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Inuvialuit Living Art: Co-Creating Local Community Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Research

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Supervisor: Hodgetts, Lisa, *The University of Western Ontario* A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Anthropology © Jason YF Lau 2022

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Abstract

This thesis explores Inuvialuit cultural heritage through the lens of *Inuvialuit Pitqusiat Inuusimitkun* or living art, a term coined by Iñupiaq/Inuvialuk Elder Pauline Saturgina Tardiff and translated to Sallirmiutun by Inuvialuit Elders Albert and Shirley Elias. Using semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and ethnography, it brings together the knowledge of 11 Inuvialuit artists to discuss Inuvialuit *living art* through: its ability to tell stories through time and space; its role in surviving and thriving on the land; and its connection to inner "heartwork". Using a community-based participatory research (CBPR) framework, it outlines the 2019 Inuvialuit Living History Culture Camp at Ivvavik National Park, where *living art*, photovoice, and participatory design were employed in action with nine Inuvialuit research partners to co-create visual products and documentation of Inuvialuit cultural heritage. This thesis concludes that *living art* is a vital aspect of Inuvialuit cultural heritage and advocates for continued engagements with *living art*, musicality, and a heart-centred approach in the future of archaeological research.

Keywords

Community Archaeology, Inuvialuit, Cultural Heritage, Art, Community-Based Participatory Research, Co-creation, Participatory Action Research, Photovoice, Participatory Design

Summary for Lay Audience

This work talks about the role of art in Inuvialuit culture and history, which Iñupiaq/Inuvialuk Elder Pauline Saturgina Tardiff calls a *living art*, and Albert and Shirley Elias calls *Inuvialuit Pitqusiat Inuusimitkun*. But what makes Inuvialuit art a *living art*? First of all, it can hold and tell Inuvialuit stories for a long time and through many generations. Second, it is often made to live life, whether that is to survive on the land, or to connect with and show your love for your family. Third, it is always made with the heart and is often a thoughtful and emotional experience that can also be extremely healing for the soul.

After learning more about Inuvialuit *living art* from 11 Inuvialuit artists, the Inuvialuit Living History (ILH) Project hosted a Culture Camp and brought 5 Inuvialuit youth, 2 Elders, and 2 Knowledge Holders, a videographer from the Inuvialuit Communications Society (ICS), along with a couple of university academics, out to Ivvavik National Park to make their own Inuvialuit *living art*. At the camp, everyone worked together to make and design creative projects about Inuvialuit culture and history, including: collages and posters, drawings, sewings, photos, videos, and a youth zine called *Nipatur̂uq* that featured interviews and portraits of the Inuvialuit who went on this trip.

This project finds that researchers have to use visual media to create knowledge about culture and history with local communities, and set up places where different generations can teach and learn from each other, in order to respect and celebrate Indigenous ways of knowing and being. Making art should be seen as research and can change power imbalances between researchers, and local people can see themselves as researchers whether they have been to university or not. Future researchers would benefit from taking more creative approaches to doing Northern research, working with and placing what local people want first, making more art together, trying new ideas (instead of bringing new people into the same old ways), and most importantly always being sensitive to local cultures, histories, languages, and people's feelings. All of these actions used in partnership with Northern Indigenous communities help us all move closer to making archaeology and anthropology a more equal learning experience for everyone involved.

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Chapter 1

1 « Introduction »

This master's thesis explores the use of Inuvialuit art in practicing, sharing, and passing on Inuvialuit heritage in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region [ISR], also known as the modern-day Western Arctic region of Kanata¹. Recognizing that "art" can have a variety of cultural meanings and implications (e.g. Western concepts of 'fine art' and aesthetics), this thesis first poses the question: what framework can most effectively capture Inuvialuit expressions and outlets of creativity in a more culturally-contextual way? I argue that an Inuvialuit-centered framework of art can be theorized as "living art", a term coined by Iñupiaq/Inuvialuk artist and Elder Pauline Saturgina Tardiff. The thesis then goes on to explore the many faces and facets of this central concept of Inuvialuit "living art" through semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and participatory action research [PAR] with Inuvialuit artists, crafters, Elders, and youth, including the ways in which "living art" underlies various aspects of Inuvialuit life, cultural heritage, past, present, and futures.

After laying the foundation of the Inuvialuit "living art" framework, I apply it in a practical case study of a co-created artistic project at the Imnairvik Culture Camp hosted by Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait (the Inuvialuit Living History [ILH] project) in Ivvavik National Park in July 2019. Using a Participatory Action Research (PAR) framework, this project was co-created between five Inuvialuit youth, two Inuvialuit Knowledge Holders, two Inuvialuit Elders, as well as non-Inuvialuit archaeologists, anthropologists, and a videographer at Imnairvik, Ivvavik National Park, a significant cultural and historical landscape for Inuvialuit. The goal of this project was to create

¹ The name "Canada" likely comes from the Huron-Iroquois word "kanata," meaning "village" or "settlement" (Canada, Origin of the names of Canada and its provinces and territories 2020). Moreover, the spelling of "Kanata" also adheres to the Inuvialuktun (and generally Inuktut) language system, where the letters C and D are not used, and the English pronunciations of those letters are most closely achieved with the letter K and T respectively. "Kanata" is also the spelling of "Canada" used by the name "Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami" (ITK).

various artistic and creative deliverables that documented and communicated—from Inuvialuit perspectives—Inuvialuit Knowledge, culture, and heritage, before being published on the new Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait website, currently in development.

In this thesis, I explore the ways in which co-creation and PAR can be applied in archaeological research contexts, and their broader implications for research about and with Indigenous, descendant, and local community members and research partners. Considering the colonial history of academic research, my thesis contributes to the broader discourse seeking new and different theoretical frameworks to think about anthropology, archaeology, and cultural heritage in less colonial and harmful ways. Ultimately, I present ways in which thinking about, doing, and making research with concepts of *living art*, heartwork, vocality, and song can all act as innovative and decolonizing frameworks for future academic studies in anthropology/archaeology and cultural heritage.

The ultimate goal of this thesis is to build on current and continuing efforts to expand the practice of community-based archaeology, such as calls for archaeology to become a more heart-centred discipline wherein human emotions, relationships, and interpersonal care become pillars of doing effective and ethical archaeological research (Supernant, et al. 2020). Additionally, it aims to contribute to a larger collection of literature about CBPR, PAR, co-creation, and its uses in not only archaeological and heritage contexts, but in anti- and decolonizing work in anthropological research (Bollwerk 2015). By elaborating on the concept of Inuvialuit *living art*, documenting stories and Inuvialuit Knowledge, and reflecting on the Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait (Inuvialuit Living History) Imnairvik Culture Camp, this thesis argues that knowledge about archaeology and cultural heritage is intrinsically connected to present and future sociocultural practices of creating artwork, accepting and feeling emotions, forging caring and loving relationships with each other as well as the land, and ultimately living and experiencing life to its fullest extent. This thesis ultimately offers a larger picture of the important roles that "living art" can play in not only understanding and practicing Inuvialuit culture and heritage, but also passing them on to future generations, and educating settler Canadians.

1.1 « The Inuvialuit Settlement Region »

The research in this thesis takes place in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region [ISR], which includes almost half-a-million square kilometres of land, sea, and ice and spans the Beaufort Sea, Mackenzie River delta, the North Slope of the Yukon Territory (YT), and parts of modern-day Northwest Territories (NT) (Canada 1984). It is one of four Inuit regions within the wider Inuit Nunangat represented by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), which encompasses around 3% of Kanata's landmass and 50% of its coastline (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2021). The ISR includes six hamlets, including (in their respective local dialects of Inuvialuktun): Aktlarvik (Aklavik), Ikaahuk/Ikaariag (Sachs Harbour), Iñuuvik (Inuvik), Paulatuug (Paulatuk), Tuktuuyagtuug (Tuktoyaktuk), and Ulukhaqtuuq/Ulusaktuuq (Ulukhaktok; previously known as Holman Island) (Canada 1984). There are three dialects of the language of Inuvialuktun, including Kangiryuarmiutun, Sallirmiutun, and Uummarmiutun. Kangiryuarmiutun, spoken in Ulukhagtuug, is the dialect of Inuvialuktun most associated with Inuinnagtun, spoken in Central and Eastern Arctic regions. Sallirmiutun, spoken mostly in Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Paulatuuq, and Ikaahuk/Ikaariaq, is most associated with coastal communities in the ISR. Lastly, Uummarmiutun, spoken mostly in Iñuuvik and Aktlarvik, is most associated with the Mackenzie Delta communities, the Yukon North Slope, as well as connected to Iñupiat in Alaska; many Inuvialuit today are descendants from and related to Iñupiat, sharing many linguistic and cultural similarities.

These different dialects also represent the different groups that came together to create the ISR by the signing of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) on June 5, 1984, between the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE), representing Inuvialuit, and the Government of Kanata, represented by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Canada 1984). The major goals and principles of the land claims agreement are to: (1) preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values; (2) enable Inuvialuit to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society; and (3) further the conservation and management of wildlife populations, habitats, and other resources for long-term sustainability as a response to the increasing industrial encroachment (ibid).

Modern-day Kanata is founded upon an inherently exclusive colonial structure that historically and actively limits the equal participation of Indigenous Peoples in academia and other parts of society (Grande 2008; Smith 2013). The concept of Kanata itself is rooted in land theft, underlying white supremacist assumptions, Indigenous genocide and erasure, all of which continue through ongoing settler-colonialism. Thus, it is important to research and write in ways that consciously and actively work against such harmful processes. This thesis tries to operate, as much as possible, on the following two premises of the IFA: (1) by working towards and with existing efforts to preserve Inuvialuit culture and heritage, and (2) by creating a space and opportunity for Inuvialuit to become equal and meaningful participants in academic work in anthropology, archaeology, and cultural heritage. It also operates on the fact that it is done on Inuvialuit and Gwich'in lands, and all work that is done on such lands is to serve and benefit its communities and peoples.



Figure 1 – Inuit Nunangat showing the four Inuit regions in modern-day Kanata. Inuvialuit Nunangat is pictured towards the top left.

1.2 « Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait (Inuvialuit Living History) »

This thesis is situated within the broader Inuvialuit Living History Project (ILH), a partnership between the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC), Inuvialuit Communications Society (ICS), Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC), Parks Kanata (Western Arctic Field Unit), and academics and students like myself at the University of Western Ontario (UWO), Simon Fraser University, and Ursus Heritage. This means that my research has been conducted within a larger framework of input, collaboration, contributions, and resources from all of the listed partners, and its outcomes aim to inform the ongoing work and deliverables of the ILH Project, such as its website <u>www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca</u>.

1.3 « Defining "Art" »

"Art is kind of a 'colonialistic' term, right? It's something that's in an art gallery. For years, even seeing women and men walk around with their beautifully embroidered beaded parkas...it was like—woah! You know? But they never saw it as an 'art'." —Pauline Saturgina Tardiff

How do Inuvialuit define "art"? In this thesis, I will explore its diverse meanings to Inuvialuit artists, through its vibrant relationship with Inuvialuit culture, heritage, and archaeology through time. I outline the many complex dimensions and characteristics of Inuvialuit "living art", a more culturally relevant, inclusive, and encompassing framework coined by Iñupiaq² artist and Elder Pauline Saturgina Tardiff. Using the framework of "living art" rather than just "art", I continue to nuance the concept of 'art' as culturally contextual and thereby frame my thesis within particular Inuvialuit conceptions and understandings rather than Eurocentric ones. The following discussion

² Pauline identifies as Iñupiaq living in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. Iñupiat (plural) are a distinct but related cultural group to Inuvialuit whose homelands are located in and around modern-day Alaska and the North Slope of modern-day Yukon Territories. Many Inuvialuit like Pauline, especially those hailing from the Inuvialuit communities of Aktlarvik and Iñuuvik, are direct descendants of or close relatives to Iñupiat.

of art is therefore inherently part of a larger sociopolitical discourse around Indigeneity, cultural reclamation and decolonization.

As Stupples (2007, 89) argues: "Talking about art is an intellectual activity [and] intellectual activities cannot be detached from struggles for power." To reposition 'art' as coming from an Inuvialuit perspective is not only important for an anthropological, culturally-contextual analysis—it is also vital in redressing the sorts of historical power imbalances that excluded Indigenous peoples from understandings of human creativity. After all, as Fisher (2012, 252) argues: "the very realm of 'Art', and the very identity of 'Artist' have come to be politicized and treated as sites of Indigenous activism and advocacy in the Aboriginal art world." By writing and thinking about Inuvialuit *living art* with Inuvialuit artists in this thesis, I aim to support Inuvialuit in reclaiming and celebrating the forms of creativity that are so intertwined with their cultural heritage.

1.4 « Positionality »

In 2018 I became involved with the Inuvialuit Living History Project by way of my supervisor Dr. Lisa Hodgetts, one of the co-Principal Investigators of the project, when I started my Master's in Anthropology degree at the University of Western Ontario. As the compiler of this thesis, I am making transparent my positionality as a Canadian settler, person of colour, and son of immigrants from Hong Kong with further roots in China and Indonesia. I am not Inuvialuk, nor Indigenous. I write about others' cultural heritage in this thesis; I do not claim ownership over any of the Inuvialuit history. heritage, culture, or knowledge that I quote and discuss. My goal is not to speak as an authority on Inuvialuit Knowledge, but simply to act as a vessel for the diverse Inuvialuit voices featured. Once completed, this thesis and the knowledge of Inuvialuit members featured will be fully owned by the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre in Iñuuvik, and a copy of it will be kept there permanently. The individuals who have participated in this thesis by sharing their knowledge will maintain ownership of it, and all files generated during this research will be returned to the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC). Moving forward, ICRC, as well as the research partners and community members featured in this thesis, will have the right to grant permission for other outputs that might flow from this thesis.

Since completing the fieldwork for this thesis, I am a community member living in Iñuuvik in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR), working and sharing life with many of the project's research partners featured in this thesis, and applying and leveraging my knowledge and skillset in service of Inuvialuit throughout the region and beyond. Despite writing this thesis from the ISR, where my research takes place, I also write from the discomfort of the structural oppression that continues to pervade academia and Canadian society at all levels, which I have undoubtedly benefitted from through the process of my research and degree. It is my hope that this thesis and the larger Inuvialuit Living History Project can continue to fight against this oppression and provide funding, support, and opportunities for Inuvialuit to take charge in promoting their cultural heritage, language, and futures, while rightfully enacting their self-determination.

1.5 « Structure of the Thesis »

Following this introductory portion of the thesis, Chapter 2 focuses on a range of theoretical frameworks and research methods used in my research. In Chapter 3, I explore the many faces of Inuvialuit *living art* by engaging with a group of Inuvialuit artists of diverse backgrounds and their stories and knowledge, broadly revolving around three pillars of: (1) art that is living, (2) art made for living, and (3) living heartwork. Grounded in the vital Inuvialuit knowledge and insights highlighted in this chapter, Chapter 4 introduces a practical case study of one application of Inuvialuit *living art* at the Inuvialuit Living History Project's Culture Camp at Ivvavik National Park in 2019, where the project worked with research partners including five Inuvialuit youth, two Knowledge Holders, and two Elders, to co-create various *living art* products as research. Lastly, in Chapter 5, I reflect on my overall process and limitations of community archaeology research. I elaborate on tensions experienced but also look at ways forward in practicing a better community archaeology, ending with a few actionable recommendations for potential future Inuvialuit Living History Project activities. Chapter 6 ends the thesis with a conclusion and summary of the major ideas discussed.

Chapter 2

2 « Theory and Methods »

2.1 « Community-Based Archaeology »

While archaeological research originally grew out of 18th and 19th-century western colonial projects and was focused on positivist and "objective" scientific inquiry (Hodder and Hutson 2003; Pels 2008; Pels and Salemink 2000), recent decades have seen an increasing emphasis on subjectivity and self-reflexivity in archaeological practice. New subfields within archaeology have created more open and transparent ways of practicing archaeology that can no longer be insular and removed from surrounding local and Indigenous communities, especially because archaeologists are often outsiders to these communities (Johnson 2010). In this light, my research is rooted in the specific subfield of community-based archaeology, a subsection of archaeology that revolves around working with a local community or communities that is/are directly affected by the research, and which the research is about. It is especially appropriate for working with Indigenous communities due to its ability to recognize diverse traditions, experiences, and ways of knowing, as well as place local community partners in the driver's seat when it comes to designing research goals and practicing the research itself. In this section, I will outline several theoretical frameworks that guide my specific approach to community-based archaeology.

2.1.1 « Localized Critical Theory »

Localized critical theory, as described by Natasha Lyons (2013, 81), is informed foundationally by critical theory, which is well-suited for the examination and understanding of inequality and marginalization within a broad societal context. Primarily, critical theory considers ways in which individuals can be empowered or brought to greater social consciousness by individual or collective social action (Kincheloe and McLaren 2011). This critical foundation is vital because the discipline of archaeology is a historically colonial discipline (Moro-Abadía 2006) predicated on unequal power relationships between researchers and stakeholder communities. Lyons (2013, 88) argues for a focus on creating an "engaged and critical community archaeology" by rescaling the social needs down to an immediate and local "community level." This means that, instead of favouring discourse regarding broader, global processes like capitalism, we must turn our attention towards "local processes of community dynamics," such as individuals and their immediate relationships (Lyons 2013, 89).

Denzin (2010, 298) also argues that critical theory will not work within Indigenous settings without modification; it must be localized and "grounded in the specific meanings, traditions, customs, and community relations that operate in each indigenous setting." Ultimately, creating an interaction between 'the local' and 'the universal', informs two very different scales of social action which work in tandem. I believe this is important because focussing on 'the universal', for example, hegemonic and homogenous narratives—can eradicate and silence the diverse narratives of local descendant communities.

Despite its flexibility—critical theory has only been "sparingly adapted to the needs of archaeological research" (Lyons 2013, 82). Of the two levels of an effective critical practice—(1) self-reflexivity and (2) social criticism/action—the latter is not as deeply explored in archaeological studies (Wylie 1985). This leaves a lack of social criticism and praxis (social action informed by theory addressing sociopolitical needs), which is often missing from archaeological research, an area of scholarship that I aim to contribute to through my work.

2.1.2 « Community-Based Participatory Research (CPBR) »

The idea that knowledge production is not a power-neutral endeavour is explored by Atalay (Atalay 2012, 56-57) through the political economy of knowledge as a powerful capital (Gaventa 1993) and the analysis of scientific production as a social activity (Wilmsen 2008). In an effort to move away from privileging academic and researcher knowledge, and invoke more equitable involvement of all partners in research, researchers turn to Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR), which has roots in medical research on health and social problems (Wallerstein and Duran 2003). At its core, CBPR centres around an issue or topic of interest selected by or of importance to local community members and research partners, and is expected to culminate in education and action towards social change, with the ultimate goal of invoking more equitable involvement of all partners in research (Minkler and Wallerstein 2011). It emphasizes:

- (1) reciprocal benefits to each partner;
- (2) information and ways of knowing from diverse knowledge systems; and
- (3) the reintegration of previously disenfranchised peoples into the understanding, engagement with and preservation of their own histories (Atalay 2012, 4).

Its five principles include (Atalay 2012, 63):

- (1) utilizing a community-based, partnership process;
- (2) aspiring towards being participatory in all aspects;
- (3) building community capacity;
- (4) engaging a spirit of reciprocity; and
- (5) recognizing contributions of multiple knowledge systems.

In applying CBPR in this research, I try to venture away from traditional models of 'scholar-driven' research where the primary researcher makes all decisions, removed from the nuanced process of consultation or collaboration. Instead, this process of negotiation—as Lyons (Lyons 2013, 92) also argues—holds immense intellectual value in understanding the construction of knowledge in archaeological interpretation. Thus, I have tried to employ a negotiated analysis of knowledge co-creation revolving around the material history and social memories of Inuvialuit youth, Knowledge Holders and Elders who are represented throughout this thesis.

This thesis aims to integrate Inuvialuit ways of knowing and being as legitimate forms of knowledge, by bringing them into conversation with Western scientific knowledge. As Gosden (2004, 161) argues, "theoretically informed analysis can be carried out by anyone, though the theory may derive from non-Western traditions," and to do that, we must work *with* people rather than *through* them. As Lyons (Lyons 2013, 130) argues, these different systems of knowledge are best understood when they are "presented, compared, and brokered with one another." Thus, CPBR is a process of knowledge co-creation, rather than a simple one-sided production based on unequal power dynamics.

2.1.2.1 « Participatory Action Research and Co-Creation »

Participatory Action Research (or PAR), an orientation of research under the umbrella of CBPR (Section 2.1), is intended to be an empowering process primarily founded on the need to "understand and improve the world by changing it…lead[ing] to people having increased control over their lives" (Baum, MacDougall and Smith 2006, 854). Its focus on relationality means that at the heart of PAR is "collective, self-reflective inquiry that researchers and participants undertake [together], so they can understand and improve upon the practices in which they participate and the situations in which they find themselves" (ibid). This point aligns with the Inuit Social Values of *Aajiiqatigiinniq* (decision making through discussion and consensus) and *Piliriqatigiinniq/Ikajuqtigiinniq* (working together for a common cause). Moreover, PAR takes the reflective process one step further by linking it to "*action*, influenced by understanding of history, culture, and local context and embedded in social relationships" (ibid).

Doing PAR based within a community allows all participants to create a product in the physical presence of each other in familiar and meaningful settings for local research partners. It also allows all research partners to reflect upon research products together, redesigning anthropological self-reflexivity into *group reflexivity* and moving away from limited forms of self-reflexivity that do not incorporate the critical perspectives of Indigenous and local research partners. It can also be seen as a process of "co-creation" (Bollwerk 2015). Co-creation is founded upon Nina Simon's (2010) concept of the 'Participatory Museum', where visitors can "create, share, and connect with each other around content." Moreover, Simon (2010, 187) argues that the purpose of co-creative community projects is "to give voice and be responsive to the needs and interests of local community members; to provide a place for community engagement and dialogue; and to help participants develop skills that will support their own individual and community goals." PAR can also address archaeology's need for storytelling and narrative creation, which is critical for community members, research partners, and researchers alike (Little and Shackel 2014). More importantly, participatory and cocreative methods allow stories and narratives to be told not simply from the archaeologist's perspective, but from those of the research partners who are the main characters of those stories, and who ultimately understand them best.

Shanks and McGuire (1996) argue that archaeology should be a *craft* that "combats alienation by unifying hearts, hands, and minds," and that such a craft can be used in the interest of partner communities, including technical, interpretative, practical, or creative methods. Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2007) also identify collaboration as an art and practice, rather than a set process (Little and Shackel 2014, 72). Indeed, much of the literature about community-based archaeology and heritage implies that collaboration is an inherently artistic and creative process, where outside researchers and community researchers must always work together to create and design solutions to address different issues. In a similar vein, McLean (2011, xi) argues that the use of creative media and arts plays a vital role in generating hope and citizen empowerment, pushing for democratic change, and shaping or reforming cultural practices within communities—most importantly by the individuals and community members who transform it daily.

I take Griebel's (2013, 353) approach in further conceiving of community archaeology *as an art* itself because it should engage "populations as both a hybrid and imaginative process [by blending] desires, research interests, and voices that shape 'community' with the methodology and canonical knowledge of a discipline specializing in the study of the past." Griebel further argues that community archaeology "cannot define itself beyond the realm of situated practice," meaning that the discipline only "gains form through the motions of construction, and deconstruction, from 'things,' identities and ideas that are in a constant process of being shaped" (ibid). PAR is also about creating physical, tangible products over complicated and abstract academic ideas; Inuit Elders working with Griebel insisted on the importance of the "touchstone of material remains that it produce[s]" rather than the "methodological precision of fieldwork" (Griebel 2010, 78). Anthropologist Edmund Carpenter (1971, 14) argues that Inuit possess no direct words for the actions of "creating" and "making": "Their closest term means 'to work on.' The carver never attempts to force the ivory into uncharacteristic forms but responds to the material as it tries to be itself, and thus the carving is continually modified as the ivory has its say." Similarly, Griebel and Kitikmeot Heritage Society (2013, 27) use the metaphor of carving ivory to argue that "one should avoid forcing things into a preconceived form." Allowing a community to define, create and "try to be itself," in this respect, is thus a priority that trumps adhering "rigidly to empirical facts or to assumed functions of past objects" actions more popular in past processual approaches to thinking in archaeology (ibid).

