importance to Inuit. Living in the  
10          Arctic, we must rely on the animals around us and we  
11          too, as human beings, we are animals and we have to  
12          kill another living being in order to survive. And  
13          so, we had to show respect for the animal. And our  
14          legends show animals changing into human beings.  
15          There's a legend of a seal that changed into a human  
16          being as this hunter was walking back home along,  
17          close to the ice and this seal had home and he  
18          asked, the seal asked the hunter, spoke to the  
19          hunter, standing, and the hunter heard the seal turn  
20          into a human, ask him: "Come inside. Come and  
21          help. There is someone, there is a delivery,  
22          there's labour happening. I need help. Come and  
23          help me." And the Inuk ignored the seal turned into  
24          a human being, because he was too afraid and he  
25          continued walking away. And the moral of this story

1 is that the seal, that the Inuk never caught any  
2 more seal afterward, because he had not helped the  
3 seal turned into a human.

4 And so this relationship, although I'm not an  
5 expert on, you know, how we have that relationship,  
6 that special relationship with the animals,  
7 nevertheless, that relationship is extremely  
8 important and the concept of an animal offering  
9 itself to the hunter is ever present in the hunter  
10 who catches an animal. And it's thanks to this  
11 animal that we have something to eat, that we  
12 continue to live in the North.

13 And so, the animal food, the food also then had  
14 a special relationship for the Inuit, because it was  
15 ever present, it was always through animal that we  
16 live, the meat. And so, it was also a form of...  
17 for the angekkok to tell the people he was guiding:  
18 "Well, this is the way you have to behave. So, this  
19 food, don't eat it for such period of time. Our  
20 loved one died. So, we're not going to eat the gill  
21 of the fish for a certain period of time. And then,  
22 we'll go and have a feast by his grave of his  
23 favourite part of such animal." Meat, you know?

24 So, that was central, you know? So, that's why  
25 food is, the meat is central to the way people

1           functioned in their society. How they had to  
2           conduct themselves, how the tirigususiit played out  
3           in the way a person had to behave. How they had to  
4           improve their behaviour and so on. Yes.

5           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

6           Thank you. Nakurmiik. I would have another  
7           question, but you tell me if you're going to talk  
8           about it later?

9           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

10          Okay.

11          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

12          It's about when there were conjugal problems.  
13          You're saying that there was, back in the days,  
14          there was intervention by the elders when this  
15          happened...

16          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

17          Uh-huh.

18          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

19          ... and back, if a husband, for example, was not  
20          good with his wife, the elders would, like, discuss  
21          with him and, like, could be kind of very harsh on  
22          him?

23          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

24          Yes.

25          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

1           But that today, maybe the people are more, like,  
2           silence - silencieux -, like, they're more...

3           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

4           Silent?

5           **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

6           Silent.

7           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

8           Yes. Sorry.

9           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

10          Yes.

11          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

12                Because they are scared that they would, like, that  
13                they would ruin the life of young people if they  
14                intervene too much or something like that,

15          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

16                Uh-huh, uh-huh. I could talk about it later.

17          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

18                Okay.

19          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

20                Yes.

21          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

22                That's perfect. So, I will wait.

23          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

24                Yes.

25          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

1 All right.

2 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

3 Do you have other questions?

4 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

5 No.

6 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

7 No?

8 Me Boucher? Est-ce que vous avez des  
9 questions? Do you have questions?

10 **Me MARIE-PAULE BOUCHER :**

11 J'aurai pas de questions pour le moment. Merci.

12 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

13 Non?

14 Now...

15 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

16 Thank you.

17 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

18 ... would you like to continue or have a break  
19 before lunch?

20 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

21 Yes, I would like to have a break before lunch.

22 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

23 Ready for lunch?

24 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

25 Yes.

1       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**  
2            At what time...  
3       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**  
4            My stomach...  
5       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**  
6            ... will you like us to resume?  
7       **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**  
8            À une heure (1 h)?  
9       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**  
10            Une heure (1 h)? One o'clock (1 h)? Is it okay?  
11       **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**  
12            Peut-être une heure et quart (1 h 15) aussi là peut-  
13            être, pour laisser le temps?  
14       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**  
15            Maybe one fifteen (1 h 15)?  
16       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**  
17            Sure, one fifteen (1 h 15) is good.  
18       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**  
19            Okay?  
20       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**  
21            Yes, thank you.  
22       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**  
23            So, see you later.  
24       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**  
25            All right.

1 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

2 We'll suspend until one fifteen (1 h 15).

3 **LA GREFFIÈRE :**

4 Suspension de l'audience. La Commission reprend  
5 l'audience à treize heures quinze (13 h 15). Merci.

6 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

7 Bon appétit.

8 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

9 Merci.

10 SUSPENSION

11 -----

12 REPRISE

13 **LA GREFFIÈRE :**

14 Reprise de l'audience.

15 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

16 Bon, alors, bienvenue en cette dernière journée et  
17 dernier après-midi de nos audiences à Val-d'Or avant  
18 de nous transporter à Montréal le mois prochain pour  
19 les semaines du douze (12) et du dix-neuf (19)  
20 février.

21 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

22 Um-hum.

23 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

24 Alors, Me Denis-Boileau, nous continuons avec notre  
25 témoin?

1 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

2 Oui.

3 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

4 Très intéressant alors nous allons continuer à vous  
5 écouter avec beaucoup d'intérêt.

6 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

7 D'accord, merci. Puis, alors...

8 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

9 I'm sorry, I said it in French...

10 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

11 Oh, yes.

12 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

13 ... and not English. But as you understand...

14 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

15 Of course.

16 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

17 ... French very well...

18 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

19 That's right. Thank you. So, I'll continue on with  
20 the question that you asked last before lunch. So,  
21 it has to do with relationships between men and  
22 women, and how those could pan out. So, from the  
23 elders that I interviewed, when they were children,  
24 you know, every time that there had to be a  
25 discussion between adults, the children were told to

1           leave the home. And so, if there was like arguments  
2           or there was a problem between a couple, the adults  
3           around the couple would come together with them and  
4           they would have to discuss the issue. So, Tivi Etok  
5           and other adults, other elders remember very well  
6           being told to go out and play with their friends  
7           while this discussion was happening. So, they never  
8           saw, the children did not see any of the arguments  
9           happening or if there may have been any violence,  
10          they didn't see that, they weren't allowed to see  
11          that kind of thing. So, the discussions were going  
12          on only between adults. And it had to be spoken  
13          about, you know? When there was an issue, you had  
14          to name it, you had to talk about it, you had to air  
15          it out between each other and you had to do that  
16          also not in the presence of children. So, the  
17          children grew up mostly in quiet, you know, rational  
18          environments. And in the case where sometimes, the  
19          family no longer wanted to see their daughter going  
20          through the violence or any conjugal violence,  
21          depending on the family, when they loved their  
22          daughter very much, they would remove their daughter  
23          from her husband and there was even a special name  
24          for it, and he wasn't... he wouldn't be allowed to  
25          be with that woman anymore, because of her family

1           protecting her. So, there were cases of families  
2           protecting their daughters from such cases.

