

**Recharting the Courses of History:
Mapping Concepts of Community, Archaeology, and Inuit
Qaujimajatuqangit in the Canadian Territory of Nunavut**

by

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Abstract

This dissertation considers the contemporary place of history in the Canadian territory of Nunavut. The political evolution of Nunavut has led to a situation in which incoming archaeology projects must justify their research according to standards of benefit and relevance to Inuit people. Archaeology is desired to function within a framework of 'Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit'—more popularly known as IQ, or Inuit traditional knowledge—so as to foster the survival of Inuit culture and traditions in the modern world. As a result of this mandate, Arctic archaeology has been forced to re-position its research in relation to community engagement, social and political landscapes, and Inuit production of historical meaning.

Through a series of interviews and ethnographic case studies in the Nunavut municipality of Cambridge Bay, this research will ask how the application of a community-based approach can help archaeologists and Inuit create a hybridized, or 'parallel,' form of archaeological engagement that furthers community wellness and the creation of more nuanced history-based identities. I argue that by shifting the practice of archaeology into local frameworks of experience and learning, resulting research can create new archaeological awareness regarding the nature of Nunavummiut memory and community, while at the same time meeting territorial desires for historical investigation to be conducted in a manner both inspired by, and compatible with, concepts of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.

Acknowledgements

As will hopefully be evident throughout the following dissertation, the research and projects that form this work represent the cumulative effort of a community dedicated to ensuring that Inuit traditions and history remain strong in the North. These individuals are numerous, and my heartfelt thanks go out to those who donated their time, wisdom and passion to help shape this work. Of foremost note are the tireless contributions of Cambridge Bay's elders, a group that must be acknowledged as the true pillar of Arctic community and culture. I would especially like to thank Mary Avalak, Mabel Etegik, Mary Kilaodluk, Annie Atighioyak, Anna Nahagolak, Lena Kamoagyok, and Mary Kaniak for their unfailing patience in helping me gain insight into Inuit culture. It is rare that one finds oneself adopted by seven grandmothers, and it is an experience that I will always hold dear.

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Our forefathers have told us much of the coming of earth, and of men, and it was a long, long while ago. Those who lived before our day, they did not know how to store their words in little black marks, as you do; they could only tell stories. And they told of many things, and therefore we are not without knowledge of these things, which we have heard told many and many a time, since we were little children. Old women do not waste their words idly, and we believe what they say. Old age does not lie.

-Arnâluk explaining the nature of Inuit stories
to anthropologist Knud Rasmussen, 1903
(Rasmussen 1921:16)

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Preface: On the Use of Maps

As a young field assistant during summer archaeological excavations in the Canadian Arctic, I was often prone to restlessness. Under the strange, dusky light of the midnight sun, while the rest of the team lay asleep in their tents, I would sneak from the camp and head out into the tundra. Invariably, the camp's Inuit guide would accompany me on these forays, empathetic with my desire to prowl, and no doubt fully mistrusting my ability to navigate the area alone. We would range far throughout the night, beachcombing along the rocky coast and wandering random courses through monotonous interior landscapes. During these expeditions, my companion had a habit of voicing out loud the things that he was seeing—a particular stone, an upward sweep of land, a lake that was perfectly round—weaving an awareness of the landscape's presence into whatever conversation we might be having. So preoccupied with the overwhelming nature of our surroundings or discussion, I would scarcely register these more subtle details.

There was one occasion during my nightly forays when I found myself both unaccompanied and without any sense of where I actually was. It is an utterly terrifying feeling to be lost in open space. It is different than finding one's destination obscured, or having the horizon slip out of view. Loosing one's bearings without any form of obstacle is something akin to a horizontal vertigo, and was apparently an affliction common enough in the Arctic—particularly for kayakers out at sea—as to be given its own diagnosis of 'nangiarneq' (Taylor and Laughlin 1991). I don't quite recall how I managed to navigate my way back to the camp that evening, but I do remember that during every subsequent trip out onto the land I paid closer attention to the physical way-marks that were pointed out to me, assembling them in my mind into a coherent itinerary of the area. The development of such mental maps, I later found out, is a trusted strategy of Inuit

navigation. The vast expanses of the Arctic world are reduced to constellations of isolated features, each point known only in relation to another through a network of stories, names and courses traveled (Collignon 2006).

Such is the subtlety of Inuit teaching, that one often realizes that they have learned a lesson only when they are in need of applying it. In the fall of 2012, I had reached a stage of my research project during which I could finally begin to reflect on the accumulated mass of personal experiences, interview transcripts and academic readings that were to form the foundation of my thesis. Seated at a large table, faced with piles of field notes, dense literary tomes and project blueprints, I suddenly recognized the familiar panic of being entirely lost. Similar to my earlier experience on the tundra, this was a case where absolutely nothing was obstructing my vision: reams of articles allowed the earliest developments of Arctic history to be scrutinized; dense legal texts clarified the boundaries of modern northern communities; and hours of video and audio footage elaborated predictions and desires for future generations of Inuit. The problem with the task that lay before me was precisely the fact that it was limitless.

I will not pretend that there was an epiphanic moment when I chose to use maps as a means of navigating the expanse of information. It took place as a gradual process of connecting people, ideas and places on paper, tracing their ever-lengthening trajectories into a more coherent awareness of the social and research contexts I sought to describe. I am an extremely visual person, and the aesthetic of complex circumstances arranged into manageable patterns pleases me. Maps, I would soon discover, are not only a means for absorbing complicated stories and information, but also function as a vehicle for re-telling them. As a form of invested representation, they allow individuals, communities and cultures, a rare opportunity to inscribe and reflect upon their own values, beliefs and dilemmas. To delve into the intricate lines and contours of a map is

to reveal not only the topography that it sets out to describe, but also the reality through which it was conceived. Every point marked onto a map is a deliberate act. In the words of former National Archives of Canada map curator, Ed Dahl, “the richest appreciation one can have of a map is to know what prompted that conscious decision to put it there” (in Morantz 2002:xv).

The more I researched maps, the more I recognized their suitability for explaining various perceptions of Nunavut’s physical and temporal geographies. There exists a strong tradition of creative storytelling through northern maps (see for example Brody 1981; Freeman 1976; McGrath 1988; Rundstrom 1987; Spink and Moodie 1972). To flip through a compendium such as the *Historical Atlas of the Arctic* (Hayes 2003) is to literally ‘read between the lines,’ allowing one to trace an evolving visual narrative of discovery and cross-cultural negotiation depicted through expanding shorelines, changing place names, and diminishing patches of terra incognita. The narrative tendency of maps becomes equally apparent when one turns to cartographies of time rather than space. A significant portion of my research involved sorting through a chronology of field notes and archived reports from Arctic excavations. My initial goal was to review their level of interaction with Inuit ideas concerning the nature of history, as exemplified through recorded references to local stories, interpretations of artifacts, and understandings of traditional lifeways. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the reports were almost entirely devoid of such information; Inuit accounts, until recently, have been systematically excluded from the formal literature of the discipline. What struck me about these reports was their maps. Despite archaeological maps usually being considered as relatively benign and objective depictions, they can also be used to effectively illustrate underlying assumptions about the past and its relationship to more grand spatial and temporal schemes. I came to see the evolution of archaeological mapmaking as indicative of the discipline’s conscious struggle to understand the past within its own era’s shifting cultural, social and political contexts. Despite hailing from traditions that

prioritize oral narrative and more ephemeral forms of mapping, contemporary Inuit have gained a new reliance on graphic cartography to express the connections between the past and present realities of their world (Freeman 1976; McGrath 1988).

For four years, from 2008-2012, I worked with individuals in the Nunavut municipality of Cambridge Bay to consider new directions in archaeological and cultural representation. Physical maps never featured greatly as part of that process. In retrospect, however, I've come to recognize the entire program as one of cognitive cartography; of mental models regarding the nature and importance of history being articulated, compared, contrasted and refined. Occasionally these mapped ideas were manifested as graphic representations, but more often their patterns surfaced through the words, actions, and imaginations of their narrators. Put more eloquently by anthropologist Hugh Brody (1987:29), the people with whom I worked delineated their histories and identities through the delicate details engrained in everyday life: "the way the foot of a sealskin boot is patterned, the accent placed on a word, the open area preferred for summer camping." Such complexity, he insists (*ibid*), is "far more elaborate than scientists' maps can reveal."

To conclude, the maps presented throughout this dissertation must be simultaneously recognized as both literal and metaphorical landmarks for navigating the current context of history in the Canadian Arctic. While some of the maps, on first glance, may appear obscure and out of place, their relationship to my dissertation can be considered as analogous to archaeologist Colin Renfrew's use of contemporary art as a lens through which to understand the enduring dilemmas of history and the modern world. These visual explorations, he notes (2003:8):

offer a fundamental resource for anyone who wants to make some sort of sense of the world and of those very different worlds of communities in the past. It is not that this resource offers new answers, or that it will tell us directly how we should understand the world. On the contrary, it offers us new, often paradoxical experiences, which show us how we have misunderstood, or only imperfectly mastered, what we think we know.

It is my hope that these maps provide a new lens through which to think about both the realm of Arctic history and the motivations for the stories that we build to describe it.



Plate 1: *Septentrionalium Terrarum descriptio*. Gerardus Mercator, 1595.

My awareness of Arctic cartography dawned about ten years ago during a brief and formative first encounter with northern geography. It transpired, oddly enough, at a barbeque in the American Midwest. The evenings' hosts—a pair of exceptionally talented tattoo artists—had assembled the party's guest-list from an assortment of past clientele. The event was rich in ornately illustrated limbs, but one particular tattoo became engrained in my mind. Along the entire length of one woman's upper leg stretched a map of the Arctic passage, painstakingly reproduced from the Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator's 1595 *Septentrionalium Terrarum descriptio*. The depiction of a vast, ice-free corridor, I was told by the woman, was a testament to both the unbridled optimism of desire and the crushing realities that often accompany its pursuit. "You have no

idea how many people froze to death seeking out this dream,” she said. Sufficiently intrigued by the image, I delved further into its origins. The map was a minor adaption of an earlier prototype from 1569, and represents the first printed chart to be solely dedicated to the Arctic. As the opening image of Gerardus Mercator’s *Atlas sive cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricatti figura* (“Atlas or Cosmographic Meditations on The Fabric of the World and The Figure of the Fabrick’d”), the map introduced the reader to a world founded on the primacy of the Arctic pole, whose depicted circularity and symmetry of islands “stared from the proof like an eye” (Crane 2002:277). Most impressive about the map was not its ornately decorative flourishes, nor its fantastical assortment of inaccuracies—misplaced polar islands, descriptions of pygmy inhabitants, and a northern pole marked by a towering rock, 33 leagues in circumference—but rather, it was the intricate story behind its creation. In developing this first public glimpse of the Arctic, a world up until that point European explorers had only seen in periphery, Mercator brought together the cumulative knowledge and aspirations of the western world into a simplified array of lines and color. Woven into the rudimentary chart were the distant whispers of the *Inventio Fortunatae* (a long-lost travel narrative by medieval, seafaring friars), the laborious struggles of contemporary explorers, and the common desire of European empires for a traversable route to the riches of Cathay. Like the mappi mundi of the medieval era, the final product of Mercator’s map painted a more accurate vision of his own society’s psyche, than of the geographic region it originally set out to illustrate. According to Mercator authority Nicholas Crane, the image “bore a curious resemblance to the future ‘Eden,’ the paradise promised to the righteous after death; the ‘third heaven’ of St. Paul. Just as the mind confirmed that Mercator’s world map was a work of mathematical wonder, the heart urged the [Arctic] to be the place which knew no earthly troubles” (2002:211).

Throughout the course of my career in Arctic archaeology, I have often returned to Mercator's map. At times, it seems the perfect analogy for my profession's fundamental charge: the pursuit to map out a distant land of which little is currently—and arguably, ever will be—charted with any degree of certainty. Like Mercator, archaeologists are cartographers of a distant place where only the imagination can venture. They piece together images combined from tangible relics and tales judged to be sound. Each map lends its own perspective on the world. Yet, as Geoff King (1996:18) points out, there is no such thing as a purely objective map, only ones that reproduce “a pre-existing reality:”

Choices always have to be made about what to represent and how, and what to leave out. It is here that cartographic meaning is created. To be included on the map is to be granted the status of reality or importance. To be left off is to be denied.

The mapping of history is ultimately tempered by what the heart secretly thrills to discover, and what the storyteller in all of us desperately wants to retell.

Introduction

There was an era in colonial history when the north was explored physically –and the explorers who succeeded were open to learning the Inuit way of doing things. Now, we are embarking on a new kind of exploration, one that entails an equal partnership with Inuit. Together, we are now exploring a new way of being, one that is enriched by Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.

- Janet McGrath (2003:9)

The Arctic, as a place, a concept, a cultural and political landscape, has fascinated the western mind with its ability to continuously defy the constraints of representation. As author Peter Davidson astutely notes, “the North can be articulated...but it is, and will always be, larger than any attempt to bring it under control” (2005:197). Nowhere has this phenomenon been more evident than in the realm of cartography. As early as the third century B.C., Greek explorers struggled to delineate the landmass they called Ultima Thule, which hovered shapeless and obscure on the periphery of their fantastic maps. Nearly two millennia later, European colonists continued to grapple with an equally unstable landscape; time and time again setting optimistic courses to Cathay, only to find the wide, ice-free corridors depicted in their nautical charts replaced by a considerably more grim topography. Even beneath the modern era’s ever-watchful eye of satellite surveillance, the patterns of Arctic maps continue to shift with national flags and territorial boundaries.

In the ceaseless battle to align the Arctic’s geography with contemporary rationality, it is often assumed that archaeologists—as purveyors of history and narrators of things irrevocably past—are relatively immune to the mutability of maps. It is taken for granted that their profession deals exclusively with the temporal and physical mapping of materials that, whether dead or entirely inanimate to begin with, have long since ceased to move. Since the 1970’s, however, an emerging Inuit narrative regarding the nature and trajectory of

Arctic heritage has begun to re-guide the hand of archaeological mapmakers. This narrative—a tally, in fact, of multiple political, cultural, social and historical voices—has pitched the discipline into a new dialogue regarding how history is built and how it continues to impact the contemporary world. Archaeologists have, so to speak, begun to feel the historical landscape of the Canadian Arctic shift beneath their feet.

A New Path to History

In the late 1990's, a reoccurring image of 'crossroads' crept into the literature of North American archaeology. The concept loomed large in the imagination of archaeologists as an analogy for new disciplinary trajectories wrought by post-modern thought (Trigger 2003) and archaeology's increasing involvement of groups outside the academic sphere (Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Fitzhugh and Loring 2002:5; see also Lyons 2007:109-10). Implicit in the image is the recognition of multiple, diverging pathways for understanding both the past and its meaning within the contemporary world. Equally implicit, is the notion of intersection. At some point, the metaphor insists, the various paths for understanding the past collide in a critical moment of merger.

The current state of archaeology in Canada's Arctic territory of Nunavut might very well be described as being positioned at this crossroads junction. Being brought together are two very different trajectories for understanding the nature and meaning of history. On one hand is archaeology, a profession dedicated to building knowledge of the past through scientific analysis and interpretation of material remains. On the other hand, is Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, a movement in Nunavut dedicated to preserving contemporary Inuit culture and identity by envisioning the past through a framework of heritage, memory and

contemporary social relevance.^{1,2} While often defined through a convenient dichotomy of western science and traditional knowledge, these respective paths imply neither a simple nor uniform way of looking at the world. On closer inspection, these two seemingly contained categories fracture into a multitude of dissonant voices, overlaps and inherent contradictions.

One of the only certainties to underlie the juncture of archaeology and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is the sense that their reconciliation is both desired and inevitable. A new generation of archaeological practitioners has struggled to disassociate their work from controversial conventions of their profession (Fitzhugh and Loring 2002; Loring 2008; Lyons 2007; Lyons et al. 2010), just as a generation of emerging Inuit politics has made it clear that such conventions will no longer be permitted. As William Fitzhugh and Stephen Loring note (2002:5), the discipline of Arctic archaeology is poised at a paramount threshold to a foreign new world of engagement:

Whether we like it or not, the old scientific values that motivated the expansion of archaeological research—scholarship, knowledge, excitement of exploration and discovery— are rapidly being replaced by a new politics and a new science in which social relevance and local

¹ Inuit (sing. inuk) is an Inuktitut term, translatable as ‘the people.’ It is commonly used to refer to indigenous Arctic populations ranging from Alaska to Greenland. The Inuktitut term was popularly adopted to replace the word ‘Eskimo’ (said to stem from the Cree word ‘askipiw,’ meaning ‘eats something raw’) whose usage is often perceived as being derogatory. Despite the term Inuit being adopted as the official designation for all circumpolar indigenous people at the 1977 Inuit Circumpolar Conference, most groups continue to rely on more regionalized and local ethnonyms for self-definition. The use of the term Inuit, unless specifically outlined as otherwise, will be in reference of indigenous inhabitants of the central and eastern Canadian Arctic.

² A brief note will also be made here on the chosen spelling of Inuktitut words. Due to this dissertation being situated in a Nunavut community dominated by Inuinnaqtun speakers, I have attempted to use only words and spellings from that dialect. Unlike Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun has no syllabic form of script. While Inuinnaqtun shares words and grammatical structure with Inuktitut, it uses the letter ‘h’ rather than ‘s’ and has many variations in spelling and pronunciation. Inuktitut words included in direct citations throughout this dissertation have not been altered. It should also be noted that both the terms ‘Inuktitut’ and ‘Inuinnaqtun’ translate directly as “in the manner of people” and can be used both in reference to language and a manner of doing or thinking about the world.

interest and authority are increasingly central issues of archaeological concern.

From the vantage point of this intersection between academic, public and political interest, one might optimistically expect a single, newly-defined disciplinary trajectory to stretch off into the future. It is at this point, however, that the visual simplicity of the crossroad metaphor begins to break down.

“Why archaeology?”

In 1989, archaeologist Christopher Tilley famously challenged his discipline with this query. “What is its purpose?” he asked (1989:105). “Is archaeology relevant or irrelevant to the world? Is doing archaeology like playing the fiddle while Rome burns? In short, why archaeology?” Despite being over twenty years old, this question remains significant for the contemporary field of Arctic archaeology. The discipline’s search for a new trajectory of practice has necessitated a return to critical questions regarding archaeology’s role in both the mapping of history, and engagement with the modern world. The progress of Arctic archaeology, note William Fitzhugh and Stephen Loring (2002:2), hinges on a reconsideration of fundamental assumptions about its place in the North: “Who does archaeology? And for what ends? What are its political applications and ramifications? What are the social obligations of research? How can results and benefits be spread equally among various interest groups?”

Such questioning of archaeology’s meaning and future in the Arctic stems not only from the archaeological community, but also from the people of Nunavut. The finalization of extensive Inuit land claims known as the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA 1993) gave rise to an upsurge of local awareness—and perhaps, more importantly, local control—concerning the Inuit past. The NLCA is the largest native land claim to be settled in the nation’s history and allocated

over 350,000 square kilometres of land formerly belonging to the Northwest Territories to the Inuit people. The NCLA provided the basis for the creation of Nunavut, Canada's newest territory, in 1999. Nunavut, which translates as "Our Land" in the Inuktitut language, became a radical experiment in indigenous self-government; a semi-autonomous Inuit homeland to be governed by unique policies designed to ensure the representation of Inuit people and the continuation of the group's cultural, historical and social well-being.

The formulation of Inuit-centered policies in Nunavut has resulted in ideas of 'tradition' and 'history' becoming topics of conscious negotiation. In 1998, the concept of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (or IQ)³ was drafted during debates concerning the integration of traditional Inuit values and knowledge into Nunavut's political structure. The term sought to expose what was deemed to be a foundational Inuit epistemology that holistically combined "Inuit knowledge, social and cultural values, practices, beliefs, language and world view" (Working Group on Traditional Knowledge 1998:5). As explained by Nunavut MLA, Paul Okalik (2001 in Alia 2007:31), IQ became the new definition of what it means to be traditionally Inuit in the modern world:

In Nunavut, we call our culture Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit...IQ refers to a way of viewing the world and the values that go along with living a proper life. It is an approach that defines Inuit. It involves many aspects, including strong values related to social harmony, mutual sharing and assistance, and honesty.

Within the territory of Nunavut, IQ has become a conceptual tool dedicated to safeguarding the existence of Inuit culture through remembering and honouring past ways of life (Stevenson 2006b). Despite consensus being divided on what

³ Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is typically referred to as 'IQ' in Nunavut. Beyond the convenience of being an acronym, the choice of terms plays on the idea of Intelligence Quotient and is seen to reflect a particular knowledge inherent to the Inuit. A play on words much cited in Nunavut references the fact that IQ is something 'qallunaat' (Inuktitut for 'white people') do not possess.

exactly IQ is, and how it represents the knowledge and experiences of Arctic people, the concept has become a symbolic cornerstone of Nunavut's independence. While the incorporation of IQ's desired values into the Government of Nunavut's political and organizational frameworks has been a constant challenge, the promulgation of a traditional Inuit identity, as informed by a distinctly Inuit history, has become an overarching goal for the working order of the territory (Nunavut 1999; IQ Task Force 2002; Tester and Irniq 2008). The implementation of IQ has accordingly been considered in the restructuring of the territory's education models, wildlife and environment management practices, judicial system, as well as social and physical health care strategies. Rarely in this process, however, has the concept of IQ been critically evaluated in terms of its own sources for representing Inuit tradition, history, and community.

In the quest to build an Inuit future from the values and knowledge of an Inuit past, the practice of archaeology is still very much recognized by Nunavummiut⁴ as an important vehicle for understanding the territory's history. Like all other disciplines in Nunavut, however, it has been charged with the task of pursuing its practice within a framework that acknowledges IQ by privileging an Inuit past as conceived through the knowledge and experience of Inuit people. In other words, archaeology is desired to become 'inuktitut' (cf. McGrath 2012); something conceived of, and executed, in an authentic Inuit fashion. This requires that archaeology also becomes 'useable' to Inuit people through processes acceptable to local understandings of knowledge production.

As part of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, a special administrative branch known as the Inuit Heritage Trust was formed to oversee this transition. Mandatory components of community engagement—including employment,

⁴ Nunavummiut (Nunavummiuq sing.) is an Inuktitut term referencing the people of Nunavut. While the word is used in general reference to all Nunavut residents, it often implies Inuit descent.

education, exhibition, and historic interpretation—were created for incoming archaeology projects. The territory's archaeological materials were outlined to be understood as “a record of Inuit use and occupancy of lands and resources through time,” (NLCA 1993:33.2.1) and, as such, the involvement of Inuit in their identification, protection and conservation, is both “desirable and necessary” (ibid:33.2.2). Before being granted permission for any form of archaeological project in Nunavut, archaeologists have to convince both the Inuit Heritage Trust and affected community councils of their explicit effort to involve and benefit local populations. The implementation of these regulations in the early 1990s initially came as a surprise to many archaeologists (Helmer and LeMoine 2002), and their reactions to this shift of power and protocol were—and continue to be—quite mixed. Many practitioners are thrilled with the increased opportunity to collaborate with northern propel. But there is also a sense that the mandate for partnership adds a certain pressure, not only on inadequate research budgets and time frames, but also on the very definition of archaeology as the pursuit of scientific, rather than social and cultural, truths. With archaeological research in Nunavut no longer deemed justifiable through conventional academic standards of knowledge acquisition about the past, professionals have, once again, been forced to ask themselves that same old question: “why archaeology?”