The attention to this process of "working on" something together and allowing the process—rather than preconceived ideas—to shape its outcomes is at the core of the PAR approach. In the Northern context, Janet Tamalik McGrath (2012, 284) argues that northern research should be conceived as the Inuktitut word *sanaugaq* or 'made thing'. She writes:

Sananiq [craft-making] is primarily relational and social. Skills are observed, taught, acquired, refined and developed through relationships; so is knowledge. It is also practical in its essential relationality; People make things that are needed by others or themselves in the service of others. So is knowledge. What is available is used to make things, and if what is needed is not available, qanuqtuurniq (innovation) is a natural way to think...These processes – of craft and making – are primarily relational and social and thus they are transmitted through relationships. Knowledge produced is intended to be practical and thereby facilitate community and social wellbeing.

Beverly Siliuyaq Amos, Inuvialuktun Language Keeper and Specialist, shares that the Sallirmiutun dialect of Inuvialuktun has a similar word, *sanayuaq*, which means "makes, creates, or works on". I hope to illustrate in this thesis that not only can Inuvialuit *living art* be thought of as *sanayuaq*—a process of making, crafting, and creation—but also

ultimately the act of doing community archaeology and research in a Northern and Indigenous context.

2.1.3 « Decolonizing Theory »

It is not possible to understand Inuvialuit cultural heritage without acknowledging the historical context of settler colonialism and its ongoing effects in modern-day Kanata (Tuck and Yang 2012). Settler colonialism in Kanata is an ongoing domination where exogenous settlers permanently occupy lands and space known today as "Canada", through continuous elimination or displacement of Indigenous populations, denial of Indigenous sovereignties, and constitution of an autonomous political body (Veracini 2010). The Canadian colonial project began as a genocidal event to "eliminate the native" through forcefully eradicating the cultures, languages, and lifeways of Indigenous peoples. This happened notably through residential schools, but is still an ongoing process through the imperialist structures and hegemony imposed by Canadian authority (Barker 2009; Kauanui 2016; Wolfe 2006). While acknowledging the political independence of Inuvialuit (i.e. the signing of the IFA and through the governance of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, and the Inuvialuit Self-Government Agreement-in-Principle), the effects and practices of colonialism still influence such governance, the ISR, and especially the production of knowledge in research projects if we are not careful.

Moreover, the field of archaeology has been shaped by Western and Euro-American beliefs and categories; Western scientists have and continue to exert control over Indigenous cultural heritage by reducing and exploiting Indigenous Peoples as informants and pushing Indigenous concerns and knowledges to the margins (Bruchac 2014; Smith and Wobst 2004). In the Northwest Territories, Kanata, the heritage legislation governing Indigenous cultural heritage is also colonial, for example stipulating a non-Inuvialuit repository for Inuvialuit artifacts. The framework of decolonizing theory offers archaeology two very valuable perspectives: (1) that decolonization and reversal of oppression need to be a central tenet; and (2) that the role of positivism and essentializing approaches to knowledge needs to be critically questioned (Lyons 2013, 85). Gosden (2004, 162) argues that we must "look at the range and depth of colonial influences, their continuing influence, and how we might unlearn these influences". For instance, one area to be challenged through research is the critical deconstruction of the "Other"—similar to how Michel-Rolph Trouillot (2003) argues to destabilize the "savage slot," which works to place specific groups of people in a subordinate position relative to civilizations of "the West". Thus, in my thesis, I try my best to write in ways that consciously challenge harmful stereotypes or misconceptions about Inuvialuit and other Indigenous Peoples in Kanata (see Younging 2018). In this thesis about Inuvialuit *living art*, it is important to acknowledge that conversations of decolonization are also happening in countless other neighbouring disciplines like art history (Grant and Price 2020).

Taking praxis one step further, Indigenous scholars like Audra Simpson (Simpson 2017) argue for writing refusal into anthropological research. This approach involves writing in ways that refuse to acknowledge or engage with academic ideas and concepts that are not conducive to Indigenous sovereignty. It thereby avoids reproducing problematic colonial structures of thought, politics and traditions and embraces alternative and critical perspectives—it is thus also an analytical framework.

2.1.4 « Indigenous Archaeologies »

I find it necessary to turn to Indigenous theoretical frameworks, which are more inclusive of knowledge production emanating from Indigenous scholars themselves who are focused on decolonizing research and Indigenizing the academy. Questions of focus here involve: (1) interrogating the goals and outcomes of research; (2) considering who benefits and why; and (3) examining processes of research that are not exploitative and benefit Indigenous and local communities (Atalay 2012, 40).

Approaches taken from Indigenous and decolonizing archaeologies focus on the act of research as done *with, by and for* Indigenous communities specifically. Nicholas (2008) defines Indigenous archaeology as "an expression of archaeological theory and practice in which the discipline intersects with Indigenous values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities, and through collaborative and community-originated or -directed projects, and related critical perspectives." Its methodological implications mean that researchers must reject exclusively positivistic, reductionist, and objectivist research

rationales, and instead embrace methodologies which situate and are "reflected on by research/researchers at the location most relevant to...the Indigenous experience" (Evans, et al. 2009, 894).

Indigenous and decolonization frameworks are also expressed methodologically and through the types of questions asked of the research process and how we go about conducting research. Moreover, Atalay (Atalay 2006, 292) argues that Indigenous archaeology has wider implications beyond simply affecting Indigenous people; its basis in collaborative methodology is something that is universally applicable to descendent and stakeholder communities around the world. As Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. (2010, 234) argue, community and Indigenous archaeologies are done "in a spirit of respect for the differing rights and perspectives of archaeology's *many* stakeholders."

2.1.4.1 « Selected Indigenous Frameworks »

There are a number of relevant local and Indigenous-developed research frameworks and protocols that foster respectful collaborations and inform much of the content of this thesis. First is Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami's (ITK's) *Negotiating Research Relationships With Inuit Communities, A Guide For Researchers* (2007), which outlines the key elements of a negotiated research relationship, including: honesty, humility, respect, being informed, openness, patience, expressing a willingness to learn, local education and capacity building, hiring and purchasing locally, maintaining communication, trying new things, and using the local language. These values repeatedly surface through the Localized Principles of Community (see Section 2.1.4.3) and research frameworks of CBPR, PAR, and Co-Creation described throughout this thesis. Secondly, specific to the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR), where my research takes place, is the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation's (IRC's) *Guidelines for Research in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region* (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation n.d.), which outlines:

Inuvialuit are interested in exploration of and acquisition of knowledge and information to improve their social, cultural and economic conditions. In recent years, communities have required research project protocols to safeguard their interests, and promote positive and productive research experiences. Inuvialuit have also seen valuable results from research projects using multi-disciplinary approaches that include Inuvialuit worldviews and knowledge, and that promote sustainable development and meaningful partnerships that improve Inuvialuit circumstances and enhance local and Inuvialuit Institutions capacity.

This thesis tries, as much as possible, to adhere to these research protocols and guides. However, there are many more localized or specialized research guides and protocols that are applicable to regions across the circumpolar Arctic, which are available through the Arctic Research Consortium of the United States (ARCUS)³ and can be applied to any future research project accordingly.

Last but not least, this thesis is largely inspired by ImagiNATIVE's *On-Screen Protocols and Pathways: A Media Production Guide to Working with First Nations, Métis and Inuit Communities, Cultures, Concepts and Stories* (2019), which was introduced to me by my colleagues Tamara Voudrach, Jerri Thrasher, and Dez Loreen at the Inuvialuit Communications Society (ICS). This set of protocols guides the mission, operation, and work of the staff at ICS (a partner of the Inuvialuit Living History Project), and can help to guide community-based participatory research within First Nations, Métis, and Inuit frameworks.

It is important to note that anthropological research (particularly in cultural heritage) is much like the work that is done by filmmakers and similar media content creators. For instance, archaeology is an inherently interdisciplinary field; Bourque et al. (1980:798) argue that the discipline already "draws information and support from a wide range of specialized professionals," from historians to scientists and statisticians. Little (2012) argues that these specialized professionals now also include filmmakers and media creators. At its essence, both the filmmaker and researcher must gain access to particular "interlocutors" (i.e. "knowledge holders" or "knowledge keepers" in any cultural context) with whom they engage, speak with, and interview in order to learn

³ https://www.arcus.org/resources/northern-communities

about stories, concepts, cultures, people, and/or communities; both then compile and analyze their results before creating or composing a final work that ultimately communicates a broader message about the knowledge learned. The differences lie in how they go about doing that work and showing its outcomes. In both cases, the anthropological researcher and filmmaker are tasked with representing an individual or group of individuals, as best as possible, according to what they have learned, while inevitably offering their own voice regardless of their intention.

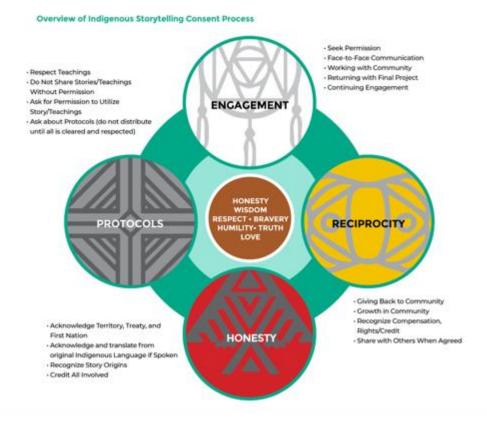


Figure 2 – Overview of Indigenous Storytelling Consent Process, Page 13 of ImagiNATIVE's On-Screen Protocols and Pathways (2019). The major pillars of Engagement, Reciprocity, and Honesty are in alignment with some of the pillars of CBPR, including the need to work in a participatory manner, engage a spirit of reciprocity; and recognize the contributions of multiple knowledge systems. The pillar of following various specific culturally-relevant protocols is reminiscent of the need to generate, research, and outline localized Principles of Community from the perspective of local Indigenous community research partners involved in the research project.

2.1.4.2 « Inuit Social Values »

Inuit Societal Values (ISV), are an Indigenous framework that informs my research. ISV are a set of principles based on *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*⁴ (IQ), which are incorporated into modern, everyday practices, and the "design and delivery of programs and services" (Nunavut 2013; Karetak, Tester and Tagalik 2017). These Values are defined by Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Katimajiit, a body comprised of Elders and Knowledge Holders from across Nunavut (one of the four regions of the Inuit Nunangat) and Tuttarviit, an interdepartmental group consisting of a representative from each Government of Nunavut department (ibid). In the same spirit, I aim to infuse the following ISVs into the design and process of my research, as well as the delivery of its results:

- Inuuqatigiitsiarniq: Respecting others, relationships and caring for people.
- Tunnganarniq: Fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive.
- **Pijitsirniq:** Serving and providing for family and community.
- Aajiiqatigiinniq: Decision-making through discussion and consensus.
- **Pilimmaksarniq/Pijariuqsarniq:** Developing skills through observation, mentoring, practice, and effort.
- Piliriqatigiinniq/Ikajuqtigiinniq: Working together for a common cause.
- **Qanuqtuurniq:** Being innovative and resourceful.
- Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq: Respecting and caring for the land, animals and the environment.

⁴ Inuit Cultural Knowledge

2.1.4.3 « Localized Principles of Community in the ISR »

Having noted the guiding role of ISVs in Nunavut and among Inuit more broadly, it is also important to outline a more localized Indigenous framework for the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, where my research takes place. This framework must be created based on the input of Inuvialuit research partners and community members, whom my research ultimately aims to serve and benefit. "Principles of Community" can provide this framework as outlined by Lyons and Supernant (2020, 9). Their practice is to:

...set out principles of community from the beginning of the fieldwork process and have participants agree to those principles. Making explicit the ways in which we treat ourselves, each other, and the archaeological record creates caring and conscious teaching and learning environments that put the well-being of all involved at the core of the work.

The project's Principles of Community are laid out in the Inuvialuit Living History Project Charter (major keywords emphasized):

As the Inuvialuit Living History Project Team, our intention is to work together in a harmonious way towards the goals we set together. We recognize that there are many **cultural differences** between us, and we will work to understand, communicate, and celebrate these differences. Differences mean that we will sometimes need to step back from a project focus to work on **group process**. We will **build relationships** between ourselves and our institutions by fostering respect, careful listening, being kind and thoughtful to one another, and making sure to laugh and share meals together. We aim for **transparency** in our transactions and **openness** in our communications amongst ourselves and with the broader Inuvialuit community and its institutions. To these ends, we intend to **engage** all Inuvialuit communities to the best of our abilities over the course of our project and to **hold our meetings and activities in the north**. We will spend sufficient **face-to-face** time together to complete work, training, and outreach that requires **collective in-person efforts** without rushing the process. We will set reasonable **goals and targets** for our work and respect project timelines and milestones.

In the context of the Inuvialuit Living History Project's Charter, it is important to note the ability and general expectation for Principles of Community to shift and change over time:

We consider this charter a living document that we will use as a reminder of our intentions and commitments, and which we can return to and modify as our work progresses.

In June and July of 2019, in preparation for the ILH Ivvavik Culture Camp (explained in Chapter 4), I followed the ILH Charter's invitation to continue to update and grow its Principles of Community by including Inuvialuit youth perspectives which would be necessary for the collaborative project that was to be co-created by and with the youth at the Culture Camp. This artistic and creative project was to document Inuvialuit culture and heritage from the perspectives of Inuvialuit youth attending, and was to take shape during and throughout the Camp. To prepare for this project, I hosted two focus groups with youth to create Principles of Community that would not only guide our work together that summer, but ultimately how I would approach some other areas of my research. The first focus group was held at Moose Kerr School, Aktlarvik with Hayven Elanik and Starr Elanik in June 2019; the second was held at the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC) in Iñuuvik with Cassidy Lennie-Ipana and Mataya Gillis in July 2019.



Figure 3 – Collaborative brainstorming session for localized youth Principles of Community with Mataya Gillis and Cassidy Lennie-Ipana at the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, Iñuuvik, July 2019. Photo by Jason Lau.

Pulles + buildelings Rules + Burdelmes Rules/Guidelmes respect pp anything (msen away be mit, L mform al PNO 21 a noromise out what e ambitions acu too much Colo you want OTLA / Guiddae Rules/Gendelas respect blla ander 0110 you seen Conne/ FOCUST

Figure 4 – Final compiled rough jot-notes from two focus groups with Inuvialuit youth Hayven Elanik, Starr Elanik, Mataya Gillis, and Cassidy Lennie-Ipana, June-July 2019.

After compilation, Hayven, Starr, Mataya, Cassidy and I converted our initial conversations about Principles of Community into the following pillars:

- 1. **Respect:** to the people, and the land, no littering
- 2. Sharing: we must follow the cultural tradition of sharing
- 3. **Focus:** we must be in the moment, connect with the land, and focus on one thing at a time
- 4. **Communication:** everyone's opinions should be heard; compromises may have to be made
 - Be ambitious with your ideas, but not too much, so you can let others' voices be heard
- 5. Circles: everyone must see everyone's faces when sitting together

- Ice breakers [to spark social connection]
- 6. Consent: we must always inform others of what we are doing
- 7. Access: we must ask people if they want to have what we make, and ask about what they want
- 8. Content: anything can be in it, unless [other] participants don't want that
 - We should focus on what the student [researchers] want, rather than the other [university] researchers
 - Allow students to have full creativity, and create whatever they want (within reason)

The themes outlined in Cassidy, Hayven, Mataya, and Starr's Principles of Community as well as the original ILH Charter ultimately point to the importance of relationshipbuilding in research. This is echoed by Opaskwayak Cree scholar Shawn Wilson (2008, 80), who stresses the importance of relationality and interconnections in Indigenous ontology and epistemology—but also takes a step further to shine a light on the importance of understanding relationships beyond individuals: "rather than viewing ourselves as being in relationship with other people or things, we are the relationships that we hold and are part of."

2.2 « Research Methods »

2.2.1 « Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups »

At the beginning of my research, I set out to use semi-structured interviews and focus groups to learn about the perspectives of Inuvialuit community members and knowledge holders in an open, flexible, and non-premeditated way. Semi-structured interviews (SSIs) are "conducted conversationally with one respondent at a time" and "employ a blend of closed- and open-ended questions, often accompanied by follow-up why or how questions" (Newcomer, Hatry and Wholey 2015, 493).

Similarly, focus groups take the free-flowing nature of SSIs and apply it to a group of individuals who are able to "influence each other through their answers to the ideas and contributions during the discussion," making the focus of analysis also about the interactive engagements between all focus group members (Mishra 2016). Focus

group interviewing also centers the research around attentive listening: "It is about paying attention. It is about being open to hear[ing] what people have to say. It is about being nonjudgmental. It is about creating a comfortable environment for people to share. It is about being careful and systematic with the things people tell you" (Krueger and Casey 2000, xi). The method of focus groups is especially culturally appropriate considering the Inuit values of *Aajiiqatigiinniq* (decision making through discussion and consensus) and *Piliriqatigiinniq/Ikajuqtigiinniq* (working together for a common cause), as well as localized (to the Inuvialuit Settlement Region) community principles of attending to group processes and the collective sharing of ideas, insights, and knowledge.

Together, these methodologies were particularly important to ensure conversations centred as much as possible around the interests of Inuvialuit rather than just my own as an outside researcher. They allowed for spaces and moments for unexpected topics to arise and be unpacked together. In my research, I interviewed and spoke with several Inuvialuit artists and creative individuals in and around Iñuuvik who specialize in a wide spectrum of *living art* practices ranging from carving to drum dancing to media production.

2.2.2 « Ethnography »

The need for ethnography to be practiced in archaeology is not a new argument. Castañeda and Matthews (2008, 15) and Meskell (2005) discuss the vital intersections of ethnography and archaeology, in that we are essentially studying how archaeology plays a role in an "ongoing construction of contemporary society." This focus on the sociocultural effects and influences of the practice of archaeology also relates back to Nicholas and Andrews' (1997) discussion of postmodern methods, where we no longer subscribe to the rigid tenets of processual archaeology (such as essentialization, or the idea of "grand theories") but instead focus on multivocality and the "empowerment of marginal political and cultural constituencies as well as more local, contextual understandings of the past as products of historical events (Hodder, Alexandri and Shanks 1995, 241-242). There are three general categories of how ethnography is used in archaeological research: (1) ethnoarchaeology (i.e. ethnography used to aid archaeological research), (2) ethnographies of archaeological practice (i.e. ethnography of an archaeological project), and (3) archaeological ethnographies. The third aims to be reflexive and change the way archaeologists do research by being critical of archaeological practices and opening up new understandings of the past (Castañeda, et al. 2008). Kelvin (2016, 23) argues that archaeological ethnographic research is used by archaeologists as part of a "reflexive methodology to engage with local stakeholders and descendent communities and produce multivocal interpretations of the past, usually as part of community-based projects." My research uses the archaeological ethnographic method as a part of a community-based project (ILH) to shed light on these multivocal interpretations of Inuvialuit culture and heritage, beginning in Chapter 3, with an exploration of the role of art in making, expressing and sharing Inuvialuit culture, past and present. There, I also employ ethnography by design, which includes the "use of imaginative and material practices to design ethnographically informed provocations in collaboration with publics who vet, co-design, experience" which in turn speculate on questions of social life, aspirations, and concerns (Cantarella, Marcus and Hegel 2019, 3).

Employing archaeological ethnography meant that I had to actively participate in local community events and everyday life (for instance, volunteering at the Great Northern Arts Festival or the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre) in an effort to enrich my understanding of Inuvialuit and broader Northern Indigenous culture, language, and customs. I documented my time in the communities of Iñuuvik, Aktlarvik, and Tuktuuyaqtuuq by creating detailed ethnographic fieldnotes every day. Archaeological ethnography is also extremely important in PAR and co-creation (Section 2.1.2.1) because it allows researchers to carefully document, reflect on, and re-incorporate the interpersonal, personal, and cultural processes of knowledge production itself into the final products; this was demonstrated at the ILH Culture Camp (see Chapter 4). All in all, archaeological ethnography allowed me to think more critically and reflect on the process of research and knowledge production, and my interactions and encounters with research partners and community members (and those between other research partners and community members).

2.2.3 « Participatory Digital and Visual Methods »

There are many strengths of participatory digital and visual research methods in the wider anthropological discipline. As Gubrium and Harper (2016, 13) argue, they "produce rich multimodal and narrative data guided by participant interests and priorities, putting the methods literally in the hands of participants themselves and allowing for greater access to social research knowledge beyond the academy." In other words, not only are artistic, digital and visual media able to facilitate accessible forms of storytelling and narrative creation, they also work against power imbalances in a research study, and can therefore contribute to the decolonization of the discipline.

Scholars like Spinuzzi (2005) argue that the process of participatory design is literally research-learning by doing, and importantly, learning by doing together. The foundation of participatory design is the need to work together with partners to *re-design* the traditional processes and products of archaeological research to better include, incorporate, reflect, and serve the perspectives and needs of local research partners and community members. Participatory design is also a democratic and engaging process inherent to Inuvialuit and Inuit ways of teaching and learning. As argued by Cantarella, Marcus and Hegel (2019, 3), bringing community members into the design process can be seen as "a democratic approach to real-world problem-solving". For instance, it reflects the Inuit Social Values (ISV) of *Aajiiqatigiinniq* (decision making through discussion and consensus), *Pilimmaksarniq/Pijariuqsarniq* (developing skills through observation, mentoring, practice, and effort) and *Piliriqatigiinniq/Ikajuqtigiinniq* (working together for a common cause). It often also involves the ISV of *Qanuqtuurniq* (being innovative and resourceful) because of the types of new and emerging digital media and techniques that are used, often in a spirit of experimentation and 'trial and error'. Akama and Light (2018) argue that design plays an important role in not only becoming attuned to the dynamics of working with others, but also in preparation to contribute to social transitions. In my research, participatory design was employed with Inuvialuit research partners at the ILH Culture Camp (Chapter 4). Together, we crafted and shaped various creative and digital research products during the camp that documented and visualized Inuvialuit cultural heritage.

2.2.3.1 « Photovoice »

Photovoice is a method of participatory photographic production that is rooted in community-based participatory research (CBPR) in that both are founded upon a "respect for people and for the knowledge and experience they bring to the research process, a belief in the ability of democratic processes to achieve positive social change, and a commitment to action" (Brydon-Miller, Greenwood and Maguire 2003, 15). Photographs are powerful tools of anthropological research because they are objects "specifically made to have social biographies" (Edwards 2012, 222). Its main goals are to equalize power differences, build trust, and create a sense of [local] ownership to bring about social justice and change (Castleden and Garvin 2008, 1394). Delgado (2015, 79) highlights seven overarching values of the methodology: empowerment, community participation, leadership development, community investment, utilization of local knowledge and self-knowledge, social justice, and cultural competency/humility. The original method of Photovoice is as follows (Wang and Burris 1997):

- 1. A recruitment and training workshop (for research partners)
- 2. A photography assignment
- 3. Group selection of "best" photographs
- 4. Group contextualization of photographs through stories
- 5. Group codification of issues, themes, and theories
- 6. Sharing with a broader audience to create change
- Participatory evaluation of the process and results, which iteratively informs the process of reaching others

Despite its seemingly strict structure, Castleden and Garvin (2008, 1401) argue that the process of Photovoice can and should be adapted accordingly to best fit the research needs and goals of distinct community contexts.

2.2.4 « Storytelling in Archaeology »

Archaeological analysis and communication are already seen by many archaeologists as a form of storytelling (Gibb 2000; Petersson 2018; Joyce 2008; Lewis 2011). Young (2002, 239) equates the archaeologist with the storyteller—almost out of necessity—due to the fact that the audience for archaeological information is substantial, and the "public understanding of the mission of archaeology is essential" for continued funding and the survival of the discipline.