3           That changed a lot because of the impact of  
4           Christianity where there was an obligation to be in  
5           a lifelong relationship. You should never have a  
6           divorce, you know, as that pressure from the  
7           Christian beliefs took hold, that really impacted a  
8           lot on women. And many women lived difficulties  
9           through these difficult relationships where they had  
10          the pressure from even their own family to stay with  
11          their husband, even though the relationship was  
12          going through periods of violence and she was being  
13          beaten, you know?

14          So, there have been cases where women have to  
15          endure this kind of thing, you know, after the  
16          Christian era began. In the older period, when  
17          Inuit still lived in family camps, like our elders  
18          said: "No one is perfect. Society is not perfect.  
19          There will always be wrongdoers and there will be  
20          selfish people, and there will be those who hurt  
21          others. And for sure, there have been cases of  
22          incest, but this kind of thing is not accepted as a  
23          norm, it's not good. And there have also been cases  
24          of rape where, you know, when people were still  
25          living in family camps, the woman who has been raped

1           has to know where to go, because the rape might have  
2           occurred within her family. And so, how does a  
3           woman who is growing up, a young woman who is  
4           growing up like this, where does she go to for help  
5           if she's too afraid to tell her mother what  
6           happened? If she cannot tell her father what  
7           happened, where is she going to go? You know? Who  
8           will protect her? In those cases, we are only left  
9           to wonder how a woman in a family camp could be  
10          helped in that case if she was not telling anybody.  
11          Yes.

12                 For a woman who had to deal with that in all  
13           her life, because she had been raped when she was  
14           young, you know, you have to live with this person  
15           who raped you, not only once, not only twice;  
16           several times. So she goes on living like this, she  
17           ends up not being married. As she grows older, that  
18           anger within is remaining, because that man never  
19           apologized to her, never looked at her to say: "I'm  
20           sorry", you know, and one day, after he had died,  
21           she learned that before his dying days, he would  
22           have been able to talk with someone about the wrong  
23           he had done, because before dying, he wanted to feel  
24           better. And so long as he confessed to somebody, so  
25           long as he said it to someone, to have said it

1 outloud, it's like confessing almost. That way, he  
2 can be forgiven. And he died feeling better.  
3 Unfortunately, he had never even apologized. This,  
4 I'm talking of an example.

5 So, how could she move on, you know? She  
6 needed counselling, but the counselling came only  
7 much later in her life. So, that's how some of the  
8 things that have happened to a woman where, you  
9 know, they have no recourse. There's no, like, real  
10 justice available to them or real help to get them  
11 past through this difficult period in their life.  
12 They have to deal with it alone often. Yes.

13 So, those were like the kinds of things that  
14 happened. Did I answer your question fully?

15 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

16 Well, regarding conjugal violence, yes, well, you  
17 answered with other information that is still very  
18 relevant, actually.

19 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

20 Yes.

21 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

22 But yes, the question I was asking is how - no, yes,  
23 you answered it. Because in your book, you're  
24 saying that - I was interested in the difference  
25 between before and now, where you're saying in your

1           book that before, the elders, where there were  
2           conjugal problems, we're having discussion or, like,  
3           try an intervention with the man if he was bad with  
4           the woman, for example, but that today, they are  
5           silent more, and that they don't do it as much?

6           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

7           That's right.

8           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

9           Uh-hum.

10          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

11          Yes. Yes. When you look at today's situation, when  
12          couples are going through problems in their  
13          relationship, they're arguing a lot or there's some  
14          violence, a lot of Inuit today are saying: "Well,  
15          we expect that if the social worker and the law is  
16          going to help them fix their problem, but it doesn't  
17          help at all." The Inuit way would help and so, what  
18          I was describing of the parents and the  
19          relationship, the close relations of the couple  
20          going around the couple and talking together,  
21          bringing them together and having a discussion  
22          together. You know? Trying to resolve their issues  
23          through speaking with each other. And though,  
24          that's the difference now that is - that this form  
25          of trying to resolve problems is not present

1           anymore. Yes.

2           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

3           And you say that there's an expectancy that law will  
4           fix the problem? That a social worker will fix the  
5           problem? And you're saying it's not the case?

6           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

7           That's right. Well, in some young couples, often,  
8           the young man is punched. He's put into prison and  
9           as he's in prison, he doesn't learn how to fix his  
10          issues with his relationship. He comes back,  
11          everything is okay for a while and then, he gets  
12          back into the same pattern. So, his need for  
13          support is lacking and her need too for support is  
14          lacking. So, they both can learn how to deal with  
15          each other.

16          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

17          Thank you. And maybe just one last thing, it's in  
18          the same part of your study and I talked with you  
19          about this particular sentence at lunch time,  
20          because I thought it was very - it made me reflect a  
21          lot in well, situations.

22          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

23          Uh-huh.

24          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

25          There's an elder talking about the situation, saying

1           that before, the elders, they were saying what  
2           they're thinking and sometimes, they could be harsh  
3           on people. And also, that to talk to someone, you  
4           had to be more, I don't know how to say this in  
5           English, but "mûr", like, more wise, maybe?

6           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

7           Yes.

8           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

9           Like...

10          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

11          Ah...

12          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

13                 And they say that before, fear was not part of life  
14                 so much?

15          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

16          Yes.

17          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

18                 But that today, life is full of danger.

19          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

20          Ah...

21          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

22                 And for me, that was surprising to read, because the  
23                 way people were living, for me, was full of danger,  
24                 but...

25          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

1 Uh-huh.

2 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

3 ... we didn't see it as... like that, so, if you  
4 could comment?

5 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

6 As it relates to the way elders speak with youth  
7 today, like I was describing the Inuk and how they  
8 had to learn to be obedient, and ilira, ilira is a  
9 person who has to show his respect, his great  
10 respect and his deference to this authority. And in  
11 that manner, Inuit and even parents and fathers who  
12 are teaching their sons to hunt, sometimes, they  
13 were very strict, because living in the Arctic can  
14 be a life and death situation. And so, there are  
15 some elders who remember how terribly tough their  
16 father was on them. And even so, they do realize,  
17 only later in life, that it was out of love for his  
18 son that he was like that toward his son, because he  
19 wants his son to really know what it is to be  
20 responsible for yourself and others, and to survive  
21 in this Arctic environment, it's so necessary to  
22 know these, to have these skills.

23 So, that authority, we have to have ilira for  
24 it. So today, it's quite different. If we should  
25 speak to youth... elders fear that if they should

1 speak to youth in the same manner, it may be  
2 perceived as even threatening, too scary. Yes. So  
3 hard and the elders look at the youth and there are  
4 so many who are sleeping for a large part of the day  
5 with no discipline. And the elders themselves, they  
6 are critical about this, because in their day, in  
7 their youth, they absolutely had to get up at the  
8 same time as the adults and start doing their work  
9 too. It's so different today. Very different.  
10 These are some of the values that have been lost and  
11 it could be also a matter of the impact of the  
12 Western system of education too. So, that's  
13 different and it's another discussion. Does that  
14 answer the question?

15 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

16 Yes, thank you. And just for the last part where  
17 this elder was feeling that back in the days, it was  
18 less dangerous than today?