Is archaeology a relevant discipline to Inuit people, and, if not, can it become one? It was this fundamental dilemma that originally gave rise to my doctoral research. When I began my dissertation in 2006, there remained an essential contradiction in the discipline of Arctic archaeology: despite becoming outwardly reliant on terms of ‘collaboration’, ‘consultation’ and ‘common ground,’ its more tacit relationship to issues of Inuit identity and interest remained unresolved. While practitioners were taking the required steps to employ and communicate with Nunavummiut, there was little evidence that the archaeological process was responding to local desires for engagement with history to be a reflection of Inuit ‘tradition.’ It should be stressed that this

incompatibility was not the product of deeply harboured animosities or historically 'resistant relationships' (cf. Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008:10; see also Chirikure and Pwiti 2008) that continue to burden archaeological projects in many indigenous contexts. Rather, the root of the problem remains attributable to the gulf of misunderstanding that currently separates archaeologists and Nunavummiut. As numerous Inuit and non-Inuit scholars have attested, this mutual disengagement manifests at various levels, from the most fundamental epistemologies of knowledge and history (Bielawski 1989, 1992, 1996; Lyons 2007; McGrath 2012) to more intimate and subtle details of cultural and social awareness (Akulukjuk 2004; Anawak 1989; Hadlari and Hadlari 1997; Rowley 2002, McGrath 2003; Weetaluktuk 1979, 1980, 1981). This results in gaps of interest and relevance that continue to be a source of confusion for many archaeologists.

Specific protocols and programs have been created to improve local participation in archaeology at both the territorial and community level. Archaeologists report on the high levels of curiosity Inuit demonstrate towards the process and findings of archaeological excavation. Project creation stresses the hiring of Inuit students as fieldworkers, and the circulation of plain language reports among local populations is an increasingly practiced act. Despite these measures, however, community interest in archaeological programs is rarely sustained, and archaeologists still struggle with the feeling that they are not meeting required mandates of relevance and benefit, and that fundamental messages regarding the nature and importance of the past are somehow being lost in translation (Fitzhugh and Loring 2002:8).

This sense of forced reconciliation remains a central problem for the practice of archaeology in Nunavut. While there is a genuine desire for archaeology to become a more inclusive and IQ-situated practice, there are few conceptual or practical tools within the discipline to understand and accommodate the intricate

relationships that Inuit people have with notions of history and tradition. Despite stemming from North American traditions of a 'four-field' approach, archaeology in Nunavut remains relatively uninfluenced by anthropological perspectives and practices. While there is acknowledgment that archaeology *must* make itself relevant within a contemporary social setting, there remains little to no awareness of how the past is already being actively engaged and used outside the discipline's boundaries. The problem boils down to an articulate observation made by Daniel Miller (1980:710):

There is nothing in most traditional societies that in any way parallels [archaeology]...its methodology, paradigms and context are all unprecedented...in order to become meaningful [archaeology] must become an integral part of the developing system...and cross the boundary to become identified with many important aspects of traditional life and outlook.

The solution to this problem, as Miller suggests, lies in the creation of more mutually intelligible frameworks for understanding the context and results of historical investigation. Put more simply by Sue Rowley (2002:270), a "dramatic change" is required in the way that archaeologists work with northern communities, "to formulate innovative research programs and gain a richer understanding of Inuit history."

The Potential of Community Archaeology

One of the most promising contemporary approaches to building cross-cultural programs for historical research is that of 'community archaeology.' As part of a worldwide reaction to the lack of indigenous and non-academic participation in the investigation and interpretation of the past, the community approach seeks to transform archaeology into a pursuit that is more socially and culturally applicable to various interest groups. The distinguishing feature of the community approach is said to lie in the nature of relationships established

between archaeologists and communities (Marshall 2008). Such relationships entail a levelling of archaeology's traditionally privileged position of knowledge building and interpretation in favour of shared reconsiderations of when, how, and even if, archaeology should occur. As part of this process, there is a uniform emphasis on the transfer of control over archaeological projects to communities likely to be affected by their findings. As advocates of the approach have noted, it is "no longer acceptable for archaeologists to reap the material and intellectual benefits of another society's heritage without the society being involved and able to benefit equally from the endeavour" (Moser et al. 2002:221). By creating more equal relations of power in regards to not only material ownership of the past, but also the archaeological process as a whole, it is anticipated that more dynamic, useable and multi-vocal histories will be created.

In recent years, the field of community archaeology has struggled to define a unique methodology, code of conduct and system of values to encapsulate the singularity of its approach. Many researchers have ultimately stressed the need for community archaeologists to abandon the creation of protocol and pay closer attention to the community contexts in which they work (Moshenska 2008; Reid 2008). This is accomplished by shifting the focus of archaeological practice away from more 'normative' engagements—namely, the excavation, conservation, and management of material remains—towards an in-depth investigation of psychological, political and narrative connections to both heritage and the past (Simpson 2008; Moshenska and Dhanjal 2011). The strength of the community approach in this regard lies in its potential for creating practice capable of accommodating and addressing issues of contemporary identity and relevance. "True community archaeology," suggests Pat Reid (2008:21) must be conceived as "a living process, embedded in a local community," always changing to meet new expectations and challenges.

In many ways, community archaeology seems a natural solution to addressing current archaeological requirements of participation, benefit and cultural awareness in Nunavut. In line with Nunavut's requests for increased collaboration and public outreach, community archaeology is an approach that emphasizes the creation of meaningful, sustainable, and locally-managed projects, designed to engage social and cultural issues beyond the traditional scope of academic research. The approach also gains relevance due to Nunavut's current emphasis on the strengthening of community identity, conceived in regards to both a circumpolar Inuit community (Simon 1996; ITK 2012) and the Nunavut territory's 28 municipalities—referred to locally as 'communities.' Lastly, community archaeology's emphasis on multi-vocal interpretation suggests a method to address the reality that 'community' in Nunavut has become increasingly diverse, with rapidly shifting political, cultural and generational dimensions.

Despite its outward suitability, community archaeology has remained relatively un-embraced as an approach to archaeological work in Nunavut. This is likely attributable to the fact that, despite theoretical ideals of seamless collaboration, the underlying practice of community archaeology is often all too complex and frustrating. The results of community-oriented projects take excessive amounts of time to produce, with educational and civic success usually manifesting only as a result of sustained, long-term interaction (Miller and Henderson 2010). Equally frustrating to practitioners, is the lack of instances in which a community framework actually elicits public participation in the formation of new research questions and project directions (Damm 2005:80; Hollowell and Nicholas 2009; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). The susceptibility of such projects to both political and economic manipulation by non-archaeological participants has also been cited as a potential pitfall of community-based work (Crosby 2002). In short, the approach launches archaeologists into a foreign and frighteningly human realm, divorced from the objectives and expectations to which they are accustomed.

Creating an IQ-Situated Framework For Archaeology in Nunavut

During his tragically brief career as a spokesperson for Inuit culture and archaeological advocacy, Nunavik resident Daniel Weetaluktuk was adamant about the creation of a “parallel research design” for archaeology that would allow Inuit people to reorient the profession towards their own cultural interests and concerns (1979, 1981; see also Anawak 1989).⁵ He envisioned a disciplinary shift that would allow Inuit people to both engage and understand archaeology in a manner better suited to their own cultural and social frameworks for learning. Such a framework, noted Weetaluktuk, would allow archaeologists to recognize and appreciate the multiplicity inherent in Inuit identity and histories, as well as understand the present-day contexts that underlie their creation. Sadly, Weetaluktuk’s vision has never been fully realized.

The primary goal of this paper is to revive the call for parallel research design in archaeology and consider how the approach of community archaeology can be used to accommodate the historical, political, and socio-cultural context of IQ in Nunavut. To date, the region has seen only limited engagement through explicit applications of collaborative and community archaeology (IHT 2004; IHT and NDE 2005; Friesen 2002; Lyons 2007; Lyons et al. 2010; Rowley 2002; Stenton and Rigby 1995), all of which have employed different methodological approaches and research agendas. Many of these efforts are exemplary of the conscious struggle to balance the voice, rigour, and interpretive results of scientifically-oriented archaeologists with those held by local Inuit. While the shared control of projects remains a foremost goal for community archaeology, the underlying reality is that project methodologies and agendas continue to be conceived

⁵ Daniel Weetaluktuk was the first Canadian Inuk to embrace academic archaeology as a profession. While focused on understanding the culture history of Nunavik through traditional archaeological methods, he was also an avid activist for ‘Inuit archaeology’ and the development of more appropriate cross-cultural research practices throughout the North. Weetaluktuk was killed in a plane accident at Nastapoka River in 1982, at the young age of 32.

according to academic interests and requirements (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). Put bluntly by Peter Nabokov (2002:239), researchers of history remain reticent to place the reins of their discipline squarely into the hands of indigenous people, for fear of losing epistemological control:

We feel freer to question whether we should even be speaking of indigenous senses of the past as alternative histories or alternatives *to* history. Instead of cramming them into familiar paradigms, might we not temper the hegemony of Western historiography by interpreting it *into them* every now and then?

This statement gives rise to a series of interesting questions regarding what an IQ situated archaeology project might actually look like in terms of practical execution, historical framework and targeted results: Would such a project be more effective in producing desired outcomes of benefit and relevance? What form or forms of history would be communicated through its structure? How would the project's process and results integrate with the ideals and expectations held by the professional discipline of archaeology? Perhaps most importantly, we are faced with the difficult question of whether the practice of archaeology can be sufficiently separated from the underlying structure of the discipline to accommodate a guiding framework of 'Inuit tradition' that is itself so abstract an idea.

The conscious engagement of community archaeology in Nunavut also requires a re-questioning of basic situational givens concerning the people and knowledge of the Arctic: Should understandings of Inuit community prioritize politics, culture, ancestry, or geographical location? What is the role of history in defining populations living distinctly 'contemporary' lives? Who has the right to outline the terms through which a collective Inuit identity is defined? Community archaeology in Nunavut requires asking difficult questions about what it means to share control and engineer social change by Nunavummiut and

archaeologists alike. The act of building both histories and contemporary identities must be recognized as a genuine struggle over power in the form of the right to develop and reproduce particular narratives about the past, the present, and the relationships that draw them together.

The intent of this dissertation is not to advocate community archaeology as an end-all solution to the difficulties currently being experienced in the realm of Arctic archaeology. Nor will this dissertation attempt to outline community archaeology as a specific methodology for engaging all future research in the Canadian Arctic. In my original thesis proposal, I laid out the optimistic goal of providing “a model for community archaeology in the Canadian Arctic that achieves the balance of fully addressing the concerns and beliefs of local communities while emphasizing the academic potential of community participation in the process of archaeological interpretation.” I have since come to realize such a goal as being not only elusive, but also illusive. Rather than defining an explicit model of practice to comfortably wed essentialized notions of archaeological science and Inuit community, this research will instead engage a careful juxtaposition of three ideas: archaeology, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, and community. Through recourse to ethnographic case studies, this dissertation will map the spaces that exist around and between these concepts, charting the areas in which overlap, dissimilarity and discord occur. To frame their inter-relation in direct words is to create an unwieldy research question: How can an abstract and contemporary notion of tradition (IQ) inform a practice of engagement with history (archaeology) with the goal of benefiting a diversely conceived sense of Inuit collectivity (community)? This dissertation will therefore attempt to speak more broadly to the situation, demonstrating how various understandings of traditional Inuit knowledge and worldview can inform an approach of community archaeology capable of speaking to both history and the present, and how this hybrid practice can, in turn, deepen local senses of community, memory, narrative and experience. Ultimately, I argue, this helps both

archaeologists and Nunavummiut to form to a more profound picture of what is both socially desired and required to realize the implementation of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.

Dissertation Overview

The strength of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, notes Frank Tester and Peter Irniq (2008), lies in its ability to look at the world through a lens of seamlessness, or ‘avaluqanngittuq’ – ‘that which has no circle or boundaries around it.’ “Something that is seamless,” they write (ibid:49), “has no discernable parts...everything is related to everything else in such a way that—counter to Western logic—nothing can stand alone, even in appreciation of gaining an appreciation of the whole.” This dissertation envisions community archaeology as an equally ‘seamless’ concept. Like IQ, community archaeology is a ‘living technology’ (cf. Arnakak 2000), constantly shifting its form and focus to respond to new situations (Marshall 2008). As will be highlighted throughout this dissertation, attempts to fix either of these two concepts into formula, policy or place, ultimately leads to a diminishing of their creative potential.

I have tried to approach the writing of this dissertation with a sense of holism that echoes the amorphous nature of the subjects being discussed. This includes an attempt to situate my research at both the ‘micro’ and ‘macro’ level in Nunavut, simultaneously acknowledging local traditions of learning and behavior as well as broader cultural, political and ideological forces. I have done my best to map these complicated networks of action and belief through both graphic representation and a heavy reliance on analogy. My use of both these formats will likely offend academic sensibilities in their eschewal of literal interpretation. As will be re-iterated throughout this dissertation, however, qualities of pragmatism, individuality and subtlety are highly esteemed in Inuit

society; to question a person or issue directly implies an oppressively intellectual ('ihumaquqtuuq') desire to extract a single, right answer that often does not exist.

Research for this dissertation took place through two parallel programs. The first consisted of an extensive set of interviews dealing with the relationship between the discipline of archaeology, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, and ideas of social benefit and relevance in Nunavut. These interviews, conducted between 2008 and 2012, targeted a wide variety of voices on these issues, ranging from southern archaeologists and Nunavut heritage organizations, to various Nunavut community members, elders and practical workshop participants. All interviews took place in a face to face context. No formal roster of questions was used, and interviewees were encouraged to free-associate ideas relating to the historical subjects at hand. The results are indicative not only of the ways in which individuals conceive of, and relate to, history according to their own experience, but also of the discrepancies that underlie what are typically assumed to be coherent categories of community (archaeological, Inuit, elders or otherwise).

The second component of the research program consists of numerous case studies designed to better understand how individuals in one Nunavut municipality relate to history and archaeology, and find uses for them in their own lives. Over the course of four years (2008-2012), I spent a total of 26 months in Cambridge Bay, Nunavut. Throughout this time, I worked with the Kitikmeot Heritage Society—a local, elder-directed heritage organization—to create experiential contexts in which local people could access and contribute to ideas surrounding tradition and history. The overall goal of this endeavour was to create a forum through which community archaeology could be framed and assessed as a culturally and socially 'situated' approach, and to examine what new directions in archaeology this might engender. The case studies were developed as an extension of a long-term collaborative project between the Kitikmeot Heritage Society and University of Toronto archaeologist, Max

Friesen. From 1999-2010, the Iqaluktuuq Program brought local elders and academic archaeologists together to share knowledge about history and build new interpretations regarding the recent and ancient past of the area (Friesen 2002; Friesen and Keith 2006, KHS 2012; Stoughton 2006). This project has been developed primarily around a research model involving site-based oral history and excavation tours as a means of producing more productive and detailed histories than would be otherwise capable within a purely archaeological context (Friesen 2002; see also chapter 8). While the Iqaluktuuq Project has undeniably influenced interpretations of the past, there remained a tantalizing possibility to more profoundly embrace contemporary forms of historical consciousness, and gain insight into the present-day lives, interests, and knowledge. My engagement of community archaeology therefore re-aligned the project's work towards a framework of 'ethnographic archaeology,' which highlights the gathering of knowledge from the present in order to produce knowledge about the present, rather than to generate understandings about the past (Castañeda and Matthews 2008).

Over the months and years during which my ethnographic fieldwork took place, boundaries between scholastic knowledge, learned experience, the researcher and the researched, began to collapse. The land camps, workshops and exhibits to arise from this interaction, as described later in the dissertation, were multiple and incredibly diverse. For many archaeologists, I imagine, they will be largely unrecognizable as a product of archaeology. It is important to point out that this project was never conceived with the traditional academic goal of producing specific, tangible results for analysis. Rather, this fieldwork was designed to give voice to the 'unfamiliar' by providing a forum for less heard stories describing how history resonates in the lives of Inuit people. In doing so, the programs shed light on the contingent and fluid nature of 'Inuit community,' reinterpreting it as something created *through* the act of engaging the past, rather than an existing foundation upon which research can be built.

Dissertation Layout

While primarily a case study exploring the contemporary practice of community archaeology in Nunavut, this dissertation also acknowledges a more extensive history of engagement between archaeologists, Inuit, and their respective notions of 'tradition' and 'the past.' The first half of the dissertation examines various historical, cultural and political themes that play a significant role in how archaeology has come to be understood and practiced in northern indigenous contexts. Chapter 2 explores the intertwining of heritage, politics and identity in Nunavut, particularly in relation to discussions regarding the nature of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. It examines how the idea of 'tradition' has infiltrated the formation of modern Inuit personhood, as well as notions of community and wider social and cultural identities throughout the territory. Archaeology's contribution to this sense of tradition is brought into question. Chapter 3 provides an overview of academic engagement with the question of if, and how, archaeologists and Nunavummiut engage differently with the subjects of time and history. Despite the differences between these groups often being exaggerated through a dualistic model of 'western science vs. traditional knowledge,' I argue that Inuit navigate time through a complicated set of cultural patterns not found in western culture. I use the analogy of Inuit map making to better illustrating some of these differences. Chapter 4 further explores how differential understandings of history have played out in the relationship between Inuit people and archaeologists in the Canadian Arctic. By charting the evolution of archaeological maps in the Canadian Arctic, a distinct picture emerges of the ways in which archaeologists and Inuit have struggled to delineate their respective visions of the past. Chapter 5 acknowledges the many voices that surround issues of archaeology's application and relevance in Nunavut. The quotes used to explore these themes stem from the oral history program described earlier in this chapter. Chapter 6 takes a critical lens to the concept of community archaeology, identifying its strength in actively defining

community rather than reacting to established notions of collectivity. I argue that the approach gains strength through the questioning of who communities are and want to be, who has the right to speak for them, and how reflection on the past can enable the process of their self-definition.

The second half of this dissertation describes the evolution of a community archaeology program in the Nunavut municipality of Cambridge Bay. This series of case studies weave together more theoretical knowledge pertaining to community archaeology and Inuit Quajimajatuqangit (as described in chapters 2-6) with the realities of engaging the past in a practical and situated context. Chapter 7 details the origins of my fieldwork and the use of ethnographic methodology to shape a more locally-informed consideration of community archaeology. Chapters 8, 9 and 10 follow the development of various community archaeology projects between the years of 2008-2012. While initially focused on archaeological excavation, these projects gradually became situated in a more culturally and socially directed consideration of Inuit connections to the past. This transition, I argue, provides a framework in which multiple, conflicting connections to the past can be constructed. To bring the study to a close, chapters 11 and 12 discuss the lessons learned from the community archaeology program. Chapter 11 suggests the role of community archaeology as an experiential process through which communities can create new stories about their past and present identities. Chapter 12 concludes the dissertation with a broader consideration of imagination, hybridity, and practical engagement in the field of archaeology.

Each of the above chapters begins with a map and a brief accompanying description. These maps have been carefully selected to illustrate a particular (but by no means exclusive) way of thinking about their chapters' content. While visually simple, these maps were chosen for the intricate and often conflicted message that underlies their image. It is my hope that the reader uses these

maps not as a specific guide to navigate chapter content, but to reflect on the patches of 'terra incognita'—spaces blurred, undefined and ambiguous—that continue to flourish in areas considered by many to be both unproblematic and known.

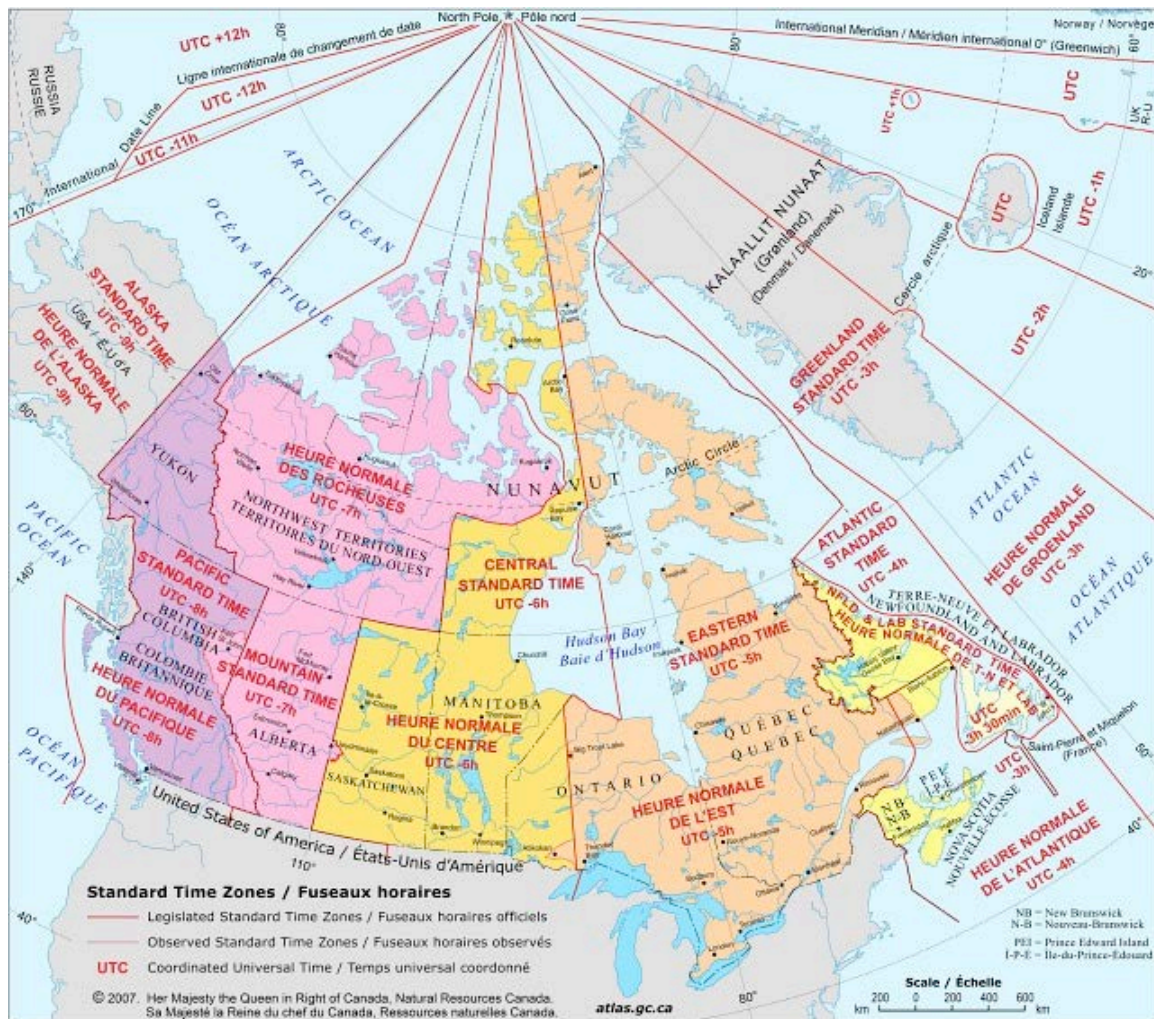


Plate 2 : The Time Zones of Canada, Natural Resources Canada, 2007

It is significant that one of the first internal debates to shake the newly formed territory of Nunavut originated over a concern with time. In April 1999, Nunavut became an officially recognized Canadian territory, an Inuit homeland whose carefully demarcated boundaries reflected a long process of negotiation regarding the extent of historical Inuit land use and occupation. On October 31st of that same year—only five months after the territory’s formal inauguration—the Nunavut government passed a motion to further unite the people of Nunavut through the implementation of a single, shared time-zone. By eliminating the three distinct time zones through which the Nunavut landmass

extended, it was argued that Nunavummiut would be further drawn together, both as a people and a cultural and economic polity. As Nunavut Premier Paul Okalik describes in one Nunatsiaq news report (Rodrigue 1999), the action represented a “minor compromise for the benefit of all our residents and territory.”