When it comes to methods of archaeological collaboration, Little and Shackel (2014, 75) argue that best practice requires "active listening engendered by storytelling," meaning that a large part of working collaboratively with research partners is taking the time to truly listen to the stories they have to tell. Thus, the notion of storytelling is integral to all stages of archaeology-from research methods, to analysis, to publicoriented communications. However, despite its importance, Young (2002, 240) argues that, while the best archaeologists are "invariably the most skillful storytellers," most archaeologists are not trained to be good storytellers-and are instead "trained to be bad storytellers." Given the importance of storytelling in Inuvialuit culture, Inuvialuit have always been and continue to be expert storytellers, which is why it is such an important aspect of community-based practice. Engaging actively with storytelling acts as a means for Inuvialuit to become even more empowered and centre their traditional modes of knowledge production and exchange in research. Thus, in community-based archaeology in the ISR, archaeologists must continue to work with traditional Inuvialuit storytelling to augment their academic research and information about the region and Inuvialuit heritage.

One common thread through the literature on archaeological collaboration is the notion that storytelling and narrative creation are inherently connected. Interestingly, narrative as a methodological strategy is applied in various social science disciplines. Monk et al. (1997, 3) compare creating and recreating narratives to archaeological excavations, where a story can be constructed using a few small pieces of information—through a "journey of co-exploration" in search of ideas of substance and value, where participants are also active collaborators in this narrative reconstruction. They (Monk et al. 1997, 4) argue for the use of narratives to allow individuals to recount vivid and colourful memories and form stories of hope, success and vindication—in order to contribute to societal healing. This healing underscores the goals of 'emancipatory' archaeology: efforts towards decolonizing the discipline, redressing power imbalances,

and lessening oppression. These goals are all reminiscent of the feeling of collectively healing from the traumas of settler colonialism in Canadian society, and working towards research strategies that make our society healthier as we move forward.

Chapter 3

3 « The Many Faces of Inuvialuit Living Art »

"It's a living art, right? It's a living art form that was so prevalent in our ancestors' ways of life. Even when they carved...my brothers would copy my dad making birch bark little boats, from the driftwood. And then, they [archaeologists] find all this art from those days... I bet they were made for toys or storytelling, you know? I just can't see them 'just' making it. It must have been something that they used for every day—a living art form. I think that's what's so critical. People think it's 'art', but it's a living art." —Pauline Saturgina Tardiff

Elder Pauline Saturgina Tardiff is an Iñupiaq artist and crafter whom I first met at the Great Northern Arts Festival in Iñuuvik. Her birthplace, an outpost camp named Stanton, no longer exists today; her parents were subsistence harvesters who lived on the land. As a child, she would watch her mother make clothing, which inspired her to learn beading and embroidery—art forms characteristic of clothing prevalent in her home community of Aktlarvik. Later in life, she spent 30 years in education as a Northern teacher, school administrator, Regional Superintendent, and Assistant Deputy Minister of Education in the Northwest Territories. Throughout her career, Pauline worked closely with Elders to help integrate Northern culture, heritage, and land-based lifestyles into NWT curriculums through developing, facilitating, and coordinating programs. Now retired, she spends her time crafting pictures from fish scales as well as intricate pieces of jewelry from animal materials such as bison horn, sheep horn, caribou antler, and moose antler. Pauline finds it therapeutic to make traditional art, which is in turn heavily inspired by her love of being outdoors.

Asked about her thoughts about Inuvialuit art, Pauline conceptualized her response around the idea of a "living art" as something not just critical to her ancestors' ways of life, but to the idea of the "everyday" as well. Art, to Pauline, is not simply something that was created by her ancestors to be placed aside, or simply for the sake of 'making art'—it was something created very much within the realm of daily, practical usage. In other words, Inuvialuit art is very much infused into the mundane. Tom McLeod, a fourth-year student at OCAD University, in Tkaronto⁵ at the time of his interview, echoed this thought: "Picking out what's *not* art would be...easier than picking out what *is* art, 'cause art is most things. It's most everything." Thus, Inuvialuit conceptions of art are clearly distinct from Western conceptions of 'high art' which separate the latter from everyday practice. Pauline emphasizes that Inuvialuit art must be discussed as a *living art* with special consideration for the ways in which Inuvialuit culture and heritage are infused into the everyday experiences of life.

In this section, I follow Pauline's lead and explore three major themes of what she calls Inuvialuit "living art" through my interviews with 11 Inuvialuit living artists: (1) art that is living, (2) art made for living, and (3) art that is of the heart. Ultimately, I argue that Inuvialuit *living art* is a critical realm of Inuvialuit cultural heritage since time immemorial, and acts as a framework in which to approach future community archaeology research and work in the region.

3.1 « Art that is Living »

One literal way of understanding Pauline's concept of "living art" is that Inuvialuit art is itself a living entity—complete with its own stories, which ultimately power its 'life'. This understanding is primarily rooted in the concept of actor-network theory, where human and non-human entities all hold agencies and are always acting upon each other in both material and semiotic ways, thereby constituting a network of socio-material worlds (Latour 2007). In Inuvialuit *living art*, this can even mean that the object itself holds a distinct 'spirit' that may cross into a supernatural realm. An Inuvialuk carver named Alex tells me, "When you make a carving, you give stone or bone [or wood] a life...Everything has a spirit. Like I said about the carvings—the spirit is the story." To Alex, the ability to possess "stories" means that something has a spirit and is alive in its own way: "That life is that...there's a *story* behind the piece." Another

⁵ One of the many possible original Indigenous spellings of "Toronto"

Inuvialuk creative, and manager of the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, Ethel-Jean Gruben, also agrees that Inuvialuit carvings often embody stories:

Any type of carving...that they do, there's a story behind it. So, like the ones we have on our shelves here [at the Cultural Centre], there's stories behind all these carvings and the artist will tell us what the story is. So it's not just something they say they're gonna make—it comes with a story most times.

For Alex, the idea of art possessing life through stories is also tied to the idea of permanence:

Carving will last forever. It'll be around forever... Like I said, every piece of art has a story behind it. Like, look at the [archaeological] artefacts: they're about couple hundred years old, and they're still telling stories! So it's gonna be around forever.

Although the idea of life is often conceived as finite, Alex believes that carvings with stories will continue to stand the test of time. This is partly due to the fact that certain carving materials, such as soapstone, are able to withstand the elements against decomposition, and also because Alex believes that "there will always be somebody interested in carving or art in general." For Alex, his carvings can hold and communicate stories through time, and, in turn, stories can also come back to inspire other future carvings.

The enduring quality of a carving, as well as its relevance even across "couple hundred years", comes from its capacity to tell stories, as stories are a universal form of communication and transfer of knowledge through time and space. Alex's art practice is a way to preserve his stories and cultural knowledge for potentially hundreds of years— even forever. The link between Inuvialuit living art and the capacity for stories connects back to the role of storytelling as integral to not simply Inuvialuit artmaking, but culture and heritage.

Not only is Inuvialuit art alive through its ability to tell stories, but some Inuvialuit also explained that it can exert real agency in daily life. As I am speaking with Alex, he suddenly recalls a "spiritual" experience in which a stone carving he created began to give him nightmares:

That one time I was carving...a medicine man—angatkuq. They say that the angatkuq is a shapeshifter; he can change into any form and he's a God – he watches over the land and people and animals and that. But with that, just like Jesus and the Devil, there's two sides to [it] – there's good and bad medicine men, 'angatkuqs'.

That one time I carved one, just a man shape and a bear face and walrus hands, and then he had fins for feet, like walrus flippers. And then while I had that piece, I had nothing but nightmares. And I asked my dad, like, how come? He said because when I carve that I'm more or less making fun out of the ...medicine man, the 'angatkuq'. And he told me I shouldn't sell it, I should just destroy it, and not do that anymore. I had nightmares for about two weeks! My dad said that my nightmares will keep going if I don't get rid of it. So after that, I kind of stayed away from those kind of legends— bad medicine.

Archaeologist Laura Kelvin (2016, 61-62) argues based on her fieldwork in the ISR hamlet of Ikaahuk/Ikaariaq (Sachs Harbour) that "most Ikaahukmiut...felt that the artifacts connect them to their ancestors or that the artifacts are *part of them*... Although these understandings of artifacts may not consider them animate objects, they certainly point to them as having agency and the ability to shape certain outcomes." Thus thinking about cultural objects as *living art* and vice versa reflects the concept of materiality, where "embodied objects" exist in relationship with qualities of temporality, spatiality, and sociality and must be understood in these broader connotations (Meskell 2008).

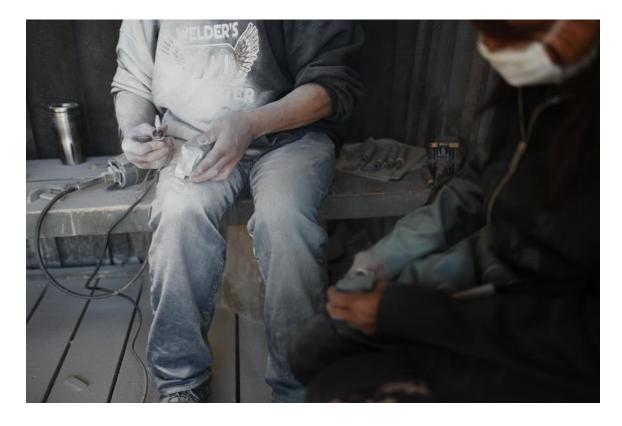


Figure 5 – Two Inuvialuit carvers working on soapstone carvings in Iñuuvik, 2019. Photo by Jason Lau.

In Alex's case, his experience with his carving of an *angatkuq* reinforces his understanding that his carvings can affect his daily life—but also reflects his Inuvialuit cultural knowledge, which creates guidelines and rules about what sorts of cultural, artistic, or general behaviours are acceptable over others with "non-human" entities.⁶ These kinds of beliefs are still generally entrenched in broader Inuvialuit culture and heritage, such as amongst hunters who have a living, dynamic relationship with the land and its animals, or travellers on the land who come across gravesites or other objects (i.e. archaeological artefacts) left by their ancestors or other "old-timers." For instance, Ethel-

⁶ It is important to note that Alex was the only person I spoke with who brought up any mention of *angatkuq* (a shaman). This does not necessarily mean that shamanism is an insignificant part of Inuvialuit cultural heritage. It may reflect the forceful banning of traditional practices from Christianization that was connected with the implementation of residential schools and religious missionaries in Canadian history. This topic is therefore a limitation in my research that has not been deeply explored and discussed.

Jean Gruben (personal communication, 2019) tells me about the ways in which her husband Patrick and son Dang-Dang hunt—they always take the time to stop and honour the land and its animal(s), give their thanks, and ensure that every single part is processed, cooked and eaten, put away and frozen, or shared with someone who could make use of it. Like most Inuvialuit families, the Gruben family regularly shares most of their harvests with community members, making full use of each animal harvested, and in turn, they believe that this will benefit their future harvests. Ethel-Jean tells me that this is a traditional practice that is taught for generations; to share your harvest and thus your blessing.

As Kelvin (2016, 62) argues, traditional Inuvialuit teachings regarding material culture and archaeological sites are also based on guiding principles of respect and spirituality:

For [Ikaahukmiut] community members archaeological sites and artifacts have a spiritual aspect to them. Community members stated that disturbing sites [or removing artefacts from them] causes bad luck in hunting and trapping, bad weather, bad dreams, and even illness.

Importantly, Alex's experiences with carving parallel those of other Inuvialuit with historical objects and archaeological artefacts found on the land. It reveals that the relationships that carvers like Alex have with their *living art* represent a broader relationship that Inuvialuit have with material culture, art and other objects connected to their heritage and their ancestors.

3.1.1 « Art that Tells Stories »

As discussed in the previous section, the ability of Inuvialuit art to possess life is largely connected to its ability to tell stories. In this section, I will dive deeper into the phenomenon of storytelling (*unipkaaqtuaq*) and its importance to Inuvialuit *living art* and cultural heritage.

Tom Mcleod tells me in his Aktlarvik home about his experiences being an Inuvialuk 'art student' within the structural norms of the university institution, including times when he would feel racialized by his professor's pedagogy. When asked how he defines art, he prefers to call himself a 'storyteller' rather than an 'artist':

Storytelling: the reason I think the reason that people would not want to call it art is because everyone can do it, and there's this kind of this gatekeeping, like, elitist thing that happens within people who are artists. And artists want to believe that not everyone can be an artist 'cause...what they do is really hard work. And it's true—being an artist is extremely difficult. And people think: 'oh they're just telling a story. That's not art, that's not a big thing.' But it is, like: all storytelling is art. All storytelling is craft. 'Cause like, it's more encompassing than one small word, right? ...And that just shows that the thing is bigger than the descriptor.

Through this explanation, Tom identifies his discomfort with a concept of 'art' that he sees as elitist. Coutts Smith (2002, 1) argues that within 'fine arts' art is inextricably linked to a conception of "'high culture'...a tradition that is largely restricted to the European cultural experience." He is critical of its "homogeneity of thought which fails utterly to question the Eurocentricity of most contemporary art critical assumptions" (Coutts-Smith 2002, 2). Recognizing the Eurocentric roots and social positioning of the concept of 'art', Tom identifies as a 'storyteller' as a means to divorce his practice from the elitist connotations of artmaking.

The connection between storytelling and Inuvialuit *living art* is also one that has roots in Inuvialuit traditions and history. Namely, the long-surviving oral culture and traditions of Inuvialuit were and still are an important foundation for Inuvialuit storytelling. Oral traditions of Inuvialuit and other Northern Indigenous peoples have been frequently studied as a venue to understand social life and change in these communities (Cruikshank 1990; Lyons 2010). In this way, connections between Inuvialuit art and oral traditions of storytelling reveal the vital characteristics and topics central to Inuvialuit *living art*. Inuvialuk Elder Shirley Elias explains: "In our culture, we didn't have written language from way back. It was always storytelling; that was the way they passed the knowledge down—through *unipkaaq* (story). And you had to listen."

Inuvialuk scholar Letitia Pokiak (2020, 34) describes the processes in how experienced Elders and harvesters learned by sitting and listening to the stories of their Elders:

Traditionally, the way that Inuvialuit learn has been through listening to stories as told by Elders, as well as through observation and hands-on experience. Storytelling is an important method for how [Inuvialuit] Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq [Traditional Knowledge] is passed on to the younger generations.

Jerri Thrasher is an Inuvialuk filmmaker working at the Inuvialuit Communications Society (ICS) who has directed and worked on many films about Inuvialuit and Inuit culture and heritage. She echoes these thoughts, reaching even further into her Inuvialuit identity:

[Storytelling] is a part of Inuvialuit culture. That's the only way that our language or anything that ever made us Inuvialuit was passed down. It was all oral. We didn't have a written language. I guess you could say it's ingrained in us, huh?

Inuvialuk filmmaker Tamara Voudrach (now the Manager of ICS as of 2020) is both experienced in directing and project management/administration of films and television programs featuring Inuvialuit culture and heritage. She responds to her colleague Jerri about the connections between oral history, teaching, and learning:

Even in the modern family structure, being Indigenous—you know, even stories that happened in your family generations ago, those are passed down through oral. I'm not gonna go to my grandparents' house and open a book and find journals, you know what I mean? It's all oral stuff. I have family who are non-Indigenous who have books like that where family members have drawn out family trees and have written interesting testaments to their lives and stuff. But we [Inuvialuit] didn't do that. We didn't have a written language traditionally...that was something that was brought forward by churches and the schools. Before that, we had no need to write. It was all—everything was word of mouth. That's how we learned...That's how we still learn today. Elder Shirley Elias believes the unique characteristics of an oral tradition and culture form the foundation of Inuvialuit art:

Nobody could [write down] a story. And it's because of the way our language was; nobody was writing it down. They were just telling it like the way it was done, from way back. There were no written stuff. That's why we don't have anything written from way back. So now it's good because...you can see the art, when before they didn't have it [writing].

Elder Topsy Cockney, a long-time Inuvialuk media creator and past Executive Director of ICS, also describes the distinct social role of storytelling in Inuvialuit heritage, referring to her *ataatak* (grandfather) Nuligak's memoir, *I, Nuligak*:

There's a section [where Nuligak] talks about the winters the Inuvialuit people had—all gathered in Kittigazuit—and they talk about what they do as a group of people. And one of the things they used to do was make puppets. And they'd act out...one story he talked about how this wolf came into the iglu, somebody dressed up as a wolf and starts scaring the people. And somebody telling the story about this wolf—probably about his hunting and maybe how he came across a wolf...

They were good storytellers. And they tell stories all day, and they talk about their hunting days, what they did all year with each other. That's how they were sociable. And after that, they ended with a big dance and celebration...So they were creative.

...They do that all winter, and then summer comes and then they go whaling and then they start going berry-picking and then...caribou hunting. So that would take them from each other 'cause they're all doing their own thing. And then they come back again when it starts getting dark; they go back to Kittigazuit and just start doing that [storytelling]. And they had lots of stories to tell. Because there was a lot of wildlife at that time. For Topsy, creative storytelling was not simply a way for her ancestors to get through the long, dark Arctic winters; it played a social role in connecting and reconnecting Inuvialuit who lived in Kittigazuit through seasons, and the kinds of cultural activities in each one.

3.2 « Art Made for Living »

Another dimension of Inuvialuit *living art* that is widely touched upon through the semi-structured interviews in this study is the idea that it is often made literally to support Inuvialuit life. This reflects the practical need for survival in the Arctic through creations such as clothing to keep warm, or tools to hunt animals for sustenance. Take seamstress Lena Kotokak for example: "[Sewing is] a basic need that you have to fulfill because everyone needs to be warm. It's so cold out there, and you have to think like: how am I gonna keep my family warm?" When I ask whether or not she believed herself to be an 'artist', Lena also says, "I don't think of myself as an artist. Sometimes I do when I make some covers, but I always think of it first and foremost as just as long as I have good warm clothes for my family, it's good." Ultimately, Lena sees her sewing not as "art", but as a way for her to practically contribute to her family's livelihood by keeping them warm through the cold, harsh Arctic winter seasons.

When it comes to making art to live, Elder Pauline Tardiff argues that a sense of "ingenuity" was vital and necessary for the survival of Inuvialuit in the past who were subsistence harvesters:

When a [tool] ceases to function, they found a way...to make a prop. If there was a schooner and it had a machine in it and it didn't work, then men go there and they'd figure out a way to use whatever. That ingenuity for survival is that it was because it meant survival—if they didn't have the schooner working or that skidoo working, then they couldn't get the stuff that they needed as subsistence harvesters. So it's more than function—it's the ability to think outside the box to survive.

Pauline explains that inventiveness and resourcefulness were literally vital for Inuvialuit subsistence harvesters because they "would never plan for a breakdown" (Pauline

Tardiff, personal communication, 2019). Tools and machinery used in harvesting animals and food often broke down at unexpected times, and there would have been no other way than to engineer a solution using the objects or resources one had around them. For Pauline, this kind of "ingenuity" separates it from Western 'art', which "doesn't have a function" (Pauline Tardiff, personal communication, 2019). For her, "living art" is not just something that is creative or ingenious—but more importantly, made for a specific function or practical purpose at hand. In resonance with Lena's perspectives on sewing warm clothes for her family, Pauline also believes that "there's a function to [sewing] 'cause now you're going to build something to wear!"

Shirley Elias, an Inuvialuk Elder, is the daughter of the famous Inuvialuk printmaker, Agnes Nanogak Goose, who was among the first generation of printmakers in Ulukhaqtuuq (formerly Holman) in the 1960s, and made a significant impact in the Canadian art world.⁷ While much is known about Nanogak and her work internationally, Shirley tells me the more intimate story of how her mother first started making art when her family would travel out on the land to hunt and harvest animals:

"From my mom, she always said, when she was growing up as a child, she was travelling all over with our grandparents who were nomadic and travelling all the land—all the way from Tuktoyaktuk up to Banks Island, and later on to Ulukhaqtuuq... Every time [my grandfather] was catching game or hunting, there was always this one child in the family...that they worked with, and my mother just happened to be that one, amongst their kids [who was taught and told]: 'You study this—look at the way the animal is, and look at the paws and the way the animal is looking like, before we work on it.' So that was her role...to take a look and observe what, how that animal was and looked like, and what it had. [My grandfather] encouraged [Nanogak] to observe everything that he caught, and he

⁷ "Agnes Nanogak Goose" biography from the National Gallery of Kanata. <u>https://www.gallery.ca/collection/artist/agnes-nanogak-goose</u>

told her, 'This is what you should remember, and it's because you know, maybe someday it will help you.' So that's how she began drawing and showcasing her art, with the stories that were told by my great grandmother who told the legends and stories, and what her father was showing her to draw. And she was good at it!"

Shirley explains that the deep, detailed visual study of animals in this way, through the art of illustration, also supported survival, because it allowed families to better hunt and harvest them, as well as process them for food and clothing. When Nanogak grew up, as Shirley notes, it would have surely been one of the things that 'helped her' in her life. Quite simply, in Shirley's words: "Our art is really our livelihood, and whatever we did, or whatever we see, and whatever we felt." Moreover, Shirley says that her own art also contributed to a "big skill" in teaching her how to study and navigate her own surroundings, and not become lost, when travelling on the land with her partner, Albert. More importantly, art has taught her to reflect thoughtfully on her and her ancestors' past in order to move forward into the future. In a poetic way, she says:

I tell you: if you look forward only, you're not gonna learn what's in the back of you. So, it's important to look back and around you, so that you'll know where to go when you're going back—and remember it.

Making a similar connection between art and living, Tom, the art student studying in Tkaronto, argues that the art of Inuvialuit storytelling originally arose from his ancestors and family living out on the land:

For a long time, there was not really that many things to entertain you. If you were holed up in a little camp in the middle of winter, the sun's not coming out. A lot of the time you're not really going anywhere, it's windy or ... snow starts drifting, it's a big deal. So, you're inside and telling stories.

Tom adds that Inuvialuit storytelling was also a vital tool for communicating and learning Inuit Knowledge about *how to survive* on the land: When someone goes out on the land, they get a caribou, they tell their friends. And they talk about—oh yeah, this is how we got there, it was kind of shallow, we had to push through. And these people tell each other their shared story of this area, the way they took [to get there]...

All of these notions of *living art* in the context of survival are linked to what Topsy Cockney describes as "keeping culture alive" (Topsy Cockney, personal communication, 2019):

If you break down or you get lost, if you have your survival skills, you can survive because you're taught how to build shelters, how to fish. If you don't have anything, you look for certain things. Look around—there's always something to find...to catch a fish some way, maybe a spear.

For her, the act of keeping oneself alive keeps one's culture alive. The essential skills needed for survival are taught by and learned from Elders who have come before her. Thus, to "keep culture alive" in this case means creating *living art* using the same sorts of ingenuity and resourcefulness described by Pauline; through careful study in the act of illustration and printmaking, as described by Shirley; or through storytelling as described by Tom, in order to problem-solve in the face of the unexpected, harvest animals, navigate on the land, and share IQ.

3.2.1 « Art and Social Life »

Many Inuvialuit artists also make their art for reasons beyond simply living or surviving, but still integral to daily life. They make it in the ongoing pursuit of a holistic, human kind of wellness, including physical health, mental health, and healing (namely from the ongoing effects of colonialism such as residential school, intergenerational traumas and forms of systemic racism).

It is important to recognize the many nuances of Inuvialuit art-making in order to dispel harmful myths and stereotypes that Inuvialuit and other Indigenous peoples in Kanata only exist on the basic level of survival. Their cultures are rich, vibrant, and multifaceted. As Elder Topsy Cockney tells me, "We weren't just 'nothing Inuvialuits'. We didn't just go out and hunt...then go home and sleep and then do nothing. We [always] had a culture, we had music. We had storytelling. We created stuff for each other. We lived together. It wasn't just about living—it was a community. Like any other community that you see within Kanata when they come together and put arts and culture together. We had that as a people too."