19 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

20 Oh, yes. Less, yes. Well, for that elder to have  
21 said that, I would say he's right. Yes, there are  
22 dangers definitely, even today, around the life of a  
23 person who must go out on hunting expeditions.  
24 There's a risk of getting injured, there's a risk of  
25 falling through the ice. There's now a risk too for

1 younger people to get lost out on the land, but yet,  
2 because we are so many families living now, so many  
3 extended families living together in one large  
4 community and the introduction of alcohol, and the  
5 violence that's going on, there's more death in the  
6 communities than from hunting activities. There are  
7 many alcohol-related accidents, alcohol-related  
8 deaths, murders, suicides. So much is going on in  
9 the communities right now that does make it more  
10 dangerous to live as an Inuk today. It is true.

11 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

12 Thank you. You can go on with your presentation.

13 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

14 Thank you. All right. So, I'll talk a little bit  
15 before I go on into my next section of various  
16 points that, you know, I've seen about Inuit  
17 customary law. I'd like to point out that in the  
18 literature review that I did, I also read into what  
19 work has been done by Makivik Corporation regarding  
20 the administration of justice in Nunavik in our  
21 contemporary world right now. So, when we go back  
22 to the nineteen nineties (1990s), we see that there  
23 is a general interest among the Inuit to improve the  
24 administration of justice. And Makivik Corporation  
25 created, among other things that they do, a task

1 force that would look into the administration of  
2 justice. You may have heard about it at the time?

3 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

4 Yes, and I remember.

5 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

6 Yes.

7 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

8 I even remember a word from (inaudible) at page 49  
9 at the bottom.

10 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

11 Ah!

12 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

13 Right.

14 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

15 Oh yes?

16 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

17 Telling that you will like that people in the North  
18 and Nunavik take care of summary matters. And...

19 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

20 Yes.

21 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

22 ... let other matters to Court, usual Courts. So,  
23 everything will go a lot faster and easier.

24 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

25 Yes.

1 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

2 I remember that very...

3 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

4 That.

5 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

6 ... well.

7 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

8 Yes.

9 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

10 But I'll let you go.

11 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

12 Okay. Yes. And it was one of the concerns that  
13 justice was not being meted out fast enough. That  
14 was one of the concerns, yes. And out of that came  
15 something about Inuit customary law, like the  
16 administration of justice was being done just  
17 through Western law, and those had its goods and  
18 bads. And it does not take into account the Inuit  
19 customary law. And an elder who was participating  
20 in this, I think it was (inaudible) from Puvirnitug,  
21 he said: "We should take the good from Western law,  
22 remove the bad." I think we need to define those  
23 and put them together with the good of Inuit  
24 customary law, and remove the bad of customary law,  
25 and put them together and create something.

1           So, that is something I really remember from  
2           this report, because I think it's doable. And  
3           perhaps some efforts have been made to do that, and  
4           they did that through the Inuit justice committees  
5           in the communities. Those now exist in nearly all  
6           of the Inuit communities in Nunavik, these justice  
7           committees, but their work is really limited.

8           And sometimes, and I haven't researched them, I  
9           haven't interviewed them, I haven't gone to the  
10          communities to see how they work. I know that they  
11          exist up to now and that they are dealing with  
12          cases, less serious cases. They do meet with  
13          individuals to help them improve their lives in the  
14          community.

15          Now, why were they created? They were created,  
16          I believe, as an alternative form of justice,  
17          because the Inuit justice task force was also  
18          looking at various forms of alternative justice,  
19          such as the sentencing circle where even an  
20          itinerant Court in the North tried out. Look upon a  
21          project, a sentencing circle. So, however, I think  
22          the justice committees need or should be looking  
23          further into Inuit law to define further what Inuit  
24          law is. And eventually, become more used within the  
25          justice system. And before that can happen, they

1 must have a more in-depth definition of Inuit law.

2 Yes.

3 Right now, I'm aware that a kind of a training  
4 program is being created so that the justice  
5 committees could be used in order to insure that  
6 people, clients that are using the Court system, the  
7 justice system, understand what this justice system  
8 and the Court system is. However, if they are to be  
9 really an alternative form of justice, they must  
10 work with Inuit law. Uh-huh. That is my view on  
11 that. And if an alternative form of justice is to  
12 be used in Nunavik, then, and I'm not saying that  
13 they're not doing it, but Inuit women must also be  
14 implicated in these in order to ensure that a fair  
15 justice is being created for all, including, you  
16 know, a fair justice for women, because their  
17 experiences are particular. And sometimes, in small  
18 communities, they may refrain from asking for  
19 justice, because of the community dynamics. It's  
20 small communities. In small communities, if a  
21 certain family is powerful and any member of that  
22 family may have hurt someone from such and such  
23 other family, this young woman from this family may  
24 have absolutely no voice to have support to have  
25 justice or to have help, because it exists that even

1           like consent, if a woman says "No", it may not be  
2           understood that she has the right to say "No". You  
3           know, so, women's rights must play a crucial role in  
4           this creation of justice. You know, an alternative  
5           form of justice in the North.

6           So, this is what I wanted to mainly convey  
7           about the justice committees in Nunavik. I think  
8           they're doing good work and it's very good that  
9           Inuit are becoming more involved in, let's say,  
10          creating social harmony and helping individuals to  
11          live better lives. I think it is as it should be,  
12          but I believe there is potential and opportunity to  
13          keep on improving this form of justice.

14          So, where am I? Sorry. I think I will - you  
15          may want to ask me other questions later, because  
16          there is a lot of information and I may be skipping  
17          some important pieces of information or, you know,  
18          other subjects. So, if there's something that you  
19          would like to ask me, you'll be able to do that.  
20          And I'd like to now go through, like, some of the  
21          main points that I have understood from the research  
22          and the search for information, and the literature  
23          review that I did during the course of my research  
24          to produce this book.

25          I will not name all the researchers that had

1 done work on trying to understand Inuit law, but I  
2 could begin with this person named Roland, who  
3 worked to produce a complete journal on his  
4 discoveries in a journal called "the Inuit studies  
5 journal", which was produced in nineteen seventy-  
6 eight (1978). It's all in French as well. It's  
7 very interesting, because from him, I understood  
8 that sanction and law are based on the need for  
9 maintaining order in a society. Now, by law,  
10 sanction and law, he's saying that in the Western  
11 society. And Inuit had their own means of  
12 maintaining order. And he says, he continues:

13 "If certain societies did not adhere to law as  
14 Western thought understands it, this does not  
15 mean they had no means for dealing with social  
16 conflict."

17 So, it's actually what I said right at the  
18 beginning of my presentation. And as I understand  
19 it today, I completely agree with what he had said.  
20 And based on what I have told you, dialogue,  
21 psychological pressure from living in a collective  
22 society and being an individual, threat of exclusion  
23 from a community can enforce behaviour. And a  
24 person can be banished temporarily or permanently.  
25 And if, through a Court scene, to encouraging, to

1           doing activities together, to talking with him,  
2           telling him how he should behave, how he should be,  
3           if he doesn't improve, then, it can lead to  
4           execution. Yes, finally, because he may become a  
5           menace to the collective.