Rather than its anticipated result of bringing the people of Nunavut closer together, the time-zone unification plan caused a wave of discontent and rebellion to sweep the territory. At the municipal level, the government plan was perceived as favouring the needs of bureaucrats and political officials over those of Inuit. When set into place, the unified time-zone was claimed to have dramatic implications for the established routines of Nunavummiut: eastern municipalities were plunged into an extra hour of daytime darkness, and many groups were forced to alter their hunting and sleeping patterns to accommodate the offsets in sunlight (van Dam 2008:112). The controversy that erupted over the government’s decision for unification was based not only on the lack of public consultation regarding the time change (see for example Spitzer 2000), but on the unification act’s relevance to Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, a term coined only a year earlier to describe the Inuit people’s unified sense of heritage and traditional knowledge (NSDC 1998). As one member of the legislative assembly pointed out, “Inuit are opposing this [time zone change] through their IQ, through their tradition” (Iqaqrialu 1999 in van Dam 2008:111)⁶. In a somewhat confusing situation, Inuit began uniting themselves through a uniform sense of history—as traditional hunters possessing traditional knowledge—in order to stand up against a government’s attempts to standardize the modern temporality of the land. By April of 2001, the time zone project had already undergone three reconfigurations and was ultimately cancelled. Premier Paul Okalik

⁶ Another member of parliament, by contrast, made the argument that, since Inuit remained primarily traditional hunters, a time change affecting government work and office hours would not affect them (Havioyak 2000 in van Dam 2008:111).

acknowledged that however attractive the idea of unified time was in abstract terms, its realities ultimately had strong repercussions for the territory's people.

The issue of the Nunavut time zone change highlights the relationship that often exists between temporal regulation and other forms of social regulation. Time in Nunavut, notes Pamela Stern (2003:147), "is a potent, but often hidden social force." The regulation of history and tradition in the territory has proved to be no different in this regard. The time zone conflict extends into a much larger debate concerning the unification of Inuit history and knowledge by government channels, and the question of who possesses the authority to speak on behalf of the Inuit past.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Tradition as Identity and Survival in the Canadian Arctic

Introduction

There was one poster that often caught my eye...It was a poster of an Inuk with all his traditional knowledge, half of him was the traditional side of him and half of him was the modern side where he has the computer knowledge and is able to go on the plane and go to University, all the modernized things we have. And then it says something like “be proud of your heritage,” or “be proud of who you are, but appreciate the things that you have now.” I don’t think we can go back. Often times I would question myself “am I doing the right thing, am I going to get on with life as much as I can if I know what my parents taught me?”...The morals, the things that they were taught and has been carried down to me so that I can appreciate who I am as an Inuk and as an English speaking person, as a teacher... I can not go back fifty years ago, I can’t, but I surely can appreciate the things that have been carried down to me by my parents and by the elders. Thank goodness for the elders here, because without their knowledge and their expertise, I would not be where I am today.

In the above passage Cambridge Bay resident Emily Angulalik (pers. comm. 2011) draws parallels between a poster she once saw and her understanding of modern Inuit identity’s divided nature. The character in the poster is literally split down the middle, a caribou parka and harpoon in one hand, an austere tailored suit and computer in the other. Emily felt particularly drawn to the bisected Inuk in the poster, she told me, because she empathized with his embodiment of two distinct temporal realities. While Emily and I initially started our interview about archaeological sites, the conversation—like many of my conversations regarding local history—quickly veered towards the Inuit dilemma of having to acknowledge the past within the modern context of Nunavut. Emily spoke to the constant and often confusing dialogue between traditional values and skills associated with Inuit survival on the land and the new landscape of challenges presented by an increasingly globalized world. The present, she pointed out, is a conflicted and difficult place, often made

manageable only through wisdom, traditional knowledge, and memories summoned from the past. The past, on the other hand, is a desirable realm, but one impossible, in Emily's words, to "go back" to. Survival in contemporary Nunavut hinges on the bridging of both worlds, the ability to navigate the challenges of modern times with knowledge and skills gained from the past.

The necessity of balancing two distinctly different worlds is a theme that I would hear during nearly every one of my interviews with Inuit over the course of my four years in Nunavut. Recognition of ancestry and history is seemingly a strong component of many Inuit people's identities. Despite varying levels of inherited language, traditional knowledge and cultural skill, Inuit continue to draw on the deep reservoir of the past as a source for gaining perspective on their modern lives.

According to anthropologist Lisa Stevenson (2006b), the past is also a prerogative for the political territory for Nunavut. She describes the rise of an "ethical injunction to remember" among Nunavummiut, envisioned as a social and political coping mechanism that draws on the past to promote the continuation of the Inuit as a distinct cultural group during a period of rapid lifestyle transition. This has resulted in the past—or perhaps more importantly, individual and group recollections of the past—becoming imbued with greater social significance. Within such a scenario, she remarks (ibid:182):

a certain kind of remembering is not just something that happens—an accidental by-product, as it were, the result of living a life, the residuum of time passing—but rather something that as a young Inuk you are encouraged to make happen, that you are called upon by others to produce in yourself...Remembering the past is understood to be the key to Inuit cultural survival.

This emphasis on remembering the Inuit past has been set into motion by rapidly changing demographics in Nunavut. As of 2011, 33 % of Nunavut's population

of 31,000 was under 14 years of age (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics 2011). In many municipalities, the last Inuit generation to have spent its youth fully independent of settlement living and residential schools currently finds itself in serious decline. In many municipalities, ancestral languages, technologies, diets and land-based activities are becoming equally distant from everyday life. As the stories and practices of past generations slip away, the worry is that the distinct identity of Inuit people will disappear as well.

This chapter will explore the intricate role of history and heritage in the development of modern Inuit identity. It will examine how understandings of the past have been used to develop not only notions of individuality in Nunavut, but also of community, collectiveness and wider social identity. The formation of history-based identities is by no means a rare phenomenon. As Adler and Bruning (2008) have pointed out, understandings of identity frequently pivot on interpretations of the past. “It is here,” they note (ibid:36), “that the material and conceptual evidence supporting group coherence and continuity co-exist, providing a nexus for the formation, reformation and reproduction of social identities.” Throughout the process of building an Inuit homeland, the campaign for Nunavut has relied heavily on an image of the past as one of cultural unity, in which the history of Inuit people is used to justify the collectiveness of its modern constituency. Amongst some Inuit, this advocacy of uniform Inuit traditions has triggered a concern that the past will be transformed into a static repertoire of symbols and knowledge that can be more easily incorporated into policy and educational programs. This has been most evident through debates over the nature and role of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)—commonly translated as “knowledge that has always been known to the Inuit”—in defining the history and present state of Inuit culture. This emergent IQ doctrine can be perceived as having created a strategic ‘imagined community’ (cf. Anderson 1991), uniting Inuit people through a formal consensus of traditional culture and values in order to gain more political recognition and strength. Beneath this umbrella

community, however, exist multiple channels through which history is understood and used. IQ, in this regard, must simultaneously be seen as the product of Inuit resistance and a form of government policy that is actively resisted by Inuit people.

With globalization and the rapidly changing social and economic demographics of Nunavut, there is recognition that new ways of remembering the traditions (and thus, identity) of Inuit people are required. Local methods for perpetuating Inuit traditions—oral history, drum dancing and practical experience on the land—are rapidly disappearing in an age where English and digital technology represent the modern reality. Archaeology, as a discipline dedicated to the study and interpretation of the material past, has been recognized by Nunavummiut as a valuable tool in the endeavour to keep the past alive among contemporary generations. For the most part, however, archaeological projects fail to engage the past in a way that sustains the imagination and interest of local populations. This is something that the Nunavut Government and Nunavummiut alike seek to change.

The Rise of Nunavut

Our Elders here today and listening to this speech on radio and on television can tell us how far we have come. They remember the times, from their own lives and from the histories of their parents, when Inuit were alone in this land. As Inuit we built our lives from what was around us. From snow and bone, from the animals of the land and the sea, our Elders fed and cared for their families. They accomplished everything with little. They travelled thousands of miles, at home in their environment, and taught the next generations the strength and ingenuity to carry Inuit into the modern world...The modern world is now here.

-Excerpt from Commissioner Helen Maksagak's speech at the Inaugural Commissioner's Address at the 1st session on the 1st assembly of Nunavut's Legislative Assembly, April 1st, 1999.

On April 1st, 1999, the sound of the Canadian Arctic's shifting borders resonated throughout the nation. After more than two decades of negotiations, Canada's newest territory was subdivided from the vast geography of the Northwest Territories. This entity, known as Nunavut, "Our Land," was cast into the world as both a new home and traditional homeland for its population of roughly 27,000 individuals scattered throughout 28 isolated municipalities. The ultimate goal behind the creation of the territory was to seek out representation for its overwhelmingly Inuit constituency—roughly 85% of the population—through a form of indigenous self-government. The negotiation of Nunavut as a site of self-determination, self-reliance and cultural revitalization was, and remains, unequivocally portrayed as an act of political resistance against "the well-defined Other" of the Federal Government (van Dam 2008:63). In the words of Marion Soublière (1999:2), the formation of the new territory has ensured that "the Inuit of Canada's central and eastern Arctic are back in the driver's seat."

The story of Nunavut's political origins began in the early 1970's, when the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)—formerly known as the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC)—entered into negotiations with the Canadian Government to settle Inuit land claims within the Northwest Territories (ITC 1976). Throughout the late 1960s, indigenous Arctic populations became increasingly concerned with the rising number of non-renewable resource projects occurring in areas they actively used for hunting, fishing and trapping. These projects' perceived lack of accountability and potential for environmental degradation led northern groups to unite through representative organizations to increase their political leverage and voice as regional stakeholders. Under the guidance of emerging Inuit leader, Tagak Curley, the ITC was founded in 1971 as a political collective to represent the nation's Inuit populations. In addition to advocating for political self-determination, the preservation of languages and culture, and the promotion of pride and dignity for northern indigenous heritage, the ITC sought to engineer a collective consciousness amongst northern people regarding both their history

and future. By uniting the voice of Inuit people, it was deemed the group would be in a more powerful position to take a stand against escalating issues of northern resource development and environmental threat to the wildlife and landscapes upon which their lifestyles and identities as traditional hunters depended.

The idea of developing a distinct land claim for the Inuit people of the central and eastern Canadian Arctic was officially proposed by the ITC in 1976.⁷ The ITC called for the formation of an “Inuit homeland” that would reflect historical boundaries of Inuit occupation and incorporate traditional Inuit knowledge and values into the working order of the territory. In order to meet common law requirements for aboriginal title, the ITC launched an extensive study defining a landmass that clearly represented the geographical extent of historical Inuit land use and occupancy (Freeman 1976). The ensuing report was used to begin determining criteria for the benefits and conditions that would stem from the settlement of land claims. By 1982, a group known as the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) had assumed representation of Inuit within the Nunavut land claim area and were actively negotiating terms for the transition of title. In 1992, 85% of Inuit beneficiaries voted in favour of the agreed upon settlement terms, and Canadian Parliament passed legislation for the Nunavut Final Agreement for land claims in May of 1993 (NLCA 1993). Following a five-year period of transition, Nunavut came into being as a territory in 1999.

⁷ The ITC and neighbouring organization COPE (the Committee on Original Peoples Entitlement)—representing Inuvialuit and Gwich’in communities of the western Arctic—originally discussed the possibility of developing a single land claim to represent the Inuit residents from the entire NWT (Freeman 2011). As concerns over resource development-related environmental threats facing Western Arctic communities was deemed to be more urgent than those facing the Central and Eastern Arctic, COPE proceeded with a more expedited land claims process which was accepted by the federal government in 1976 and passed as the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement* in 1984.

From its very beginning, the political entity of Nunavut has sought to define itself through recourse to Inuit history and tradition. This has occurred at every level of operation. The geo-political boundaries for the territory were drawn according to the spatiality of historical Inuit land use and cultural practices (Légaré 2002), and the notion of IQ as 'traditional Inuit knowledge' has been used to structure institutional operation and political practice. An array of heritage-inspired symbols have been selected as visual representations of the territory—the most prominent being the 'inukhuk' (a traditional cairn marker used for navigation and hunting) that adorns the territorial flag. The past provides an important source of identity for both the territory and its residents.

This strong reliance on the past begs consideration as to the sources from which narratives and images pertaining to history are being drawn. In a statement made by the ITK (ITK 2002 in Laugrand 2002:100), the origins of these representations are defined as rightfully belonging to (though not always stemming from) Inuit themselves:

Our history is about...dealing with change as well as the causes and consequences of change forced on us through colonialism; and about how we have re-established control over our cultural, economic and political destiny through land claims and self-government...This is a story that we must begin to tell for ourselves. Unfortunately until now, most of the research on our culture and history has been done by individuals who come from outside our culture. Since the information that these individuals collected was seldom made available to us, the image held by much of the outside world about who we are is usually someone else's creation, not ours...In the meantime we will reinterpret the information gathered by others to help us speak about ourselves.

The above sentiment of 'Inuit history being interpreted by Inuit people' is prevalent throughout Nunavut politics, and leads to a wider series of questions regarding the relationship between the 'unified historical voice' of the Inuit people and the phenomenon of history as it is experienced on a more personal

and individual level within the territory. Namely, does the extreme historical consciousness expounded by Nunavut politics accurately represent everyday levels of awareness and concern amongst Nunavummiut? Do all Inuit identify with the versions of history being espoused? Does history really matter in the day-to-day life of the Arctic? To even begin to address these questions, a deeper inquiry into Inuit identity is required.

Inuit Identity and Historical Consciousness

Who are the Inuit?

I have often posed this question to Inuit throughout Nunavut; the most common reply being simply, “I guess that all depends on who you ask.” Despite the marked pragmatism evident in many Inuit people’s definition of selfhood, the subject of Canadian Arctic identity has been a topic of much academic interest. While early scholarly research emphasized the impact of colonialism on the formation of Inuit identities (see for example Brody 1975, Paine 1977), more recent studies have sought a broader understanding of what it means to be Inuk, examining the relationship of identity to subsistence practices (Condon et al. 1995; Wenzel 2001; Searles 2001), particular places or landscapes (Searles 2010; Collignon 2006; van Dam 2008), language (Oosten and Remie 1999; Searles 2006) and modernity (Dahl 2000; Dorais 1994, 1997). Academic inquiries tend to imagine Inuit identity through a collective lens; that is to say conceived at a level of ethnicity, common experience, or cultural affiliation. From the vantage of the social sciences, which tend to rely on an anthropological understanding of Inuit as having descended from an ancestral, and highly homogenous, Thule culture roughly 800 years ago (see for example, Friesen and Arnold 2008), the assumption of shared characteristics makes reasonable sense. According to many Inuit people, however, Inuit identity is understood as a complex negotiation between the individual and the group (see for example, Akulukjuk 2004, McGrath 2013). As Louis-Jacques Dorais (2005) concludes from a

comparison of academic and aboriginal interviews regarding Arctic identity, Inuit people tend to understand the concept of identity in a more individualized manner. Among the Inuit, Dorais notes (*ibid*:8):

personal identity seems more meaningful than collective self-definitions. [The latter] may be important in political forums, but in daily life what really matters is one's position within the naming system, one's relationship to a specific place, and, perhaps, one's link with the supranatural world. In fact, people are free to define who they are, provided they seek some sort of continuity—through naming, sharing, or otherwise—between themselves and their ancestors.

Given this reliance on building identity through personal connections to the past, one might ask how the notion of Inuit collectivity has become so prominent in public and political discussions, particularly those regarding the application of historical knowledge and values to the modern world.⁸ As Dorais further discusses (*ibid*:8), the individual identity of Inuit is often overshadowed by a more comprehensive and politically advantageous sense of community:

The identity of 'ordinary' people can, thus, differ from that put forward by contemporary Inuit political discourse. Aboriginal politicians who, in contrast with most other individuals, are prone to be influenced by academic and bureaucratic categories of thought, rather stress the collective aspects of identity. For them, Inuit constitute an aboriginal collectivity that fights for its territorial and political autonomy...

⁸ It should be pointed out that despite anchoring their personal identity in what Dorais terms, "[personal] quality rather than an allocated category" (2005:6), many Inuit continue to aspire to an overarching ideal of 'Inuit-ness.' Hugh Brody (1987) recognizes this in the Inuktitut term 'inummarik,' a state of being purely—and, perhaps more important, recognizably—Inuit, through evidence of one's knowledge of the environment and the partaking of traditional subsistence economy. Searles (2006:95) identifies another definition of inummarik as being based on the unilingual speaking of the Inuktitut language (see also Graburn 2006). Janet McGrath (2013) and Keiichi Omura's (2002) respective studies of 'Inuktitut' and 'Inuinnaqtun' as qualifiers of Inuit self-identity may be seen in a similar light.

The notion of a coherent 'Inuit community' is a relatively novel construction. Up until the 1950's group affiliation amongst Inuit typically took place at a small scale regional level, with individuals identifying themselves according to a particular place-name within their common range, usually a prominent landmark or feature. Using the linguistic suffix of '-miut,' meaning 'people of,' to fix their identities in physical space, Inuit generated a sense of belonging that cycled between the environments they named and the environments that would, in turn, designate their identity as a group. As geographer Beatrice Collignon has remarked, it is a situation in which "people belong as much to a territory as it belongs to them" (2006:44). It is estimated that during the mid 19th century roughly forty-eight different 'miut' groupings were spread throughout the region currently known as Nunavut (Bennett and Rowley 2004:339, see fig. 1)

There was an enormous degree of variability among these territorial groups in terms of population, territory size, and level of social boundedness. Cultural attributes of the groups— including clothing styles, taboos, beliefs, and material culture—varied depending on local traditions of knowledge, personal preferences and environmental circumstance. These differing traits were considered essential to the expression of small group identity. There is an interesting account from the Fifth Thule Expedition (Rasmussen 1930:111) in which anthropologist Knud Rasmussen is made aware of his mistake of

Harvaqtôrmuit with us, for their knowledge is not our knowledge, as our knowledge is not theirs.

As scholars have pointed out, (see for example Mitchell 1996:48; Dorais 1988), usage of the term 'Inuit' amongst northern indigenous groups prior to the 1950s was less a form self-identification than a means of indicating the difference that exists between humanity—one will recall that the word 'Inuit' translates directly as 'the people'—and the range of other creatures with which they came into contact: 'uumajuit' (animals), 'tuurngait' and 'ijiqqat' (the spirits), 'allait' and 'itqilgit' (more southerly indigenous groups), and 'qallunaat' (Europeans or white people). Though Inuit conceived of themselves generically as 'Inuit,' there was little sense of identification or loyalty on a pan-Inuit, ethnic or national scale (Williamson 1974:31).

The formation of a distinct collective identity for Inuit can be attributed to a complex history of interaction with individuals and lifeways distinctly recognized as being 'non-Inuit.' Due to their escalating contact with outside people and policies, notes Lisa Stevenson (2006b:176), "the disparate Inuit groups in the Canadian Arctic literally had to imagine themselves as a people." The rapid transition of lifestyle among Inuit over the last century is often held up as a case study for the dramatic impact of colonial encounter (see for example, Duffy 1988). While Arctic populations have been in minimal contact with Europeans since roughly 1000A.D. (McGhee 1984, Park 2008, Sutherland 2000), it is only over the last one to two hundred years that this interaction was of a scale sufficient to have profound, and often detrimental, impacts to their physical health, traditional lifestyles, and social wellness.¹⁰ While this process took place

¹⁰ Interaction between Inuit and non-Inuit was not a uniform process across the Arctic. Contact between Baffinland Inuit and European whalers and explorers escalated following Martin Frobisher's arrival in the mid 16th century. The more westerly Kitikmeot region in which Cambridge Bay is located, remained relatively isolated until the early 20th century. The massive search and rescue endeavor to locate Sir John Franklin's missing expedition in the 1850s is often credited as having exposed the Canadian Arctic, as a whole, to significant cultural interaction.

at varying speeds and severity in different parts of the Arctic, three underlying factors are often cited by Inuit people as being most detrimental to their cultural patterns and autonomy associated with the pursuit of traditional lifestyles. These include: 1) Government welfare programs; 2) residential schooling; and 3) population settlement and relocation.¹¹ There has been extensive writing—by Inuit and non-Inuit alike—on all three of these phenomena, as well as their long-lasting impacts to the Inuit culture (see for example, Akukujuk 2004; Anawak 2009; Brody 1975, 1987; Duffy 1988; Hadlari and Hadlari 1997; Honingmann and Honingmann 1965; McGrath 2006; Pitseolak and Eber 1993). At the heart of these interventions to Inuit lifestyle, was a desire on behalf of the Canadian Government to assimilate a culture and way of which that it felt was no longer viable in the modern world.¹² The resulting policies led to what has been described as an era of “terminal paternalism” (Nungak 2005:18), in which the organizational and economic logic of the (southern-based) federal government was administered whole-scale to Inuit people. This was accomplished for the most part by physically dislocating indigenous populations from their traditional contexts of cultural learning and relationships to the Arctic landscape. Children

¹¹ There are arguably many historical factors that have dramatically changed Inuit lifestyles, including the fur trade, wage labor, new diets and technologies, etc. These three particular examples have been singled out due to their being something imposed on the Inuit people by non-Inuit (ie. the federal government), rather than something adopted by Inuit as a matter of necessity or conscious choice. Both change and colonialism in Nunavut tend to be framed in terms of Inuit being removed from decision-making processes about their own lives (see for example EIA 2012) .