In another interview, Elder Topsy Cockney also highlights the importance of artmaking in community and family bonding in Inuvialuit history and culture. She asks, rhetorically, "Art is when you look at people—what did they do to be a people together, that keeps them together? What do they do as a community, as a family?" Art and creativity make her feel a great sense of strength and positivity that has always had an essential place in Inuvialuit society; there was much more to Inuvialuit life than just going out to hunt and coming home to sleep. More importantly, Inuvialuit culture today is still as vibrant and enduring as ever, especially through the continued creation of *living art* that is explored in this thesis.

Some Inuvialuit artists I spoke with emphasized the social aspect of *living art* art as a social phenomenon, between family, friends, and others whom a particular piece of art is made for. Pauline Tardiff, who creates vibrant garments and intricate pieces of jewelry, shares what she believes to be the role of making art in "the olden days." When families travelled to town for holidays and gatherings like Christmas, they would ensure that "all their garments that they wore were handmade." More than that, these garments were hand-decorated in elaborate patterns, colours, and textures—something Pauline compares to a modern-day fashion show, where elegant models show off and celebrate beautiful and striking objects of clothing. Why was this handicraft so important to Inuvialuit social life? Because "beautifying" the garments demonstrated the "love connection" between an individual who made a piece and the family member they gifted it to. In another sense, the "beauty" of garments made for family members came not simply from their visual patterns or intricacies, but more importantly, from the act of love they represented—when an individual spends hours, days, or even months making a garment for someone else. To have a *reason* to create such *living art* is what makes it so beautiful; as Pauline says, "I love my kids so much that they're gonna wear this." She

adds that many Inuvialuit also created garments and blankets for their dogs in the "olden days" to demonstrate the "love connection" and gratitude they had for helping them to survive. All these acts of making art for others—even dogs—Pauline ultimately thinks, "were done out of love, and out of caring."

When Lena Kotokak, an Inuvialuk seamstress, discusses sewing for others whether it is for her family, or for others such as customers—she says that it is important to sew with utmost pride. To Lena, Inuvialuit *living art* represents a social connection and relationship between Inuvialuit such as between herself and her family:

Making it for your family, you have more of a sense of pride when you do that work, because you love to do that for your family. But on the other hand, to make it for people, I think you have to sort of have a similar sense of pride, because I think if you wanna sew for people, you have to sew in a way where you're proud of what you do. 'Cause if you sew just any old way and sell, like—for me—there's no purpose. I think, you sew for your family, for people—you have to have a sense of pride for what you do, and you have to sew good... You sew proper, and you sew just like you're sewing a new project every time you're doing a sewing project.

Topsy Cockney also stresses the importance of "pride" in one's culture when creating anything, regardless of what kind of "talent" is being expressed, and whom it is made for in the end. For her, as a seamstress, it is important that she sews with the recipient's best interest in mind, to allow the recipient to show off her art with as much pride as she has in sharing it with the world:

Everyone should just...do their talent with pride... Making an atiktluk (parka cover) for you, I'd like it to look good. Not just because it's an atiktluk. I want [it] to be a little fancy; I want you to look very handsome in it, you know—you have to have that pride, just because... they're beautiful things to show, and it's part of your culture.

I like nice [Inuvialuit covers] to be on people, whether it be on children, or whether it be a stranger who just asked me to make one for them. Just because I'm making it for a stranger, doesn't mean I lose that ability to be just as nice as my children's are. You know, I don't say: that's not for my children, I'll just make it any old way. That's what I mean. You gotta love what you do...

All in all, through learning more about the way in which seamstresses like Lena Kotokak and Topsy Cockney create their work, it is evident that they truly do what they do as an expression of what Pauline Tardiff calls a "love connection"—the deep social connections and care that an Inuvialuk has for another. In a similar way, Tom Mcleod tells me: "Art is basically doing something for someone to enjoy." However, this "love connection" does not simply represent the social relationship between the seamstresses and the recipients of their works—but also the internal "love connection" between them and their craft, their talent and passion, and most importantly, their cultural heritage. This internal and personal love connection can only be achieved when an Inuvialuk is truly proud of who they are, what they do, and where they have come from.

3.2.2 « Living On The Land »

The significant role of "the land" in everyday Inuvialuit life also adds to the dimensions of *living art*. In the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR), 'being out in/on the land' is a common expression that usually means that an individual is away from its six main communities, which serve as the economic hubs of the ISR. To be living and working within the hamlets, is referred to as being 'in town'.

For the carver Alex, whether he is 'out in the land' or 'in town' is an important distinction that also affects the production of his art. When I ask him about this difference, seated on his couch at his Iñuuvik home sipping on hot tea, he tells me: "When you're carving in town, you're carving what people want. It's not like, when you're out in the land, you're making what *you* want or need... stuff that I actually use." These objects include things such as a long wooden spoon to stir soup, or a cup carved from a piece of stone. He carves them to keep his hands busy while he is waiting for fish to bite. He also carves willow fishing poles when he is out fishing.

To Alex, being out in the land also means time to "be away from people," because when he carves in town, many people stop by to talk to him, since his carvings hold so many stories. He tells me that such conversations often dive into deeper stories about his life, ancestors, and heritage. While Alex enjoys talking to visitors as he produces his work in town, he appreciates the positive and productive function of isolation—when he is out on the land—to focus on what he truly wants to create for himself. He talks about the Parks Kanata *Art in the Park* program he once participated in, in Ivvavik National Park. When Alex attended, about 10 artists were selected, many of them painters and illustrators. The group spent 10 days in the park, with 12 hours every day to spend creating art. "It was good to see animals right up close," Alex tells me, "I got to see muskox right up close…Dall sheep…caribou…bears. Then lot of people travelling down Firth River by kayaks… [it was a] good way to unwind."

As a hunter himself, being out on the land, gives Alex a chance to carve depictions of traditional hunting activities that take place out in the land, and, in his words, "the way Inuvialuit or Inuit used to live." He continues to be fascinated and impressed by how his ancestors were able to hunt and harvest animals without modern-day technologies: "Once you really sit down and think about it…they never had rifles, like that blows me away…They used to use spears and stab the whale and know *exactly* the whale's [kill] points were." Alex's passion for hunting powers his artistic production:

When you're a hunter, you're always thinking about out in the land. Always, your mind is always out in the land. And it gives me some relief when I carve—to keep my mind occupied until the season changes enough to go out.

Whether or not Alex is on the land thus thoroughly structures the kind of *living art* he creates, as well as how he creates it. For him, living art made in town usually comes with obligations to others, especially buyers, and the form of production includes a lot of oral storytelling for viewers and buyers about his and his ancestors' traditions and heritage.

However, making art on the land frees Alex of constraints, expectations, and obligations in terms of what he creates and how he goes about doing so. This sphere of artistic production is unstructured, free-flowing, and slow-moving, which allows him to immerse himself in his practice, his heritage, and his environment—all of which work to inspire each other. The timelessness of being on the land allows him to deeply connect with his ancestors' ways of life, practicing similar kinds of food harvesting, and creating similar tools and objects out of the resources available around him. This allows him to feel not only positive, but also spiritually fulfilled. Chatting on his couch at home, I catch Alex looking off into the distance behind me—perhaps out the window—once in a while. The news reporters on his TV chatter away in the background. Alex says:

Me, when I'm out on the land, I'm glad to be out of cell range, and everything disconnected. It feels good...when you're out travelling, there's no such thing as time. And when you're in town, you always gotta have money for this and that. When you're out in the land, it just brings you right back again, and you're happy and healthy.

3.2.3 « Art and Passing on Culture »

"Lot of times, children, our young people...that's what they use to express themselves. So a lot of us today are not fluent today in the language, but we still have a lot of...strong ties to our culture and our skills...So 'art' is important because it allows young people to use their talent to express themself through art. So I think if we're using art as a form of reaching out and trying to get young people interested, that's what we should be doing." —Ethel-Jean Gruben

Asked to explain how she defines art, Ethel-Jean Gruben explains (above) that for her, it is a means for Inuvialuit to express themselves, and there is a special connection between 'art' and 'young people' who use it to connect with Inuvialuit culture, heritage, and related skills. In other words, Inuvialuit *living art* is an important vessel for passing on Inuvialuit cultural heritage through generations and in that sense also keeping it alive.

In Section 2.1, we learned that the "life" or "spirit" behind Inuvialuit living art can represent its ability to hold stories that extend beyond generations. For Alex, passing on Inuvialuit culture through stories requires the act of carving; his carvings are vessels for stories, and the act of carving with his daughter creates a space for passing on those stories and knowledge: "I'm gonna tell [my daughter] the stories. Any kid that wants to learn, I would sit them down and tell them: when you're [carving] hunters, they used to hunt with a spear! And with their spear they got everything. Then they used to use those slings to get geese...those things that threw rocks. Like, everything..."

Living art is particularly important in connecting with Inuvialuit youth to pass on culture and heritage because it employs the physical, personal act of making something, which is in itself a cornerstone of Inuvialuit culture since time immemorial. As Kelvin (2016) writes, community members from Ikaariaq/Ikaahuk [Sachs Harbour] learn about the past and, traditionally, most things through doing. Tamara Voudrach at the Inuvialuit Communications Society shares: "Primarily, if you go and talk to our youth in the smaller communities, it's hard for them to sit in classrooms and read from a book and learn and remember stuff. It's easier if you get them outside, get them doing stuff *hands-on*. They remember things; they pick it up quick. It's just how we always have been and how we still are, and how we are gonna continue to be."

For Elder Shirley Elias, another instance in which Inuvialuit *living art* is used to pass on Inuvialuit culture and heritage is in sewing doll clothing, which has been a longtime practice extending back many generations:

My grandmother was the first one that was really like showing me how to make the atiktluit, and the clothing because she was making that for me... With the scraps, while she was cutting my parka out, she would give me the scraps to play with, so I would copy her, and make a design to cut it. And then that's when she would take time for me, to show me how especially to cut it. I remembered that, and she said: 'when you're cutting these pieces, like the neck and the arms, you would have to make them a bit roomier – not fitting.' 'Cause you know, they would have to be used out in the cold, and you need to dress up quickly when something important's happening. So they just put 'em on nicely, and then making them roomy, so you can have more room to move around in them cause it's so cold...in harsh weather we live in. So she would quickly tell me that and thereafter, I began sewing like in hand stitches. Delaney [my granddaughter], I showed her how to do this – stitch and then put them together.

When asked if there was a connection between sewing and Inuvialuit culture, Lena Kotokak responds:

I think there is, because first of all you have to be kind of patient. And you have to want to learn. And you're always be learning, there's never a time where you say you're graduated. It's always steady learning, just like life learning, you know, culture and tradition. Learn about your life, always something new.

In this sense, Lena describes Inuvialuit cultural heritage as something that should be passed on and learned through the generations, and for her, the best way to do it is through the continuous practice of making living artwork. Aside from just learning, Lena also discussed the idea of teaching sewing skills and Inuvialuit *living art* to other Inuvialuit. Interestingly, while discussing the idea of teaching, she would, on several occasions, use the word "learn" in the place of "teach", saying for instance: "I learned them" (instead of "I taught them") or "they learned me" (instead of "they taught me"). This reveals that the act of teaching Inuvialuit knowledge and culture is an inherently two-way learning process and always equally important for both the teacher and the learner, whereby the act of Inuvialuit cultural exchange is always a constant learning opportunity for all parties involved.

3.3 « Living Heartwork »

"Usually our voice comes from our heart, right? Wherever you're at there, if it's too touchy, then you go up here [the head] ...but right here [in your heart] is where all your emotions, your sensors, and everything is. Speak from there!" — Pauline Tardiff

When Inuvialuit talk about the connection of their art to their heritage and cultural identity, many of them bring up the important symbol and topic of the *heart*. The need to understand, think with, and speak from the heart, as Pauline says, has been written about by many feminist scholars such as Hilary Rose (1983, 73), who argued that

"transcendence...set up among hand, brain, and heart makes possible a new scientific knowledge and technology that will enable humanity to live in harmony rather than in antagonism with nature, including human nature." Thus, to continue expanding our definitions of archaeology, we must continue to write about and around the heart as much as we write about the hand, and the brain (Supernant, et al. 2020).

The heart is also a central part of the longtime origins, existence, as well as continued revitalization and resurgence of Inuvialuit cultural heritage; in fact, the late Elder Randal (Boogie) Pokiak (2019) describes Inuvialuit Cultural Knowledge as "heart knowledge":

It's important to have those feelings and those touches—touch your heart, you know? Too many people never get—their heart never get touched by anything. So, it's really important to let things that's around you touch your heart. And I think it's really important because what's in the heart, all that traditional knowledge it's not up here [the mind], it's in here [the heart]. Your mind is all over the place. There's too much things going through your mind, but you never forget what you got in here [the heart].

So when you hear an Elder saying: 'I'm gonna speak from my heart.' That means he's gonna talk Traditional Knowledge. It's just gonna come out—just like a book. They're like a book, you know, they're reading a book from their heart, and expressing it in words. And so, that 'heart knowledge' is really important and when it's full of ITK ([Inuvialuit] Traditional Knowledge), all the better, because it's the most valuable knowledge you can have. It lasted through the millennia for us. It should continue.

Debbie Gordon-Ruben reinforces this assertion: "When you drum dance, you drum dance from your *heart*—inside your soul—that's where it belongs. That's where it comes out." Emotions and the heart are thus important anchors by which many Inuvialuit artists define their *living art* and worldviews as artists. For Tom Mcleod, art is "whatever can bring people joy or make them feel emotions." He believes that Inuvialuit storytelling, as a rightful and traditional art form, should always elicit some kind of emotion—no matter if it is happiness, fear, or thoughtfulness. For others, it is not about eliciting emotion, but the act of expressing emotion that is most important. Take filmmaker Dez Loreen for instance:

I think [art is] an expression of yourself; because it's so subjective, that it's different to everybody...It's not about happiness, not about sadness—a certain thing or a certain way [...] You're just expressing yourself.

In this section, I will align my analyses of human emotion and expression with the broader calls for archaeology to be understood as "heartwork", which goes beyond transactional forms of research and instead focuses on building and maintaining relationships through community-based research as a means to subvert the colonial systems we are forced to work within (Supernant et al. 2020; Hodgetts and Kelvin 2020:108). In the same way that Inuvialuit cultural belongings are "things of the heart" because they embody emotional connections with ancestors, culture, and heritage for Inuvialuit (ibid: 109), *living art* is "of the heart", in a way that makes living artwork, living *heartwork. Living art* is intertwined with complex emotions, histories, resistance to structures of colonialism, and the many things Inuvialuit are doing and creating every day to meaningfully connect with their culture, language, and heritage.

3.3.1 « Emotions in the Media »

Emotions were an important theme in my focus group conversation with video and media producers at the Inuvialuit Communications Society (ICS) in Iñuuvik. ICS is a non-profit media organization that aims to: (1) strengthen, preserve, and enhance the cultural and social identity of the Inuvialuit in the Western Arctic and around the world; (2) maintain and promote Inuvialuit lifestyles and culture; and (3) provide a vehicle for the exchange of ideas, and promote a better understanding of the culture, identity, language, mythology, social patterns, and presentations which give meaning to being Inuvialuit. I spoke with Dez Loreen, Jerri Thrasher, and Tamara Voudrach—all beneficiaries of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement and working as video and media producers for the organization. Dez Loreen was, at the time of my research, the manager of the non-profit organization. Dez tells me how critical emotions are in his work: The memorable things—the paintings, the images you see—I think that life in itself and society is all about emotions. So, what I want to do is invoke those emotions and let people know what's going on. Tell them what's happening. Watching videos, feature videos from the [Eastern Arctic] about colonization, about 'contact', about youth suicide...it creates this narrative and discussion to people and lets them resonate.



Figure 6 – The Scream (2017), by Cree painter Kent Monkman.

Dez specifically refers to the painting, *The Scream (2017)*, by Cree painter Kent Monkman, when describing the shocking emotions of witnessing the forceful and violent loss of culture and heritage, from his perspective:

There was this painting I saw from Southern Kanata, of a house, and there's these Mounties, and they're taking kids, and there's [weapons]... And the parents are crying. And it's like, dude, that's the scene right there. That's a short film right there—is a family just living together, and all of a sudden... bang, bang, bang, bang!

Tamara and Jerri viscerally react to the mental image of Monkman's painting. "It's like a bad dream," Tamara says, while Jerri adds, "You wouldn't think that it could happen to you." More than its ability to communicate an important history lesson of colonization and the legacies of residential schools in Kanata, Dez feels its power lies in its ability to shock and linger in a viewer's mind long after it is viewed. "Like, I will never forget that painting because of how it haunted me, because I felt that—wow, that's an image you can't shake," he tells the group.

For Dez, emotions act as a catalyst for *living art*:

Emotion is always a driver, right? People are happy because of emotions. People succeed because of emotions. People get frustrated, people die because of emotions. Emotions drive it all, for sure. So, if you feel like you're being marginalized, that's definitely going to be a motivator.

Throughout my conversation with Dez, Jerri, and Tamara, the topics of marginalization, oppression, misrepresentation, and loss of traditional culture, heritage, and language experienced by Inuvialuit and many other Indigenous peoples in Kanata continually resurfaced. These are clearly deeply emotional experiences, which is why many Indigenous artists are drawn to these themes when creating their own *living art*. Through their art, they connect to their cultural heritage, much of which was forcefully stripped away from their parents, grandparents, and ancestors through colonial institutions and processes including residential school and the 60s scoop—and is still ongoing through the past and present government and social systems such as child welfare, public education, and policing in the North.

3.3.2 « Making 'Inside Art' »

For me, art is just a livelihood, I think. How you see yourself. How your mind shows you everything. What you went through. I could do a lot of art, and I also could do my own inside art—my own insights. My own insight could be something I see and how it helped me to, you know, maybe help myself get stronger. Or show and display something that I saw within my family, what they did. Only I could tell that story and that art, 'cause nobody else knows how it was for me growing up with my family around me in a quiet setting, where my learning environment was. And it wasn't like in a classroom. It was right at home...

-Shirley Mimirlina Elias



Figure 7 – Shirley Elias (Mimirlina) showcasing some examples of Inuvialuit living art in her home. Photo by Jason Lau.

I sit with Shirley Elias in her dining room at her home in Iñuuvik, NT. All around us, from the walls to her shelves, and sprawled across her dining table, are bits and pieces of

artwork representing her cultural heritage and family connections. In front of us hangs a large framed illustration made by her mother Agnes Nanogak Goose.

As she patiently tells me, art is Shirley's entire livelihood, it encompasses her notions of self, cultural identity and heritage, experiences, knowledge, environments and most importantly, her *insight*. For Shirley, her 'outside' art (what she makes that can be seen by others) is intrinsically connected with her "inside art"—her personal *insights* about herself and the world around her. The practice of her "inside art" thus helps her to learn, grow and become stronger over time, and is something only *she* can practice for herself, and no one else. To practice an intentional and mindful search for personal knowledge, cultural connection, and growth, is to practice Shirley's "inside art", which is often connected with the production of an 'outside' art. The moment when the inner work of self-reflection comes together with the exploration of Inuvialuit heritage and cultural identity through creating *living art* is precisely when it becomes *heartwork*.

Shirley's concept of inside art may be informed by her time working in the mental health and wellness sector. As a counsellor for members of her community, she utilized art and imagination as a core part of her practice with her clients:

I could use [the symbol of a flower] 'cause this was one example that I learned that flower is a flower that grows every season in the summer. It's alive—just like us. We're alive. So I use that example to teach the people: what flower is this? So I could say: it's me. And it might look this way, but to some it might look that way. Or different ways, maybe...fireweed—the fireweed is a little bit different up North than it is around here...it could be a fireweed.



Figure 8 – Shirley Elias' illustration and metaphorical depiction of her life, core values and beliefs, "good qualities", and important individuals ("supporters") in her life.

Utilizing the image of a flower as a metaphor, Shirley invited her clients to list, for instance, five of their best qualities on the flower's leaves, or some of their most important supporters in its roots (see Figure 4). For her, this approach was a transformative teaching tool to show others how to practice their "inner art" to find healing from the loss of culture, language, and heritage resulting from settler colonialism in Kanata.

Sometimes, lot of people may not know where to begin with what they want to change...the way they want to change their behaviours, is to learn how they adopt these skills... They understand it 'cause I explained to them that, you know, we're living people. And if we want to feel good, look after our health better, we need to learn how to thrive like the way that this flower does. Like the flower thrives on a lot of good soil, and then people need to re-learn and re-focus on their own insights on what they need to get help with. And they got to learn to trust not only themselves, but they need to build that trust with those supporters they have in their families, and other people in the community, yeah. We're like a flower. All of us are like a flower. We are all given a life.

Shirley stresses the value of using local visual symbols such as northern flowers to represent lives and "livelihoods". This kind of an intentional and local living symbolism, and the making of an "inner art", come to fruition through Shirley's past social wellness work with people seeking insight into their inner selves, their connection with their heritage, their mental health, and thus their overall wellbeing.

On the other side of town, Debbie Gordon-Ruben, the Resolution Health Support Program Manager at the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation [IRC] has also worked in the mental health and wellness sector, working with a lot with Inuvialuit Elders in her current position and throughout her career. She must often gently and mindfully navigate the surfacing of complex traumas that many Elders have experienced in their lives.

Residential schools and their resulting traumas—particularly the loss of language, culture, and heritage—and their generational effects often emerged in my daily, casual conversations with Inuvialuit. Inuvialuit have been and are resilient individuals who continue to overcome the effects of settler-colonialism and acts of cultural genocide; people like Debbie and Shirley have dedicated their careers to facilitating wellness programs by working with their clients and communities. Nonetheless, the legacy of residential schools and other ongoing impacts of settler colonialism such as structural forms of racism are ever-present in the lives and communities of many Inuvialuit today. As Debbie tells me, while not everyone had the same experience, "at least 60% or more of the people that went to both hostel and day school, went through unreasonable, unthinkable trauma. Beating. Humiliation. *Everything*. And it was not only for one year. There's some throughout their school life [who] were not fed properly. It was awful." So,

how would a facilitator like Debbie navigate wellness programs when traumas begin to resurface? The answer, it turns out, is that she does not:

When we started doing our workshops almost 3 years ago, they said: our people are hands-on people. We come from doing hands-on. So, when you're giving a workshop and we're dealing with all this difficult trauma of sexual abuse, of beating, of them taking my children, of where we lived in the hostel, to where we went to day school and all of the trauma that took place... We can sit here and give us something to do with our hands. Let us make our little tools that we can use in our homes on a regular basis. Let us make these games that we used to play... It doesn't mean that we're not interacting with you. But sometimes, it allows us to ground ourself when we're doing, working with our hands and still listening to you, but it allows us to ground ourself to be able to handle all of the harms to happened to us.

Those "little tools" and "games" that Debbie encourages making are in fact examples of Inuvialuit *living art* that have the powerful ability to further connect Elders and others with Inuvialuit heritage. As a passionate drum dancer, Debbie has also been able to infuse her own understandings of *living art* into her counselling work, especially with Inuvialuit Elders who participate in her wellness programs. She truly understands the importance of making art with her hands, and the role that this kind of a counselling tool can play in addressing, discussing, and healing from complex traumas:

We started integrating the making of our own stuff, while we're dealing with all of the difficult stuff. And it's so much easier. And so traumatic at the same time, to be able for them to freely give—all that happened to them, it was horrendous! ...But they just want to talk. Five years ago, they didn't want to talk to us. It was too difficult. So, we just say: 'Just listen to the information and these are tools that will ground you. When you start having a flashback, do this and it'll bring you back into today.' For Debbie, the process of 'making' uniquely Inuvialuit objects is intrinsically connected to her heritage and history. When I ask Debbie why she thinks that this 'making' is important, her eyes light up, and she says:

"To let them do and know the purpose of why our Elders use them. I have a pair [of kaukkak⁸] that were made in 1957, by my grandmother and my mom when [she] was just a young mother. They were their daily use. And for them, for us...we have a group of women that we meet with who are making those...we explain to them that these are our daily use, and we have a different topic of harm and [other topics] that we talk about...whenever we meet. When they don't wanna be interactive with us, they sit, and they sew. Because it takes them out of their...the harm that they been through, and re-grounds them, and they keep listening, and then they start interacting again. So, it's a powerful tool to be able to make something that is part of them. It's part of our history, it's part of who we are—those women's shoes, those women's socks. It's powerful—all of them had never made [it] in their life! But they get to put them on every day they want after that and say: 'I made these. These are part of me. These are part of our people.' And then they remember: 'Oh, this is how...if I feel like this, when we were sewing this part, this is how I can ground myself. This is how I can get out of this portion.' So powerful. Really powerful."