6           So, he discovered, Roland discovered that Inuit  
7           tend to pressure an individual to correct him or  
8           herself, as the elders have mentioned. And other  
9           psychological pressure could include gossip,  
10          ridicule, insult, ostracism, reprimand, confession  
11          and banishment for unacceptable behaviour. Now, I'm  
12          not saying, I'm not condoning gossip. I don't think  
13          people are condoning gossip at all today, because we  
14          live in such a large society now, there's a lot of  
15          diverse issues going on in our community, so, in a  
16          small community perhaps, it would have worked, but  
17          this does not work anymore at all. So, I wouldn't  
18          quite agree with that, neither would ostracism.  
19          People live in many different manners today, but  
20          there are certain, you know, fundamental values that  
21          we can always turn to, yes, in order to look at.

22          So, justice requires also knowledge keepers.  
23          So, it requires people who are necessarily experts,  
24          who are knowledgeable about how Inuit should live,  
25          about relationships, about dealing with people, how

1           should one conduct themself with others. And in the  
2           past, of course, I mentioned it, (amaqui?inaudible)  
3           leaders, elders were those such knowledge keepers.  
4           And in the absence of these, we can look to  
5           knowledge keepers such as the justice committees,  
6           members of justice committees and other people who  
7           are working in that field among the Inuit. Because  
8           again, I'm always turning to bring the Inuit to the  
9           forefront, bring them to be involved. There are  
10          knowledge keepers and there will be knowledge  
11          keepers.

12                 There's... and I took... I spoke about kinship  
13           and that is central to our relationship with others.  
14           The kinship is very important still today, even  
15           though extended families are living in this much  
16           larger dynamic of various different families living  
17           together in one community. And so, the kinship  
18           relationship continues with extended families within  
19           those communities. And also now, they must deal  
20           with other families. So, those dynamics, the  
21           political dynamics, the power struggles, those also  
22           are taken into account. When Inuit lived in family  
23           camps, they didn't necessarily always deal with one  
24           another and perhaps it was a good way to not be all  
25           put into one large settlement. They would

1 occasionally see each other, but all this to say  
2 that kinship has a central place. It is the basis  
3 of one of our law. Yes. It is our law.  
4 (Ilaannikkut? Inaudible).

5 And indeed, kinship, there's also kinship  
6 terms, I'll explain very quickly, because I spoke  
7 about the kinship relation and how we are named, and  
8 yet, there's also kinship terms that are quite  
9 different from kinship terms that Qallunaat have.  
10 So, if we name someone "uncle" through the paternal  
11 side, naming "uncle" is "akkak". But if we name  
12 "uncle" on the maternal side, it's "angok", and  
13 still, it's "uncle" in English. But the naming is  
14 quite different, "akkak" and "angok". Sorry, I said  
15 "angok", it's not "angok", it's "angak". So, I have  
16 "akkak" and I have "angak". So, my father's  
17 brothers would be my "akkak" and my mother's  
18 brothers are my "angak". Uh-huh.

19 And the place of yourself within your siblings  
20 is also distinguished. If I have an older sister, I  
21 would call her "angajuk". I cannot call her  
22 "sister" as I would in English. She's not my  
23 sister, she's my "angajuk". And the younger one  
24 would be my "nukaq", my "nukaq". It's a sibling of  
25 the same sex younger. A sibling of the same sex

1           older. And then, my brother would be my "anik", no  
2           matter which age difference there are, he's my  
3           "anik". So, a young man also say "angajuk" and  
4           "nukaq" to signify who is his older sibling and his  
5           younger sibling. So, it's never just "brother" or  
6           just "sister" either way. Huh. So, if you ask me  
7           who my sister is, I would tell you: "Well, the  
8           older one or the younger?"

9           So, I mentioned education and education has an  
10          important place. Formerly, in the past, so, Inuit  
11          learned to be Inuit through their parents. And so,  
12          education is so important that even elders are  
13          saying: « You know, we didn't learn sitting at a  
14          desk. We didn't learn just by writing and by  
15          listening. We learned with our parents by following  
16          them, by going with them, by observing them, by  
17          practicing and doing over and over again the things  
18          we need to be as Inuit. And it's not like that  
19          anymore today."

20          And the responsibility of parents to educate  
21          their children as Inuit was taken away by the  
22          Western education system. So, that's another, like,  
23          story, that's another big story, an important to  
24          tell, because, well, not because, but the role of  
25          education, I think, we need to look at that for how

1 we can improve it for Inuit youth to become more  
2 proud of being Inuit. You know, every time...

3 I was a teacher last fall to Inuit youth and  
4 teaching them Inuit language, a language most of  
5 them already knew, but they had to improve. And so,  
6 this program in which I was teaching is the Nunavik  
7 Sivunitsavut program and it gives culturally  
8 relevant courses on Inuit history, on Inuit arts,  
9 Inuit physical education through Inuit games, Inuit  
10 language. And so, when the kids come out of this  
11 program, it had begun in Ottawa from in Nunavut.  
12 The kids, the students come out proud really of who  
13 they are and we see them emerging from this program  
14 just blossoming and just coming out with wonderful  
15 ideas in how they are bringing their culture back.

16 And I see this for Inuit law as well in the  
17 future. More and more that we talk about it, more  
18 and more that we educate, more and more that the  
19 justice committees will understand the Inuit law,  
20 more and more that people will find also new ideas  
21 on how they will work with these concepts in today's  
22 world. Our world is changing all the time and law,  
23 Inuit law, is also changing. And so education is  
24 going to play a very important role in this.

25 And so, to continue in, to continue further, I

1           just spoke about education, I spoke about kinship.  
2           So, there is the recognition of the existence of  
3           Inuit law. It was practiced and I think, you know,  
4           when I began this research, I didn't recognize the  
5           existence of Inuit law. Our daily reality is people  
6           going to jail, we're hearing about Court sessions  
7           happening in the communities. You can't do this,  
8           you can't do that, otherwise, you'll go to jail.  
9           There's a threat, you know, of being punished. And  
10          in our daily lives, we don't quite realize that we  
11          do have an Inuit law. So, this actual discussion  
12          we're having, I'm saying: "Yes, we have Inuit law.  
13          That's a huge step in itself. Yes, this recognition  
14          of Inuit law. It does exist." And if there are  
15          parts of it that are no longer being practiced such  
16          as dialog and helping others to help resolve your  
17          problems, then, we can revitalize and bring it back.  
18          It is possible.

19                 I think I mentioned these already. I went, I  
20                 had gotten ahead of myself before moving on the  
21                 PowerPoint presentations.

22           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

23                 Maybe you can read it, because it was a good...

24           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

25                 Yes.

1 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

2 We can have a good resume.

3 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

4 Yes. The whole thing?

5 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

6 Yes.

7 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

8 From here?

9 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

10 Yes, this one and the next one.

11 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

12 Yes.

13 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

14 I think they were very...

15 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

16 Yes.

17 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

18 ... clear.

19 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

20 So, there's kinship growing to be an Inuk and being  
21 responsible for others and self. Inuit education  
22 was to become independent and capable of taking care  
23 of oneself, but also of others and your family, and  
24 your growing children. That was part of Inuit  
25 education.