¹² A curious, early document known as the *Eskimo Book of Knowledge* (Binney 1931) provides a good overview of the era’s government welfare agenda. In 1930, the Hudson’s Bay Company was contracted with the task developing a ‘Native Welfare’ program for the Canadian Arctic (Geller 2004). The result was the creation and distribution of the *Eskimo Book of Knowledge*, which provided explicit instructions to help Inuit bridge the perceived cultural, economical and moral gap between themselves and the impending wave of “Civilization” envisioned to be bearing down upon their lives. As George Binney, the book’s author, notes in his introduction, it “endeavours to arm the Eskimo with vital knowledge, so that apart from the crutch of sympathetic legislation he may stand a better chance to fend for himself” (ibid:4). A sizeable list then ensues regarding the various ways in which Inuit might better their lives through the adoption of sanitary practices, judicial laws and work ethic as espoused by “the British Empire to which [they] belong” (ibid:6). The Canadian Department of Mines and Resources felt compelled to publish a similar volume in 1947, *The Book of Wisdom for Eskimo*, with additional sections titled “Clean Pots and Dishes,” “Clean Food,” and “What to do When Frozen.”

were sent from their homes to attend distant residential schools, in which the speaking of indigenous languages and the performance of cultural acts was often strictly prohibited. In many cases, Inuit families were provided with government assistance, education and medical care only if they elected to abandon their nomadic lifestyles. In the most extreme of cases, the federal government sought to expand national sovereignty claims by relocating Inuit to High-Arctic locations up to two thousand kilometers north of their traditional hunting and travelling territories. By interrupting established systems of cultural transmission among the Inuit, notes Nunavut Social Development Council chair Mary Wilman (2002:34), “the authority that had been held for generations by Inuit elders and community leaders was taken over by newly arrived, non-Inuit bureaucrats who gave little or no consideration to, and who were largely ignorant and even scornful of our rules and customs.” Under such conditions, concludes Alooook Ipellie (2008:71), “[i]t is no great surprise that most of the last two or three generations of Inuit...have contracted cultural amnesia and effaced memory about the history of their ancient past.”

Nunavut: A New Place for Inuit History

In the process of developing Nunavut as Canada’s newest territory, a novel collective Inuit identity was firmly set into place for the Inuit people. In her analysis of what she terms the “Inuit Homeland identity,” Kim van Dam (2008:291) describes the conscious manufacture of a politically-situated Inuit identity by the Nunavut government as a means of re-normalizing the link between the land and the people who live there. The development of this bridge between cultural (read Inuit) and territorial (read Nunavut) identities has been motivated by a strong sense of historical consciousness. As van Dam points out (2008:292):

In the case of Nunavut the historical dimension is narrated mainly through the cultural heritage of the Inuit. This Inuit heritage is used by the Nunavut Government...In doing so, these practices are the links between the past and contemporary life. They root today in the nostalgic certainties of the past...The process of creating this place identity for the region involves a reconstruction of the past (the history of the place) and a reinterpretation of who its people are.

Various authors have explored the implications that Nunavut has had on the creation of a collective 'Inuit historical consciousness' (Laugrand 2002; Graburn 1998; Csonka 2005). In his excellent article, *Écrire pour prendre la parole*, Frédéric Laugrand (2002) muses over the ways in which Canadian Inuit thinking about the past has changed in the post-contact era. He concludes that a transition can be observed according to three separate stages. During the first period ranging from the early 19th century to 1970, Inuit thinking about history remained largely 'customary' or 'traditional,' that is to say dependent on long-standing notions of experience and memory as being attributable to individual perspective. While Inuit culture provided an overarching psychological template for thinking about history, the particulars of historical thought were shaped according to directly relatable and localized experience. A rise in federal politics of assimilation throughout the 1950's and 60's, brought about a transition towards the development of a collective Inuit consciousness regarding culture and history. Inuit attempts to gain more autonomy in their own affairs resulted in the creation of a collective Inuit identity, which included a cultural re-appropriation of historical, museological and cultural research, as well as literary initiatives to strengthen language and culture (ibid: 95-99; see also Graburn 1998). By the 1980's, Laugrand notes, Inuit "had become the principal actors in the movement to valorize and safeguard their own traditions" (2002: 98, my translation). This sense of tradition became unified through its opposition to 'qallunnat' ways of thinking. The formation of Nunavut as a separate Inuit territory in 1999 led to a final phase in which social memory has become an integral political tool. Laugrand is quick to point out that the current context of history in Nunavut

remains one of multiple historical consciousnesses, or perhaps more appropriately, one historical consciousness (IQ) split between traditional cultural precedents for storytelling and remembering that privilege personal experience and a more generalized political narrative commemorating the communal past. This modern condition of historical consciousness, notes Nelson Graburn (1998:28), is dominated by a simpler, two-part understanding of tradition which juxtaposes a “distant past” – defined as a “‘golden age’ with disease curing shamans, no white diseases, egalitarian sharing community, without time constraints” – with a “recent past” representing a “loss of autonomy, loss of traditional culture, introduction of white diseases, alcohol, drugs, and an inherently unfair monetary economy.” “Raised with television, videos and ice hockey,” Graburn furthers (*ibid*), contemporary youth “know very little about the nomadic and precarious way of life of [previous] people. They are able to fully accept a simpler dichotomized Inuit history consisting of “then” and “now”.”

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and the Politicization of History

The question of how to represent Inuit history in the modern world was foremost on the agenda in 1998 when representatives from the Nunavut Social Development Council’s (NSDC) ‘Working Group on Traditional Knowledge’¹³ met to discuss the role of traditional knowledge in the soon-to-be inaugurated Nunavut territory. It was decided that the term ‘traditional knowledge’ conveyed too narrow an impression regarding the dynamic nature of knowledge and being in

¹³ The Working Group on Traditional Knowledge was originally formed as part of the Northwest Territories Government in 1993 to address increased discussion surrounding the political role of Inuit perspectives (see Oosten and Laugrand 2002:23 for more details). The NSDC was incorporated in 1996 under the Nunavut Agreement, with the mission statement to “ensure the fullest possible Inuit participation in the development and design of social and cultural policies, programs, and services, including the method of delivery, within the Nunavut Settlement Area, and to ensure that those policies, programs, and services reflect, to the fullest extent possible, Inuit social and cultural goals and objectives.”

the Inuit culture, and the term 'Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit' (IQ)—translating literally as “that which has long been known to the Inuit people”¹⁴—was chosen as a replacement. IQ, as a concept, sought to link historic knowledge to both present Inuit society and their future aspirations for cultural independence and fortitude in a globalized society. “The only way we can deal with this challenge,” insists NSDC chair, Mary Wilman (2002:36), “is to understand the unique heritage that has made us the Inuit of today. This defines the importance of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. It is the priceless asset and tool that we can use to adapt to the world around us On Our Own Terms.” According to this chain of understanding, the advocating of IQ becomes a political act, in that it advances a social and cultural agenda designed specifically to counter the agenda of a colonizing culture (Tester and Irniq 2008: 51).

IQ rapidly became the key concept behind the quest to find solutions for Nunavut's social and political problems (Oosten and Laugrand 2002), as well as a critical factor in determining the success of Nunavut's experiment in aboriginal self government. The governing structure of the Nunavut territory was to be founded on the traditional values and knowledge of IQ, with the Nunavut Legislature's mandate of IQ to be a model exercise in democracy through the institution of majority values and principles of conduct into its constitution (Arnakak 2002:34). The translation of IQ into policy and politics, however, required that it go beyond a sense of 'cultural instinct' (cf. Wilman 2002) and be articulated into a formal set of rules and values amenable to practical application. A fixed list of IQ principles was accordingly devised by the Nunavut

¹⁴ The word Qaujimajatuqangit has been broken down by Janet McGrath (2003:6) in the following manner:

qauq is the noun meaning “forehead”; it is at the root of the following two verbs:
qauji- is the verb stem for “become aware”;
qaujima- is the verb stem “to know”;
qaujimaniq is the noun for “knowledge” or “way of knowing”;
qaujimajaq is the noun for “what is known” or “inherent/intuitive knowledge”.
-tuqaq is a noun ending meaning “for a long time” or “ancient”.
-ngit indicates the possessive: in other words, the qaujimajatuqangit of Inuit.

Government (see fig.2)¹⁵, to be considered in relation to multiple disciplines including law and justice (Oosten and Laugrand 2002; Department of Justice 2005), education and literacy (Bell 2002, NLC 2004), social work (NCCAH 2012) and wildlife management (Wenzel 2004; Armitage 2005; Tester and Irniq 2008). Through condensing Inuit culture and history into token statements, notes Pamela Stern, “Inuit indigenous knowledge has become institutionalized, not as a tradition prone to erosion but as part of a repertoire of distinctly Inuit ways of knowing and being in the world” (2006:261). IQ has thus become what Stevenson terms “the signature of the Nunavut government” (2006b:178), serving to define what makes a system structurally organized according to southern models and consisting of significant qallunaat membership, so distinctly ‘Inuit.’

The maintenance of IQ as a traditional way of life rather than an adopted set of guidelines has been a distinct dilemma for Nunavummiut. Despite originating as an operational philosophy, IQ remains a concept in progress. There is an ever-present tension between IQ as a set of stories, values and skills transmitted through generations and IQ as a political mandate for Nunavut. As one Cambridge Bay resident who wished not to be named pointed out to me (Anon pers. comm. 2011):

I think its kind of funny that we're coming from this culture that had no writing system to having this new and improved culture with everything written down as law. I think if you have to write it down then its not really something that is important, do you know what I mean? If you have to write it down then maybe there is a problem. There is a problem because a lot of these values have been lost, a lot of these values are being lost. If we have to write it down in the first place, its telling of where we are at. It just goes completely against the culture, because these values would have been passed down by the

¹⁵ In 2007, an additional four ‘maligait’ or ‘foundational laws,’ were added to these principles by the Government of Nunavut (GN 2007). These maligait are: 1) working for the common good; 2) respecting all living things; 3) maintaining harmony and balance; and 4) continually planning and preparing for the future

traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) by politicians, developers and academics. On one hand, she notes, indigenous people take pride in the formal acknowledgement of their cultural understandings, which have been prone to a history of degradation, assimilation and neglect. New participatory and collaborative programs have been developed to gather traditional knowledge, and the findings of this research is proliferating in both academic and policy reports. On the other hand, however, this recognition has come with a cost of the knowledge being appropriated and used out of context. “Aboriginal people” she notes (ibid:139), “are unhappy with the idea that TEK can be written down and integrated into the frameworks of western science and contemporary development paradigms. TEK has largely been defined and developed as a concept outside of Aboriginal communities...Most often, definitions reflect what the dominant society sees as important.” Inevitably, she concludes, the practical application of traditional knowledge often requires that it become transformed for general consumption.

In a 2002 report on the initial progress of IQ integration in Nunavut, the IQ Task Force¹⁶ presented a disheartened assessment of the territory’s initial failure to meaningfully involve IQ in its daily operations. While they recognized that institutions throughout the territory were engaging token acknowledgements of IQ—such as promoting Inuktitut words or participating in cultural events—they felt that internal operations within the territory were still guided by outside models. Furthermore, the Task Force condemned the common practice of isolating individual IQ principles, and translating them into workplace

¹⁶ The Government of Nunavut appointed the IQ Task Force members in November 2001 to make recommendations to the Government on how to incorporate IQ to meet its 1999 Bathurst Mandate, which states that “Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit will provide the context in which we develop an open, responsive and accountable government.” It is worth noting that after producing the first (and decidedly critical) progress report on Government IQ, the members of the task force failed to be reappointed. This group has since been replaced with more governmentally-dependent advisory boards such as the ‘Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Katimajitt’ (“the Inuit traditional knowledge committee that meets”) and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangitta Isumaksaqsuqtingit (“Inuit traditional knowledge thinkers”) (see Tester and Irniq 2008:58).

procedures, citing examples of ‘Pijitsirniq’ (serving and providing for the community and family) being related directly to ‘customer service,’ and office team work being used as an example of ‘Piliriqatigiingniq’ (working for the common good) (IQ Task Force 2002:8). An equally questionable appropriation of IQ is cited by Tester and Irniq in the form of a 2006 Nunavut budget address by MLA, David Simailak (Tester and Irniq 2008:50):

Consistent with the Inuit Qaujimajatuqanginnut [moving toward understanding of IQ] principle of Qanuqtuurniq [exploring or discussing ideas], our government will work with the business community, with Inuit organizations and other stakeholders to continually seek new ways to thrive. That includes identifying and removing barriers to business, removing unnecessary regulations, and enhancing business development programs.

As the IQ Task Force further pointed out, the ground-level application of traditional knowledge in government operations tends to be accomplished by “extracting the IQ principles from the cultural context that gives them their real meaning” (ibid:8). The underlying problem, they noted, is found in the following question: “Should the Nunavut Government try to incorporate the Inuit Culture into itself? or...Should the Nunavut Government incorporate itself into the Inuit Culture?” (ibid:4). The answer, they concluded, clearly lies in the latter option as the importation of an “alien” (read non-Inuit) model of institutional culture inevitably impedes the successful integration of IQ values and practices.

This struggle between implementing IQ as compartmentalized policy rather than whole-scale framework has been a constant challenge. In a *Nunatsiaq News* editorial, Jaypetee Arnakak (2000:np) describes the difficulty he and his coworkers at the Department of Sustainable Development experienced while attempting to integrate these concepts of IQ¹⁷:

¹⁷ Joe Tigullaraq and Peter Ittinuar, the colleagues referenced by Arnakak, later publically retracted their opposition to the formation of IQ policies (2000: n.p.), noting “there is a massive

[We] deliberately tried to keep IQ from becoming an official policy, knowing that separating IQ from the contemporary realities renders something that is profound, enriching and alive into something that is meaningless, sterile, and awkwardly exclusionary...In fact, IQ is a living technology. It is a means of rationalizing thought and action, a means of organizing tasks and resources, a means of organizing family and society into coherent wholes.

Attempts to create more meaningful applications for IQ in everyday Inuit life have often sought to broaden the definition of the IQ concept. The IQ Task Force, for example, set out to disentangle the notion of IQ from point form principles, by describing it instead as a series of relationships (2002:8)¹⁸:

If we examine the IQ principles in their cultural context as a whole, we see that they are all concerned with *relationships* – those relationships that are essential to the Inuit culture. It is these relationships that create the context for the culture. They are the “glue” that holds the culture and the IQ principles together.

Unlike individual IQ principles, the IQ Task Force notes (ibid:9), these relationships are not perceived as having counterparts in the narrow boundaries of government departments or even in the government as a whole. “Once we try and reduce them to their initial components,” they note (ibid), “the relationships cease to exist as relationships.” These relationships cannot be extracted from their cultural context of subsistence hunting, indigenous language and life on the land. The application of IQ without these relationships results in “culture clash,” in which “Inuit culture is forced to take on the shape of the dominant culture, rather than the other way round” (ibid, see also Arnakak 2011).

amount of work to do in developing IQ, coming as it does from an oral tradition. To us, policies would ensure that work in this area be maintained, that some dollars are allocated to it, that it is a recognizable entity, inasmuch as Western science and the English language are.” Arnakak has remained adamant about his position on IQ (see for example Arnakak 2011).

¹⁸ Mike Bell (2002:4-6) considers these relationships in elaborate detail through the following intertwined categories of: 1) The Relationship with the Land, 2) The Relationship with One’s Family, 3) The Relationship with One’s Own Inner Spirit, and 4) The Relationship with One’s Own Social Grouping (the community or organization) and Between Social Groupings.

The concept of IQ remains a conscious topic of debate in Nunavut. As Tester and Irniq point out (2008:59), IQ has strong potential to bring generations of Inuit together to meet a common challenge “to hold in check relations that seriously threaten Inuit culture and, in so doing, put before us relationships between and among people, animals, and landscapes relevant to all of us that might otherwise be absorbed by a very different, totalizing logic.” This very act of unification, however, has also resulted in the codification of traditional knowledge, values and narratives in a way that undermines the intricacy and diversity inherent to Inuit worldview.

In the search for a better understanding of the Inuit past, a territorial emphasis has been placed on initiatives that document and revive local culture and history. This has largely been enacted through the consultation of local elders, who are able to provide oral historical information regarding what life was like prior to the introduction of wage labor, schools and settlement living (see Martin 2009 for extensive overview of oral historical initiatives). The quest to valorize the past has also led to a novel interest in more material traces of history. As explained by Nunavut MLA, Jack Anawak (1989:48), physical sites representing the Inuit past:

while known, have been of limited historical interest to the Inuit, as they have simply accepted their existence as part of their life...However this attitude may be changing as outside pressures intrude which have resulted in a new awareness of these sites as key to preserving the past.

Linked to issues of modern identity building and political power, the material record of Inuit history has become a key component in the struggle to determine who has the right to interpret, narrate, and own the Inuit past.

Building Identity and IQ through Archaeology

When we speak about the origins and history of our culture, we do so from a perspective that is different from that often used by non-Inuit who have studied our past...Our history is simply our history and we feel that the time has come for us as Inuit to take more control over determining what is important and how it should be interpreted. To be of value, our history must be used to instruct our young and to inform all of us about who we are as Inuit in today's world. We do not want our history to confine us to the past. Archeology has been one of the important ways for discovering our past...Now archeologists are actually being joined in their work by young Inuit who will someday take over their research. Now the challenge is ours to begin to rebuild an understanding of our past by using all of the information we now have from our legends, our real life stories, our knowledge about the Arctic environment and it's wildlife and from information now available to us through archeology.

- Excerpt from "5000 Year Heritage," ITK's formal statement on Inuit history (ITK 2012:np)

Throughout the formation of Nunavut as both a land claim settlement and territory, the discipline of archaeology found itself in the tricky position of being something both desired and derided by the Inuit political movement. The act of excavation became simultaneously linked to ideals of historical knowledge recuperation and the negative image of southern colonial control (Helmer and LeMoine 2002). Among the many issues tabled during the inaugural meeting of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, was the need for Inuit to become stewards over their own history. As Josiah Kadlusiak pointed out to fellow ITC members (ITC 1971:np), "we should look into historic sites in the north...old houses and old artifacts. We must take control of them rather than just let outsiders come in and pick them up and leave. These actually belong to the Inuit."

As momentum built towards the development of an Inuit homeland, Inuit politicians and organizations began to refine their understanding of what

archaeology is, and what it might further become with more input from Inuit people. In one 1977 statement, issued jointly by the Inuit Cultural Institute and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (Swinton 1977:165), a vision of local relevance is put forward for the discipline:

We see archaeology relating to real human beings and real places, and we see archaeology as a means rather than as an end. We are therefore looking for its relevance to our contemporary existence and to our own concerns. That does not mean that we do not recognize the importance of scholarly and scientific methodology or do not appreciate the accumulated experience of archaeological researchers, but we unequivocally reject scholarly aloofness, human indifference and professional exclusiveness.

With the passing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, a specific organization was designated to help align cultural and archaeological research with the desires and needs of Inuit people. Known as the Inuit Heritage Trust (IHT), the group was mandated to review incoming archaeological project applications for adequate community participation and creation of Inuit benefit (NCLA 33.5.6), and to act as liaisons between academic archaeologists and Nunavummiut. Former IHT Programs Manager Ericka Chemko (pers. comm. 2009) expands on the organization's role:

IHT encourages Inuit involvement in archaeology...not only as a make-work project. We want Inuit to be empowered and to feel ownership—in the territorial as well as personal and cultural sense—over the land, archaeology resources and their past and history. We encourage reflexive thinking and approach community development in heritage as a holistic process that doesn't only deal with finances and employment. I personally believe that the development of the heritage sector will help feed into solutions that the government is grappling with related to incorporating IQ into public government and policy.

The use of archaeology as a tool for gaining perspective on contemporary Inuit identity and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit has become explicit in many of the

archaeology programs developed by the territory of Nunavut. The bridging of IQ and archaeology was the foundation for the creation of a Nunavut Arctic College course in Advanced Archaeology¹⁹. Archaeological excavations have been initiated through the Heritage Division of the Government Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth (CLEY) with the goal to facilitate “the engagement of elders and youth and the transmission Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.” (CLEY 2003).²⁰ Current expectations in Nunavut dictate that archaeological practice be capable of simultaneously meeting the territory’s educational priorities, sustaining local interest and producing valuable knowledge that might be interpreted and incorporated into a greater sense of Inuit identity. As daunting as this directive already is, it is made further complicated by the fact that IQ, the foundational philosophy of traditional knowledge to which archaeology is encouraged to subscribe, is itself a relatively contested and abstract concept.

The route to addressing the dilemma of archaeology in Nunavut, lies in the discipline’s ability to reflect on traditional Inuit knowledge through a lens that openly acknowledges its dual nature as a longstanding personal/cultural framework and contemporary political manifestation. In their paper examining the evolution of IQ as a political and academic construct, Tester and Irniq argue that the concept of IQ is most valuable as a ‘conceptual place’ in which to begin discussions around the very nature of Inuit history (2008:58-59). Attempts to

¹⁹ The course syllabus states students can “experience the excitement of discovery, and master the accurate and painstaking work required for archaeological excavation. This course is embedded in *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, and will provide students with a window to appreciate and respect the value of preserving knowledge about the human history of Nunavut.”

²⁰ Despite these commendable efforts, the union of archaeology with local people and traditional knowledge continues to break down. The Arctic College course in advanced archaeology was cancelled. 2009 saw the final year of an Inuit fieldschool program designed to integrate the worlds of professional archaeology and Inuit youth. When interviewed about the program’s closure, Ericka Chemko (in Ridlington 2010:3) cited reasons of waning student motivation, overwhelming cost, and the excavations’ failure to bring more Nunavut beneficiaries into the heritage sector. “They weren’t going on to university which was our hope in doing this,” she notes “it was a question of what exactly were our goals and priorities.”

define IQ, they note, must:

make reference to the social spaces and places, the contexts where IQ is articulated, debated, and developed. IQ, by definition, should be identified as a space, a context within which respectful dialogue, discussion, questioning, and listening can take place. The questions need to flow both ways. In recognizing this, non-Inuit must understand Inuit social history and Inuit/ Qablunaat relations. This knowledge reveals why it is important, at every opportunity, to create a *kappiananngittuq* a 'safe, or non-scary, place' where these matters can be discussed across cultures. Opportunities must be provided to help those who, for personal and historical reasons, may be intimidated by non-Inuit experts. More effort needs to be put towards the design of social processes and social spaces that help Western scientists and Inuit understand each other's historical, cultural, and political context.

Over the course of this dissertation, I will argue that the approach of community archaeology serves as a potential means for archaeologists and Nunavummiut to create such an appropriately 'non-scary' framework through which the social history and contemporary identity issues of Inuit people can be critically examined and discussed. In order for this to occur, community archaeology (like IQ) must be seen as a conceptual space in which to develop ideas, experience and memories about the past that are capable of acknowledging their present-day origins.

Conclusion

Does the discipline of archaeology—as an approach designed to create objective and factual accounts of the past—have potential to gain perspective on contemporary Inuit identity? Regardless of the answer, Nunavut's emphasis on tradition and history as the foundation for a modern territory implicates the field. The following chapter will more closely examine this relationship between archaeology and the jointly political and cultural philosophy of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.



Plate 3: *Nunavut (Our Land)*, Kenojuak Ashevak, 1992. Printed in a limited edition to commemorate the 1994 signing ceremony for the Nunavut Land Claim Final Agreement.

Western convention dates time from a divinely decreed moment, whether the death of a god or the travels of a prophet; for Inuit, the narrative progression from 'before' or 'after' carries no such revelatory implications. Time, like space, is an area through which we move but in which our traces are effaced by that very movement. Progress is a meaningless concept; we advance along a cyclical path in which events and the stage of these events appear and reappear as both cause and effect of any given happening. Perhaps for that reason, among Inuit, space and time are not regarded as individual or even social properties, but as areas in which we assume certain individual and social responsibilities

-Alberto Manguel (2008:117)

Kenojuak Ashevak was one of the first Inuit women to take part in the Northwest Territories arts initiatives of the 1950s, and is currently recognized as being among Canada's most prominent print artists. Born in Ikirashaq in 1927, she spent her formative years living on the land and traveling throughout South Baffin and the region currently known as Nunavik. The imagery of her artworks—which include printed and drawn images, soapstone sculpture and stained glass—is drawn from a self-described triad of memory, experience and imagination.