The important work and stories of Shirley Elias and Debbie Gordon-Ruben show that the production of *living art* is often connected to "inside art", personal explorations and reflections. Making Inuvialuit *living art* acts as a vital way to discuss difficult topics, seek healing and mental wellbeing, and most importantly, connection to Inuvialuit culture, heritage, and ancestors, by making the very things their ancestors did in the past. This idea that creating art can lead to emotional healing is nothing new in the fields of art

⁸ The name of a kind of traditional Inuvialuit footwear. Debbie Gordon-Ruben tells me, "They're not only...for performance or to dress up. They're everyday wear. That's the trueness of *kaukkak*. They are everyday wear; not to how they are today. The Elders long ago wore them every day. They were their Inuvialuk socks! *[laughs]*"

therapy and mental health. Within archaeology, deploying *living art* within heritage research could play an important role in further connecting people with their respective histories and heritage, through the (re)creation of tangible cultural objects, as well as bringing together this physical engagement and inner self-reflection to ultimately create *living heartwork*.

3.3.3 « 'Unblocking' Tears »

Elder Shirley Elias talks about the day that she finally "unblocked" herself from her tears and emotions. It was just about Christmas time, and she had struck up a conversation with a co-worker:

Even though I'm working in this field [of counselling] to help people—that I have compassion for them, I have feeling for them—but how come can't I cry? [I ask my colleague], "Can you tell me why Christmas time, I don't feel no pain, I can't cry even if I want to cry?"

Christmas Day is when my dad died. Ever since then we buried him and we were going through the funeral, I told myself, "I'm not going to cry, because I'm gonna be a tough person for my siblings and for my family." And I did that—I never cried because I said that.

[My co-worker responded], "You know what you did? You blocked it."

And then the tears just came "popping out," Shirley says. She had not intended to cry at that moment, but she felt "the warmest tear" come down one side of her face for the very first time in her life—and at that moment she knew she "was okay now." Shirley tells me, "That word [blocked] alone is so, so, so big for me to continue." She tied the entire experience back to her own art practice, as well as her art therapy work with her clients:

That's how I connected my art with people that had 'blocked' issues, who don't understand what they were going through and how to release it—their story. They could do it in their art, without having to talk about it.



Figure 9 – A mask designed by Shirley Elias. Note the teardrops on the left side of the face.

For Pauline Tardiff, the topic of crying resonates deep down in her heart since her days in residential school. In our interview, she admits she is acutely aware of her inability to cry, and shares her belief that it is a privilege to be able to cry—wishing she could do so herself. She says:

The anger is right there—it's very easy to get angry, 'cause for so many years... I grieve, but I still can't cry... 'Cause you're in residential school, you're scared. When you're scared, you get angry, 'cause you don't know what you're afraid of. So, the only two emotions that were close to our surface was being scared and being angry. That's where a lot of our people are at, you know? So, yeah—I feel for them, but I wish there was a way we could get people's voices heard again.

Pauline, an educator, tells how she worked with Inuvialuit and other Indigenous Grade Two students to interview their grandparents. One of her students interviewed her *ataatak* (grandfather) about her mother and received an unexpectedly poignant response, which made her cry. "Good!" Pauline said in response, "We weren't allowed to cry. And you cried. How special are you? And you talked to your *ataatak* about something that was right in your soul, like in your heart!"

3.3.4 « Healing Hearts »

In this section, we have had the privilege of hearing about the experiences of practicing *living art* with Shirley Elias and Debbie Gordon-Ruben, both of whom work(ed) in the mental health and wellness sector. They revealed how deeply personal and affective it can be to navigate issues of identity, trauma, and connecting with Inuvialuit culture and heritage by creating various types of art.

The inability to cry discussed by artists like Pauline and Shirley speaks to a larger social phenomenon of the blocking and silencing of responses to trauma and loss of heritage, culture, language, and identity through colonization in Kanata. Not only were the lives and bodies of Indigenous Peoples policed in residential schools, but their emotional responses to that as well. To have been taught to be ashamed of their sadness and grief—then to be ashamed of their *shame*—was something that prevented people like Shirley and Pauline from being able to honestly come to terms with the loss of their culture, heritage, language, and identities. Historical trauma can become a blockage in the way of connecting with heritage and culture.

Shirley argues that living art can play a vital role in reconnecting with culture and heritage by "unblocking" those who have gone through traumatic experiences of losing their culture, heritage, and language. Leveraging the power of *living art* creates spaces for people to truly express their emotions about these losses *at their own pace*, without the pressures or need to seek answers, relive traumas, or even talk at all. *Living art* is, more importantly, an avenue to connect with heritage because it physically invites individuals to feel, create, and use cultural objects that were also used by ancestors. Shirley and Pauline hope that, by finally allowing tears to flow, closure and renewed strength can be found to continue to connect with heritage and ensure its survival for future generations.

Inuvialuit drum dancing is a key example of the healing power of Inuvialuit living art. Ethel-Jean Gruben and Debbie Gordon-Ruben, both drum dancers and community leaders, could not wait to tell me the famous story of the late Hope Gordon. Debbie relayed:

"Hope Gordon—she had trouble and she would walk like this [limping], so it was her turn to do her performance up on stage by herself. She would [limp to the stage], walking like that. When her song started, she became—no more sickness. She became vibrant and powerful. And then, when it was done, ah! Back to waddling over to go back to sit down. She just transformed into this beautiful person, because she...they loved drum dancing so much. And they said: when you drum dance, you drum dance from your heart—inside your soul, that's where it comes out. So beautiful. Really beautiful."

This story of Hope Gordon reveals the incredible yet fleeting healing power of drum dancing for Hope's physical ailments, as well as her heart and soul. As Ethel-Jean Gruben tells me, "It does *something* to you when you're up there." While neither Ethel-Jean nor Debbie found it easy to pinpoint this phenomenon, both agree that drum dancing *does something* to an Inuvialuk when they are up on stage, performing their art with others. That *something* may be a transcendent kind of healing power that goes beyond simply curing one's illness once and for all, but nourishing the body and soul in a substantial, holistic, and affective way that helps to counter the traumas formed from the effects of colonialism. As Ethel-Jean tells me:

That's our...way of relieving stress. It's a natural healing when you go up and you just enjoy yourself. You can feel the drum, you can feel the music. It does something to you—that's the healing. You know, you're receiving healing. Free healing... So that's the beauty of drum dancing. You get extra energy when you're up there. You realize your knees and everything can move in the way you didn't know they could move before!

Moreover, we can begin to understand that *living art* connects emotions from the heart with Inuvialuit cultural heritage and family histories and is a direct response to the

traumas and sociopolitical forces that aimed to strip away and destroy Inuvialuit culture and traditions after the arrival of European colonizers. For many Inuvialuit, the act of making art and depicting and practicing Inuvialuit traditions, is to actively defy and fight back against generations of colonial oppression that tried to teach them to feel shameful about their culture for so many years. To make *living art* is to mourn and grieve, to process, and especially to *heal* and move forward—sometimes all at the same time. To continue to create and *live* by the tenets of *living art* every day is to actively reclaim an identity and cultural heritage that was forcefully taken away from so many Inuvialuit in residential schools and through other colonial institutions and structures.



Figure 10 – An Inuvialuit drum dance performed to the public at Jim Koe Park, Iñuuvik, on Indigenous Day, 2019. Photo by Jason Lau.

Chapter 4

4 « The Ivvavik Culture Camp: Case Study »



Figure 11 – Elder Renie Arey holding up her illustration completed at Ivvavik National Park during the ILH Culture Camp. She says about her piece, "Our home in the 50s in the Delta—my stomping ground. Love the land I grew up on."

4.1 « The Inuvialuit Living History Culture Camp »

In this chapter, I will illustrate how the research methods of archaeological ethnography, as a form of PAR, and localized critical theory (from Chapter 2) come together with Inuvialuit conceptions of *living art* (from Chapter 3) to inform and create multifaceted products that involve and benefit both outside academic researchers and local community researchers alike. It is the need to think critically about existing sociopolitical structures, and to work tangibly and proactively to generate social action, that ultimately informs the research methods used at the ILH Culture Camp in this section. Broadly speaking, this implies the active effort—before anything else—to

"create and foster a relationship between local and descendant communities and the broader nation-states within which they reside, and to establish local ownership of individual and community heritage issues" (Lyons 2013, 91). Unfortunately, the research methods of interviews, focus groups, and ethnography, while effective for data collection, are not always positioned to tangibly create products and outputs of social action, nor build more meaningful research partnerships, because ultimately, they do little to turn the tables of ownership and control of research processes and products.

Thus, in 2019, in an effort to begin turning these tables, the Inuvialuit Living History Project organized a Cultural Camp at Imnairvik, Ivvavik National Park, which is considered a significant cultural and historical landscape for Inuvialuit. During the camp, five Inuvialuit youth, two Knowledge Holders, two Elders, academic archaeologists and anthropologists, and a videographer came together to co-create *living art* products of Inuvialuit cultural heritage aligned with the principles and goals set by the Inuvialuit youth researchers. Having learned more about a few vital aspects of Inuvialuit living art in Chapter 3, this Culture Camp was the perfect place to engage in the practice of Inuvialuit *living art* as co-created products of research. The camp aimed to provide a space for Inuvialuit vouth, Knowledge Holders, and Elders to connect with their historical landscape, their culture and heritage, cultural belongings, and most importantly each other. It was a major goal of the Culture Camp to create a time and space for the collective healing from the traumas of settler colonialism in Canadian society, by working towards more equitable research strategies that are directed and shaped by Indigenous research partners themselves. In this chapter, I will detail how several community-based participatory research methods, as well as elements of Inuvialuit *living* art (from Chapter 3), were employed with five Inuvialuit youth research partners, Angelina Joe, Hayven Elanik, Starr Elanik, Cassidy Lennie-Ipana, and Mataya Gillis, in co-creating several *living art* projects about Inuvialuit heritage and identity that were directed by the youth and are locally and culturally relevant to them.

4.1.1 « Angelina Joe »



Figure 12 – Angelina Joe (right) interviews her Elders Renie Arey (left, front) and Walter Bennett (left, back) at the ILH Culture Camp. Screenshot from Angelina's interview video.

Youth researcher Angelina Joe from Aktlarvik embarked on a project where she hosted and conducted a semi-structured interview on camera with the two Inuvialuit Elders at the camp, Walter Bennett and Renie Arey. Angelina came up with all of her own research questions based on her interests and guided her own interview in a video format, framed by a backdrop of Ivvavik's trees and rolling hills. Allowing Angelina to direct the interview meant that it covered topics that might not have surfaced if someone else took the lead (particularly if it was an older, southern, non-Inuvialuk researcher). The ability to not only conduct her interview but also plan and shape its format on the land was a vital part of applying Inuvialuit *living art*. The act of being on the land and away from town (see Section 3.2.2) allowed Angelina to ponder what she herself really wished to research and learn from her Elders—rather than what other people in town or other researchers did. Being in Ivvavik also meant getting away from the kinds of time constraints, schedules, expectations, and obligations of research and production that usually limit creative exploration and introspection. Creating *living art* while being on the land also helped Angelina focus on topics specifically connected to the land itself, being inspired by the animals that would pass by camp, or the plants that were blooming all around. For instance, in her interview, Angelina asked Renie how Inuvialuit women in the past dealt with menstruation on the land when they did not have "modern" objects like tampons or pads available. It prompted an honest, taboo-free conversation about human bodies and natural bodily functions, as well as how they were navigated on the land and amongst the natural elements, as not only a valid but incredibly important part of Inuvialuit cultural heritage.

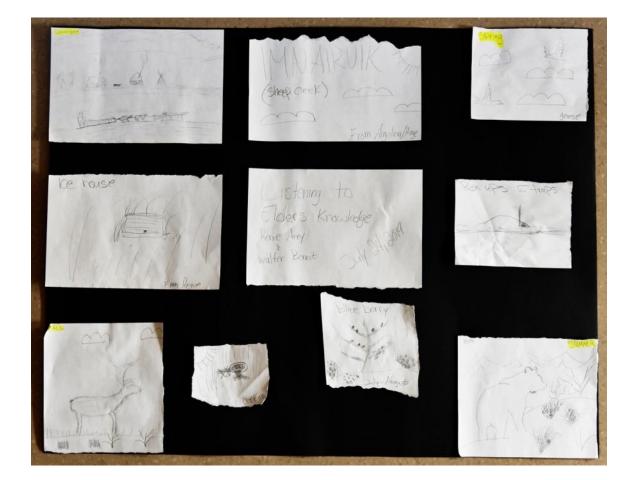


Figure 13 – As an additional part of her project, Angelina Joe also designed and created a poster visualizing all that she was learning through her Elders. Through creating this poster, she also learned from her Elders that the current Parks Kanata spelling of Sheep Creek is incorrect (see top middle panel). The Uummarmiutun word for Sheep Creek is actually "Imnairvik", rather than the current "official"

Parks Kanata spelling of "Imniarvik", as the Uummarmiutun word for "sheep" is "imnaiq", not "imniaq".

When asked how her experience out on the land had contributed to her learning experience, Angelina wrote in her journal, "by listening to the Elders talking & getting to know it more often. Learning new things. Keeping the history strong & alive 4 more generations to know." Her knowledge journey also helped her connect to her ancestors' lives, through imagining what Inuvialuit used to do a long time ago, as she adds:

I can imagine how they worked ... together as a team to help out. Listening to the Elders & their stories they have to tell people. And how hard it was to travel & to hunt and give birth to about 10-20 kids. I can imagine how they lived with a big family & giving their kids knowledge & experience to what they did when they were younger. I can imagine how they made their clothing with the material & how they did it. Also how they talked in the language they spoke / learning.

On the last night of the Culture Camp, Angelina premiered her interview video for the group, and everyone watched with interest and celebrated her great work. The digital format of Angelina's interview will now allow her important work to be published online and in turn, made accessible to other Inuvialuit and the general public on the new Inuvialuit Living History Project website.



Figure 14 – Hayven Elanik at Herschel Island. Photo by Mataya Gillis.

Student researchers and sisters Hayven and Starr Elanik from Aktlarvik embarked on their respective creative projects in connecting further with their cultural heritage, but in very different ways. Hayven decided to take a very personal route and create a collagestyle poster presentation including both images and quotes representing Inuvialuit cultural heritage through informal interviews and discussions with the Inuvialuit Elders and Knowledge Holders at the camp.



Figure 15 – Hayven Elanik's poster, representing the knowledge she learned from her Elders at the ILH Culture Camp. She added that "the land help[s] us by showing how [our history] looked and we were finding old artefacts."

She also included a family tree to more deeply explore her roots and understand where she came from, commenting: "the family tree ... [is] important to me because family is important to me." Hayven's project demonstrated the ability of Inuvialuit *living art* to continuously trigger and tell stories about her family and ancestors, especially through its production. Many of these stories she referred to in her project were relayed by Inuvialuit Elders Renie Arey and Walter Bennett during the camp. More importantly, Hayven's project demonstrated an immense amount of *heartwork* that she and her Elders did to learn more about her family lineage, some of which were drastically affected by residential schools and their lasting traumas. Similar to Shirley Elias' approach to creating art by visualizing natural flora and fauna for deep introspection, reflection, and healing (see Chapter 3.3), Hayven's creation of a tangible and visible representation of a large, connected, and strong family tree allowed her to feel and process many emotions throughout the week. On the final evening of the camp, when all the Inuvialuit youth

researchers presented their final *living art* products, there was a very poignant sense of emotional understanding and closure within the group. Many of the group's tears were "unblocked" (see Section 3.3.3) when Hayven explained a little bit about her family tree project, her knowledge journey, and the memories and emotions it brought up. It felt like a large weight was lifted after much of the group shed some tears together listening to Hayven's experience of creating her project, and then promptly came together for her emotional support.



Figure 16 – Starr Elanik at Herschel Island, wearing an embroidered necklace that she made at the ILH Culture Camp. Photo by Mataya Gillis.

Starr Elanik was perhaps the shyest Inuvialuk youth at the Culture Camp. However, she quietly and diligently spent the week taking her time to explore and practice a range of creative practices and ultimately decided to focus on the *living art* of embroidery. Again, being on the land, a vital aspect of Inuvialuit *living art*, led to many of her creations being inspired by the local colourful and vibrant flowers and plants such as fireweed or the Arctic rose. What was perhaps even more beautiful about Starr's *living* *art* project was that, by the end of the camp, she turned one of her embroidered creations into a stunning necklace that she gifted to Elder Renie Arey. This last part of her *living art* project was really what made it Inuvialuit *living art*—by infusing her creations with that "love connection" (discussed in Section 3.2.1). It materialized the care and respect that Starr herself had for Renie and her gratefulness for her knowledge and support all week. Starr's embroidered necklace for Renie ultimately demonstrates that Inuvialuit *living art* is something that enhances Inuvialuit social life and connection, fosters pride for Elders and their cultural knowledge, as well as brings together Inuvialuit between different generations. By the end of the camp, after being able to focus on her *living art* and gifting it to Renie, Starr had opened up immensely and was noticeably more confident. She was proud of what she was able to accomplish and the "love connections" that she was able to build with Elders and Knowledge Holders like Renie through her own *living art*, while also learning more about her cultural heritage. When asked about her experience through it all, she wrote in her journal, "The most important thing I learned this week was...about my family history."



Figure 17 – Renie Arey proudly showing off the jewelry created for her by some of the students at the Culture Camp, including Starr Elanik's embroidered necklace. Photo by Jason Lau.

4.1.3 « Cassidy Lennie-Ipana and Mataya Gillis: Photovoice »

At the ILH Culture Camp at Ivvavik National Park, Inuvialuit youth research partners Cassidy Lennie-Ipana and Mataya Gillis used the Photovoice method (see Section 2.2.4.1) to produce *Nipatur̂uq Magazine*, a youth zine project. I provided a short workshop for Cassidy and Mataya so they could use a full-frame Nikon D750 DSLR Camera with a 35mm f/1.8 lens to photograph the nine Inuvialuit participants in the camp. Their photographs and interviews with these 9 participants of all ages on the theme of Inuvialuit identity and heritage became the basis of their zine.

They collectively generated the main research question, "What does 'being Inuvialuit' mean to you?" before Cassidy and Mataya took the photos and conducted the interviews at important Inuvialuit historical and heritage locations on the land around Ivvavik, such as Imnairvik (Sheep Creek), Qikiqtaruq (Herschel Island), and Niaqulik (Head Point). This was especially important because we wished to implement the vital aspect of producing Inuvialuit *living art* on the land (see Section 3.2.2): including the land as part of the process and being inspired by the land. As Cassidy reflected in her journal during the Culture Camp:

For me, being on the land allows me to know my history in [view] of the fact that as you are on the land you learn constantly, either by yourself or with the Elders and people around you. So you constantly are learning ways to improve or adjust; that's the story of our peoples and ancestors.

Mataya also reflected on the importance of doing their photovoice research on the land:

Being on the land helped me because I got to know and see how my people lived and how they travelled through the land, and how they survived not only on the land but survived when the white people came.



Figure 18 – Cassidy Lennie-Ipana interviewing Renie Arey at the cultural heritage site of Niaqulik (Head Point). Photo by Mataya Gillis.

Cassidy discovered her natural talents for conducting semi-structured interviews and prompting storytelling in all of these settings, always taking the time and care to sit down and "visit with" her interviewees in these places around the land, while Mataya discovered her talents in creating visual products such as photography and layout designs. Additionally, we recognized that Inuvialuit *living art* revolves around stories and storytelling, so we aimed to allow Cassidy and Mataya's photovoice research questions to be open-ended enough to encourage extended storytelling. As Mataya reflected on this process in her journal, "We didn't only learn from being on the land; we learned from having these Elders out here with us, showing us and telling the stories of our families and theirs."

After all of the portraits and interviews were completed, we collectively selected the "best" photographs, transcribed the interviews and highlighted "pull quotes" (i.e. important ideas from the interviews) representing the most important issues, themes, and/or ideas relating to Inuvialuit identity and cultural heritage. The next step was to think about how to showcase and deliver all of this content to a broader audience.

4.1.3.1 « Participatory Design »

In the next step of Cassidy and Mataya's project, we continued to learn through designing ways to present their interviews and photographs. We used participatory design (see Section 2.2.4) to integrate Cassidy and Mataya's work and insights into all stages of the production process of their creative project. At the ILH Culture Camp, participatory design first happened over a MacBook Pro with Adobe software (i.e., mainly Photoshop and InDesign). After some brainstorming about how to share the results of their Photovoice research, Cassidy and Mataya decided on creating a magazine to present the photographs and transcribed interviews in an accessible format that could be physically given to its readers. To achieve this, first, I provided a basic print design workshop for Cassidy and Mataya using Adobe InDesign, for instance, going over design tips such as typographic use or grid/column structures in designing a zine with photographs and text. While doing this, Cassidy, Mataya, and Elder Renie Arey would instruct me on which specific design choices they wanted to implement in the publication, while I made those changes in front of them in real-time. Later, this transitioned into handing my laptop over to Cassidy and Mataya after they were familiar with the Adobe software needed to produce their magazine, to give them full control and agency in the final product.



Figure 19 – Cassidy Lennie-Ipana and Mataya Gillis designing the first issue of Nipatur̂uq Magazine using Jason Lau's laptop and Adobe InDesign software. Photo by Jason Lau.

After returning to Iñuuvik, Cassidy, Mataya, and I continued to complete the design of the zine together at the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC). This included prototyping by physically printing and stapling together drafts of the zine and continuing to evaluate its content and layout to ensure it fulfilled their vision. Participatory design works especially well in the prototyping stages, because it allows for a judgement-free space to reflect on collective design choices as a group. For instance: the order, position and hierarchy of content; wording and spelling of transcribed content (i.e. how do we faithfully represent the voices of those interviewed while keeping clarity and understanding?); cover design (i.e. what is the most important to showcase, or most representative of this zine's content?); and typographic representations (i.e. beyond *what* words should be used, *how* should the words look?). Reflecting together on all of these design choices with research partners ultimately reveals the most important and resonant themes of all of the content gathered.

For Mataya and Cassidy, it was most crucial to illustrate the complexity and diverse aspects of Inuvialuit identity and how it meant something different to everyone. They did this by giving everyone their own page(s), and had varying colours and positioning of words and a pull (highlighted) quote for every individual's story/stories so that no two people's pages looked the same; everyone had a different colour featured on their profile. They did not wish to organize the profiles by age group; instead, they interspersed the profiles between youth, Elders, and Knowledge Holders. However, they still placed emphasis on and showed their respect for the two Elders on the trip (Walter and Renie) by giving them both double-page spreads—more space for them to tell their stories-rather than just one page (for everyone else). Mataya and Cassidy also wished to communicate the mixing of traditional and modern in their Inuvialuit culture, so they chose a more "traditional-looking" serif typeface for the masthead (title of the zine on the front page), while all of the body text inside the zine was in a more "modern" sans-serif typeface. The ways in which they layered the portrait photographs throughout the zine layout represent the various layers of Inuvialuit identity that can vary from Inuvialuk to Inuvialuk. Lastly, following the tenets of Inuvialuit *living art*, an important aspect of the production of Nipaturug was that it was conceived on the land, as was most of its research, groundwork, and photography. Therefore, to pay homage to living art inspired by and produced on the land, Mataya and Cassidy decided to dedicate the entire back cover of the zine to a collage of their stunning photographs of the landscape from the camp, featuring only plants, animals, and scenery of the land, and free from any people.