1 Under Inuit law, there were conflict resolution  
2 mechanisms. There was conciliation and  
3 psychological pressure. There was non-intervention.  
4 There were duels and physical sanctions. And the  
5 codes of conduct were clear. Yes.

6 I should say, sometimes, there were cases in  
7 the old, old past where revenge was used. Then, in  
8 other cases, people did not intervene, they  
9 preferred not to go for revenge. Otherwise, he was  
10 going to create a whole package of other problems.  
11 Yes. So, they chose not to revenge, to have  
12 revenge. Others took revenge. So, there were  
13 various ways of reacting.

14 I mentioned duels here. Now, I must tell you  
15 that duels, song duels existed between, very often,  
16 between men and they were called, these two (2) men  
17 were like pairs, they were "iglugiik", they were a  
18 pair. They could be song cousins, let's say, and it  
19 was a way of resolving conflict between them. And  
20 in the old way, I mean, it could still come back,  
21 they would sing with a drum, they would sing to each  
22 other and drum, and they would throw out the  
23 nastiest insults to each other. One would sing and  
24 throw out these insults. "Here, you are, you, you  
25 don't, you who doesn't even know how to build a

1           qajaq, you already have a child. You're not much of  
2           a man", you know? And this was probably due to this  
3           man trying to blame this other man for stealing his  
4           food, let's say. And then, that other man who was  
5           being accused responded back with his own song,  
6           trying to insult him more than this other, his song  
7           cousin insulted him. So, this was done in public.  
8           So, that way, they aired out their issues between  
9           each other. And then, when they finished, all went  
10          back again to normal. So, that was one way of  
11          solving conflict. This is way, way back before, you  
12          know, my great-great-grandfather.

13                 Other ways were physical, they were, like,  
14                 physical duels as well. We hear of the case, in  
15                 Puvirnitug, across the river from Puvirnitug, there  
16                 is a special spot and you may see this story in one  
17                 of the books produced by Arima with perhaps Zebedee  
18                 Nungak. And these stories of two (2) men who had a  
19                 duel and they would hit bows to each other, try to  
20                 hit themselves with a bow at each other and they  
21                 were at a distance even shorter than we are. And  
22                 this story, this legend has it that they did it for  
23                 so long that their trace can be seen, because they  
24                 have a path that they left. And finally, one of  
25                 them had been hit, and he had to run away while - I

1 know it's a very... - he had to run away while he  
2 was dying, you know? So, the other was able to  
3 chase after him and finish him off. Those were  
4 types of duels that occurred a very, very long time  
5 ago. Yes.

6 But other types of duels happened in the  
7 gathering ceremonies that Inuit used to have and  
8 where they had very demanding competitions with one  
9 another for strength, endurance, exercises, speed  
10 and song in these huge snow houses called "iglo"  
11 that they made, that gathered many, many people  
12 together before the time of the spring solstice.  
13 Yes.

14 So, that's for the duels. I don't tell  
15 everything, because I don't also have all the  
16 details for those kinds of things, but some of my  
17 readings have shown me these things. We spoke of  
18 codes of conduct that were very clear as well.  
19 There's required knowledge keepers. In the past,  
20 these were the angakkuit, the leaders and elders.  
21 And there's a role of myths and legends for passing  
22 on morals and virtues, and knowing how you should  
23 conduct yourself. We could always look back to our  
24 stories and our legends to see how issues were dealt  
25 with, you know? When we look at Aukkautik and how

1 Salualualuk (?) tried to save him. In effect, it  
2 was almost like he was being his advocate and he was  
3 trying to show him the way to come back to normal.  
4 And so, that's a story where we can look at that  
5 kind of helping. Very difficult to do and...

6 In this next section, I wrote down a few things  
7 about actions that we could take. So, I spoke about  
8 education and its role. For Inuit, to learn about  
9 Inuit law, their own law and for - and this requires  
10 knowing about our own history as well. We must  
11 learn about our own history. In the past, it has  
12 been pretended that...as if we didn't have a  
13 history, but we have a very rich history full of  
14 incredible stories, contacts, contacts with whalers  
15 and fur traders, and our genetics are mixed with  
16 Scottish people and English people, even American  
17 people and Blacks. So, this history is full of  
18 stories that can be shown, a lot more than it is  
19 right now. It's starting to, but we'll continue  
20 working on it.

21 And for non-Inuit in the field of justice, they  
22 must learn Inuit customary law. Some of the things  
23 I've spoken of today, it should be, because a lot of  
24 people from the field of justice, this justice  
25 system, the Court system, are working up North and

1           their clients are Inuit. People they are working  
2           for are Inuit. And to not learn about Inuit law is  
3           pretending that we have no history, that we had no  
4           beginning. That we are just integrated into the  
5           Western system. It's not possible, because our  
6           background and where we come from is so different.  
7           Yes. Yes.

8           So, about the Inuit way of being and relating  
9           to the world, and I put down collaborate with  
10          justice committees to help teach Inuit and non-Inuit  
11          about Inuit law. And it should be, and it will be  
12          an important role for the justice committees to take  
13          on. It's to really study in depth their very own,  
14          and then, to be able to transmit it to their  
15          communities. To act on it as well and to  
16          participate, and to participate in the decisions  
17          around justice. And actively, you know? So then,  
18          they would also be teaching non-Inuit about Inuit  
19          law.

20          So, and I would call for a collaboration  
21          between Inuit and non-Inuit to work on how certain  
22          laws can be made to work better for Inuit, ensuring  
23          the inclusion of Inuit women. As I have explained,  
24          I think it's very important that Inuit women, at an  
25          equal level, be part of this discussion and the

1 collaboration and the search for ways of working  
2 together to improve certain laws. You know, for  
3 example, the Youth Protection Act, I put it down as  
4 an example. So many Inuit are crying out for an  
5 improvement so as not to lose their children to the  
6 non-Inuit world. So many children are going away  
7 from Nunavik because they are being fostered by able  
8 families, but what are the solutions that we can  
9 find together to improve that? Yes. To help  
10 children stay close to their families, their mothers  
11 and their culture.

12 So, I call for an involvement of local people,  
13 the involvement of Inuit women's association and the  
14 involvement of men's association. In involving  
15 Inuit women in the preparation of actions to reduce  
16 violence in communities. Again, we must look into  
17 how that can be done through integrating Inuit law.  
18 Uh-huh.

19 And as I mentioned, several times I'm  
20 mentioning it now, the participation of Inuit in  
21 doling out justice.

22 I think I'm going to leave you to ask me  
23 questions. Yes?

24 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

25 Madame Boileau, do you have questions?

1 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

2 Yes, I do.

3 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

4 Yes?

5 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

6 I have a few, actually.

7 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

8 Would you like to take a break before?

9 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

10 No, I'm...

11 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

12 No?

13 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

14 ... okay, thank you.

15 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

16 Okay. All right.

17 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

18 Thank you.

19 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

20 It was in your study and also we heard it through  
21 your presentation that there was really, it seems  
22 that there was a flexibility of social control, if I  
23 might say that...