In order to commemorate the signing of the Nunavut Land Claim Final Agreement, Kenojuak produced a limited edition of three prints exploring her vision of the Inuit homeland. In assembling the image, Kenojuak chose the format of a map, in which the planes of time (seasonality), physical landscape, and personal experience are conflated. As indicated in Kenojuak's detailed description of the print, both the land and its inhabitants are governed by a fixed and interrelated cycle of causality. Seasons change according to a rightful order. Inuit commit tasks because the time of year has created appropriate conditions for them to do so. Material objects belong simultaneously to seasonal place and human action. In assembling this image, Kenojuak was obsessed with the goal of achieving visual circularity, presumably as a means of representing the cyclical nature of events. "I was very careful to make it a circle" she notes (1992 in Leroux et al. 1994:110), "I used a pencil to make it even with a thin point and then with the wider utensil to make it a circle like this."

Kenojuak's explanation of the image, transcribed from a 1992 interview with Marion Jackson and Odette Leroux (Leroux et al. 1994: 110), is as follows:

This is in every change of the season. Like the early spring, summer, fall where you can see newly formed ice and during the wintertime. During the time of longest daylight. This is all in the different seasons, like all year around.

This is the earth and the sky. This is the moon, and the moon starts to disappear, and this is the sun. This is the sky with everything in it, but this one is the moon and the stars. And the reason why the sun is in it as well, is that if these weren't here these couldn't have been here.

From where the winter starts. This is the middle of winter. That's why there's the dog team on the ice following the bear. This one is in the early spring, because it is still too early so part is the snow with the old tent on the top. This is still in the same season, so these are piled up waiting for the sun to be reflected as it is a drying rack. These are sleds and this is the place to put the sleds in the snow to protect the runner from the sun, because they are covered with frozen mud. This is during the spring when it is time to be living in the tent, but there is still the ice. But the ice is starting to get some holes, because it is springtime when a woman is fishing.

There are some small birds all around. This is during the springtime when the ice is all gone. These two qajaak are following the white whales. These two people notice hunters following the whales, so they run. And in this one, autumn comes, and the ice is starting to form. Those are newly formed ice. This man went out hunting, and has one seal loaded in his qajaq. This is some snow in this area now. This is the lake flowing down to the sea water. And this is the sign of the freezing time in the lake.

Kenojuak's map depicts a cycle of relationship between Inuit people and the Arctic landscape that has existed for centuries. It similarly invokes a tension inherent in the commemoration of an Inuit homeland through a seasonal and economic cycle that less and less defines the everyday social realities of that region. The traditional Inuit relationship between temporality and cultural activities—as discussed above by Alberto Manguel—has become significantly more complicated, with such intermediaries as 9 to 5 employment, television, and schooling becoming significant regulators of even the most traditional practices (Graburn 1982; MacDonald 1998:208; Stern 2003). Despite these changes, a certain optimism for continued tradition is evident in the circularity of Kenojuak's map. The experiential origins of the image and its explanation—drawn from the direct memories of an individual born out on the land—attests to

a way of knowing a world that endures in the thoughts and actions of Inuit people.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and the Mapping of History, Heritage and Time

Introduction

In her dissertation exploring historical narratives of the Northwest Territories' Inuvialuit people, Natasha Lyons (2007:153) shares this insightful observation:

I asked Elders in varying ways if they had any knowledge of or experiences with 'archaeology.' Less than a quarter of them had any sense of what the term 'archaeology' meant, yet they had a great deal of knowledge and opinions concerning artifacts, old sites, and social proscriptions surrounding them.

The idea that non-archaeological groups may independently conceive of and use 'archaeological' resources in the development of their own histories has yet to profoundly register in the profession of archaeology (Matthews 2008). While it is commonly understood that various non-academic communities have their own interpretations of both tangible and intangible histories, there has been far less attention paid to the ways these narratives interact with those produced by more widely recognized historical authorities such as archaeologists. Laurajane Smith (2007, see also TALC 1996 in McNiven and Russell 2008) suggests that the discrepancy between archaeological visions of the past and the understandings possessed by non-archaeologists emerges prominently through language, with archaeologists striving to understand 'the past,' as opposed to more dynamic and personalized frameworks of 'heritage.' As Smith elaborates (ibid:7):

The nebulousness of ['the past'], its ambiguity and its mystery immediately works to render it subject to the ministrations of experts like archaeologists and historians. It is part of the discourse that maps out what it is archaeologists and other areas of expertise may have domain over. What the past is for many people is heritage. The important point here is that by using terms like 'the past,' we disengage from the very real emotional and cultural work that the

past performs as heritage for individuals and communities. The past is not abstract; it has material reality as heritage, which in turn has material consequences for community identity and belonging. The past cannot simply be reduced to archaeological data or historical texts—it is always someone's heritage.

In defining its vision of an IQ-situated practice of archaeology, the Government of Nunavut is suggesting a mandatory reconciliation between archaeological notions of 'the past' and a sense of heritage understood in terms of values and traditions embedded "in the hearts and minds of a people" (Bell 2002:2). The present chapter will tease apart various ideas about what actually separates Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit from the contemporary practice of archaeology. Such a discussion, by necessity, involves reference to the popular dualism between 'western science' and 'traditional knowledge.' This perception of differing (and often opposing) worldviews occupies a very present, and conflicted, space in the academic study of indigenous groups. There is a wealth of literature exploring the nature of the divide between western and indigenous, or 'traditional,' ways of thinking about the world (see for example, Berkes 1999; Bielawski 1989, 1992; Huntington 2005; Huntington et al. 2011; Legat 2007; McGrath 2003, 2012; Simpson 2001). There is an equally strong cannon of articles that question the very existence of this divide, often portraying traditional knowledge as sharing many of the same qualities as western science (Hobson 1992; Tsuji and Ho 2002), or even as a political strategy for creating difference rather than a genuine divergence of worldviews (McGhee 1989, 2004, 2008, 2010; Nadasdy 1999:3). The nebulous debate over the nature, and even existence, of western science and traditional knowledge as discrete categories is increasingly being labelled as 'démodé' in academic circles. Despite this, the concept of a traditional knowledge/western science duality still holds a very real place in the politics and practices of the Arctic, where granting agencies, research boards, government policy makers, developers, environmental planners and the public at large still operate through the basic understanding that 'traditional' Inuit culture

and lifeways give rise to very different forms of knowledge than those employed by 'science.' Traditional Inuit knowledge, in this context, is most often understood according to a definition similar to that devised by the Traditional Knowledge Working Group of the Northwest Territories (Legat, 1991: 1, see also Kassam et al. 2001:11) as:

knowledge that derives from, or is rooted in the traditional way of life of Aboriginal people. Traditional knowledge is the accumulated knowledge and understanding of the human place in relation to the universe. This encompasses spiritual relationships, relationships with the natural environment and the use of natural resources, relationships between people; and, is reflected in language, social organization, values, institutions, and laws.

Rather than being an assemblage of learned information, the concept of traditional knowledge is less about knowledge content as such, but rather more about the processes used to gather and apply knowledge in the contemporary world. As Eleanor Bonny points out (2007:16), traditional knowledge "emerges not as an assemblage of skills and information, but rather as a process of using, learning, adapting and perpetuating traditional ways of knowing." The category of 'western scientific knowledge' is often considered at a much more superficial level than 'traditional knowledge' in the Arctic and elsewhere.²¹ It is generally described in loose comparative terms as being 'positivist, objective, reductionist, and secular' as opposed to the 'experiential, subjective, holistic and sacred' dimensions inherent to Inuit ways of thinking (see extensive literature review of such traits in Tsuji and Ho 2002:333; see also Arctic examples in Bielawski 1989,1992; Huntington 2005, 2011).

²¹ A western tradition of knowledge, as a concept, is generally considered to be unproblematic (in academia and otherwise), to the extent that literature comparing western and indigenous knowledge traditions often entirely forgoes explanations or definitions of the term. Lists of attributes have come to replace broader considerations of western knowledge's origins as a trans-historical and cultural process (see for example Saldaña 2001) or even questions regarding its coherence as a unified tradition.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit hinges on the idea that Inuit people possess a special cultural relationship to history. This relationship is maintained through the intergenerational transferral of distinct values and skills through oral narratives and experiential contexts. This chapter will ask the basic question of if, and how, Inuit people structure their knowledge of time and history in ways that might differ from that employed by incoming archaeologists. While the issue of locality is obviously at play in any differences that might exist—ie. the tendency for groups with significant experience of a (conceptual or physical) environment to think it differently about it than incoming individuals with their roots anchored elsewhere—I specifically seek out patterns of thinking and association that transcend locational familiarity to reference deep, underlying cultural and social structures similar to Bourdieu’s notion of ‘habitus’ (1980). While resisting framing this comparison in terms of ‘traditional knowledge’ vs. ‘science,’ I occasionally employ the terms as a reflection of the categories that have been used (by academics and non-academics alike) to understand difference among the two groups. To further distance my line of inquiry from this dominant discourse, I re-route my discussion through an analogy of terrestrial wayfaring. Using historical Inuit maps, I draw parallels between cultural understandings of space and time, observing Inuit tendencies to map ‘hybrid’ histories—narratives of the past intricately interwoven with contemporary personal/community values and experience—much in the same way that they arrange their knowledge of physical space through narrative and experiential means.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit as Inuit Epistemology

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, as previously discussed, simultaneously represents a political platform for cultural survival and a distinct form of cultural knowledge derived from a shared history of environmental interaction and social practices²².

²² In her series of interviews concerning Inuit epistemology with Netsilingmiut elder

At the cultural level, IQ is the combined product of various ways of knowing recognized by Inuit; namely 'isuma-', 'qaujima-', and 'sila-.' Eleanor Bonny (2007:20) distinguishes these levels as follows:

Isuma-, which relates to the western concept of "reason" describes an individual's ability to solve problems in a logical manner (using an Inuit model of logic). *Qaujima-* which comes from the root word for "light" refers to an understanding of the world reached through personal experience and reflection. It is thus comparable to the English term "enlightenment". Finally, *sila-*, [often translated as 'wisdom'] refers to an individual's accumulated *qaujima-*, experience, and *isuma-*.

During the late 1980s, Ellen Bielawski (1989, 1992) produced a body of research focusing on the contrasting natures of Inuit and western scientific philosophies of thought. The analysis and comparison of these epistemologies, she reasons, are required to advance the realm of northern research activity, which she perceives as being hampered by the academic inability to understand and accommodate Inuit models of knowledge (1992; pers. comm. 2011). If northern research is to promote cultural re-adaptation of Inuit, she furthers, it will have to gain a better sense of the ways in which Inuit people learn and store their knowledge.

While Bielawski cites four discrete characteristics that distinguish Inuit knowledge and western science—including the former's lack of concepts for controlling experimental conditions and describing unexplained phenomenon—she highlights the greatest difference as existing in the holistic framework of Inuit knowledge. In Arctic cross-cultural encounters, she notes, "the bifurcation between culture and nature, between social and natural sciences...denies the

Aupilaarjuk, Janet McGrath (2012) explores the potential contradiction in applying a single cultural framework for perceiving the world to a group as diverse as the Inuit. While she recognizes that there are numerous worldviews at play in Inuit communities according to different levels of age, experience and personality, Aupilaarjuk continues to speak of an 'Inummarik' (original, or true, Inuk) way that forms the foundation of traditional Inuit epistemology.

utility of people and nature in Inuit interpretations of the world and strategies for living in it" (1992:64). This holism tends to result from—and arguably contribute to—the deep embedment of Inuit knowledge in social context, “in a way that science is not embedded in western society”(ibid). Knowledge is thus formed in reference to contexts of daily experience, environmental conditions, and the transfer of oral information between socially known and trusted sources. As a means of better describing this, she draws parallels to Borofsky’s observations of knowledge acquisition within the context of the Polynesian Pukapukan culture (Borofsky 1987 in Bielawski 1992:65):

People learn about canoe building while building canoes. They learn the names of places by going to those places. Little need exists for moving beyond the immediate contexts in which one learns and uses knowledge to develop additional cognitive skills applicable to a broad array of contexts...They appeal to concrete examples and particular circumstances.

Bielawski is careful to add the caveat that the context of experience continues to “change exponentially” within the Arctic (ibid: 65), but that this basic relationship between knowledge building and contextual learning will undoubtedly continue to flavour Inuit perspective. In an equally extensive study of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) amongst the Inuit of Kugaaruk, Keiichi Omura (2007) describes this sense of embodied knowledge through the cultural ideal of ‘ihuma’ (reason), which dictates that a person can “not easily generalize about phenomena nor reduce complex phenomena into a simple principle without regard for the detailed context”(2007:10):

through story-telling practices Inuit elders and hunters do not try to construct and provide objective representations of the environment independent of them, but to give forms to their own lives, in which they have become a member of the Inuit community embedded in *nuna* [the earth], establishing resonant relationships with it” (Omura 2007:45)

Janet McGrath (2003) similarly emphasizes this idea of relationships in her attempt to distinguish IQ from western models of thinking. Western society, she notes, is at heart an “information based system,” in which the production of, and access to, information is a highly esteemed social currency. Put simply by McGrath (ibid:7), “knowledge is power; you are what you know.” By contrast, she notes (ibid:7), Inuit are entrenched within a relationship based system, which values “who you know:”

The term is *inuuqatigiingniq*. It refers to those who are able to establish quality relationships with others, whose actions benefit others, and who are unselfish. In the relationship-based system natural leaders guide a process of consensus-building that relies on advice from community members who have relevant experience and expertise. It's an inclusive process....Through *inuuqatigiingniq*, people are secure. Often action takes place in the collective; sometimes if others are not acting it is not appropriate to act alone. The value of action is measured by how it serves others – and is praised accordingly.

Inuit Perceptions of Landscape and Temporality

A researcher has to create and maintain a distance from the object of study...subjectivity leads to mistakes-it cannot be trusted; only objectivity leads to true knowledge...each element must first be known separately, in isolation; it has to be studied in and of itself, isolated from its context(s)...But for the Inuit, an objective knowledge of the land is inconceivable because everything is connected, and what each element is depends on, and is inextricably bound up with, those connections...humans are part of the land, constantly interacting with it; they cannot be distant observers.

-Béatrice Collignon (2006:166)

In the summer of 2010, I had the good fortune to participate in a visit by Inuit elders to an archaeological fieldcamp being run by Max Friesen at Iqaluktuuq, approximately 40 kilometers outside the municipality of Cambridge Bay. Over the course of the afternoon, participating elders spoke of their deep physical and emotional attachment to the area. One elder in particular, Mary Avalak, had

spent her childhood growing up in the very region where excavations had occurred. Raising her arms in a sweeping gesture around her head, Mary indicated the vast coastline around us and repeated the phrase, “this is my home.” Over the course of that afternoon, it was a strangely joyous and disorienting process to watch the transition of a landscape from an assemblage of marked archaeological sites and features to that of a ‘known place.’ What were previously classified as artifacts suddenly transitioned into components of a life story (Avalak pers. comm. KHS 2010):

Me and my granny used to go walking up that hill alright. We used to go willow picking right below it. For firewood. We’d pack them home...a long walk to pack them home, but we’d make it alright.

Look here...It’s a part of a doll. It used to be mine. My Christmas present from the Santa Claus a long time ago...This is my doll.

That’s how come [the land] is all yellow [with flowers]. That’s where we used to keep our dogs...And my grandparents had their cabin over here...our boat used to be down there.

In an attempt to understand what she envisions as a ‘cross-cultural gulf’ between archaeology and northern indigenous concepts of history, Ellen Bielawski concentrates on their respective notions of time. Amongst Inuit groups, she notes, the past “is merely an attribute of the present...No word exists for history: both history and the reality described in myth give meaning to all activities and to existence.” While astute, Bielawski’s reference to a lack a linguistic marker for history is tricky, as it has been—and often still is—mistaken for a belief of timelessness amongst the Inuit. Until the 1970’s there was a prominent anthropological image of Inuit as ‘primitive’ time-keepers, consciously inhabiting a world of myth in which little sense of, or interest in, the presence of historical trajectory exists (see for example, Lévi-Strauss 1966 on “cold” and “hot” societies). Early works such as Edmund Carpenter’s research on Aivilingmiut myths (1968), prompted theories regarding the total absence of chronological

chains linking the past and present in the Inuit mind. As Carpenter (1968:40) points out:

In all Aivilik undertakings this “past” is present, giving these undertakings validity and value. Wherever they go, their surroundings have meaning for them; every ruin, rock, and cleft is imbued with mythical significance. For example, there lie scattered along the southern shore a number of tiny tent rings which the Aivilik declare to be the work of the Tunik, strangers from the past whose spirits still linger somewhere in the ruins...Yet the Tunik do not in any sense belong to the past, to an earlier age, to the dead-and-bygone world. They remain forever in the present, inhabiting the ruins, giving these stones a special quality, bestowing on them an aura of spiritual timelessness. For in these myths it *is*, always *is*, however much they say *it was*. The tales bestride the tenses and make the *has-been* and the *to-be* present in the popular sense. In them life and death meet, for they conjure up timelessness and invoke the past that it may be relived in the present.

In a similar vein, researchers have cited the absence of chronological awareness in terms of future direction, noting that Inuit are often “too present-oriented” to delay “present satisfactions for the sake of remote, future ones” (Honingmann and Honingmann 1965:234; see Briggs 1992 for interesting counter-argument).

A more recent body of research concerning the temporal awareness in Inuit culture (see for example Briggs 1992; MacDonald 1998, Laugrand 2002, Nagy 2002; Graburn 1998) stands in striking contradiction to the assumption of historical paucity. Contra Bielawski’s earlier indication of Inuktitut’s absence of a word for ‘history,’ Laugrand (2002: 106) indicates that numerous linguistic terms and affixes are woven into the Inuktitut language for the sole purpose of distinguishing between past and present actions and events. As an example of this, he indicates the subtle distinction Inuit employ between stories (‘unipkaat’) and myths, or legends (‘unipkaaqtuat’). The first category, he notes (2005: 1345), represents “stories of events that happened in recent times or narratives that deal with living memories of parents or grandparents”, and the second “refer[s] to the

very distant past, when animals were able to transform in to humans.” Nelson Graburn (1998), for his part, identifies shifting categories of history amongst Inuit generations as their memories regarding nomadic hunter-gather lifestyles change and idealize over time.

Perceptions of ‘timelessness’ among Inuit concepts of history seem to stem from a marked absence of chronology in Inuit culture. “Inuit,” Yvonne Csonka notes (2005: 324), “often have other priorities than a strict respect for chronological sequence...Meaningfulness depends on criteria other than the type of causality Western scholarly history associates with the establishment of correct time sequences.” What then are these priorities? Historical meaning is often developed in relation to present day knowledge and practical requirements. In their study of Inuit elders’ roles in contemporary archaeology, Lyons et al. (2010) point out the way in which these individuals’ perceptions of the past are mediated through contemporary connections to people, memories, places and material ‘things.’ Classifications of history from an Inuit point of view, notes Csonka (2005:325), do not rest so much on criteria of realism or credibility:

but rather on that of proximity to the facts, not so much in time as in terms of personal connection to those who were witness to them. Most Inuit make a sharp distinction in conversation between memories of facts they have personally witnessed and those they have heard from others, and are often loath to report the latter.

Murielle Nagy (2002) takes a linguistic approach to the idea of ‘presentism’ in Inuit worldview. When speaking about the past, Nagy notes (ibid:75), Inuit do “not seem to go back into time but rather into the places where events happened.” This linguistic trait is especially marked through the confluence of space and time in Inuktitut linguistic markers for distance (typically expressed by the prefix ‘ta-’), and for the notion of location (designated by the suffix ‘-vik’). As such, Nagy notes, space and time are linguistically fused to such a degree that

only context is capable of distinguishing which element is being invoked (ibid:76; see also Briggs 1992; MacDonald 1998). While evident linguistically, how do these associations place out in the practical realm?

Béatrice Collignon has done extensive work detailing Inuit relationships to their physical environment (2002, 2006, 2006b). She advances the idea that for Inuit, environment exists as both horizontal and vertical planes, and as such must be simultaneously read in terms of both physical and temporal topographies (2006:99, see following sub-chapter for more detailed description of this theory). Tim Ingold (1993) articulates similar connections between time and place through his advancement of landscape as a locus of temporality. He argues for recognition of a “dwelling perspective,” in which the environment is invested with both physical and social properties relating to the past. The landscape in such a scenario is “constituted as an enduring record of—and testimony to—the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it (ibid: 152).” Such perspectives create what Tilley (1994:16) further terms a ‘perceptual space,’ an emotionally imbued life-space constructed from the memories of individuals and communities, which functions as a locus of “personality, of encounter and emotional attachment.”

The argument that the planes of spatiality and temporality can be conflated has been made in relation to numerous indigenous cultures. (see extensive references in Nabokov 2002:126-150). This relationship is not wholly reliant on the physical presence of the environment, and is also evident in more abstract representations of the landscape (Sejersen 2004). Julie Cruikshank’s study of traditional Yukon stories likens collective narratives to travelogues in which locations in physical space are used to articulate events in chronological time (1990). The use of toponyms and place names allow not only the successful navigation of physical landscape, but also “provide an entry into the past” (Nagy 2002:77). It has also been successfully argued that the realm of cartography captures cultural (as well

as cross-cultural) understandings of spatialized temporality (Rosenberg and Grafton 2010). Being distinct products of socio-cultural knowledge (see for example Brody 1981; Fossett 1996; Freeman 1976; Jackson 1989; Jackson 2000; King 1996; McGrath 1988; Spink and Moodie 1972), maps prove particularly useful in attempts to better understand the complexity of Inuit spatial-temporal knowledge.

A Brief History of Inuit Mapping

The Inuktitut term for maps is 'piusituqait nunannguartangit', meaning 'that which imitates the land.' The earliest Inuit maps quite literally took their physical shape from the land they sought to describe; charts were etched into snow and sand, and intricate topographies assembled from sticks and stones (Fossett 1996; Spink and Moodie 1972:5). The communication of environmental knowledge privileged the ephemeral, and consisted primarily of travel stories with gestures to illustrate direction and the lay of the land. Navigation took place through reference points present in the natural world, such as 'uqalurait' (snow ridges indicating dominant wind direction), stars and constellations (MacDonald 1998), and 'sky maps' formed by the underside of clouds reflecting varying colors according to the landforms lying beneath (Jackson 2000; Spink and Moodie 1972). No permanent maps have been recorded among pre-contact Inuit in the Canadian Arctic, though their presence has been theorized from three, three-dimensional relief maps of coastline carved from driftwood by the Ammagsalik Inuit of Eastern Greenland²³ (Spink and Moodie 1972:6, see fig. 3), decorative maps incised on ivory and wood from northern Alaska (Spencer 1959:47), and potential Classic Thule analogues in the form of incised village and

²³ As Spink and Moodie point out, the maps were discovered and collected by Captain Gustav Holm in 1884-85. As Holm was the first known European traveler through the area's remote east coast, it is assumed that the carvings represent an 'authentic' practice rather than one adopted from exposure to Western sailors and maritime traditions.

hunting scenes on bow-drill handles and other tools (Whitridge 2004). Material charts began to emerge only with the first encounters between Inuit and western explorers, with the latter group often requiring elaborate geographical information regarding the surrounding area. In line with ephemeral traditions of etched snow maps or assembled stick dioramas, notes Renée Fossett (1996:75), Inuit produced these graphic representations as “nothing more than incidental by-products of the oral teaching and learning process.” Europeans, for their part, most often ignored the narratives and gestures of travel accompanying these maps, being unable to see past graphic representation of terrain as the underlying goal behind mapping.