All in all, this process of participatory design, thinking together as a group through various questions of visual representation, not only complies with the tenets of community-based participatory research, but especially with Inuvialuit *living art*. It firstly demonstrates that the creation of such a product is intrinsically tied to being on the land, where there is a deep sense of time and space for individuals in a group to freely explore options and possibilities together, while being inspired by the vast surrounding landscape. Secondly, participatory design of a *living art* product can bring together different people with different stories and backgrounds such that it is conducive to enhancing social life and personal connections. Many of the decisions made and actions taken in creating *Nipatur̂uq Magazine* came from a place of care for the individuals being featured inside; for instance, Cassidy and Mataya thought much about how to display each profile story with clarity, beauty, and dignity, in the words and quotes as well as portrait photographs that were chosen. They wanted to showcase all Inuvialuit at the Culture Camp in the best light possible, thereby demonstrating their love and pride for their cultural heritage as well as each other.

4.1.3.2 « Re-Designing and Re-Envisioning »

Another important part of participatory design is allowing *re-designing* to happen, often several times. As a team, we had to ensure that we allotted the time and space needed to re-design the publication countless times. Koerner and Russel (2010) argue for the "*re-designing*" of anthropological self-reflexivity in order to address the increasing complexities of anthropological and archaeological inquiry, and its inherent imbalances in knowledge production and power. *Re-designing* is important in the context of this case study because *design* represents "a deep shift in our emotional make up," and is about making something that is "deeply modified" in a way that is more fundamentally innovative than just "making" or "fabricating" (Latour 2008, 4). Re-designing allows researchers to continually re-envision different and innovative formats, outcomes, and possibilities for the ideas and information at hand, as opposed to repeating past methods of academic research.

For instance, the title of the zine evolved through the development process. In its early stages, Mataya and Cassidy called it *Imnairvik* (Sheep Creek, location of the ILH Culture Camp), before changing it to "Voices", and eventually, *Nipatur̂uq* (Uummarmiutun for "she/he/they have a loud voice"). These changes reflected the process of thinking through and deeply modifying the zine's mission, which ultimately became further amplifying Inuvialuit youth voices⁹, or as Mataya (personal

⁹ In accordance with Rule 4 of the Inuvialuit youth co-created Principles of Community: *Communication*. "Everyone's opinions should be heard; compromises may have to be made. Be ambitious with your ideas, but not too much, so you can let others' voices be heard."

communication, 2019) says: "Letting everyone's voice shine!" When asked to elaborate on the reasoning behind the name change, Mataya explains:

The problem is colonization. [We need to talk] about how Inuvialuit are strengthening their culture but also keeping—getting connected back to their cultures [and heritage], but also keeping modern culture in their lives.

We talked about 'Voices' because...everyone's opinions changed, thoughts changed, and how they all differed. That's kinda why I like it. With all the [interview] questions that Cassidy asked—she asked some really good questions. Questions about climate change, newer culture coming in, how does modern culture affect [Inuvialuit cultural heritage], what's the 'goods' and 'bads'.

The decision to center *Nipatur̂uq* around Inuvialuit voices in all their plurality is based on the recognition that "Inuvialuit culture is different to everyone" (Mataya Gillis, personal communication, 2019). This major decision highlights the continued need for (literally) multivocality in archaeological and heritage research, and the diverse perspectives on and relationships with Inuvialuit heritage, which vary through generations and between communities and families. Cassidy and Mataya contributed to highlighting this diversity through the production of their magazine. Ultimately, when asked whether or not she felt the use of Participatory Action Research and co-creation of *Nipatur̂uq* changed her experience of the ILH Culture Camp, Mataya says:

I think it did. It made the camp more—it made me feel like it was worth a lot more now. Like, I got a lot of knowledge from the camp, but I feel like this is a really special thing [...] I think it's a hidden talent I just found out about myself. I didn't know that I would like this, but I really like it. It's a lot of fun. I actually was not expecting how much I would like this. I'm really into designing; I love designing. [...] I think [Nipatur̂uq] is a really special thing to have. It's just super cool, thinking about it, like, having a magazine that [we] designed and printed.

4.1.3.3 « Building Capacity at Nipaturuq Magazine »

Despite the progress of the youth zine, there was much more work to be followed through with Cassidy and Mataya in continuing to build capacity at *Nipatur̂uq* by first making it a concrete reality. One of the Inuvialuit Living History's research partners, the Inuvialuit Communications Society (ICS), was able to use their existing organizational structures and resources already in place, along with a one-time monetary contribution from the ILH project itself to help bring Cassidy and Mataya's vision to print. Through the months that followed the ILH Cultural Camp, Cassidy and Mataya continued to meet regularly at ICS to go through the process of editorial production together, including final layouts, editing, proofing, and corresponding with the magazine's printers together. Working with ICS, they were able to include *Nipatur̂uq* as a loose insert with *Tusaayaksat Magazine*, which is regularly mailed out to all Inuvialuit beneficiary households. The first edition of *Nipatur̂uq* was officially published, printed, and mailed to all Inuvialuit Beneficiary households in early 2020, about half a year after the publication was born at Ivvavik National Park.

One important aspect of Inuvialuit *living art* is that it can be living and continue to live through its ability to keep telling stories through the passage of time (see Section 3.1). One question that came up with Cassidy and Mataya about Nipatur̂uq was how they could keep it living even after the ILH Culture Camp. Therefore, over the months following the first issue's publication, they effectively modified the previous operating structures at ICS to be able to include *Nipatur̂uq* as a second publication that is regularly mailed out along with *Tusaayaksat Magazine* to 3,200 Inuvialuit beneficiaries and subscribers all over the world. In 2019, Cassidy and Mataya travelled to Montréal, Quebec, to present their project at the Inuit Studies Conference and gain more recognition for their work. Following this, they continued to tirelessly grow the publication to include new Inuvialuit youth (they welcomed Lexis McDonald, digital artist and illustrator, later in 2020). They also secured additional funding totalling at least \$25,000 CAD over the following year, from various sources including the Canadian Roots Exchange (CRE). Subsequent issues of their magazine covered topics such as climate change, mental health, and racism. They also have plans to discuss food security, LGBTQIA+ pride, arts

and culture, and traditional Inuit/Inuvialuit tattoos. All in all, they wish to continue integrating perspectives of Inuvialuit cultural heritage regarding such topics by interviewing a wide array of Inuvialuit living both inside and outside of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.

In February 2021, Nipaturuq won the prestigious Northwest Territories Ministerial Youth Learner Literacy Award¹⁰ for their innovative work to amplify and lift up Inuvialuit youth voices. All in all, it is a privilege to witness these incredible Inuvialuit youth—our research partners—create and grow a grassroots platform for Inuvialuit youth voices, perspectives, and stories of Inuvialuit culture and heritage. While Nipaturuq could have never been planned before the practice of PAR and co-creation in our research together, trusting the free-flowing process of PAR, and truly listening to the needs of research partners, have led to its creation. The ability to build capacity by sharing important digital production skills that can be used in the youth's futures in their own creative projects also fulfills the goal of PAR to help research partners develop skills that will support their own individual and community goals. Although the ILH Project cannot take credit for the creativity of the Inuvialuit youth who attended the Culture Camp, their participation at the camp was vital in conceptualizing, nurturing, and bringing to life such an impactful and vibrant work of Inuvialuit *living art*. As an unexpected result of our work together, *Nipaturuq* has become a living platform for learning, understanding, communicating, and sharing Inuvialuit culture and heritage with and for Inuvialuit youth. We are incredibly excited to continue to watch the project grow into new forms and dimensions.

¹⁰ The Northwest Territories Literacy Awards was created by the Minister of Education, Culture and Employment to "honour the literacy achievements of youth and adult learners, exceptional educators, and organizations and businesses across the territory" (https://www.ece.gov.nt.ca/en/services/literacy/nwt-literacy-awards).



Figure 20 – As featured on CBC News, co-editor Mataya Gillis holding the first three issues of Nipatur̂uq Magazine, all published in 2020. Photo by Mackenzie Scott/CBC (<u>https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuvialuit-youth-magazine-receives-25k-grant-1.5752403</u>)



Figure 21 – The fourth issue of Nipatur̂uq, released in 2021, revolving around the theme of racism.

Chapter 5

5 « Tensions and Ways Forward »

An important aspect of community-based archaeology and archaeological ethnography is the ability to be reflexive about the practice, acknowledging and thinking through limitations and difficulties in order to provide recommendations for ways forward in improving current research processes. In a region that has been affected by traumatic colonial policies of the Government of Kanata-such as the implementation of residential schools, which has deeply impacted many Elders, Knowledge Holders, and their descendants—my research in the ISR has not been easy nor conflict-free. Brendan Griebel (2013, 174) argues that community archaeology "finds its character in discord rather than reconciliation," and is ultimately "produced by highlighting and actively feeding difficult and problematic issues." In the spirit of Griebel's (ibid) argument to approach "tensions" as their own "source of inquiry," I detail and think through some interpersonal challenges experienced in my research and fieldwork. I discuss the legacies of colonial research in the North, and explore thoughts communicated by local community members and research partners. I then offer ways to move forward through an anthropology of musicality, song, vocality, and the human heart. Lastly, in the spirit of generating action, I close this chapter by offering practical recommendations for employing *living art* for the ILH Project's programming based on what has been learned in my research.

5.1 « The Legacies of Colonial Research »

One of the first fieldwork experiences I had in Iñuuvik in 2018 effectively set the tone for the rest of my research. I was volunteering at the Great Northern Arts Festival (GNAF) when I met a prominent Inuvialuk and Gwich'in Elder who was immediately (and rightfully) curious about a brand-new face she was seeing in town. After introducing myself to her as a master's student working on a research project, she left me with a simple but burning question: "If you're getting a master's degree out of this, what are we getting?" Her words were resonant, and I didn't have a good answer for her. It's a key

question within community-based archaeology. Hamilakis (2007, 24) frames it: "Who is benefiting from our archaeological and other interventions, and at whose expense?"

Doing archaeological research in the Arctic has long been an uncomfortable endeavour for Inuit and other Indigenous peoples. The overwhelmingly negative perceptions of historians and archaeologists have also been well documented by scholars for decades, resulting from but not limited to: uninclusive practices, lack of consultation, biased and exclusive archaeological interpretations, storing artefacts far away in the South, using unnecessary jargon, and lack of dissemination of research findings (Hood 1998, 2002; Kelvin 2016:8; Watkins 2006; Weetaluktuk 1978). As such, Kelvin (2016, 11) argues that "early research damaged relationships between the Inuit and researchers and has led many Inuit people to have negative views of researchers—seeing them as grave robbers and thieves who cannot be trusted and who temporarily come from the South to benefit from Inuit peoples and lands and give nothing in return."

Inuvialuk filmmaker Tamara Voudrach has seen firsthand this immense distrust, as she regularly interviews Inuvialuit for films in the same way "academic researchers" interview people for their research. Her experience working in television and film has shown that the overwhelming distrust of earlier Arctic researchers and other extractors of Inuvialuit Cultural Knowledge in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region is still very much alive. She recounts a powerful memory:

I got off the phone with one of my aunts (she's an Elder); we were looking to do a segment for one of our episodes in the first season of Tusaayaksat TV [...] I contacted her and...we arranged to do it and everything... When I called to follow up the day before, she asked me for honorarium or for money: 'What are we being paid?' And I was like, 'We have like no budget left for this episode. Like, it's gone...' I couldn't offer anything.

And then she—usually being very warm and gentle with me—almost like, snapped at me and said, 'Well if you're not paying me, you shouldn't have even bothered calling.' I apologized, [saying], 'I'll fill you in next time I call, make everything clear from the beginning with regards to payment.' That was my fault; I was so sorry. So that was good after that.

But after that I just felt very bothered by it. Why was she so angry with me? So I went...to talk to [a mentor and] told [them] about that incident, and I was kind of looking for [their] guidance about it.

And [they] said: 'This goes back to when we were younger...and now we're older, but when we're a bit younger...people started coming up, it's not just people for TV and movies, but they'd come up for research or they'd come up for even just their personal interest, writing books and stuff to make money... They would come up and do interviews with us, everything. They wouldn't pay us, and then they'd be gone and not tell us anything after that. And then next thing we'd see would be words on a book or our photos in our article... These people made money off of us and gave us nothing. We had no idea where it was going... This was happening long before me, long before my parents...so now we're a lot more guarded, because we are knowledge holders.'

I include this story with Tamara's permission not because all researchers still operate this way today, but because this is still largely how individuals—especially historically marginalized peoples—perceive academic research in the region.

To many individuals I spoke with, academic research continues to feel inherently extractive and exploitative. During my fieldwork, some ILH research partners in Iñuuvik openly brought up with me when they had noticed unequal power dynamics coming from university academics. Some discussed with me the subtle but significant racial dynamics that unavoidably surfaced. Some told me that it was noticeable that I myself have been treated in oppressive and paternalizing ways even when I had not been aware, since hierarchical structures are so deeply ingrained in academia. For instance, being constantly reminded that as the newest MA student, I should not be making various fieldwork decisions, and should just do what I was told by higher-level Ph.D. students and professors, who knew best. Local researcher partners told me that they have been tired and fed up with still not receiving the appropriate credit and consultation for their work, which leaves them feeling exploited and "taken advantage of," only for southern researchers to acquire funding dollars. One partner told me that they honestly wanted nothing to do with the project, and another told me that they were simply waiting for the project to end and did not think they could continue their partnership after the funding round. Clearly, any and all interactions between Inuvialuit and non-Inuvialuit and nonlocal research partners carry with them the weight of decades of exploitation, mistrust, and exhaustion, that they have experienced with southern academic researchers for far too long. What are some ways of moving forward in practicing a better community archaeology?

5.2 « Moving Forward »

5.2.1 « "All In" Community Archaeology »

Debbie Gordon-Ruben told me a story of when she began to learn about Inuvialuit drum dancing from her Elders when she was younger. An Elder told her: "Debbie, you have to be all-in or nothing. I will not share with you, if you're not gonna take it to your heart and your soul." Debbie would then respond: "Billy, I'm all-in! I'm all in!" And only then, she says, "would he start sharing...what he knew, what he grew up with."

But what does it mean for archaeologists and researchers to be "all in"? I believe that an "all in" practice of effective community-based archaeology is to literally be "all in" the community itself. For instance, ICS employee and Inuvialuit media creator Tamara Voudrach explains her perspective of what it means for a southerner and non-Inuvialuk (in this case me) to be "all in" when working for and with her local communities:

When they move to our communities, they stay. There are the teachers who are not from these communities but they end up staying there for 20 years. And, like, if you feel that urge and you feel that connection that you need to stay—stay. You really don't need to explain yourself to anybody, especially when it's something that really resonates with you at that level where it's like, 'This is hitting my soul.' Then, stay, because it's probably something you need to do, and you're meant to do. Brendan Griebel (2010) writes about his experience of practicing community archaeology in Iqaluktuutiaq (Cambridge Bay) and the challenges in making archaeology truly relevant to the local community as a transient, seasonal researcher. Working towards a solution and following the tenets of community archaeology, Griebel addresses the importance of lasting and meaningful physical presence in doing archaeological research in the Eastern Canadian Arctic. He writes: "Perhaps most disconcerting was that, despite the [archaeological excavation] project being a big event in a very small town, locals simply went about their business as usual. Somewhat deflated by these results, I made the decision to live full time in Cambridge Bay to investigate alternate and more appropriate ways of exposing archaeology and history to the community" (Griebel 2010, 78).

5.2.1.1 « Being Face-to-Face »

"Yeah, referring back to the Indigenous onscreen protocols... Really, it is being there, in person, that really means the most. It's like, you know, we could do this over the phone sometimes you have to, do it over email. But really, showing up, and saying – hey, I had enough time to care about this project, so I'm here in person to have a face conversation with you and take your consult with you, basically... on the pros and cons of how we can do this. Number one. That really is...being face to face, because that's how we did it back in the day. We were orally—we wouldn't have had any stories if we weren't meeting these people with these stories. How can we share knowledge in Inuvialuit ways? Yeah—in person." —Jerri Thrasher, Inuvialuk filmmaker

As Jerri says, physical presence is of the utmost importance when doing any kind of community-based and participatory research. ImagiNATIVE (2019, 13) calls this "face-to-face communication." When setting out Principles of Community with Inuvialuit youth at the beginning of my research, one of the principles we agreed upon was *focus*—"must be in the moment, connect with the land, and focus on one thing at a time." The idea of a focused presence communicated by Cassidy, Hayven, Mataya, and Starr not only includes being present on-the-land, but being present *temporally*—existing and living together in real time (i.e. being "in the moment"), which inevitably includes communicating face-to-face with each other. Times when people are physically present,

together, and engaging face-to-face, are when the most resonant research findings, outputs and creative products, and community relationships have manifested in my research. It is important to acknowledge the immense challenges that have been brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic which has stifled the ability of research partners to meet face-to-face during the years immediately following my research detailed in this thesis. However, moving forward, community archaeologists who do not live in the communities they partner with should continue to show up face-to-face as much as possible to work with local research partners to the best of their ability rather than rely on technology only as a source of connection.

5.2.2 « Towards an Anthropology of Musicality »

5.2.2.1 « Musicality and Inuit Knowledge »

Discussing characteristics of musicality reveals a great deal of information about Inuvialuit *living art* as well as culture and heritage, specifically through the way Inuvialuit conceive of and practice storytelling. In this sense, the notions of song and singing deeply inform aspects of Inuvialuit epistemology and ontology—ways of knowing and being. Inuvialuit storytelling can also be seen as a musical experience because Inuvialuit culture and heritage is about deeply leaning into the rhythms and patterns of Inuvialuit lives through time and space—through seasons and generations, and across the Arctic landscapes.

Lisa Stevenson (2014, 166) argues that Inuit ways of storytelling and understanding the world (epistemology) are informed by 'song': "With storytelling, intelligibility takes second place to another way of knowing things, a mode of knowing that is more closely linked to musicality and to presence." She goes on (2014, 157): "Singing is not just about mouthing the words to a well-known song...song [is] an invocation that depends less on words per se and more on voice as a kind of gesture." Being aware and attuned to the nuances and variable qualities, volumes, and movements of voices around us—is more than just an action or process within *living art*. It is a state of being in the world, as well as moving through the world that is embedded in many ways within Inuvialuit culture and heritage through art and storytelling.

One of the most iconic displays and symbols of Inuvialuit *living art* is drum dancing—in which musicality and singing play a large role. There are sometimes outside stereotypes assuming that Inuvialuit drum dance songs are a type of chanting. Dispelling myths about traditional Inuvialuit drum dancing and singing, Debbie Gordon-Ruben makes a clear and important distinction between 'chanting' and 'singing', and indicates that the practice of drum dancing never includes the former and only the latter. According to Debbie, a *chant* is something that "can go on for a longer period...[until] people decide to stop it." On the contrary, a *song* has "a hard beat and a soft beat" and sometimes even "a third portion to it"; there are also clear demarcated beginning and ending sections. More than just a few temporal nuances, drum dancing songs have highly musical characteristics to them which sometimes separate women's and men's voices into different notations and orientations: "The men's voice is a bit different from the women's voice," Debbie tells me, "On this part, this is where you go up; this is where you come down...sometimes the women's carry-over is different from the men's carry-over." In Inuvialuit drum dance songs, sometimes everyone sings in unison; sometimes, specific voices soar above other supporting ones which may dive deeper; sometimes, only one type of voice sings (the female part or the male part). Similar to an ensemble of choral singers, the lively audial spaces of traditional Inuvialuit drum dancing feature travelling voices that are often in flux and flow, with some that are uplifted into focus, and some that serve as foundation and support. Debbie's powerful words about drum dancing and singing ultimately reveal much about the ways in which Inuvialuit Knowledge is communicated and passed down from community to community, from generation to generation, through the passage of time.

As Tom Mcleod discusses, Inuvialuit storytelling is also more than simply guiding a listener into a story—it is about keeping them thereby making sure that the way one tells their story is immersive and utilizes a rhythm that is not jarring or distracting. He demonstrates that a smooth sense of musicality is critical to effectively passing on Inuvialuit stories, oral history, and knowledge between individuals:

When you're telling a story and you have someone's attention and you have their imagination, and you take the time to really just tell it and go along the way,

people will come with you. They'll lean in, they'll imagine, they'll...think along with what you're talking about. But if you stop [and] go: 'uhhhhhhh,' you come out. You lean out. You lean out of the story, you think about your surroundings, you think about the person telling you the story—you're out! You can be brought back in. But for right now this second—you're out! You can take a break in storytelling. If you're talking and you stop—that's fine. But if you throw in one of those little 'ums' or 'ahs'... Everybody does it and everybody's gonna do it—but it breaks up the flow of the story.

Lastly, Inuvialuit *living art* is intrinsically connected to ways of living, feeling, and experiencing the world that are highly "musical" in that they involve being deeply attuned to the nuances, emotions, changes, fluxes and flows of the world around us. It is alive in the sense that it is constantly shifting and evolving through both time and space. Nagy (2002) and Kelvin (2016, 73) both note in their work with Inuvialuit Elders that the Elders do not often use temporal markers or chronological frameworks when sharing stories and talking about their lives, but rather, places. Through this, Inuvialuit cultural knowledge reveals that time and space are not a dichotomy where one is present and the other is not. In many ways, the spatial is inherently temporal, and the temporal inherently spatial—neither exist in opposition to the other. In fact, both time and space depend on each other to stay alive in experiences and memories of Inuvialuit. More importantly, this aspect of Inuvialuit culture that blends time and space has always been evidenced in its own grammatical lexicon; specifically, in the Uummarmiutun dialect of Inuvialuktun, the suffix "-vik" can refer to both a place and a time for a specific action.¹¹ Being attuned to Inuvialuit culture and heritage means leaning into the ways that musicality and rhythm are inscribed in the landscape at various places or cultural sites, and through the passage of time. Anthropologist Tim Ingold's (2000, 189) discussion of the temporality of the landscape and its fluxes and flows also aligns with this idea; he argues:

¹¹ For instance: *aklaqtuq/aktlaqtuq*—'one got a grizzly bear' and *aklarvik/aktlarvik*—'a place where, or time when, one gets or got grizzly bears'; *anir̂uq*—'one was born' and *annivik*—birthday and birthplace.

First, human life is a process that involves the passage of time. Secondly, this lifeprocess is also the process of formation of the landscapes in which people have lived. Time and landscape, then, are to my mind the essential points of topical contact between archaeology and anthropology.

5.2.2.2 « Infusing Musicality in Anthropological Research »

To further bring Inuvialuit *living art* into anthropological and archaeological research with Inuvialuit research partners, on Inuvialuit land, means to continue to infuse musicality into research. After all, as Feld et al. (2004, 340) argue: "Music and language are fundamentally interrelated domains of expressive culture and human [behaviour] and experience." It is perhaps not surprising that music is virtually universal across cultures (Cross 2008, 3). When it comes to human voices, which are often used in music, "the ability to differentiate one voice from another...to recognize that each and every voice is different...to hear oneself at the same time as hearing others...to silently hear oneself within [and] to auditorally imagine the voice of another in the absence of their immediate vocalic presence—these are all fundamental human capacities" (Feld, et al. 2004, 341-342) (see also Idhe 2007; Appelbaum 1990).

Roland Barthes (2009) writes about "the grain of the voice" as the "materiality of the body"—something that has an ability to tangibly affect listeners as it sings. One could argue that vocalizations and songs can leave a resonant, lasting imprint long after they have been heard. The metaphor of 'voice' in feminist theory comes from the "concrete physical dimensions of the female voice" as an instrument of empowerment within a historical context of women's silencing; today it refers to a wide range of sociopolitical discourses from cultural agency, political enfranchisement, sexual autonomy, and expressive freedom (Dunn and Jones 1994, 1). Dunn and Jones (ibid) argue that "embodied voices" and "vocality" move beyond a focus on strictly linguistic content to encompass the broader spectrum of human vocality such as speaking, singing, crying, and laughing—all carrying their own unique sociocultural meanings.