24 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

25 Uh-huh.

1 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

2 ... two (2) gestures could be treated, even if it's  
3 the same gesture, for, like, in foreigner's eye, it  
4 could be treated very differently?

5 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

6 Uh-hum. Depending on the family, yes. Depending on  
7 who and what, I mean, if the son of such family had  
8 been killed, you know, it could have been an  
9 accident, you know, in a hunting trip, maybe two (2)  
10 men went out hunting together and one of them has  
11 been accidentally killed by the other. It could  
12 happen. But the family is calling for revenge and  
13 they for that revenge to occur, they want the other  
14 man to die. They could kill him. Yes. Another -  
15 the same thing might happen, but the family is not  
16 necessarily asking for revenge, but they want him to  
17 help out with the hunting, to bring food, because  
18 that man was a provider for the family. Yes. Or  
19 simply, they will not take any action. Instead,  
20 they will forgive and move on, because perhaps for  
21 them, if they take any other action, further  
22 consequences could follow. Perhaps. Yes.

23 So, there were different ways of reacting.

24 There was also, you know, violence. Yes.

25 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

1           It really depends on what the family wants, if I  
2           understand?

3           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

4           Yes.

5           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

6           Uh-huh.

7           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

8           Yes.

9           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

10          And also, there's a place and I have asked you if  
11          you could explain a bit, there's a place still in  
12          your study where you're saying that the goal of the  
13          criminal law system to establish a culpability...

14          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

15          Um-huh.

16          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

17          ... is in opposition with the goal for Inuit, the  
18          desire for Inuit to restore harmony. It's in  
19          opposition?

20          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

21          That's right. Yes. I have written this, I have  
22          mentioned it as the Inuit way, as I have been saying  
23          throughout my presentation, is to improve, help the  
24          person understand that he needs to improve his  
25          behaviour and giving him the opportunity to improve

1 his behaviour, and to show him how and encourage  
2 him, do activities with him. So, the goal is not to  
3 punish him for what he's doing. The goal is for him  
4 to be a better person.

5 When we are growing up, I mentioned  
6 independence, we learned to be independent and we  
7 don't have people telling us what to do. In fact,  
8 even today, some Inuit, most Inuit, telling them to  
9 do this, do that, do this, do that, it's against  
10 that independence. And so, there's often that push-  
11 pull resistance of being told what to do as an Inuk,  
12 eh? It's true. I think it's not just a matter of  
13 individual personality, but most Inuit are with  
14 this, because they have learned to respect the  
15 autonomy of each person for conducting themselves  
16 the way they should, the way they have been brought  
17 up.

18 Every person knows what they should do, what  
19 they need to do. And yet, those very people who  
20 need the support, sometimes, they... it's very  
21 difficult for them, so the best ways to encouraging  
22 them and telling them how they should be, what type  
23 of behaviour they should not be doing or the type of  
24 behaviour they should be doing. And so, the...  
25 Sorry, I'm trying to remember the sense of your

1 question, because I've carried, I got carried away  
2 with describing the independence of the person.

3 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

4 Which was very interesting.

5 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

6 Yes. Your question?

7 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

8 So, it was about the fact that you're saying that  
9 the goal of the justice system, the criminal  
10 justice...

11 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

12 Right.

13 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

14 ... culpability?

15 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

16 Yes. Yes, so, that's it. So, not to punish. It  
17 was not to punish. Now, you're being a bad person.  
18 Never, because we're respecting that person to be  
19 who he is, to know how he should conduct himself.  
20 So, it's council, advice. And no, no punishment.  
21 But sometimes, you know, it doesn't work. He ends  
22 having to be excluded. Yes. That's in the past and  
23 nobody is doing that kind of thing. Now, it's the  
24 role of the justice communities to do that kind of  
25 thing. Yes. For limited cases. Yes.

1 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

2 Thank you. And there's another part in your study  
3 where you talk about the fact that, the importance  
4 of always saying the truth. And if ever, like, if  
5 you take something from someone or you break  
6 something from...

7 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

8 Uh-huh.

9 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

10 ... someone, there's a high expectancy that they're  
11 supposed to go and say it?

12 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

13 Yes.

14 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

15 So, there's like a very importance of truth?

16 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

17 Yes. I think it's not only the importance of truth,  
18 but speaking, telling someone, making sure that you  
19 tell your cousin that you're borrowing his harpoon,  
20 which is standing outside of his house, so that you  
21 could go and catch a seal. And, you know, he might  
22 find it missing the next day, but you should tell  
23 him before you do that. You know? That's an  
24 example that given, you know, by the elders, the  
25 importance of making sure you tell someone what, if

1           you're taking anything that belongs to him, very  
2           important. So that he won't say that you're just  
3           stealing it, you know? They've been taught that  
4           stealing is not good, you cannot just take things  
5           from them.

6           I mentioned confession a bit earlier. Now,  
7           there have been studied cases, documented of a case  
8           where a sick Inuk had asked an angekkok for help in  
9           getting better. The angekkok was asking questions:  
10          "Have you been doing this? Have you been doing  
11          that?" And he must tell the truth now, he must say:  
12          "Yes, I've been doing that now." Many people are  
13          listening. So, he's like confessing to the wrong  
14          that he did. "Yes. Yes, I did." And the angekkok  
15          continues to ask him questions. And again, he  
16          admits that yes, he did that. And everybody is  
17          listening and when he confesses it, everybody: "Ah,  
18          yes, yes." And in that way, it's like that  
19          confession has brought what he did wrong out and  
20          removed, removed his... I don't want to say "sin", I  
21          don't want to say it like that, but whatever he did  
22          wrong is, like, forgiven. Yes. And then, then  
23          angekkok can tell him: "Okay, now, you must do  
24          this, and now, you must not do this. And now, you  
25          have this part of the food that you shouldn't eat.

1           And you're going to get better."

2           It may sound simplistic, the way I'm explaining  
3           it, but it's not, because it's very spiritual in  
4           that sense, so that when your spirit is well and so,  
5           it will also help to heal your body. Yes.

6           **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

7           Am I right if I have the belief that it's even  
8           better to confess it or to say it before somebody is  
9           asked to do it?

10          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

11          Before somebody has to... sorry?

12          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

13          Yes, I have the feeling that it's even better to...  
14          for somebody having taken something to tell it or  
15          confess it...

16          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

17          Yes.

18          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

19          ... before being asked to do so.

20          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

21          That's right. Yes. Much better. So, when an Inuk  
22          is confronted and is asked questions, therefore, he  
23          is open and he will have a tendency to probably say  
24          everything. And that's another aspect of being Inuk  
25          is that you want to confess, you want to bring it

1 out in the open. I think it is not only a question  
2 of telling the truth, but also of bringing out in  
3 the open. When you bring it out in the open, it  
4 will go. Yes. So, that's why there is some issues  
5 sometimes with Inuit who are being brought to Court  
6 and they have a tendency to say everything. "Did  
7 you do this and that to her?" "Yes, I did." To  
8 their detriment.

9 So, this way, dealing with the truth, I think,  
10 it's good to be an Inuk doing that, but I think the  
11 justice system does not take it into account the way  
12 it should be taken into account.