Approximately 150-200 maps drawn by Inuit for explorers and ethnographers between 1818 and 1924 are known to exist (Fossett 1996). In their elaborate analysis of these maps, Spink and Moodie (1972) remark upon their adherence to a distinctly Inuit perspective. This is primarily exhibited through an absence of scale in the maps, they note (1972:8), indicating that the “only measures used in the charts are the extremely variable units of the day’s sledging or sailing.” Also noted by the authors (*ibid*:10) is the enlargement of relative foci in the maps:

The variation in representation of local areas, showing them at a larger scale, or more accurately than less traveled areas, occurs almost entirely as a result of differences in the draughtsman’s knowledge of the route or area. The enlarged sections of some charts are those parts around camp-sites or trading posts which were known in detail, or the surrounds of natural phenomena remarkable enough to be memorable.



Figure 3. Ammassalingmiut three-dimensional relief maps carved from driftwood. These maps chart sections of the East Greenland coastline with distance increments measured by the travel times and navigational difficulty experienced by kayakers (Whitridge 2004:224 [Peterson 1984:624]).

An incident that occurred in the early stages of Arctic cross-cultural encounter serves to illustrate some of the divergences in perspective between western and Inuit understandings of landscape. In the winter of 1821-22, Captain Edward Parry stationed his British expedition ships *Hecla* and *Fury* at Lyon Inlet in the northwest coast of Hudson's Bay. The ensuing season proved to be an interesting case study for cultural encounter with a group of Iglulingmiut camped on a nearby shore (Parry 1824: Chapters VII-IX, see also Fossett 1996:76-82). A relationship of material trade was established between the two parties, eventually leading to a more nuanced exchange of understanding. The encounter also produced what are among the first known examples of drawn Inuit maps.²⁴

²⁴ As Robert Rundstrum points out (1987:73), there are two lesser-known examples of Inuit maps that pre-date the charts depicted in Parry's journals. While the dates of these maps are unclear,

Seeking to explore Inuit awareness of geographical terrain to the north of their camp, Parry requested that several individuals record their knowledge onto paper. While seemingly familiar with the use of writing materials, the individuals had never before encountered a paper map. "It was observable, however" laments Parry of the experiment (ibid:197), "that no two charts much resemble each other, and that the greater number of them still less resemble the truth in those parts of the coast with which we were well acquainted." SuffICIENTLY intrigued by the 'inaccuracies' of one map drawn by a woman named Iligliuk, Parry took the time to further instruct her in compass points and the principles of western cartography. While her first chart interpreted the landscape as a curious string of camping sites overlaid with verbally provided place names and resource locations, the second appeared quite different: "With a countenance of the most grave attention and peculiar intelligence," notes Parry in his journal (ibid:197-98), "she drew the coast of the continent...Our surprise and satisfaction may therefore, in some degree, be imagined when, without taking it from the paper, Iligliuk brought continental coast short round to the westward, and afterwards to the S.S.W., so as to come within three or four day's journey of the Repulse Bay." To the Captain's eyes, the second map made sense.

To Renée Fossett (1996:79), the differences between Iligliuk's two maps can best be interpreted as the distinct product of cultural worldview, with her first attempt emerging as "deficient in all the elements which the European cartographic tradition valued: completeness, accurate orientation of elements, consistent scale, and correct placement of features on a grid using standard measures of distance." The primary purpose of Inuit mapping, she furthers, was to communicate a desired route – "what lies off to the side; hills, lakes, and other

their first known publication took place in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, in a volume dated between Oct. 1820-April 1821).

landforms which do not serve as guide posts are irrelevant" (ibid:82) – rather than to accurately an objective layout of a physical terrain.

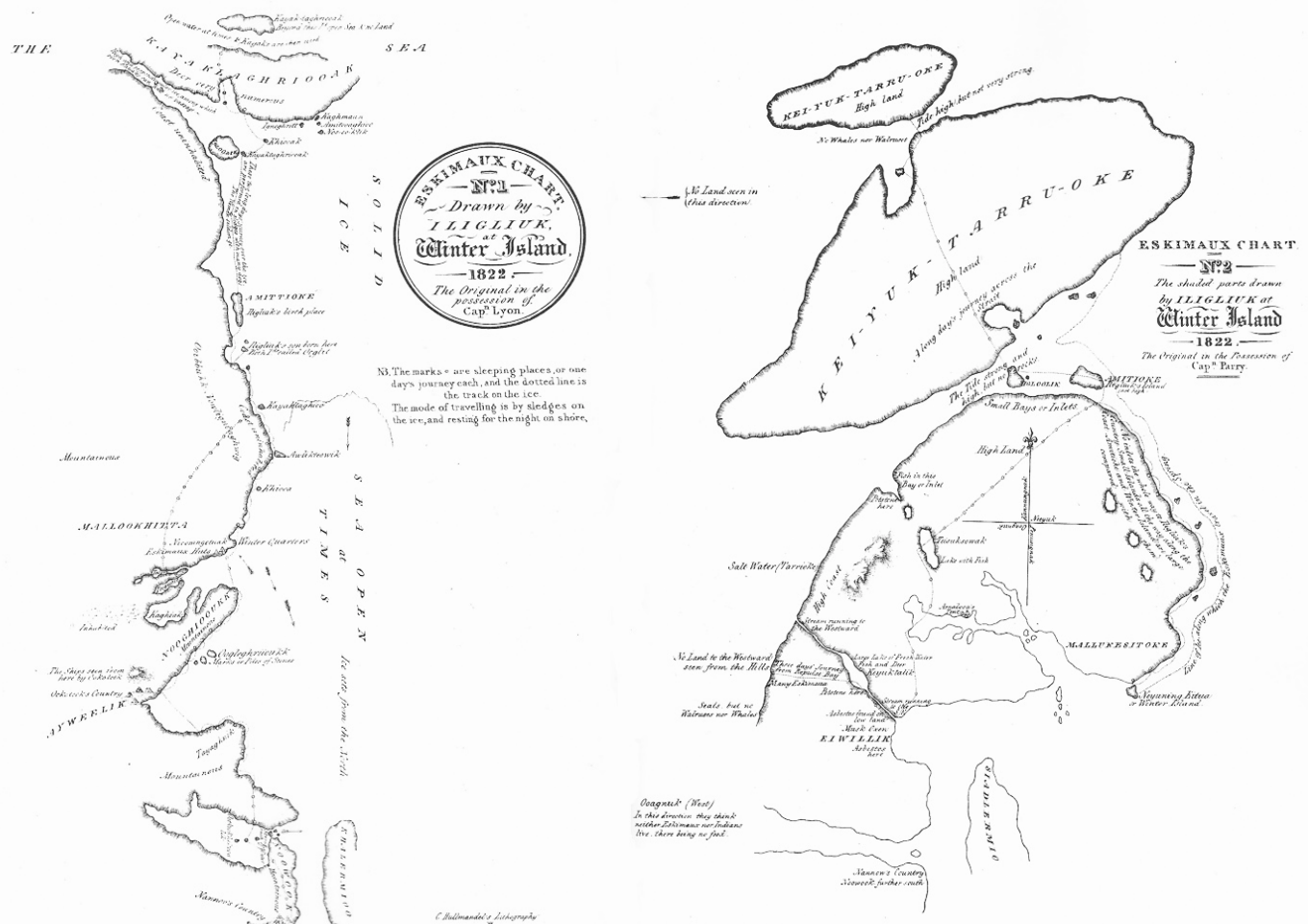


Figure 4. The juxtaposed maps created by Iligiuk before (left) and after (right) Parry's instructions in western cartographic principles, recreated within Parry's expedition journals (1824:196,199).

When juxtaposed, Iligiuk's drawings highlight two very different ways of experiencing landscape. The first of her maps adheres to the tradition of "straight line mapping," (Klutschak 1881:86) – in which a trail is assembled in relation to the navigator's physical experience and recollection of visual and narrative waypoints rather than specific cardinal points. As Fossett points out (1996:82), "the direction of travel was not always relevant. What mattered was reaching the goal, which one could do by moving from the first named place in

the string of instructions to the next, until the end point was reached.” Contrary to the standardized increments of miles employed in western-style maps, the units used by Inuit for estimating and representing distance resulted from the fusion of physical range and the time taken in traveling the distance (Spink and Moodie 1972:12-13). According to Peter Whitridge (2004:226), this sophisticated form of cartographic representation—a hybridization of the ideal, real, natural and cultural—might even be seen as an improvement over purely objective depiction in that, “rather than an erroneous *distortion* of space, this manipulation of scale represents a *correction* of the deficiencies of a two (or three) dimensional representation of a four-dimensional object (a journey).”

Navigating time

Inuit patterns of temporal and historical recognition can be related to early Inuit cartographic mapping in several ways. In their systematic review of Inuit maps, Spink and Moodie remark on the curious tendency for Inuit to use time—usually in a measurement of ‘sleeps’—as a measurement of distance. Representations of the physical world, they note (1972:12), are often distorted to accommodate the experience of travel:

areas of difficulty become magnified in representation because of the time and energy expended in traversing them. The areas of easy travel are similarly reduced in proportion to their reality for they possess no time-consuming hazards or hardships.

This literal relationship between temporality and spatiality has led more recent academic studies to further an argument that landscape essentially is time for the Inuit (Collignon 2006; Csonka 2005; Sejersen 2004). Through the act of layering topography with the temporal elements of experience and narrative, Inuit assert their unity in both time and space. Traveling through a storied landscape, notes Béatrice Collignon (2007:99), anchors people not only in the present but also in

history by reviving “past events that bear witness to the antiquity of the groups’ presence in the territory, giving it historical depth.”

We are not talking about a simple map, with nothing more than axes of travel, points that mark camps and hunting areas. Through human experience and storytelling, the landscape becomes a *memoryscape*, a humanized environment. The territory becomes a world filled not merely with its living people (who are not numerous), but also of their ancestors, their adventures and misadventures, their bones and their spirits.

The notion of *memoryscapes* was originally coined by Mark Nuttal in reference to the historically sedimented landscapes of Greenlandic Inuit (1992:39).²⁵ The term connotes the relationship between “people’s mental images of the environment,” and a “particular emphasis on places as remembered places” (ibid). In the act of relating to landscape as ‘*memoryscape*,’ notes Sejersen (2004:74) the land “becomes alive, meaningful, and personal and embeds persons, places, and activities in the rivers of history.” In his study of Inuit navigation, Claudio Aporta qualifies the notion of *memoryscape* as something that is simultaneously fixed in culture and ever-changing with individual experience (2004:15, see also Sejersen’s writing on ‘*visionscapes*’ 2004:81):

the concept expresses both the permanence of memory through time and the dynamics of people’s relationship with their environments. *Memoryscapes* are not transmitted from generation to generation as a mere corpus of geographical knowledge

While landscape functions as a ‘place-holder’ for memory and history, Inuit are engaged in a constant process of redefining its historical message to better apply to the needs and values of their contemporary social space. In this way, argues Paine (1977:98), “Inuit use tradition not so much to explain what was, but as a

²⁵ The term ‘*memoryscape*,’ while devised specifically in reference to the Inuit, carries many of the same overtones as Basso’s more popular writing on the existence of ‘place worlds’ (1996, see also similar understandings of temporally-embedded landscapes in Ingold 1993 and Tilley 1994).

means of coming to terms with the present and the future.” In this utilization of time, we see shades of the purposeful, goal-oriented and highly individualized traditions of ‘straight-line mapping.’ Time, like land, is navigated according to individual/collective capacity and meaning. The points of reference along this route – the stories and ‘place names’ – belong not to a greater abstract schematic, but rather to more humanized criteria. As Jean Briggs points out (1992:87-88):

In the Inuit world, it is people who use time, not time that uses people. Inuit time is human in origin and personal in use...It is personal memories and experiences that constitute the temporal organizers and markers of lives, not abstract, generalized milestones such as ‘age’ or ‘month’ or ‘year.’

Similar to early Inuit-drawn maps, areas of history most relevant to the individual or collective describing them gain disproportionately large representation. What lies to either side of this trajectory is not of particular concern.

Conclusion

Discussing the issue of epistemological differentiation within a context of geographic knowledge, Peter Whitridge (2004:213) points out the somewhat misleading dichotomies that are often created in the field of spatial epistemology, with western spatial sciences being cited as rigidly technocratic in comparison to more creative and experiential indigenous forms of knowledge. In reality, Whitridge notes (ibid:217-18), there is little to distinguish these spatial categories, as both rely on visions of the world constructed through notions of place, or “spatialized imaginaries,” birthed from common material realities of social, political, economic, and symbolic context:

A cartographer employing the most elaborate technoscientific

approaches to precisely quantify spatial relationships (e.g., analyzing satellite images) is not less engaged with the locations she manipulates than the native elder who presences a mythic time in telling a story about some of the same locations. Rather, the two are differently engaged in imaginative projects of practically and discursively realizing a complexly textured reality. In each case, the location has been invested with significance, drawn into other networks of meaning, and articulated within the logic of a culturally distinctive way of knowing...There is not an alienated technocrat on the one hand and an authentic human subject on the other, but only hybrid mixes of reason and emotion, person and culture, technique and meaning, observation and interpretation.

Traditional Inuit understandings of space and time—as developed through land-based and nomadic hunting lifestyles—constitute the basis of IQ and continue to inform the core of everyday practice in the North (Wenzel 2004). As such, places in the Arctic landscape—as well the landscape itself—are not simply symbols of the past (Sejersen 2004). Inuit continue to relate to these hybridized historical places as meaningful and relevant in the present, using them as mnemonic waypoints in the navigation of their contemporary lives. Over the last hundred years, archaeological interaction with the Arctic has altered the perceived landscape of history in dramatic ways, with western ‘spatialized imaginaries’ engaged in the mapping and re-mapping of temporal realities. The following chapter will examine the ways in which Inuit were dislocated from their heritage and how they have subsequently fought to re-establish their relationship to land and history within a modern political context.



Plate 4: A compilation of Detroit-based social trails indicating desired rather than official pedestrian passage. As commented by the photographs' source (Griffioen 2012), "it becomes clear that the grid laid down by the ancient planners is now irrelevant."

The 'chemin du désir' (Bachelard 1958), or 'pathway of desire'—less formally known as the social trail, desire line, or bootleg trail—is an architectural term used to designate any organic path representing the conscious choice of individuals to follow desired, rather than formal routes of travel. In the world of human geography, the line of desire holds the additional connotation of human agency's triumph over systems of imposed logic. Well-worn social trails appearing in the urban landscape often signal that the official ordering of space has failed to meet the needs and daily rhythms inherent to a significant subset of the general public.

In the 1980's, French scholar Michel de Certeau famously utilized the metaphor of desire lines to investigate the ways in which "users" of public space—"commonly assumed to be passive and guided by established rules" (1984:xi)—provided counter-measure to more formally established methods for interacting with the world. "These 'ways of operating,'" notes de Certeau (ibid:xiv), "constitute the innumerable practices by means of which users re-appropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production." There is a particularly striking passage in de Certeau's popular volume, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), in which an unnamed spectator stares across the expanse of New York City from a perch on the 110th floor of the World Trade Center. From this bird's-eye perspective, the vast and infinitely complex city—full of movement, desire and "the extremes of ambition and degradation"(ibid: 91)—stretches out as a textured and legible narrative of its own existence. From this vantage, a vision of the city as an organized entity becomes clear. Like a map, its arterial structure of freeways, side streets, and carefully positioned housing blocks testifies to vigilant planning and imposed order. From these heights, the city as a engineered construct (or 'strategy' in de Certeau's words) makes itself visible.

While the privileged voyeurism of the 110th floor view provides a coherent image of the bustling city, a descent among the milling crowds leads to a place "below the thresholds at which visibility begins"(ibid:93). As a ground-level pedestrian, one is immersed in the elementary experience of the city. Moving through the streets, one becomes a practitioner of the city's space, navigating city networks in ways both adherent and contrary to their intended design. The counter navigation of these official routes by small-scale subversions such as j-walking, shortcuts and travel against dictated flows of traffic, represent the 'tactics' of everyday life; small-scale subversions of imposed order that make the world we live in more habitable.

De Certeau's analysis of 'everyday life' begs the question of whether the study of 'past life' may yield similar strategies and tactics. Is history arranged with a prevailing logic? If so, do contemporary 'users' re-appropriate its formal topography and re-shape it to better meet their own needs and realities? When viewed from the distanced perspective of maps, history rolls out before the observer as a coherent trajectory of events and stages (Rosenberg and Grafton 2010). From this viewpoint, a formal narrative of history becomes clear; dominant interpretations guide our understanding of when and how events took place. As with cities, however, history is not only experienced as an objectified phenomenon. It too, has underlying levels of everyday use; vast pedestrian networks that follow assigned pathways, yet also stray onto informal shortcuts and side-roads. It is the negotiation of these formal and informal routes—'strategies' and 'tactics'—that keeps the historical landscape vibrant and continually shifting, ensuring that people continue to find a place for the past in their modern lives.

Mapping (and Counter-mapping) the History of Nunavut

Introduction

While various overviews have been written to chronicle archaeological work in the Canadian Arctic (see for example Collins 1954; Dekin 1978; Kankaanpää 1996, McGhee 1982), there are remarkably fewer attempts to take stock of Inuit-archaeologist relations within this context (see Fitzhugh and Loring 2002; Hood 1998, 2002; Lyons 2007; Rowley 2002 as outstanding exceptions). The history of interaction between archaeologists and Inuit throughout the Canadian Arctic tends to be characterized through relatively stark terms of isolation and mutual disinterest. Natasha Lyons (2007:9) points out that northern peoples “have endured a history of near exclusion and neglect at the hands of Arctic and Subarctic archaeologists;” a sentiment echoed by Daniel Weetaluktuk’s assertion that Arctic archaeology “has always been the southern archaeologists’ thing for over the past 50 years and still is today” (in Kemp 1982:11). It is not only archaeologists who are deemed responsible for this divide. Archaeologists have retorted that communities remain indifferent to the narratives and results produced by archaeological research unless directly linked to issues of political authority (Helmer and Lemoine 2002; Plumet 2002).

In his analysis of archaeology’s role in the Canadian Arctic, Bryan Hood (2002) uses the medium of ‘text’ to explore the contemporary social dynamics through which history of the area is written. The role of authorship, he notes, is key to this issue. “Who,” he asks (ibid:248), “controls the construction/writing of archaeological texts? Who exerts authority over the form and content of our written representation of the past?” The answer, he concludes, is that archaeological texts still remain the product of “experts,” a problem that requires remedy by transforming the role of Inuit from “objects of knowledge

and passive readers of the past composed by others to active writers of their own past in forms/genres of their own choosing as well as in their own languages” (ibid:249).

The following chapter will build on Hood’s textual references to explore the historic relationship between Inuit and archaeologists through the lens of cartography. Maps, in other words, will be used as a means of illustrating the various ways in which history has been envisioned according to changing social dynamics between Inuit and archaeologists. The mapping of history is an act that entails more than creating visual depictions of the past. The landscapes that unfold can also be seen as a blueprint of their authors’ concepts regarding the nature and import of history.

Contra Hood’s conclusions regarding dominant authorship by archaeological experts, I argue that Inuit have made significant contributions to the way in which history is envisioned through archaeological maps. While the creation of graphic maps did not feature greatly in traditional Inuit society (see chapter 3), maps have gained an important role in the negotiation of Inuit rights over the physical and historical terrain of Nunavut. Since the early 1970’s, Inuit have been engaged in a process of re-shaping, or ‘counter-mapping,’ archaeological visions of the past. The term ‘counter-mapping’ has been used in anthropological discourse to describe the production of maps as a means to “undermine power relations and challenge the dominant political and social geographies of power” (Harrison 2011:88). Studies in counter-mapping have tended to focus on the creation of cartography expressing indigenous eco-system knowledge for the purposes of conservation and resource documentation (see for example Harris and Hazen 2005; Peluso 1995). It is only recently that the role of counter-mapping has been considered in terms of historical landscapes (Byrne 2008; Harrison 2011). Regarding cultural heritage, Dennis Byrne (2008: 259-60) notes that the

conceptual maps of archaeologists and indigenous groups often follow different trajectories:

the established approach is to map cultural sites as dot point data and to emphasise their historical associations over their contemporary human associations. Archaeologists have been inclined to regard the archaeological record for any one period of the past as part of a landscape that belongs *in* that period and *to* that period...This ignores plentiful evidence that people in the present narrate these sites into their lives through myth or song, that they weave them into their own accounts of who they are...

This chapter will analyze the ways in which archaeologists and Inuit people have visualized understandings of history through the medium of cartography. I argue that the resulting maps can rarely be attributed solely to either the spatial – or perhaps more appropriately, historical – imaginaries of archaeologists and Inuit. These maps should be read as hybridized reflections of cultural interaction, social desire and political shift. The visual evolution of archaeological cartography in the Arctic allows the distinct dialogue between ‘strategy’ and ‘tactic’ to be better understood.

Pre-Contact Inuit Archaeology

While pre-contact Inuit are known to have excavated and engaged with antiquated architecture and material culture, it is debatable as to whether these traditions are comparable to modern archaeology. Pre-Dorset and Dorset era artifacts regularly appear within the context of Thule Inuit sites (Park 1993), although there is often insufficient evidence to determine whether they were actively excavated and curated, or deposited *in situ* through more unintentional means. More recent Inuit traditions of excavating ancient sites for both educational purposes and the collection of raw materials for subsequent re-use have been reported (Rowley 2002:262). Inuit possession of antiquated, broken

and discarded artifacts as amulets—which were worn to bestow good luck or transfer the hunting talents of their former owners—has also been cited (Mathiassen 1928:150; Rowley 2002:262; Weyer 1932:312). Even ancient architecture is known to have been recycled; structural whale bone and dense vegetation layers produced by earlier houses have provided Inuit with a convenient source of building material for re-use in sod houses (Maxwell 1985: 241).

While antiquated artifacts presented potential opportunities for various forms of re-use, they were generally handled with the utmost of care and respect. Along these lines, Cambridge Bay elder Mary Avalak remembers teachings from her youth that an abandoned house was to be considered as haunted, and was to be avoided unless absolutely necessary (pers. comm. KHS 2010). This applied to tent rings and artifacts as well. “It was strict in those days,” she remembers (*ibid*), “just like the RCMP”:

I start seeing those old things, but every time I go to grab something out of the ground [my grandmother] says “don’t touch it, its not yours, it belongs to somebody who stayed there.” So I was not allowed to touch it...If I saw something nice that I liked, and I really wanted it, I have to replace it with something I really like. Some people get sick in the old days...some people should get sick if you don’t do it [replace the taken artifacts].