Feld et al (2004, 341) have also argued that the human voice indexes social agency, creative agency, performativity, and a sense of place, all of which work together

to ultimately "write against essentialization." This effort to continue to research and write specifically against essentialization is at the core of critical theory and decolonial frameworks as well as community-based participatory forms of research. Therefore, to truly understand the social life of people, anthropologists and archaeologists must also engage phenomenologically with the human voice and all of its layered, nuanced timbres and musicalities. More importantly, they must realize that they have the responsibility to amplify the voices of individuals who have been historically silenced or muted altogether.

Musicality is also intrinsically connected with the art and practice of storytelling, something central to not just Inuvialuit cultural heritage and *living art*, but a larger Indigenous epistemology, or a way of knowing, that moves beyond rigid scientific facts and figures and accounts for the capability of human emotions and feeling. Smith (2019, xi) argues that Indigenous storywork, a concept first framed by Professor Jo-Ann Archibald, can be used as a methodology to work towards decolonizing research. It involves not just story-making, but also engaging with principles of making stories, the art of telling stories, and the cultural understandings for making sense of stories. Archibald et al. (2019, 12-13) add that Indigenous storywork "traverses new theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical realms where Indigenous stories, experiences, and understandings are the core of the meaning-making process" and opens us up to "dynamic cultural revitalizing strategies to combat assimilation."

Accepting musicality as a valid anthropological approach also aligns with the increasing acceptance of Indigenous oral histories and traditions in addition to the written record, and embracing oral traditions as key mode of Indigenous authorship and epistemology, thereby respecting "both the legitimate claims of First Nations to tell their own stories and the moral and scholarly obligation to write culturally grounded histories that can help us learn from the past" (Cruikshank 1994). Similarly, as Mahuika (2019) argues, thinking about musicality in the context of oral history and oral sources brings to light an Indigenous perspective that provides new ways of thinking about anthropological methods, aims, and theories. More importantly, it "disrupts powerfully normative and

pervasive non-Indigenous definitions and invites those working in oral tradition and history to rethink what these phrases mean for native peoples" (ibid).

The human voice, and its centrality in Inuvialuit oral tradition, is at the core of the importance of physical presence in doing research. To be present is to offer one's voice in all of its vulnerability, and to listen to others' voices in the same way. To truly hear the full "grain of the voice", one must actively engage in in-person interactions. After all, being in each other's physical presence means a collective experience of "synchronous action", which has the potential to enhance identification, trust, and generosity amongst individuals (Trehub, Becker and Morley 2015, 5). These are all the things that a more caring and considerate archaeology and anthropology need today. Finally, Trehub, Becker and Morley (2015, 6) argue that, in live contexts, "music can communicate to greater numbers of individuals and over greater distances than language can."

Music can also be a collective, simultaneous, and inclusive experience that is interconnected with community building, social cohesion, and caregiving (Trehub, Becker and Morley 2015, 5). Doing, understanding, and writing research in a collectively musical way means everyone works together towards a shared goal without a single solution (that is often inherently academic). It means remaining open to possibilities that may not have been planned or considered, and offering the flexibility to allow research partners to contribute their own voices and affect and augment the research priorities at a structural level. When singing in a group, some voices may be able to soar above into the spotlight when the time is right, and drop back down in support to lift up the voices of others, or even take sections of rest and break—all in this continual flux and flow that can only be described as pure musicality. As Cross (2008, 14) writes:

Music allows interacting individuals to engage in goal-oriented behaviours whilst under-specifying goals in ways that permit individuals to interact even while holding to personal interpretations of goals and meanings that may actually be in conflict. It thus provides a potent medium for the formation and consolidation of the capacity for shared intentionality that Tomasello et al. (2005) propose as central to the human capacity for culture, as well as having an individual efficacy in enhancing the emergence of domain-general modes of thought.

One of the Principles of Community earlier set out by Inuvialuit youth for the ILH Project was: "Be ambitious with your ideas [but also] let others' voices be heard." That principle led to the crystallization of Cassidy and Mataya's creative project from the ILH Culture Camp, *Nipatur̂uq*—literally meaning "he/she/they have a loud voice" in Uummarmiutun—which is continuing to spotlight, amplify, and bring forth diverse Inuvialuit youth voices to the world.

As I and others have argued (Hodgetts and Kelvin 2020), archaeologists and anthropologists have the responsibility to amplify the voices of individuals who have been historically silenced or muted altogether. However, to do that, they must be ready and willing to not only lend their voices to lift up those of other people, but to *rest their own* when the time calls for others to sing. This, to me, is the essence of making music together in a group. In research, and especially in the spirit of decolonization, this is expressed by the act of a settler giving up their voice of power and authority in order to allow a historically silenced individual to step into the spotlight and showcase theirs instead.

Writing about and using musicality opens up new possibilities and ways of discussing often difficult, sociopolitical topics while honouring the unique experiences and perspectives of individuals involved. In many instances, the human voice has become a "familiar articulation in contemporary anthropology [and] a metaphor for difference, a key representational trope for identity, power, conflict, social position, and agency. Vocality, in this light, is a social practice that is everywhere locally understood as an implicit index of authority, evidence, and experiential truth" (Feld, et al. 2004, 341).

Writing with musicality in mind could involve more engagements with poetry, songs and song lyrics, stream of thought, and spoken word as valid forms of research—things that were definitely underexplored in my own research and underrepresented in this thesis. It could also mean continued engagements with phenomenology and the embodied experiences of collaboratively making research products with others. As

Archibald et al. (2019, 13) argue, "synergetic energies of textual encounter harmonize storyteller, story, and audience. Poetic textual encounters are sensory and emotional – they reach across generations and dimensions."

One limitation within my research was my lack of ability to deeply engage with musicality throughout the entire process from beginning to end, by becoming more attuned to the rhythms and patterns of Inuvialuit lifeways. However, the implications of an anthropology of musicality are exciting and should be further theorized and implemented in future research projects in an era where anthropologists and archaeologists must continue to work in anti-oppressive, decolonial, and innovative ways to rewrite the colonial history of archaeological and anthropological interpretation and practice. As Trehub et al. (2015, 6) argue: "Although music lacks communicative specificity in comparison with language, its power sometimes exceeds that of language in social, emotional and spiritual domains."

5.2.3 « Committing to a Heart-Centred Approach »

An attention to the musicalities of relationships and interactions in research also points to a heart-centred approach to archaeology and anthropology, which centers "care and emotion, rather than dispassion and rationality, and [operates] within a rigorous and relational framework" (Lyons and Supernant 2020, 5). As Hodgetts and Kelvin (2020, 97) argue: "A heart-centred approach to archaeology makes our research caring work – work done with and for others [Its] outcomes, while more personally rewarding for us as people, are not valued in the same way within academia as those of a mind-centred approach. A heart-centred archaeology therefore calls us to action to restructure not just our research lives but the institutional and legislative contexts within which many of us work."

Engaging with Inuvialuit *living art* is vital in discussing archaeology and anthropology in this thesis because it aligns with an effective feminist epistemology of science, bringing together: the hand (activism; the concept of doing), brain (abstraction of thought), and heart (emotionally caring labour) (Rose 1983). Following the discourse of Inuvialuit *living art* in my research has been an avenue to practice heart-centred approaches in archaeological and anthropological research because it is so intrinsically tied to the *living heartwork* that happens when the tangible creation of cultural art and objects coincides with deep, emotional self-reflection and connection to identity. As Lyons and Supernant (2020, 6) argue, following this approach has fundamentally changed how we as researchers and students might consider and better understand culture and heritage in the past, present, and future, because it is conducive to *care*. A heart-centred approach in archaeology does not just emanate from academia; it comes from the everyday actions of how individuals treat each other when they truly care for one another. In the context of this thesis, a heart-centred approach is arguably one of the only ways to do research with and for Inuvialuit in a trusting, considerate, and careful way. Debbie Gordon-Ruben says:

Honesty and wearing your heart and your soul outside of your being, so that they [research partners] see that you are that way. Makes them want to share with you. Almost every Elder that we interviewed, because of the colonialism that they had endured... [there is] some harm...within them. So they...set that harm aside and they see that...when you're this type of a person, as opposed to this [harmful] type of a person, they can give their all to you, and share your all with you, and know that...they feel you'll properly pass it on. That their knowledge and of tradition and whatever you're asking of them is going to be used properly, without any harm intended, not...in a negative manner.

Committing to a heart-centred approach also means treating research partners with dignity, rather than engaging out of pity or a sense of (often white) saviourism. As Ethel-Jean Gruben tells me (personal communication, 2020): "Don't pity people—be their rock. Sometimes when we're hurting [and] people feel sad for us, [it] makes what we're going through that much harder." Doing heart-centred archaeological research means not doing it out of guilt or pity, but instead out of genuine care for the wellness and wellbeing of others. Especially for those working with and for Indigenous communities, taking a heart-centred approach to archaeology can also "create space for understanding how intergenerational trauma impacts Indigenous communities and influences their ability to engage with archaeologists, as well as recognizing the possibilities for a responsible

archaeology that can aid the healing process from historical trauma" (Lyons and Supernant 2020, 11). At the ILH Culture Camp, we applied this heart-centred approach by providing a space and time at an important cultural location for Inuvialuit youth to learn about archaeology and Inuvialuit Knowledge from Elders, but also to create various forms of *living artwork* and *heartwork* in working towards their own healing and selfidentity. One limitation from this portion of the research, however, was that we as researchers could have better prepared safety resources for mental health, wellness, and supports for all of our research partners, as they were working through their inner heartwork—for instance, reserving space for a trained mental health professional to be present and available to assist at the Culture Camp during potential moments of crisis.

Committing to a heart-centred approach also connects back to the use of Indigenous storywork. Archibald (2008) argues that researchers must continue to deeply engage with the phenomenological, emotional art and practice of storytelling, to work towards decolonizing research. Not only is storywork something that harmonizes "heart, mind, body, and spirit," it is also integral in seeing "academic research" as a complex, meaningful, and emotional "knowledge journey":

We feel, we experience, we take action. Through intellectual and spiritual journeys into story practices we are drawn deeper into the Indigenous way of being. Our bodies soak up, heal, and transform through the emotional resonance of the knowledge journey in Indigenous storywork. (Archibald, Lee-Morgan and De Santolo 2019, 13)

Moving forward, archaeologists and anthropologists should continue to work in heart-centred ways not just because it can lead to richer, nuanced, and meaningful understandings of human culture and heritage—but also because it is the right thing to do when working with other humans. As Lyons and Supernant (2020, 5) and Ermine (2007) argue, working in this way "provides a new ethical space for thinking through an integrated, responsible, and grounded archaeology, where we show care for the living and the dead."

5.3 « Applying Inuvialuit *Living Art*: Recommendations for the Inuvialuit Living History Project »

Another important aspect of doing community archaeology is to ensure that local communities and people benefit in the long run as much as possible through the work of the research project. As argued in this thesis, *living art* is a critical aspect of Inuvialuit cultural heritage, representing any expression of art and creativity ranging from carving, sewing, illustration, drum dancing, and singing, to various forms of visual and digital media. To continue to preserve and promote Inuvialuit cultural heritage means ensuring *living art* is practiced, produced, and taught to future generations of Inuvialuit. As such, in the future, the Inuvialuit Living History (ILH) Project should direct even more resources and efforts to facilitating the production of *living art* in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR). Just like the many faces of Inuvialuit *living art*, its applications within ILH can take many forms, ranging from regular workshops in town, to Living Art Residencies on the land, to a Living Art Mentor-Apprentice Program, as well as generally infusing local settings and public spaces with *living art*. In this last section of the chapter, I would like to close with a localized and practical set of recommendations for applying Inuvialuit *living art* as the ILH Project moves forward in the coming years in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.

The most important aspect of these recommendations to note, however, is the financial barrier to making these not only a reality but a sustained long-term reality. Being in the North, costs for supplies, materials, travel, and everyday life in general are already much higher than in the rest of the country, and research funding programs based in Southern urban centres do not always account for these added costs. Honoraria and compensation for hiring local Inuvialuit to help run programs and build capacity must reflect the realities of living in the North and not average wages and salaries based in Southern Kanata. This represents a substantial challenge to doing community archaeology (or any community-based and participatory action) research in the north. This likely means that the ILH project will need to seek funding from multiple external funding or entrepreneurial organizations such as Kanata Council for the Arts, the Government of Northwest Territories' Department of Education, Culture, and

Employment (ECE), NWT Arts Council, Canadian Heritage, Libraries and Archives Kanata, the Arctic Inspiration Prize, MakeWay Charitable Society, Small Economy Works and Indspire, EntrepreNorth, Canadian Roots Exchange, and/or Northern Youth Abroad (NYA). To continue building capacity, the project could perhaps develop a mentoring program to train and support Inuvialuit research partners in applying for grants, not just for ILH initiatives but others as well. That said, the following recommendations will require some picking and choosing, or developing smaller-scale versions that act as jumping-off points.

5.3.1 « Living Art Workshops »

In the past, ILH has hosted a cultural gathering at East Three School in Iñuuvik, as well as a land-based Culture Camp at Ivvavik National Park (discussed in Chapter 4) to provide spaces for Inuvialuit youth to connect to Knowledge Holders and Elders. Building upon these gatherings and events, the Inuvialuit Living History Project could also host Living Art Workshops with different forms of *living art* that groups of Inuvialuit can attend to learn, practice, and engage with. In Section 3.2.1, we explored how effective *living art* can be to facilitate social connections and relationships between Inuvialuit, serve as a form of healing, and pass on important Inuvialuit Knowledge through generations. ILH can leverage the power of *living art* to bring together Inuvialuit by continuing to create safe and open spaces for Inuvialuit to teach and learn various practical artistic skills. These kinds of *living art* workshops-namely sewing workshops—are already being done on a regular basis by the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, a major partner of the ILH, in Iñuuvik, NT. ILH could better support these workshops and expand them to cover other areas of *living art* by providing more tools and supplies, and hiring Inuvialuit practitioners to lead workshop sessions in the collective creation of final *living art* products (for instance, a carving, printmaking, or *atigi* [parka] making workshop), as well as facilitating the showcase of final products. It could be difficult for Inuvialuit Beneficiaries outside of the region to participate due to the high cost of travel; while not a perfect solution due to the importance of physical presence in Inuvialuit *living art*, these workshops could be filmed and/or live-streamed to allow Inuvialuit from outside the region to participate remotely. Investing in *living art*

workshops could also serve as a form of capacity-building for local communities, because the knowledge to create these various forms of art can act as catalysts for entrepreneurship through sales of arts and crafts within and outside of the ISR communities. ILH could further foster relationships with local arts and crafts stores to ensure that there are opportunities for Inuvialuit artists to sell their work should they wish to do so. The project could even leverage their partners' connections to larger and more populated urban locations in southern Kanata (e.g. London, Ontario) to bring Inuvialuit *living art* to southern markets and bring income north to artists in the ISR. Living Art Workshops should not be limited to the production of Inuvialuit *living art* but can also include guidance on marketing, branding, advertising, social media, and so on to help artists sell their work. For instance, ILH could host workshops on creating logos, business cards, packaging, websites, social media accounts, and online stores. Perhaps more importantly, ILH, and especially southern academics on the project, could host regular workshops on grant writing so more local research partners can have the capacity to apply for their own external funding sources for future Living Art Workshops and events. Ultimately, in today's society, passing down knowledge regarding *living art* should not only be about the ability of Inuvialuit to create art for living—but also to create art for a living.

5.3.2 « Living Art Residencies »

During my time in Iñuuvik, I was told several times by Inuvialuit artists about a discontinued art residency named "Art in the Park" that was run by Parks Kanata. In one of these residency programs, Northern and Inuvialuit artists were selected to travel to Ivvavik National Park for about ten days to engage with the local landscape, interpret and translate aspects of the land, and ultimately produce art that would later be exhibited to the public. In Section 3.2.2, Alex, an Inuvialuk carver, discussed his experience at this residency and highlighted the benefits of being able to focus on producing art amongst the land animals, away from the distractions of town. According to an old Parks Kanata information package (2012):

Art in the Park is an exciting way to help Canadians learn about places like Ivvavik National Park. The program brings together artists from the founding *culture of this region – the Inuvialuit – and popular artists from the rest of Canada. Together they explore and are inspired by this magnificent place.*

The Art in the Park residency was discontinued in the early 2010s. Alex indicated that there was a consensus amongst Inuvialuit artists that Art in the Park was a positive program that was missed and would be welcomed as a regular and sustained opportunity. As explored in Section 3.2.2, Inuvialuit *living art* is fundamentally connected to living on the land, especially when it comes to a landscape that is so historically and traditionally central to Inuvialuit cultural heritage—Ivvavik. This is because so much of Inuvialuit *living art* is created with inspiration from the land, flora and fauna, hunting and harvesting, and the process of living, surviving, and thriving on the land. Additionally, being on the land allows artists to be completely free from the routine obligations and expectations of being in town, and allows them to focus exclusively on the *living art* they would like to deeply explore, develop, and create.

Given its past success, it could be useful for ILH to continue the legacy of Art in the Park by building on their existing partnership with Parks Kanata's Western Arctic Field Unit to organize future "Living Art Residencies" for Inuvialuit in Ivvavik National Park, and also the two other national parks in the ISR, Tuktut Nogait (Nurrait) National Park and Aulavik National Park. Due to funding constraints, the project could start with either Tuktut Nurrait National Park or Aulavik National Park next, because their most recent camp in 2019 was held at Ivvavik National Park. Local Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre project partners have discussed (personal communication, 2019) the need to spread out activities in all communities, as the more northerly coastal communities (such as Paulatuuq, Ikaahuk/Ikaariaq/Sachs Harbour, and Ulukhaqtuuq) are often overlooked by projects in favour of the relative accessibility and cheaper travel costs of the Mackenzie Delta communities of Iñuuvik and Aktlarvik.

The most important thing is that the ILH project has already proven that a weeklong Cultural Camp is logistically possible at Ivvavik National Park, and can bring together Inuvialuit of all ages to immerse themselves in the land while creating various works of Inuvialuit *living art* (see Chapter 4). This approach could be readily extended into a Living Art Residency by gearing the camp specifically towards *living art* production, providing all supplies and equipment, and bringing in diverse Inuvialuit artists of varying experience levels to foster collaboration and mentorship. To ensure a connection between *living art* production and cultural heritage and archaeology, artists could create art during visits to cultural sites within the parks. As with Art in the Park, upon the return of the artists, these residencies could culminate in a public exhibition of the artworks produced, which could potentially take place on online platforms to reach a wide audience at a low cost. Overall costs of running any kind of camp event like a Living Art Residency would be significant due to the high cost of travel, food, and supplies in the North. However, the ILH project could work with artists to ensure they have a physical and/or online platform(s), such as local or even Southern craft stores or art galleries. ILH could help organize the contacts with various galleries—for instance by organizing a show of work from the camp—and artists would keep the profits from most of their work, but a few pieces would be sold to help recoup camp costs to ensure its feasibility and smooth operations.

5.3.3 « Living Art Mentor Apprentice Program »

One drawback of gatherings and camps—and even residencies—is that they are short-lived and do not necessarily ensure sustained opportunities for connection between Inuvialuit. To go one step further, ILH could implement and organize a Living Art Mentor Apprentice Program (MAP) which pairs Inuvialuit artists with other Inuvialuit who are interested in learning a certain Inuvialuit *living art*. Mentor Apprentice Programs (in other contexts named Master-Apprentice Programs) are used towards Indigenous language revitalization efforts by pairing up a fluent language speaker (mentor) with a learner (apprentice) and providing them with the space and resources to practice regular, daily, one-on-one language immersion activities (Hinton, Huss and Ro 2018). The Northwest Territories currently offers a Mentor Apprentice Program for Indigenous languages of the territory, which aims to facilitate Mentors and Apprentices "living life in the language" by doing everyday activities using only their Indigenous language, without English (Government of Northwest Territories 2021).

ILH could take the model of MAP and modify it to revolve around the production of *living art* between a Mentor and Apprentice—facilitating living life via creating, sharing, and/or using Inuvialuit *living art* around everyday activities. For instance, based partially on the original model of the "Master Apprentice Program" (Hinton, Vera and Steele 2002), a Living Art Mentor Apprentice Program could revolve around the following goals and actions:

- Trying to leave English behind, or attempting to use English as little as possible
- Doing cultural activities and living daily life together while infusing *living art*; using *living art* products (i.e. clothing, hunting tools) in daily life, especially living on the land
- Having different themes and prompts to produce *living art* around week-to-week (i.e. family, animals, foods, etc.)
- Documentation of the mentor and their lessons, instructions, and artwork for reference in learning and future (i.e. with videography, photography, journal entries, etc.)
- Incorporating into the program the exhibition, showcase, or presentation of final completed artworks

Jenni, et al. (2017) propose that the apprentice and mentor should spend 300 hours per year together, with the ideal length of the program being 3 years (900 hours). The MAP of Northwest Territories proposes a period of up to 200 hours of immersion instruction and strategies over eight months, about 7-10 hours per week (Government of Northwest Territories 2021). Considering the need to compensate Mentors and Apprentices for their time, sustaining the program over a longer period would require significant funding from the ILH Project and more external funding sources (as suggested in Section 5.3) would be needed to make this program a long-term reality.

5.3.4 « Further Indigenizing ISR Communities »

Another project that ILH could consider is to find ways to permanently infuse Inuvialuit *living art*—along with Inuvialuktun—into public spaces that are literally a part of everyday life, across ISR communities. This could include public places such as grocery and convenience stores, hospitals, post offices, gas stations, libraries, schools, gyms and community centres, public parks, and even the side of buildings or main roads in towns. For instance, in 2021, sisters Mahalia Yakeleya-Newmark and Kalina Newmark founded the Strong People, Strong Communities project, which brought together Northern and/or Indigenous artists to create several large collaborative murals that were/will be permanently installed around the city of Yellowknife, NT, with the goal of infusing the city with art "images that evoke tales of Indigenous strength, positivity, and resilience" (Cabin Radio 2021). In 2022, Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) launched the Inuvialuit Mural Project, where the Inuvialuit Community Economic Development Organization commissioned 33 Inuvialuit artists to paint murals to be reproduced in high resolution on weatherproof material (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation 2022):

The large scale artwork is then to be displayed in ISR communities and, together, showcase the art in the regional hub and tourist gateway of Inuvik to bring Inuvialuit pride and to beautify the streets.

The project compensates artists at home in their communities for their work and is meant to direct financial relief to artists as we look forward to future tourism – visitors to Inuvik will get a glimpse and more understanding of the region through this project with the opportunity to show Inuvialuit art.

In contributing to infusing ISR communities with more *living art*, ILH could also partner with the INNOVATE Centre (formerly known as the ACTMC – Arts and Crafts Technology Manufacturing Centre), which is a branch of Aurora College that makes new and emerging technologies in art creation and manufacturing accessible to the public. In this centre, community members pay for a membership to learn about art and manufacturing technologies ranging from laser cutting to engraving and t-shirt printing, before being able to mass-produce their own art pieces using the centre's high-end

machinery and equipment. For the 2018 ILH Gathering at East Three School, Iñuuvik, the project worked with INNOVATE to bring laser engravers to bring to life students' images inspired by Inuvialuit cultural objects. ILH could further develop this relationship to not just mass produce products of Inuvialuit *living art* to infuse around ISR communities, but also provide capacity-building and training opportunities to Inuvialuit artists in creating their own works and honing their entrepreneurship.



Figure 22 – A depiction of the blanket toss by Inuvialuk artist Sheree McLeod printed on a large satellite dish at the Inuvik Satellite Station Facility (ISSF). Photo from NRCAN.

ILH could partner with government organizations and even private businesses such as the North West Company (Northmart) to infuse public spaces like grocery stores with Inuvialuit art and language. In Iñuuvik where I currently live, there are only a few examples of art and Inuvialuktun in public spaces other than the well-known Iglu Church. Since my research in 2019, however, a few additions have been slowly added such as the Town of Iñuuvik's new tourism structures, Natural Resources Kanata's (NRCAN's) updated Inuvik Satellite Station Facility (see Figure 19), and Gwich'in and Inuvialuktun stop signs. Now, imagine being able to stroll down an aisle in the local grocery or department store to find local artwork and Inuvialuktun terms for various foods and everyday objects wherever you turned. Being able to live everyday life in public places filled with vibrant Inuvialuit *living art* and Inuvialuktun could facilitate ongoing engagement with Inuvialuit cultural heritage, foster storytelling, and hopefully bring a sense of pride and healing.