13 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

14 Thank you. Another interesting thing that you  
15 didn't talk about is, you're talking in your study  
16 of a situation about violent men and that his  
17 spirit, isuma, you're saying?

18 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

19 "Isuma" is "thought".

20 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

21 "Thought". His "thought"?

22 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

23 Yes.

24 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

25 So, his thoughts were not on the good stuff anymore?

1           He wasn't rational anymore. So, people around him  
2           tried to help him, tried to help him in various way,  
3           but the way he was kept getting worse and worse.

4           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

5           Uh-huh.

6           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

7           So, then you explained two (2) ways of intervene...

8           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

9           Uh-huh.

10          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

11          ... one way for the winter and one way for the  
12          summer in these kinds of situations?

13          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

14          Ah...

15          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

16          So...

17          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

18          ... yes.

19          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

20          ... I don't know.

21          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

22          And this is a very specific story. And again, it  
23          doesn't mean that it was happening everywhere. And  
24          perhaps it did. It was a very serious case. I think  
25          it was... So, a way to exclude someone in the

1 summer was different from the way to exclude someone  
2 in the winter. Right? So, in the summer, this  
3 violent person or this person who has a tendency to  
4 make threats and become violent would be, if  
5 ostracism didn't work, if trying to convince him to  
6 change his ways didn't work, he could be sent on an  
7 island and he would be watched, you know? He  
8 couldn't swim back, but someone would go and feed  
9 him, and make sure he was okay. And until, you  
10 know, it looked like he had calmed down and was  
11 ready to come back. So, sometimes, that worked.  
12 Yes.

13 Then, in the winter, that was quite another  
14 story. There was a case and it's a very - this one  
15 is a very specific case, excuse me. An elder from  
16 Inukjuak told me this story of a man who, in fact,  
17 after trying very long to trying to stop being  
18 violent, he was being forced to be outside in the  
19 winter, in the very, very cold, nearly naked,  
20 barefoot and he was tied to a pole and made to stay  
21 there. It was like torture, I would say, but it was  
22 a way of trying to get him to his senses. And then,  
23 he was brought back to the warmth, to see if he  
24 would calm down. That was one way.

25 And another way for a violent offender was to

1 build a snow house, cover it with ice completely.  
2 He's inside and he's not able to break out, because  
3 it's completely iced over. And someone would come  
4 in, like a counsellor, a woman, to see how he was  
5 doing, to feed him and to talk with him as well, to  
6 counsel him, to make sure, you know, that he was  
7 okay, but also, to see would he be ready, would he  
8 improve his ways and be ready to come back as well?

9 So, that was - I found that extreme when I  
10 first heard about it. It is extreme but what  
11 choice, what choice would they have when they have  
12 to deal with a violent offender? What do you do  
13 when you are a small extended family and you're  
14 dealing with one of your brother or your father who  
15 is becoming violent? Because unfortunately, there  
16 were no methods to help a mentally ill person. No  
17 methods, no medication, yes. Yes. Constraint was  
18 the way.

19 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

20 Thank you, I have no more questions.

21 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

22 No more questions?

23 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

24 But maybe there's...

25 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

1           Me Boucher? Will you have some questions?

2       **Me MARIE-PAULE BOUCHER :**

3           I won't have questions, thank you.

4       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

5           No?

6           Would you like to add some things?

7       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

8           Well...

9       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

10          We're listening.

11       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

12          You're listening.

13       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

14          Everything you will have to tell us to...

15       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

16          Yes.

17       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

18          ... help us having a call to action that may

19          improve...

20       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

21          Right.

22       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

23          ... the situation. It's very welcome.

24       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

25          Yes. Regarding Inuit law, I'm sure I will go home

1           and I say: "I should have said this and I should  
2           have said that."

3           **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

4           At that time, you know what you could do?

5           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

6           Yes?

7           **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

8           Take the phone.

9           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

10          Okay. All right. I will. I will.

11          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

12          And...

13          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

14          So...

15          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

16          ... it will be welcome.

17          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

18          Yes.

19          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

20          You know how to join Me Denis-Boileau, you...

21          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

22          Yes.

23          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

24          ... you may tell her what...

25          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

1 Yes.

2 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

3 ... could be interesting for us.

4 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

5 Uh-hum.

6 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

7 Because it's...

8 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

9 I will. I will.

10 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

11 ... it's a matter that is very interesting for us to  
12 study.

13 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

14 Uh-huh.

15 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

16 To try to see what could be done. You're telling us  
17 about justice committee. We heard about that  
18 earlier also.

19 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

20 Oh yes?

21 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

22 Yes, oh yes. And the more we'll listen to possible  
23 calls for action...

24 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

25 Uh-huh.

1 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

2 ... to improve the situation, it's very welcome and  
3 we know that it was also suggested in other inquiry  
4 commissions earlier...

5 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

6 Uh-huh.

7 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

8 ... to...

9 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

10 Yes.

11 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

12 ... to improve the system.

13 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

14 Yes.

15 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

16 You're telling us that long before we... us...

17 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

18 Yes.

19 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

20 ... Qallunaat arrive in the North, you had ways to  
21 solve conflict...

22 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

23 Yes.

24 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

25 ... through the rules of conduct and behaviour, and

1 everything.

2 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

3 Yes.

4 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

5 And it was working.

6 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

7 (Inaudible). Yes.

8 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

9 Because your people survived.

10 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

11 Yes. Absolutely, yes.

12 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

13 Yes. And with Western system of justice, there's a  
14 conflict.

15 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

16 Uh-huh.

17 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

18 It's obvious.

19 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

20 Yes.

21 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

22 In the Western system, there is - and somebody is  
23 doing something wrong, is accused, convicted or not.

24 If convicted, maybe going to jail, to pay a fine

25 or...

1 **MME LISA QILUQOI KOPERQUALUK :**

2 Um...

3 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

4 ... anything else.

5 **MME LISA QILUQOI KOPERQUALUK :**

6 Yes.

7 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

8 Although in Inuit laws, you will try to solve the  
9 matter, to make sure that people, to live together  
10 again. And the target is not to punish, but to  
11 improve the situation.

12 **MME LISA QILUQOI KOPERQUALUK :**

13 Yes.

14 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

15 To make sure it will not happen again.

16 **MME LISA QILUQOI KOPERQUALUK :**

17 Uh-huh.

18 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

19 So we see, it's...

20 **MME LISA QILUQOI KOPERQUALUK :**

21 Yes.

22 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

23 ... we understand that something else was there  
24 before...

25 **MME LISA QILUQOI KOPERQUALUK :**

1 Uh-huh.

2 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

3 ... the Western system of justice and there's a  
4 conflict.

5 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

6 Uh-huh.

7 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

8 And we realize that Western system is not working  
9 very well in Nunavik. And something has to be done,  
10 and we are listening to what people of Nunavik would  
11 like to be done...

12 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

13 Uh-huh.

14 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

15 ... to see what's possible to do.

16 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

17 Yes. Uh...

18 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

19 Because as you told, many, many, many, many things  
20 changed.

21 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

22 That's right.

23 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

24 Now, it's not the same as it was...

25 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

1           It's not the same.

2       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

3           ... even a hundred years ago.