An understanding of artifacts as being attached to the spirit and talents of departed owners regulated, and continues to regulate, much of the interaction between Inuit and antiquated materials (see for example, Jenness 1922:174-76). With European contact, however, a second association of financial gain was introduced to local engagements with material culture. Incoming visitors to the Arctic were fascinated by material traces of past Inuit life, and encouraged their exchange for trade goods and monetary value. History, for the Inuit, became something profitable in new material ways. Susan Rowley (2002:263) cites the

origins of important early archaeological collections of the 1920's and 30's as having been assembled by Inuit people to sell.

It was not only the material results of excavation that produced wealth for the Inuit, but also the very act of excavation. Inuit men were commonly hired as laborers to work on the unearthing of sites (Fitzhugh and Loring 2002:6). While Inuit participation in archaeology is recognized to have been beneficial, it often served to reinforce local understandings of historical artifacts as wealth. In reference to his 1928-29 excavations in the Diomed Islands (Alaska), Diamond Jenness explains some of the difficulties that arose from this association (Jenness and Jenness 2008:130):

[Excavation difficulties] originated not from my hired workmen, whose diligence and discipline were exemplary, but from the neglected women and children in the village, who could see no reason why they should not profit from the southern interloper who was rifling the homes and property of their ancestors. At the outset, they did no more than rake over the rubbish heaps beside their dwellings...But when some of them stole out at midnight, which was nearly as bright as midday, and despoiled the floor of a ruin my workmen had just exposed, I felt decidedly aggrieved.²⁶

²⁶ Diamond Jenness' attempted solution to the problem of artifact looting presents an interesting side-note (ibid: 130-31):

what could I do? It was their village, not mine. I could perhaps bribe them not to disturb the sites on which I and my crew were working...Memory then brought back a tale about an Alaskan Eskimo who had thrown a stone at a graveyard and with difficulty escaped the attack of a skull which emerged from its grave and pursued him down the hill-side...I might invoke the ghosts of long-dead Eskimos to protect them, call in supernatural guardians whom no villager would dare to provoke. Accordingly...I surreptitiously planted, in the thawing floor of a dwelling which they were excavating, two skulls that I had picked up on the tundra. Glancing back at my handiwork, I fairly glowed with satisfaction at the sight of the two grisly faces peering at me out of the dark earth. "No Eskimo woman or child will dare disturb those ghosts," I said to myself, and that night I slept the sleep of a conqueror. My confidence was short-lived. It might have been justified fifty years before, but times had changed. The white man had undermined the old religion of the Eskimos, ridiculed their ancient superstitions and the medicine men who upheld them, and destroyed all respect for age and wisdom...When I examined my house-site the morning after I tabooed it, I found its floor systematically pillaged, and its two skull guardians ignominiously lying at the bottom of the bank over which the marauders had kicked them.

While Inuit maintained traditional associations with antiquated material culture, the desired status of artifacts simultaneously created a parallel economy for history. It was precisely this same economy—realized through the employment of Inuit for survey and excavation-related jobs—that would guide the development of a scientific archaeology in the early 20th century.

The Pioneers of Arctic Archaeology

The origins of scientific archaeology in the Canadian Arctic are embedded in a desire for land. The drive towards territorial exploration and the expansion of sovereignty claims, rather than the promotion of scientific knowledge, was the initial motivation behind the Borden government's decision to support and fund the 1913-18 Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE), headed by Arctic explorer and enthusiast Vilhjalmur Stefansson (Richling 1995).²⁷ As part of this expedition, anthropologist (and future Chief Anthropologist of the National Museum of Canada) Diamond Jenness performed the first Canadian systematic and government-funded excavations on 103 archaeological features located on Barter Island, Alaska²⁸. In addition to amassing thousands of Thule era artifacts,

²⁷ The supporting of political agendas under the guise of archaeological and ethnographic fieldwork was not exclusive to the Canadian Arctic. As Richling points out (1995:109), "between 1910 and 1939 nearly all the country's archaeologists and ethnologists were employees of the federal government, initially in the Geological Survey of Canada, then in the National Museum. This made the intellectual and logistical aspects of their scientific agenda contingent on what politicians and bureaucrats deemed to be in the public interest."

²⁸ There are two interesting points about these excavations. Firstly, is that they occurred on American ground (the first scientific archaeological excavation to be conducted on Canadian soil would not be accomplished until 1922, when Therkel Mathiassen excavated the Naujan site near the contemporary community of Repulse Bay). After a disastrous initial attempt to enter the Canadian Arctic by boat—during which one CAE vessel was lost along with most of its crew members (see for example McKinlay 1976), Diamond Jenness was subsequently left by Stefansson in an Alaskan Inuit camp with two month's provisions and a promise of future rescue. Jenness used this period of time to begin studying the lifestyles and language of local Inuit and to conduct preliminary artifact analysis and archaeological surveys along the Canadian-American border. Upon receiving news that the remaining CAE ships would be ice-bound for another four months, Jenness began excavations on the accumulation of archaeological ruins located on Barter

Jenness produced a detailed collection of fieldnotes, which were summarily forgotten until their inclusion in an archaeological document by Edwin Hall nearly seventy years later (Hall 1987; see also Jenness 1990).

Archaeology, like many of the Arctic sciences, began to flourish in the North only during the period of rapid change following the Second World War. Until that time, an age of what has been described as “heroic” archaeology held reign (Fitzhugh and Loring 2002:5; Loring 1998:265). Its practitioners—ethnographers, adventurers, and historians of equal measure—immersed themselves in the language and lifeways of their Inuit hosts, recording whatever details they could to fill gaping lacunae in their knowledge of both the Arctic landscape and the history of its inhabitants. Early descriptions of material remains tended towards functional categories inferred from the example of contemporary indigenous practices; research field notes were penciled in with mixed symbols of archaeological and cultural interest. As Richling points out (1995:111), the archaeology of this era was considered as analogous to ethnography, “the primary difference between them being the types of evidence each sought to uncover.” Much of the early conflation of ethnography and archaeology was also due to an ignorance of alternatives. Until Diamond Jenness identified a Dorset culture separate from Thule and contemporary Inuit traditions (1925), Arctic researchers were largely unable to imagine a past that was discontinuous from the ethnographic realities of the contemporary Inuit.

Throughout the early period of scientific archaeology in the Arctic, the question of Inuit origins dominated the research agenda (Kankaanpää 1996). The attempt to establish a cultural history for the Inuit required a bridging of evidence

Island. The second point of interest lies in the fact that Jenness’ excavation was guided primarily by his Inuit companion, Aiyakuk. Aiyakuk not only located the Barter Island sites for Jenness, but was also hired (along with many other Inuit) to help excavate and interpret the numerous artifacts and physical structures. The complete story of this excavation can be read in Stuart Jenness’ 1990 report.

uncovered through both archaeological excavation and ethnographic study; contemporary Inuit practices were diligently observed and recorded (see for example Jenness 1922). Among the guiding theorists for this practice was Danish ethnologist H.P. Steensby, who highlighted cultural adaptation as the research key to uncovering Inuit origins (Steensby 1905, 1916 in Kankaanpää 1996:33-67). Steensby observed that traditional Inuit subsistence systems were composed of identifiable traits—both new and old—that could be translated directly into a measurement of ‘how, why, and where’ Inuit culture began. The cultural traits of contemporary Inuit were seen to represent the culmination of an evolutionary trajectory beginning with a ‘Paleo-eskimo’ culture that populated the Central Arctic through inland migration, and ending with a ‘Neo-eskimo’ phase of coastal subsistence (see Kankaanpää 1996:40).

Steensby’s theories were persuasive enough to have influenced the largest scientific expeditions to the Arctic. Knud Rasmussen’s Fifth Thule Expedition was organized around the collection of cultural and archaeological materials from the Central Arctic “original homeland” of Inuit culture.²⁹ Due to their lack of coastal traits, “Caribou Inuit” inhabiting the mainland interior were presumed by the expedition to be the best representatives of the Paleo-eskimo phase of Inuit lineage (Birket-Smith 1925:536). As the expedition team’s archaeologist Therkel Mathiassen found no material evidence for Steensby’s ordering of Inuit ancestry according to distinct evolutionary phases, he advocated that the Neo-

²⁹ In the opening to the introductory Fifth Thule Expedition report (Rasmussen 1927: x-xi in Kankaanpää 1996:52-53), Rasmussen openly acknowledges Steensby’s theory as providing the theoretical framework for the expedition. He also provides his understanding of Inuit origins as such:

The aboriginal Eskimos developed a special culture around the big rivers and lakes of the northernmost part of Canada...They developed the first phase of a coastal culture at the Arctic Coast of Canada...From here they wandered over to Labrador, Baffinland, and Greenland, to the east, and westward, reached Alaska and the Bering Sea...From [the Bering Sea] a new migration took place, for what reason we cannot know, but this time from West to East...during all these years of migration, some tribes kept to their old places in the interior.

eskimo culture represented the oldest and only phase of Inuit occupation in the Arctic (Mathiassen 1927: 86, 199-201).

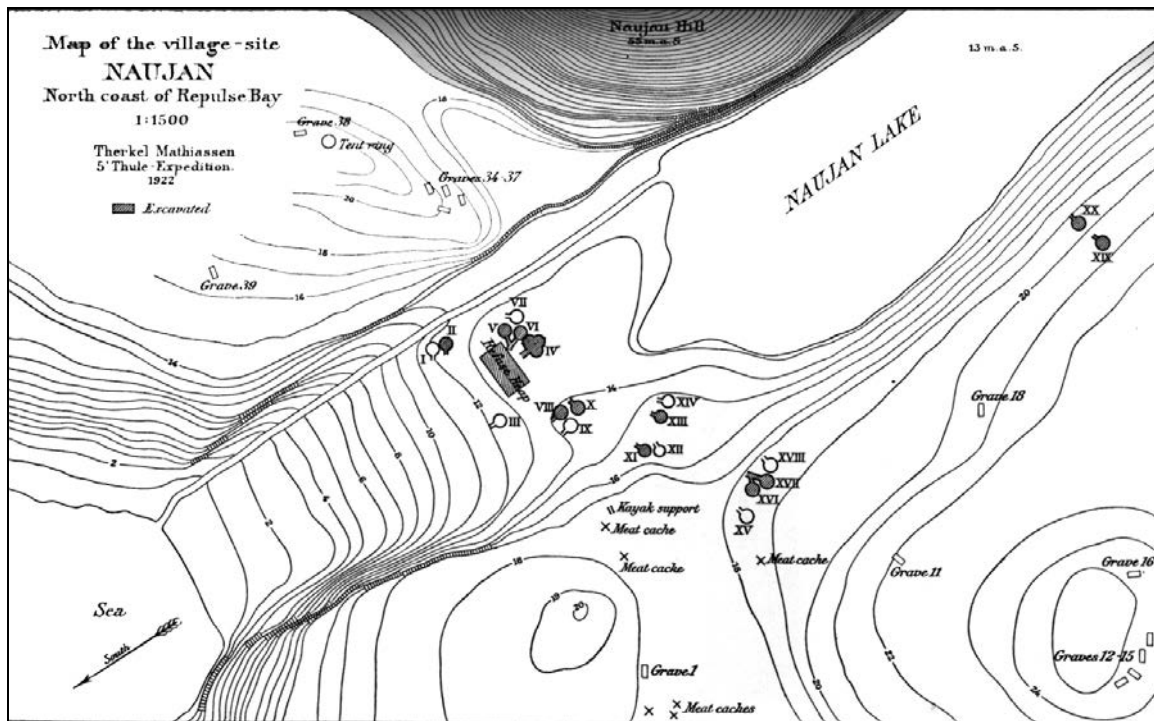


Figure 5. Mathiassen's map created for the Naujan site. (1927:7). The collection of ruins in the Naujan valley was identified as being of archaeological interest due to its unusual distance from the coastal shore. Of note, is Mathiassen's logic for deducing the considerable antiquity represented by the coastal remove, which he reasoned entirely through his own experiences with contemporary Inuit groups. Regarding the site's previous inhabitants, he asks (ibid: 8-9): "When they returned from the hunt, why should they every time walk or drive much higher up than necessary? On the gravel terraces east of the houses are a number of meat-caches built of heavy stones; why has the catch been dragged right up here instead of putting it into a cache near the beach, as is always done and where there are stones in plenty? All unnecessary trouble is foreign to Eskimo ideas."

What results, if any, stemmed from this early era's entwinement of archaeology with the ethnographic realities of Inuit people? The reliance of researchers on the logistical aid of Inuit groups brought them into direct contact with sites in proximity to hunting and resource procurement areas that remained in contemporary use by the groups with whom they traveled. Yet the mention of

shared historical insight is rare in the early writings of archaeologists.³⁰ During a 2011 interview, archaeologist Susan Rowley (pers. comm. 2011) describes the profound effect that residing with Inuit had on her own father—pioneering Arctic archaeologist, Graham Rowley:

It is that sense of seeing the land and because you have lived on the land throughout the seasons, having a different sense of it and having the ideas and interpretations that you as an archaeologist are putting forward coming from that sort of rooted[ness] in the landscape. Opportunities that archaeologists at some of those earlier time periods—people like Mathiassen—clearly had. Most of us today don't have that opportunity...we fly in, fly out, without making some of those landscape connections.

Close contact between archaeologists and Inuit resulted in a shaping of the past through Inuit terms. The ancestry and living patterns of contemporary Inuit people were projected onto material remains, and used as the foundation for their analysis and evaluation. In this way, notes Susan Rowley (2002:264), “Inuit continued to control their own past and its interpretation.” Inuit not only maintained traditional ways of thinking about and engaging with the past (alongside new valuations of archaeology and material culture), but also played a large role in negotiating archaeological contact with the past. Early field crews were predominantly Inuit, an association from which “every aspect of

³⁰ The omission of cultural encounter from archaeological field notes is not particular to archaeologists working with the Inuit. There is a compelling article by Ian Hodder (1989) that catalogues the decline of culturally-situated archaeological writing. He attributes these changes largely to the rise of science and the development of new terminologies to accommodate advances in technology and systems of measurement. The earliest of archaeological reports, he notes, have a contextualized and contingent quality, in which narrators clearly re-enact the process of discovery and provide a sequence of events and dialogue to situate the history with which they engage (ibid: 268). By the early 20th Century, however, the narratives become detached from time and space. In the current era, he laments, the fate of archaeological writing is one in which it “has become increasingly distant, objective, impersonal and universal. We have become blind to the fact that we are writing” (ibid: 271). This evolution, he concludes, ultimately resides in the locus of power, which has been transferred from the hands of the individual to be “dispersed within the fabric of science and its institutions” (ibid: 273).

archaeology from discovery to interpretation emerged” (Fitzhugh and Loring 2002:6).

World War Two and the Cultural Dislocation of History

The Second World War and Cold War saw a dramatic shift in the Canadian Arctic, which became perceived as a strategic military location. Advances in transportation allowed airplanes to access the region year round, bringing supplies and encouraging the development of infrastructure. With increasing concerns over wartime safety and sovereignty, the Canadian Arctic rapidly transformed into a situated defense strategy. The year 1952 saw the initiation of a cooperative project between the Canadian and American governments to introduce a string of continental defense radars known as the Distant Early Warning Line (DEW-Line) along the length of the 69th parallel (see fig. 6), designed to detect incoming missiles and nuclear threats from the USSR. Over the course of the DEW-Line sites’ construction (1954-57), over 460,000 tons of material was imported into the Arctic, dramatically changing the face of both logistical development and cross-cultural encounter within the region (Neufeld 1998).³¹

³¹ DEW-Line operation in the Canadian Arctic has been claimed to have affected cross cultural relationships in both positive and negative ways. While authors such as Neufeld insist this encounter helped the Inuit become incorporated into visions of national identity (1998:17), evidence simultaneously points to the creation of strict policies prohibiting interaction of employees with Inuit (see for example Duffy 1988). As stated in a list of DEW-Line regulations produced by the Canadian Embassy (1955 in Lackenbauer et al. 2005:n.p.), “the Eskimos of Canada are in a primitive state of social development...All contact with Eskimos, other than those whose employment on any aspect of the project is approved, is to be avoided except in cases of emergency.”

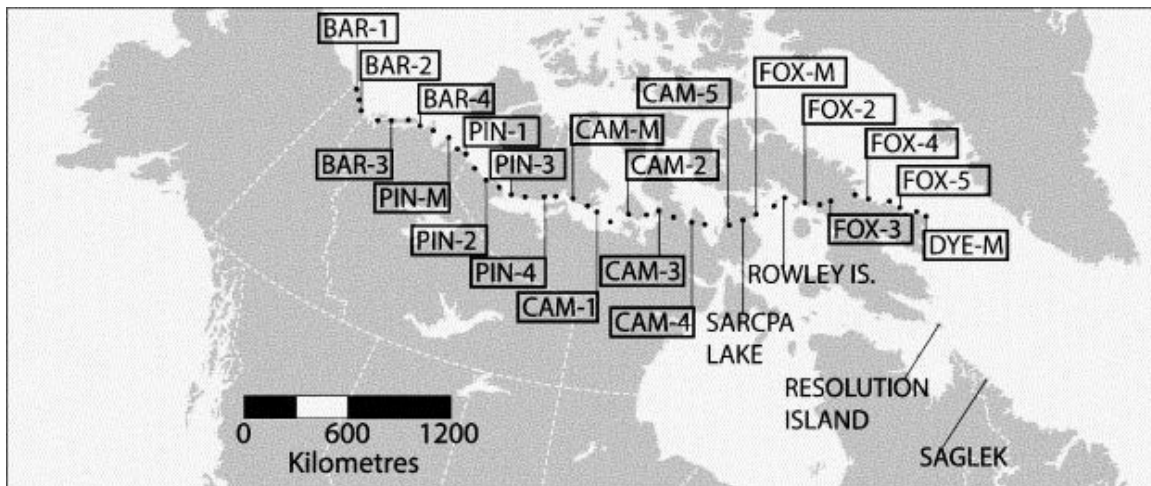


Figure 6. A map of northern Canada illustrating the location of all 42 DEW-Line station sites. Additional sites in Alaska and Greenland are not depicted (Stow et al. 2005).

As infrastructure and Arctic accessibility increased, and local communities were settled and centralized, archaeological investigations of the North no longer had to rely on prolonged interaction with local indigenous people. With new facilities for travel and research, interest in the Arctic's archaeological history expanded out of museums and into North American universities, leading to a rapid, postwar influx in both the number of practitioners and archaeological projects. Rather than promoting archaeological involvement with Inuit, the increased capacity of incoming archaeologists led to what Susan Rowley (pers. comm. 2011) describes as a period of "alienation" from Inuit people:

A lot of the archaeologists at that time were working in sites that were really removed from communities. Many of them—when you think about the people who would have been working in the High Arctic—their point of contact would have been Resolute Bay. And the Polar Continental Shelf facility is out by the airport, so they are distant from the community. And then they are staying at Polar Continental Shelf and going out to wherever they are going out to...They were being ferried from place to place. So when would you ever interact? That sense of archaeologists as snow geese is totally understandable when you think of it as people that really are just coming in...and you don't even necessarily see them.

It was not only the presence of archaeologists that was removed from dealings with the Inuit, but also a sense of cross-cultural communication and social propriety. As Rowley continues (pers. comm. 2011):

If you look back at...expectations of behavior in Inuit culture, the expectation is that strangers announce themselves. So you have this huge period where strangers are not announcing themselves. And not even behaving or accepting that they are in a place that has different modes of behavior. I think that we, as a discipline, set ourselves up for some of that. And its really intriguing to me, because you just know that all the people working at that time, everyone had read the ethnographies, so how is it that we lost that sense of communication with people?

While archaeologists were often not directly involved in many of the dramatic social changes impacting the lives of Inuit, they experienced the process firsthand and, as Fitzhugh and Loring point out (2002), had remarkably little to say about the events. Regrettably few archaeologists, they note (*ibid*:6), “have published on their observations, and few have seen their notes and photographic records as valuable resources documenting a major period of transition.”

The post World War II rise in archaeological funding and capacity in the Arctic was met with an equally dramatic increase in the administration and legislation of the trade. In 1952, overwhelmed by the number of registries submitted for archaeological finds, British Columbia-based archaeologist Charles Borden developed the Borden system, an archaeological numbering scheme for Canada that would help the governing and regulatory institutions keep track of archaeological resources (Borden and Duff 1952, see fig 7.). Arctic history became an explicitly modularized phenomenon, coded according to its position with a grid of lettered longitudinal and latitudinal blocks. While the system was designed primarily to regulate the labelling and categorization of historic places, it had the subsequent impact of acknowledging the archaeological ‘site’ as the official functional unit of the past. A ‘site’ is a rather ambiguous archaeological

category, a location in which materials of the past have been preserved, or a discrete, empirical unit of human-related activity. As defined by Willey and Phillips (1958:18) the 'site' serves as history's "minimum operational unit of geographic spaces." While the size and content of a site may vary depending on the researcher's interpretative stance, there is an implicit assumption that it somehow encompass the totality of relevant archaeological evidence. A historic landscape of sites, therefore, is portrayed as a spattering of discrete, meaningful and relevant localities, separated by vast tracts of essentially barren land (Dunnell 1992:26).

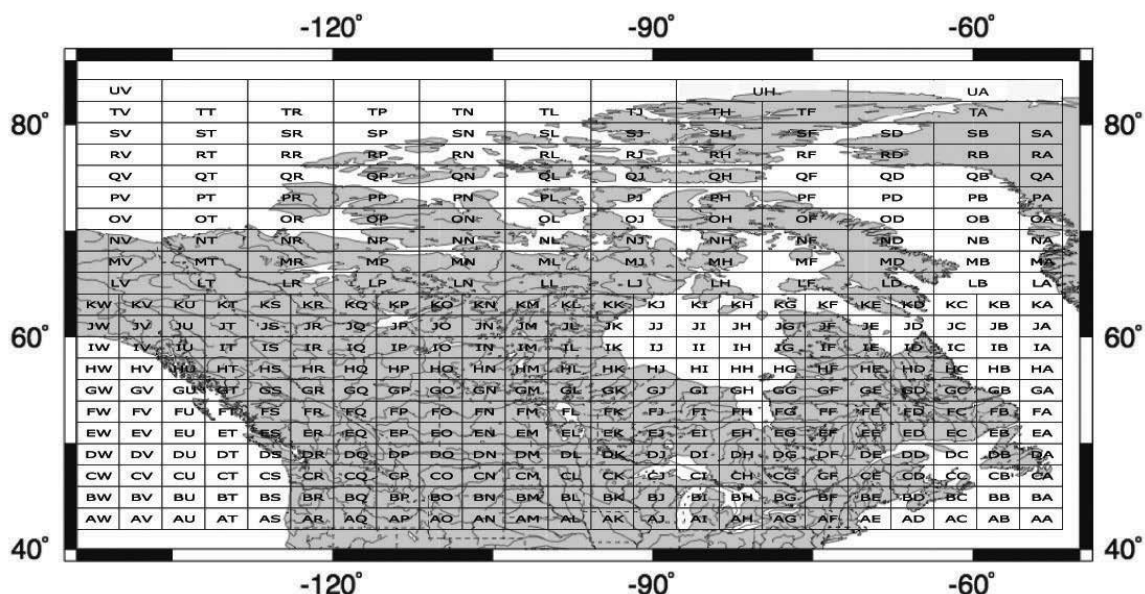


Figure 7. Map of Canada with divisions within the Borden System grid (Borden and Duff 1952).