Last but not least, creating vibrant communities in the ISR comes hand-in-hand with infusing Inuvialuktun as much as *living art*. As Angelina Joe learned through her research at the ILH Culture Camp (Section 4.1.1), Parks Canada's official Inuvialuktun spelling for Sheep Creek—"Imniarvik"—is incorrect. The correct spelling in Uummarmiutun is Imnairvik, roughly meaning "place of sheep". Later, in 2021, *Tusaayaksat Magazine* and Parks Kanata (2021, 10-11) collaborated on a special edition of the magazine which reminded readers that "Tuktut Nogait" National Park is also spelt incorrectly in Sallirmiutun, and should be spelt "Tuktut Nurrait" (Sallirmiutun for "young caribous"). Not long after these conversations arose in public discourse, Inuvialuktun Language Keeper and ILH Team Member Beverly Siliuyaq Amos (personal communication, 2021) informed me that some street names and places in Iñuuvik are and have been spelt incorrectly for years, including:

- "Kingalok" Place should be "Qingalik" (king eider duck)
- "Kingmingya" Road should be "Kimmingnat" (cranberries)
- "Kugmallit" Road should be "Qangmalit" (Alaskan Iñupiat name for Inuvialuit)
- "Nanuk" Place should be "Nanuq" (singular polar bear)
- "Ookpik" Street should be "Ukpik" (singular snowy owl)

- "Tuma" Drive should be "Tama", or "Tamahangnauraq" (named after the late Amos Tama/Tamahangnauraq)
- "Tununuk" Drive should be "Tununiq" (Inuvialuktun for "back/behind you")
- "Igloo" Church should be "Iglu" (Inuvialuktun for "house" or "snowhouse")

One limitation in my research and thesis has been the lack of active engagement with Inuvialuktun with various Inuvialuit concepts, but it is my hope that future research projects can more consciously and fully highlight the language of Inuvialuktun and its three dialects of Kangiryuarmiutun, Sallirmiutun, and Uummarmiutun. Moving forward and leveraging its partnerships, ILH could play a role in "beautifying" and further Indigenizing communities and local places, as well as contribute to Truth and Reconciliation, by advocating for place name spelling corrections at municipal, territorial, and/or federal levels (the latter regarding names of and in National Parks). Infusing not just more *living art*, but more Inuvialuktun language, used correctly and appropriately, will contribute to creating even more beautiful, vibrant communities throughout the Inuvialuit Settlement Region—something ILH can do to ensure it leaves local places and settings a little better than they found it.

Chapter 6

6 « Conclusion »

"I think at the heart of it, Inuit art is about celebration, and it always has been—through song and dance, you're celebrating everything from the sun returning to a good hunt. Again, overcoming some kind of really rough struggle." —Tamara Voudrach, Inuvialuk filmmaker

This thesis has explored the concept of Inuvialuit *living art* from the perspectives of Inuvialuit themselves, and its many connections to the practice, sharing, and passing on of Inuvialuit culture and heritage between people. It has aimed to expand the ways in which archaeologists discuss and conceptualize human cultures and heritage in the past, present, and future by considering numerous aspects of *living art* such as storytelling, the agency of objects, connection with the landscape, social lives, bodily connections, and passing on culture to future generations. More importantly, Inuvialuit *living art* is also discussed through the lens of the heart (living heartwork) to gain insight into the nuanced emotional qualities and connections that pervade Inuvialuit culture, heritage, and worldviews.

Based on insights highlighted about Inuvialuit *living art*, this thesis has also explored a case study about the use of community-based and participatory action research in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region to outline the ways in which co-creative, artistic, and digital means of content creation can create new and different avenues to understanding, sharing, and talking about culture and heritage for both academic researchers and local research partners alike. It employed the use of Inuvialuit *living art* itself along with Inuvialuit research partners to create meaningful, visual, and creative products of *living art* with the goal of documenting, sharing, and celebrating Inuvialuit cultural heritage. The concept of *living art* is not a new phenomenon, nor one that is specific to only Inuvialuit culture and heritage, as it is demonstrated in many other Inuit projects such as Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautinik/Kitikmeot Heritage Society's qayaq building project. However, thinking with the conception of *living art* potentially adds extra layers of meaning as we think about the potential outcomes of those kinds of approaches in archaeological research. Ultimately, this case study demonstrated how further academic research in the region can be infused with Inuvialuit *living art* in collaborative ways in order to achieve greater and deeper understandings of Inuvialuit culture and heritage. It is my hope that other local projects can explore even more applications of it in future research.

By discussing archaeology through the lens of *living art*, this master's thesis has introduced a different way of understanding Inuvialuit culture and heritage as inherently intertwined with the practice of making art, and most importantly, *living art* in musical ways that are deeply attuned to surrounding places through the passage of time. It demonstrates that archaeological "artefacts" (as they are traditionally known by the academic community) should be seen as living objects with capacities for storytelling and continued relevance and agency in present culture and future lives. More importantly, archaeological landscapes should also be seen also as living intersections of space and time where aspects of past, present, and future human culture and heritage coexist harmoniously.

Lastly, this thesis has addressed the various tensions that I encountered over the course of my research, as well as actionable recommendations for improving the way future researchers and students in the context of the Inuvialuit Living History (ILH) Project can go about working with and for local Indigenous and Inuvialuit research partners. It is my hope that, by honestly dwelling in and reflecting upon the tensions of my research, I can build upon existing calls for a more caring and heart-centred archaeology. I do so by advocating for further engagement with musicality, human vocality, and song in doing research and working with and for Indigenous research partners and local communities who all deserve to have their voices heard—loud and clear.

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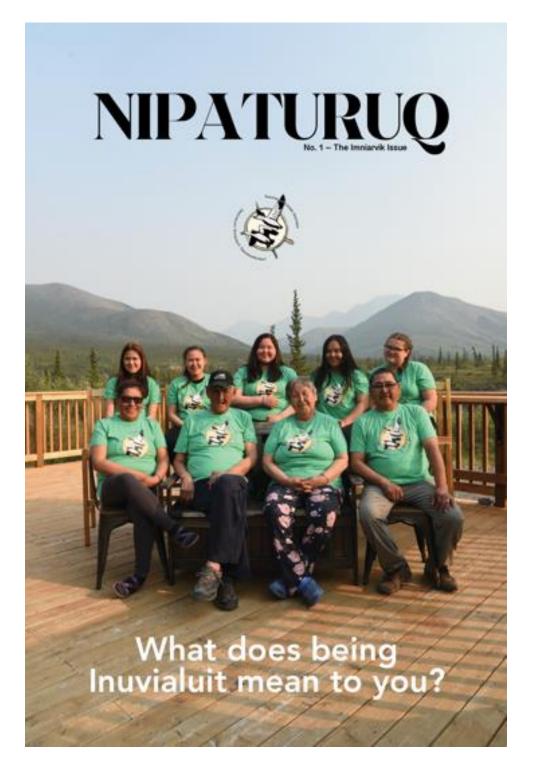
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Appendices



Appendix A – *Nipatur̂uq Magazine* – Imnairvik Issue, co-founded and co-edited by Cassidy Lennie-Ipana and Mataya Gillis, 2019.

WHAT IS NIPATURUQ?

Nipaturing means "having a loud voice" in Lummarmuitun. We named our publication this because it is a place where every inuvtaluit youth's opinions are heard, and where inuviatuit can express and share their culture. It is about both traditional and modern outhure. We are interested in how opinions and thoughts change and differ, amongst the voices of Elders and youth. We created

Nipaturing because we want people to be able to read this and learn from it. We want this publication to be useful for those who want to see how much our outhure means to us, the youth, and how beautiful it is. This first issue is about our trip to Ismirarvik (Sheep Creek) with the Inuvalue! Living History Project in July 2019. Nipaturing wants to make sure that every person's voice can be heard!



Angelina Joe

Our culture is getting stronger once we get to learn it. It's gonna be really hard to learn it but you'll still learn it and you'll keep it going. You'll get used to it. And you'll actually be alive. Being on the land, I feel free, and I feel like I'm at home. Learning from the Elders feels different because I'm learning the language more and I'm actually gonna speak it.

MEATING

4

"Being on the land, I feel free, and I feel like I'm at home."



Hayven & Starr Elanik



งหมายเง

2330-00-01

Being Inuvialuit to me means being connected with our family-mostly the Elders-because they have lived in that time. They have experiences and went through it. Learning from them is being Inuvialuit to me. I drum dance. I love to drum dance, so I'm connected to my culture through that. That's how I connect. I would probably define it as: we are from the North-so, we would say... viewe our own culture. It's beautiful and it's meaningful. Yeah, that's true.

Favourite Food? Starr: Dry Fish

Hayven: Muktuk

No. 1 - The Instarvik Issue 5

⁽Top Left) Angelina Joe poses at Inniarvili base camp. (Bottom Right) Angelin stands in front of the birthplace of her grandmother, which is Gilligtanuk, or Herschell Island.

Renie Arey

I think we should be very proud of who we are, 'cause our peoples back, way back then, they went through a lot...a lot. They even predicted that, you know, down the road, we're gorna live an easy life. We are gorna file on a light. We didn't know nothing about what's flipping on the light back then. Then there are different people saying. "some day you're gorna see a big big tin out in the ocean"--that's the companies coming.

Elijah Allen was told when he was young, "some day you will travel with big wheeks, big rubbers," he said. And one day he was driving around in Inuvik, then he thought of it, "this is what they meant

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that I'm gonna be...going around in the wheels." Things like that, they know – but they know how the road it's gonna be... They even used to tell us kids won't be like the way we are today. They gonna be...they wouldn't listen to their parents and things like that. It's not be parents' fault. It's the government that said "no more spanking... you can't do this," and that's what a lot of kids got spoiled from. And lot of them into their younger generation... they're so spoiled on income support. It's not so right to me in a way... in a way we were taught to go out there and get what we need ourselves, and work for it.

"We were taught to go out there and get what we need ourselves, and work for it."



(Left) Force Arey sits at her mother's childhood home in Naquilk Dhead Point). (Night) flemie Arey laughs with Mateys and Cassidy as she tells a story at Niaquilk Dhead Point).





To me, it's honestly having the respect for everyone—to be able to have good family connections and if not, fined connections. It's not really "structurally" like, you go out in the land you do all this stuff. Being Inuviabili is more than just that. It's being able to do sewing projects, or to learn the language or even just spending with Elders and just listening to all the stories, which I think is really important, and on the way to keep up the tradition, as most of our stories were bold orally. And we gotta keep it up too, so it doesn't die out. Being Inuviabilt, it not turning your back. It's everyone together. Even if you're not related, you're always told to share your stuff and just be kind overall. Being Inuviabilt means that we connect for a bigger purpos, so we're not just about our own selves but the whole community.

ABAUVAN

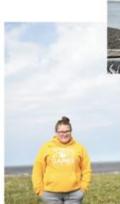
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everyone together. Even if you're not related, you're always told to share your stuff and just be kind overall. Being Inuvialuit means that we connect for a bigger purpose, so we're not just about our own selves but the whole community. Cassidy Lennie-Ipana

Left and Below) Cassidy Lennie-Ipana poses for the camera at Okigtaruk (also known as Herschef

Mataya Gillis

"Being Inuvialuit is like we're one giant team, and they've always got your back."



Dut Mataya Gille poess at Naspali (also knewn an Head Poind, I-bovel Mataya at Caleptank (also knewn as Herschel Island). To me, being Inuvialuit just means that L have a big support system. Having the Inuvialuit community is just super storong. It's like we're one glant team and they're always got your back and they're always pushing you to do better and supporting you no matter what. It just makes me feel. like a giant family. It's awsome. I just feel close to the land because I'm not on my phone, I'm not worried about what other people are doing. T'm just stitling there enjoying myself, and just thinking. Just being out there makes me feel happy and I feel to much

closer to my nanny.

No. 1 - The Instiarvik Issue 9

OBBUILDE

Walter Bennett

"I was not adopted, but I stayed with my grandparents, that's where I learned most of the land—where I learned my language."



E-eff) Watter Bennett rests against an old oalen at Nilagulö Gilto lenown as Head Point), (Fight) Watter getting ready to fab at Gilsigtaruk (also Herschel Island)



Well, I was glad I was born Inuvialuit. My mother was from Alaska, my dad was born in Yukon somewhere. My grandfather brought us from Alaska somewhere. Long ago, my grandfather had a schooner, and it can fit two to three families, as long as he had his schooner he took people out. To grab their winter provisions, we did hunting in summer to survive the winter. To help young people, they got to learn from the Elders, not like today, the culture disappeared. Nowadays it is going to be hard to go from school. I was 15 when I started working, these days you need Grade 12 to go work on the oil rigs, or anywhere. You got to have your ticket. "Show me your ticket." In my days you didn't have no ticket. This is August, the ice is close and that's why the wind is cold, their is is different. Caribou used to come right down; nowadays, you got to go way back in the mountains. I know a lot of my language, I can understand it. Young kids nowadays—their parents don't speak to them in their own language. I the want caribou or animals, they look after us, we got to

control them, make sure you don't kill them, you don't slaughter them, just like that, you get what's for your family and that's it. I was raised up as an Inuvialuit. I was not adopted, but I stayed with my grandparents, that's where I learned most of the land-where I learned my language. I lost that when I was in school. I was only 8 years old and I used to speak my own language, til they sent me to school. We couldn't speak in school, our own language. I lost it completely Once I lost it, I couldn't speak, but I could understand what they say. I only know a few words, like 'uvlaami'. I could understand and listen to them about the stories, [my grandfather] was a good story teller, those stories went out of my mind after school. My dad was a trapper all his life; my grandpa looked after his boat. My grandfather was the founder of that place [Paulatuk] old Bennett. The only reason they moved down east was there was a lot of foxes (Arctic fox). It's how they bought their schooners; a lot of people moved from the Delta, to Banks Island.

No. 1 - The Involatoria Issue 11

OTHER OF

"You have to respect the land and the animals. Down the road, your kids are gonna be growing up here."

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Arlene Kogiak

(Head Point), (Bette Left) Ariana smiles to the camera at

It's been 5 years since I started coming out [to Imniarvik]. For myself, I've learned lots of our background history and our ancestors. I didn't know much about them. I learned a lot about them. It doesn't matter how did you are. It's still really interesting and you learn a lot about where you come from and how to treat your land 'cause that's what provides for you. The only thing I can think of is...growing up I hear stories about when you're out in the land, you have to respect the land and the animals. Because down the road, your kids are gonna be growing up here. And I always heard that If you mistreat animals, it's gonna be harder for you to harver them. So, that's what I was taiking to my boys about. I hardly ever hunt, but just listening to the Elder's stories,you gotta respect the land and respect the hunting and dort' waste stuff.



Mervin Joe



(Top-Flight) Mervin Joe rests on a log at Giloptanik Orienschei Island). (Bottom Left) Mervin smilles for a picture in front of the harbour at Giloptanuk. In Alaska, they're Inupiat. My great grandparents —they came from Alaska. They're Inupiats. And then, even though my Dad was born this side here, we were called Eskimos before that. But it dosen't bother me, and it's not derogatory to me. Just living here all my years—inuvialuit is another meaning of who we are, and what we do. Places we go. Places we see, within our Inuvialuit Settlement Region.

OTH ITAN

"Inuvialuit is another meaning of who we are, and what we do."

No. 1 - The Instarvik Issue 13

ABALLARA

LETTERS FROM THE EDITORS:

Dear Reader,

Designing this magazine has been such a great experience. At first, I was a bit unsure about it, but going through and learning so much about my culture has been a great experience. I really hope you've enjoyed reading about everyone who went to the ILH Culture Camp. I loved learning about their families all week, and I wanted to make sure I was able to share it with everyone. I also want to make sure that people see how much our culture means to us, what it means to be Inuvialuit, and how powerful it is. I hope this helps you learn more about inuvialuit culture! (Yes, I am holding a jellyfish.)

Peacel

Makyabillo

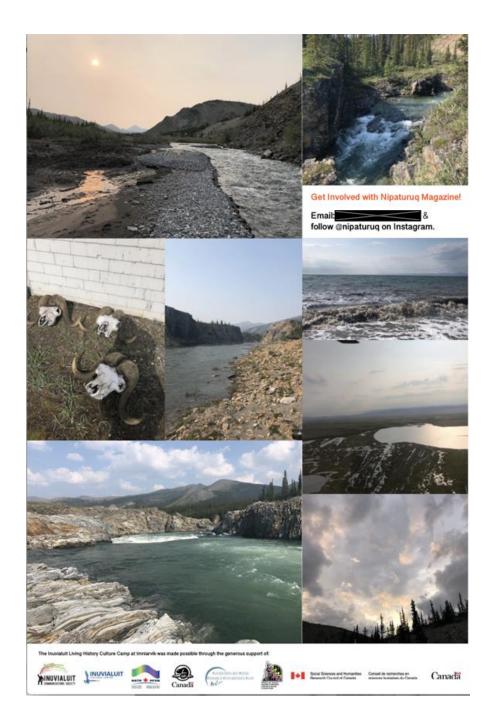
Mataya Gillis

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OBDUNES

Doing the interviews was intriguing, listening to everyone's different stories. From differing ages, asking the question "What does it mean to be Inuviabil?" and hearing the different answers everyone had. All linked into their own definitions. I loved being able to listen to them and relay it back to you in a magazine style. The magazine allowed bottography and interviews to be intertwined into something that allowed bottography and interviews to be intertwined into something that allowed bottography and interviews to be intertwined into something that allowed bottography and interviews on the wonderful Inuviabilit culture. Doing this project changed the way I thought about my culture and history in a way that allowed me to understand the diversity is which individuals connect to the culture. It can be serving, hunting, listening to the elders, drum dancing, or just going on the land. I am delighted in showing you the individuals who were apart of the Inuviabilit Living Histories project and their definitions of "being Inuviabilit", in the end, lenjoyed the process and I hope you enjoy the result even more.

Cashing Scriegtory Cassidy Lennie-Ipana





Date: 27 May 2019

To: Lisa Hodgetts

Project ID: 113624

Study Title: Co-creating Inuvialuit Living History Through Visual Documentary Production

Short Title: Co-creating a Visual Documentary about Inuvialuit History

Application Type: NMREB Initial Application

Review Type: Delegated

Full Board Reporting Date: 07/Jun/2019

Date Approval Issued: 27/May/2019 17:10

REB Approval Expiry Date: 27/May/2020

Dear Lisa Hodgetts

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the WREM application form for the above mentioned study, as of the date noted above. NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the expiry date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

This research study is to be conducted by the investigator noted above. All other required institutional approvals must also be obtained prior to the conduct of the study.

Documents Approved:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
Focus Group Guide_R2	Focus Group(s) Guide	24/May/2019	R2
Interview Guide_R2	Interview Guide	24/May/2019	R2
LOI_Documentary_Adult_R2 copy	Written Consent/Assent	24/May/2019	R2
LOI_Documentary_YouthParental_R2	Written Consent/Assent	24/May/2019	R2
LOI_Focus Groups_Adult_R2	Written Consent/Assent	24/May/2019	R2
LOI_Focus Groups_YouthParental_R2	Written Consent/Assent	24/May/2019	R2
LOI_Interviews_R2	Written Consent/Assent	24/May/2019	R2
Media Release_Adult_R2	Written Consent/Assent	24/May/2019	R2
Media Release_YouthParental_R2	Written Consent/Assent	24/May/2019	R2
Participant Recruitment Script_V2	Oral Script	28/Feb/2019	1
Recruitment Poster_R1	Recruitment Materials	09/May/2019	R1
Recruitment Poster_School_R1	Recruitment Materials	09/May/2019	R1
Visual:Auditory Stimuli	Other Data Collection Instruments		
Web Advertisement	Recruitment Materials		
Documents Acknowledged:			

 Document Name
 Document Type
 Document Date
 Document Version

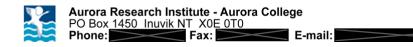
 ILH Charter Jan 2019
 Letter Document
 Letter Document
 Letter Document

No deviations from, or changes to the protocol should be initiated without prior written approval from the NMREB, except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazard(s) to study participants or when the change(s) involves only administrative or logistical aspects of the trial.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Page 1 of 2

Appendix B – Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board Approval



May 09, 2019

Notification of Research

I would like to inform you that Scientific Research Licence No. 16541 has been issued to:

Dr. Lisa Hodgetts Western University Social Science Centre 1151 Richmond Street London, ON N6G 2V4 Canada

to conduct the following study: Co-creating Inuvialuit Living History Through Visual Documentary Production (Application No. 4296)

Please contact the researcher if you would like more information.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

This licence has been issued for the scientific research application No.4296.

The Principle Investigator (PI) will work with Inuvialuit elders, knowledge holders and youth to develop a visual documentary project highlighting Inuvialuit perspectives on their history and heritage that blends photo, video, audio and graphic design. General research questions revolve around:

 How can archaeologists foster the transfer of knowledge about traditional Inuvialuit activities, tools and archaeological sites between generations, specifically using visual documentary production and past digital archival media?
 How can archaeologists involve Inuvialuit to document this knowledge visually and digitally in a manner that respects Inuvialuit cultural protocols?

3) How can archaeologists and research partners share this knowledge with Inuvialuit and the public at large through the ILH (Inuvialuit Living History) website (www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca) in a way that reflects and represents Inuvialuit ways of knowing and being?

The PI will conduct semi-structured interviews with Inuvialuit elders in Inuvik in June 2019, asking how they learned about their history and heritage, and what Inuvialuit youth should know about both. In July 2019, the team will participate in an ILH community camp in Ivvavik National Park along with ten Inuvialuit youth, four elders and two knowledge holders. Guided by the elders and knowledge holders, camp participants will engage in traditional activities including fishing, sewing and tool making, examine artefacts from past excavations and visit archaeological sites.

During the camp, elders and youth will utilize photovoice and participatory video which involve the self-production of photography and film, to document their questions (from youth) and knowledge, memories and stories (from elders and knowledge holders), along with all camp activities.

The PI will facilitate focus groups in the final days of the camp, where discussion of the best way to present these materials on the ILH website. The PI will employ a decolonized design anthropology methodology which uses culturallysensitive mock-ups and prototypes to involve camp participants in collaboratively designing the website experience. Following the camp, the PI will lead workshops in Inuvialuit Communications Society [(ICS) to teach audiovisual editing techniques to camp participants in order to co-create a final product(s) to post on the Inuvialuit Living History website (http://www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca).

The study is an aspect of the Social Sciences and Research Council of Canada funded "Co-creating Inuvialuit Digital

Page 1 of 3

Appendix C – Aurora Research Institute Research License

Curriculum Vitae

Name:	Jason Yuk-Fai Lau
Post-secondary Education and Degrees:	McMaster University Hamilton, Ontario, Canada 2013-2017, Combined Honours B.A.
	University of Leeds Leeds, England, United Kingdom 2016, Semester Abroad
	The University of Western Ontario London, Ontario, Canada 2018-2022, M.A.
Honours and Awards:	Province of Ontario Graduate Scholarship, Declined 2018-2019, 2019-2020
	Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Canada Graduate Scholarship – Master's Program 2018-2019
Related Work Experience	Undergraduate Teaching Assistant McMaster University 2015-2017
	Graduate Teaching Assistant The University of Western Ontario 2018-2019
	Editor, <i>Tusaayaksat Magazine</i> Inuvialuit Communications Society (ICS) Inuvik, Northwest Territories, Canada 2019-present

Publications:

Lau, J. Y. F. (2021). Making Depression Visible: A Decade of Self Portraits. *Visual Ethnography*, 10(1).

Lau, J., Carter, T., and Crewson, S. (2019). 'Presenting the Palaeolithic: Public engagement and the *Stelida Naxos Archaeological Project'*, *The Canadian Institute in Greece Bulletin* 43: 7-9.