4       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

5           Uh-huh. That's right.

6       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

7           Uh? So, we have to manage what everything...

8       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

9           The change with a...

10       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

11           Children...

12       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

13           ... (inaudible).

14       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

15           ... other ideas. You...

16       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

17           Uh-huh.

18       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

19           ... told us that even some rules, some laws are not  
20           even transmitted to children? Not anymore?

21       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

22           Uh-huh.

23       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

24           Yes?

25       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

1           That's right.

2           **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

3           So, I'm just trying to...

4           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

5           Yes.

6           **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

7           ... go through what I heard today...

8           **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

9           Uh-huh.

10          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

11          ... but I heard a lot more, but...

12          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

13          Uh-huh.

14          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

15          ... but...

16          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

17          Thank you.

18          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

19          Is there something else you will...?

20          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

21          Yes.

22          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

23          Yes?

24          **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

25          So, we are, and you're mentioning yourself, you

1 know, the situation is so different today. The  
2 communities are very different today and when we  
3 look at Inuit law, we cannot go back and say, we  
4 cannot apply it to today.

5 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

6 Uh-huh.

7 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

8 It's not possible either. And so, what I would love  
9 to see at the same time that, you know, we try to  
10 revitalize and bring to the front and make it - name  
11 our law. We also realize that it evolves and it's  
12 changing and we must adapt to the contemporary life,  
13 to today, and it will continue to do that. But at  
14 the same time, what I also would like to see, and it  
15 would be a social justice, it would be helping  
16 children, it would be helping women, it would be  
17 helping the man. It's to create treatment centers  
18 for detox, for help in supporting people who wish to  
19 stop drinking alcohol when alcohol is controlling  
20 their lives and they are completely addicted. And  
21 it's ruining their family and the children. The  
22 neglected children, the children who have to run  
23 away from their home, because their parents are  
24 having a drinking party this night and they're  
25 searching for a place to stay. But sometimes, they

1 find people refusing them and they need help, you  
2 know?

3 At the same time, well, why aren't we building  
4 these treatment centers right now? Why? Why not  
5 build one in Puvirnitug? Tomorrow? There's one  
6 treatment center in Kuujjuaq, but many people have  
7 young children, they cannot just leave and go to  
8 Kuujjuaq for six (6) weeks.

9 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

10 It's a long way.

11 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

12 Yes, it's a long way. So, we must find solutions at  
13 this level as well. And to not find this solution  
14 right now is an injustice. It really is. To  
15 continue to accept the status quo and this many  
16 people dealing with alcoholism and violence and  
17 accidents and suicides all related to alcohol.  
18 There is a terrible problem in that and that, in  
19 itself, is an injustice, because we're not doing  
20 anything about it. There must be a way.

21 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

22 Uh-huh. Maybe people in the South do not always  
23 realize that we have many communities in the North.  
24 Fourteen (14), I guess?

25 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

1           Yes.

2       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

3           All along the shore.

4       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

5           Uh-huh.

6       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

7           Representing one third of the province.

8       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

9           Yes.

10       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

11           All spread out.

12       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

13           Yes.

14       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

15           It's a...

16       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

17           That is an issue.

18       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

19           ... it's not fifty kilometers (50 km) by road.

20       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

21           No.

22       **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

23           By plane, no road at all.

24       **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

25           No, that's it.

1 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

2 No railways.

3 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

4 Ah...

5 And you know, the parents, with their young  
6 children, they don't know where to put their  
7 children and who's going to care for them.

8 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

9 Uh-huh.

10 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

11 If they leave them, they could be vulnerable. The  
12 children are very vulnerable right now. So...

13 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

14 I think it's very important to sit all together,  
15 government and people of Nunavik, to try to solve  
16 the matter.

17 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

18 Yes.

19 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

20 I don't think it's the good ways to decide in the  
21 South and telling in the Nunavik: "There's the way  
22 it's going to be."

23 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

24 Yes.

25 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

1           It has to be solved all together.

2   **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

3           That's it.

4   **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

5           I guess.

6   **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

7           I agree with you. Yes.

8   **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

9           So, if there's nothing else?

10   **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

11          I don't...

12   **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

13          I will thank you again for having accepted our  
14          invitation for a presentation and if there's  
15          something else, don't hesitate. Maître...

16   **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

17          Thank you.

18   **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

19          ... Denis-Boileau will listen to you...

20   **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

21          I know.

22   **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

23          ... and she will tell to me.

24   **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

25          Thank you very much.

1 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

2 But thank you very much.

3 **MME LISA QILUQQI KOPERQUALUK :**

4 Thank you very much.

5 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

6 Bye. So, now, we'll adjourn until February twelve  
7 (12) in Montreal. Nous allons ajourner au douze  
8 (12) février...

9 **LA GREFFIÈRE :**

10 Oui.

11 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

12 ... à Montréal, au Palais des Congrès.

13 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

14 Mais simplement, avant d'ajourner?

15 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

16 Oh, vous avez des documents?

17 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

18 To file.

19 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

20 You have some documents to file? Okay.

21 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

22 Merci.

23 **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

24 Go.

25 **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

1           Moi-même, j'avais oublié, merci à Mélanie qui me l'a  
2           rappelé.

3           Donc, on est à quel numéro, madame la  
4           greffière?

5           **LA GREFFIÈRE :**

6           P-345.

7           **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

8           Donc, sous P-345, le livre « Les traditions liées au  
9           droit coutumier au Nunavik », de madame Lisa Qiluqqi  
10          Koperqualuk.

11                                   **\*\*\* PIÈCE COTÉE P-345 \*\*\***

12          **LA GREFFIÈRE :**

13          Hum-hum. Merci.

14          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

15          Et sous P-346, la présentation PowerPoint.

16                                   **\*\*\* PIÈCE COTÉE P-346 \*\*\***

17          **LA GREFFIÈRE :**

18          D'accord.

19          **Me MARIE-ANDRÉE DENIS-BOILEAU :**

20          Merci.

21          **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

22          Maintenant, ajournement au douze (12) février.

23          **LA GREFFIÈRE :**

24          C'est ça.

25          **LA GREFFIÈRE :**

1           Ajournement au douze (12) février deux mille dix-  
2           huit (2018), neuf heures trente (9 h 30), au Palais  
3           des Congrès, Montréal.

4           **LE COMMISSAIRE :**

5           Voilà. Bonne fin de journée.

6           FIN DE LA TRANSCRIPTION.

7           -----

8

9

10           Je soussignée, **Karine Laperrière**, sténographe  
11           officielle numéro **2890844**, certifiée sous mon serment  
12           d'office que les pages qui précèdent sont et  
13           contiennent la transcription exacte et fidèle des  
14           notes recueillies au moyen de l'enregistrement  
15           mécanique, le tout hors de mon contrôle et au  
16           meilleur de la qualité dudit enregistrement, le tout  
17           conformément à la loi.

18

19

Et j'ai signé :

20

21



22

23

**Karine Laperrière, s.o.b. 2890844.**

24

25

26