At the same time that history was being alienated from the landscape, the notion of Arctic archaeology as recording the ancestry of Inuit people was undergoing a similar sense of dislocation. The process of radiocarbon dating, invented in 1949, was rapidly adopted in the practice of Arctic archaeology. Within several years of its invention, radiocarbon dating was being used to test and re-assess a variety of sites from Alaska to Greenland (see for example Rainey 1951; Collins 1953). With the first results from Arctic radiocarbon dating, the formerly unproblematic entity of the 'Inuit past' was re-mapped into a new chronology of tentative cultural stage and affiliation (see fig 8.). In 1951, Froelich Rainey (1951:49) put

Canada.” (Freeman 1976a:15). Such research was considered as a requisite for the settlement of Arctic land claims under common law. While the Department of Northern Affairs and Northern Development had commissioned an extensive series of economic surveys only a decade earlier, the ensuing reports were drafted without recourse to the perceptions of local people. As a result, it was decided that a new effort was required “to collaborate closely with the Inuit themselves in designing a study that would lead to an explicit and accurate statement of their historical use and occupancy in their lands and with their own criteria of accuracy and relevancy” (Freeman 1976b:19).

The scope of the project was ambitiously inclusive; approximately 1600 Inuit informants spanning each of the 33 townships in NWT were formally interviewed, generating a phenomenal database of information³². What most stood out about the project was that it was developed almost exclusively through a methodology of interviews based on informant recall. The question of Inuit memory as a source for historical fact was extensively reviewed within the study and ultimately accredited with strong reliability up to one hundred years after the event being recalled (Arima 1976). As noted by project director, Milton Freeman (1976b:20), “the care, yet ease, with which the hunters traced their life histories on the project maps gave rise to feelings of wonder and humility among the fieldworkers who had the privilege of helping to record this heritage.” Based on the ultimate findings of the research report, the ITC approached the Canadian Government in 1976 with a land claims proposal asking for rights to approximately 750,000 square miles of land north of the tree-line and 800,000

³² A caveat must be made regarding the nature of the project’s inclusivity. In gathering participants for Arctic mapping, candidacy was defined as every “Inuit male who had independently hunted, trapped, or fished, whatever his age, experience or place of origin” (Freeman 1976b:19). The exclusion of Inuit females from the study is a reflection of Inuit gender roles; men, as hunters and trappers, generally have a more extensive knowledge of landscape beyond camp settlements as well as traditional lines and routes of travel (Collignon 2006:147)

square miles of ocean, which represented the determined limits of traditional use and occupancy. These were subsequently granted.

One of the academic legacies of the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy project was its demonstrated ability to collect data in a manner that allowed Inuit categories and methods for organizing their landscape to emerge intact. Over 20 independent researchers from a variety of specialized backgrounds were contracted to categorically visit northern townships and gather statements and maps that emphasized Inuit perceptions of history and landscape. As Milton Freeman recalls (2011:22):

We were no longer mapping the 'territories' of Aboriginal people based on the cumulative observations of others of where they were (as one would for mapping the ranges of wildlife species), but instead, mapping the Aboriginal peoples' own recollections of their own activities.

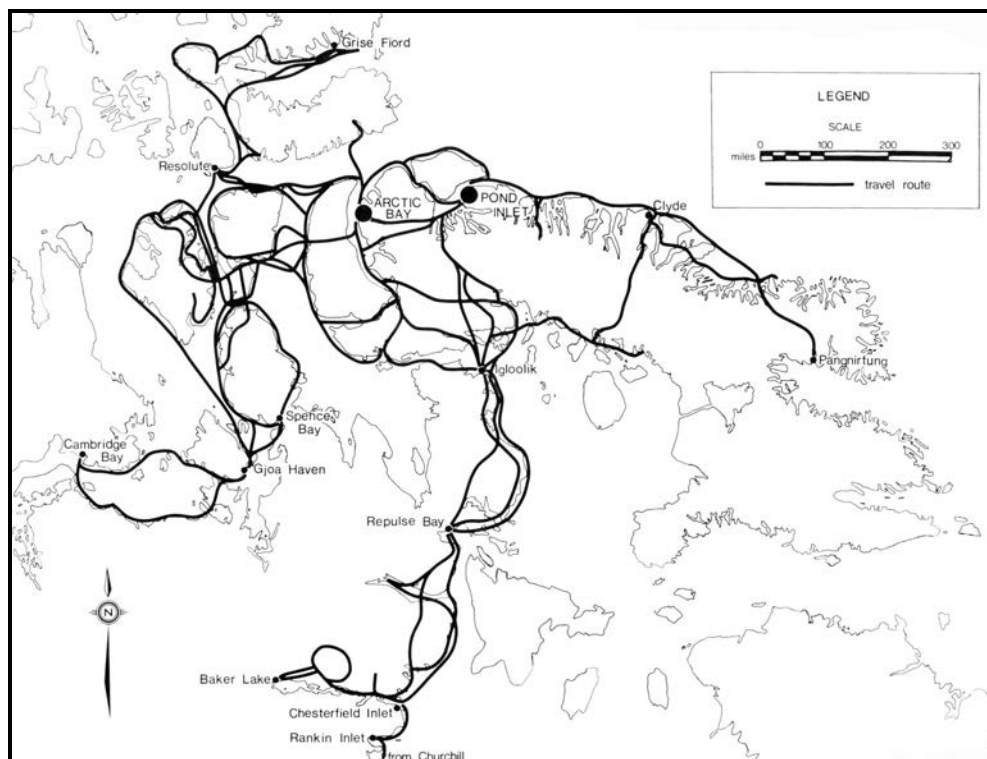


Figure 9. Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Map 44: Travel Routes from Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. (Brody 1976:201).

The knowledge collected about the northern landscape went beyond firsthand recollections by Inuit, and involved the summoning of deeper memories about Inuit occupation of the area. In bringing together these histories from across the NWT, project anthropologist Hugh Brody (1976:186) began to remark upon the consistency that, despite geographic or circumstantial distance, marked Inuit associations with the past. All Inuit, he notes, “feel that their lands have a richness and life that go far beyond themselves...When the Inuit of today tell their stories, talk about the past and about the first occupants of the Arctic, they are also talking about themselves.” Brody similarly recognized that the empirical dissection and analysis of resulting stories about the past would defeat the central power of the narrative rather than shed light on its accuracy:

It would be a serious mistake to dismiss or belittle either positive or negative statements about the past. Such statements have mythic properties; they are actively important elements in contemporary life. They affirm self-identity and self-respect, and they offer some of the clearest insights into central cultural values. Questions about the historical accuracy of such statements may raise doubts about exactly what light they throw on the past, but their importance in contemporary society is very clear.

Despite the Land Use and Occupancy project’s reliance on Inuit-derived histories and relationships to landscape, the field of archaeology was not exempted from its proceedings. A workshop of archaeologists was assembled to give their perspective on boundaries of pre-contact Inuit occupation. The resulting map—cobbled together from the totality of known archaeological sites from published reports and unpublished fieldnotes (see fig. 10)—stands in stark contrast to those generated by Inuit recollections and criteria for historical features (see fig. 11).³³

³³ Robert McGhee, one of the archaeology workshop contributors, remembers the cautionary approach taken by archaeologists in plotting out the extent of historical Inuit occupation (pers. comm. in Freeman 2011:26):

In the 1970s there was an archaeological consensus that there was no cultural or genetic connection between Dorset and Inuit, but we didn’t have the DNA evidence

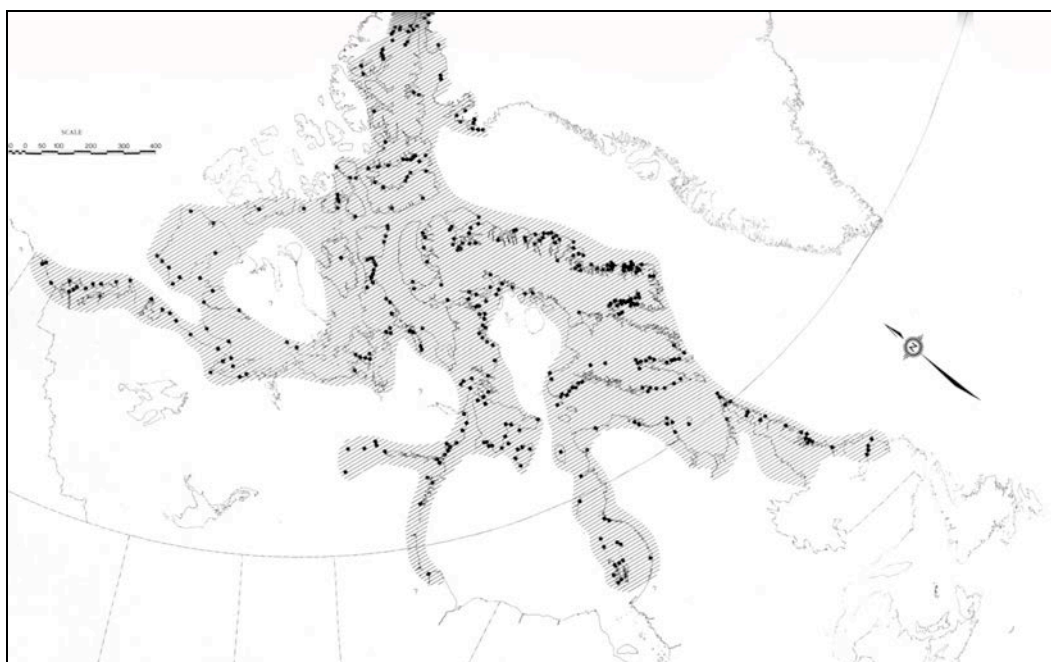


Figure 10. Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Map 56: Thule Site Locations and Presumptive Land Use (Brody 1976:239).

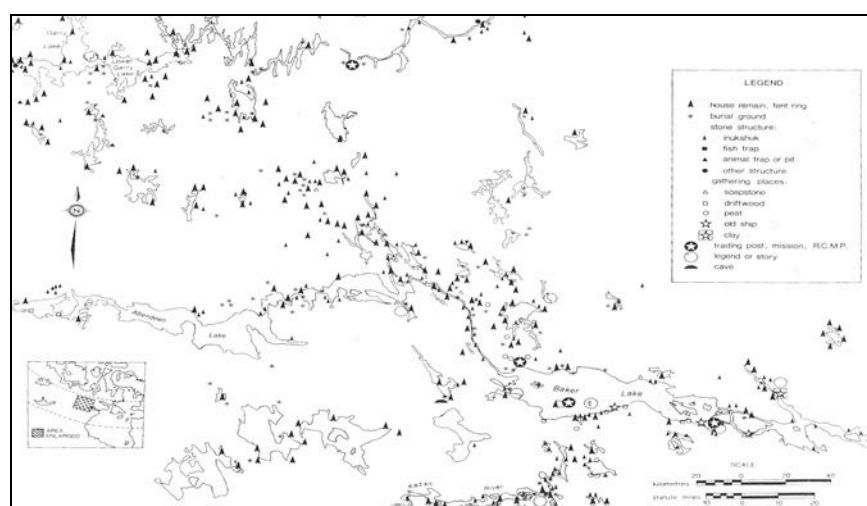


Figure 11. Inuit Land Use Map 41: Cultural Features of Keewatin District (Brody 1976:193).

Emboldened by the successful integration of a distinct Inuit outlook with the Land Use and Occupancy study, Inuit began to demand that their participation

and the archaeology was a bit less well known than it is today. Given this shortage of convincing evidence we could not deny the possibility of a Dorset ancestry for Inuit, especially in the political context of land claim studies, but our participation providing archaeological evidence for such studies was always uncomfortable.

and cultural perspectives be considered within other scientific fields of study (see for example DIAND 1977). In 1976 the Inuit Cultural Institute and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada presented a scathing review of Arctic archaeology at the Symposium on New Perspectives in Canadian Archaeology (Swinton 1977). Of issue, were two primary arguments: 1) that archaeology was not being made relevant for Inuit people, and 2) the type of knowledge guiding archaeological investigation in the Arctic has little to do with Inuit ways of thinking. Like many research practices in the North, archaeology was felt to rely on the “expertism and elitism” of visiting academics, which ultimately resulted in a “lack of interaction” and “undermining of basic objectives pursued by Inuit” (ibid:164). As stated by George Swinton, who read the speech on Meeka Wilson’s behalf (ibid:166-67):

science and research have a lot to do with knowledge. In fact, most researchers I’ve talked to have said that science is systematic and formulated knowledge. Well, we Inuit have a pretty systematic way of knowing things and an organized set of things we know. Really, what we know about, how we know about it and the way we live are all pretty closely related to one another...I hope that our Inuit way of knowing and knowledge will be taken as a real part of research policy and used as an important tool in setting “priorities.” It must be difficult for you to understand what I mean by that. There are no academies of Inuit science and not even one Inuit with a degree in it.

The talk ends with a set of ten recommendations focusing on the development of more committed partnerships regarding the research, exchange of knowledge, and management concerning historical resources in the Arctic. As concluded by the authors (ibid:166):

The archaeological research which Inuit expect and support will be achieved through consent arising out of consultation. But all of us—archaeologists and Inuit—must not think of consultation as a process of bargaining or bartering between two protagonists from adversary positions but as complementary participants and genuine partners in supportive roles.

By the mid-1970s, the politicization of Inuit history was already beginning to shape the direction of Arctic archaeology. In 1975, a large-scale project known as the Thule Archaeology Conservation Project (TACP) was initiated to survey and deal with escalating damage to archaeological sites resulting from the Inuit harvest of architectural whalebone for use in carvings (see fig. 12). In defining the problems and potential solutions to site disturbance, the project took a 'big picture' approach that sought to link archaeological conservation to contemporary social and educational contexts within the Arctic. As project leader Allen McCartney (1979a: xix) reports:

We should be increasing efforts to involve Inuit in all aspects of archaeology, museology, and cultural resource management through training programs and opportunities to gain experience in these areas. Little has been done to make archaeological sites, artifacts, and related antiquities relevant to Inuit and other northern residents...The surest protection that can be given to archaeological whale bones and sites is the promotion of public appreciation of their cultural and fragile nature.

The project not only hired 25 Inuit as guides, archaeological assistants and trainees, but embedded the research problem within Inuit communities through extensive preliminary meetings and interviews about contemporary practices of whalebone carving, potential solutions to whalebone acquisition and local expectations for incoming archaeologists (McCartney 1979b:99).

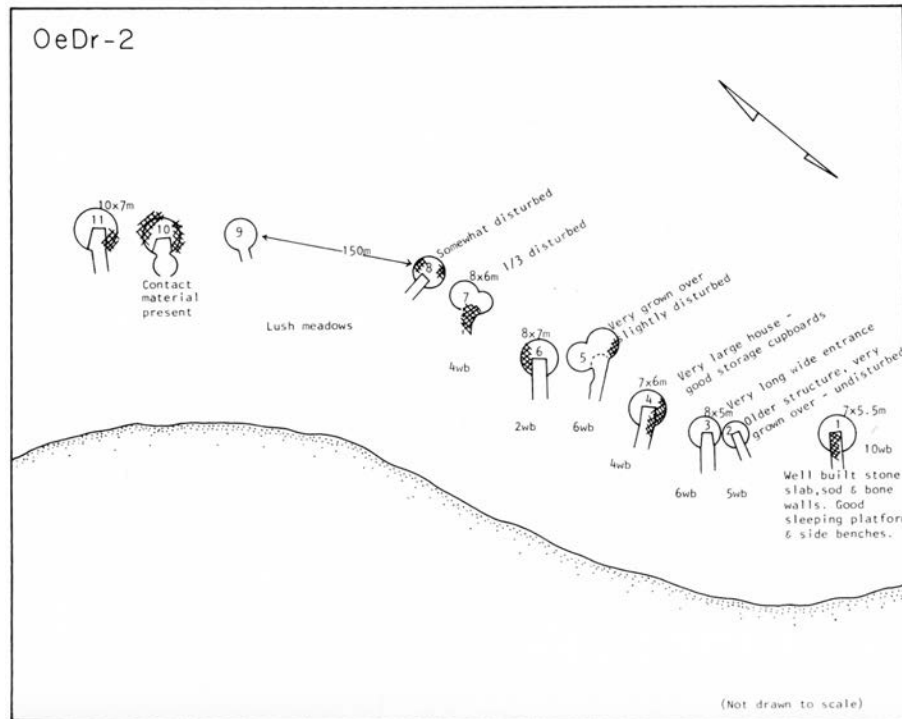


Figure 12. Map of Thule houses surveyed during the Thule Archaeology Conservation Project (Gardner 1979). Crosshatching represents areas disturbed by Inuit digging for whalebone.

Working relationships between Inuit people and archaeologists continued to ameliorate throughout the 1980s. A non-profit organization known as the Northern Heritage Society dedicated itself to the development of archaeological curricula and field training for northern students. The group ran a successful annual field school in the High Arctic from 1979 to 1986. In 1982, the NWT Government funded an archaeology program at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, designed explicitly to create more public involvement within the discipline (Arnold and Hanks 1991:7).

From 1983-1994, a wide-scale project called the Northern Oil and Gas Action Plan (NOGAP) was initiated to assess potential impacts of oil and gas development in the Mackenzie Valley, Beaufort Sea and Northwest Passage. A large archaeological component was subsequently set into motion (Cinq-Mars and Pilon 1991; Pilon 1994). A significant portion of the research that occurred as part of this project focused on the inventory and assessment of archaeological

resources for purposes of mitigation in the event of oil and gas development, yet elements of public outreach and training were involved. The Prince of Wales Heritage Centre (PWHC) became responsible for a field training program, which sought to “demonstrate the importance of archaeology by illustrating how it can contribute to a more complete understanding of cultures in the past and today” (Arnold and Hanks 1991:12). A second component to this project ran from 1991-1993, and was designed with the more culturally-sensitive goal of helping local people record traditional knowledge to be integrated with the project’s archaeological findings (Hart 1994).

The Arctic Permit Crisis

The year 1992 marked a significant decline in Inuit-archaeology relations. In the spring of that year, the Hamlet of Resolute Bay council denied approval of all permits for archaeological work intended for the region. It was also a year in which Inuit political consciousness had reached a fever pitch due to the upcoming ratification of the Nunavut Land Claims Act (1993) and escalating disputes over compensation and acknowledgement of blame for federal High-Arctic relocation programs (McGrath 2006; Tester and Kulchyski 1994). “There was a lot of hurt in communities at that time,” recalls archaeologist Peter Dawson (pers. comm. 2011), “there were a lot of these memories being brought forward.”

Within archaeological circles, the 1992 denial of permits continues to be referred to as the “permit crisis” – though in retrospect, “the crisis turned to be a mere ripple” (Helmer and LeMoine 2002:260) and even a source of “positive repercussions” (Peter Dawson, pers. comm. 2011)³⁴. Perhaps most dramatic and

³⁴ An interesting and unanticipated result of the Arctic permit crisis was a surge in research directed specifically towards the dynamics of Inuit-European contact (Fitzhugh and Loring 2002). While this refocusing on ancestral European sites can be perceived as a strategy to avoid Inuit controversy, it also, as Fitzhugh and Loring point out, “responded to the needs and interests of

surprising about this permit refusal was that much of the work being conducted by archaeologists at that time was built around the idea of local Inuit involvement. One proposal submitted by James Helmer and Genevieve LeMoine, designed to investigate Late Dorset occupation on Little Cornwallis Island, went so far as to specify its intention to offer college level courses in archaeological field techniques, public lectures, site visits for elders, and museum kits summarizing the results of the excavations (2002:254). Despite all this, however, the field season was not allowed to progress. "Although many of us [southern based archaeologists] have felt that we were actively communicating with local communities about our research," note Helmer and LeMoine of the permit denial (ibid:256), "obviously we have not been doing this effectively or meaningfully."

While the 'permit crisis' was short lived, it shocked northern archaeologists into an awareness of the new role that local power and political authority had in shaping the ways in which knowledge about the past was produced. "The dilemma confronting us," note Helmer and Lemoine (ibid:257), "is that we, as archaeologists, have nothing to offer [Inuit] that they are interested in having. They do not see the value of alternate (i.e. Euro-Canadian) interpretations of the archaeological record. Although they may not own the past, they have de facto control over our access to it, at least in the form of newly excavated data. What then is their incentive to negotiate?" The most important lesson learned from this experience, Helmer and LeMoine conclude, is the importance of maintaining local involvement, not only through standard procedures of classroom and on-site education, but also through more profound personal contact with local individuals. "To survive as academic researchers, we have to become more flexible and innovative in our responses to the changing sociopolitical environment in which we live and work" (ibid:258).

native communities that find traces of their immediate ancestors more interesting than those of ancient prehistoric inhabitants of the Arctic" (2002:19).

In February of 1994, Inuit from across the Canadian Arctic joined together in a conference designed to “discuss ways of making archaeology more acceptable and useful to Inuit, and to produce a set of guidelines regarding archaeology in an Inuit homeland.” (Ittarnisalirijiit Katimajiit 1994:1). The conference’s title, ‘Ittarniasalirijiit,’ noted its organizers, can loosely be translated as “those who deal with the distant past” and refers both to the historical essence of Inuit culture and the obligation to protect it (ibid:1). The gathering was indicative of a deep underlying tension in the relationship between archaeologists and Inuit. It was conceived by three Inuit—George Baikie, George Qulaut and Deborah Kigjugalik Webster—after their attendance of a Smithsonian session paying tribute to the Arctic research of several pioneering archaeologists³⁵. Throughout the session, the Inuit members were struck by the degree to which Inuit have been excluded from archaeological work, and to which artifacts and sites belong more to southerners than the people whose history they represent. This frustration is evident in their joint statement delivered at the conclusion of the Smithsonian conference (in Fitzhugh and Loring 2002:29):

Inuit communities are becoming more involved and more outspoken, Inuit are asking more questions about archaeological work being conducted in their area and are wondering what happens to the artifacts that leave with the archaeologists after the field season. People tend to answer these questions themselves, and since they do not have all the information at hand they may come up with wrong answers. This may evolve into mistrust towards archaeologists by the people. This mistrust can be alleviated somewhat by archaeologists doing community consultations, or more of them, before they actually start their fieldwork...With community involvement comes involvement of information that is being underutilized by most people. It is very important to us that archaeologists consult with people and our elders while planning their fieldwork...We look forward to the coming changes of archaeology of Inuit lands.

³⁵ The proceedings of this conference would later be compiled into a compendium of archaeological work in the Eastern Arctic titled *Honoring Our Elders* and published in 2002.

Some groups in attendance at the Ittarniasalirijiit meeting, such as representatives from Labrador, felt that archaeologists should no longer be able to work in the region until a more mutually beneficial relationship was formed. "If this were to happen," noted Gary Baikie (Ittarniasalirijiit Katimajiit 1994:9), "I believe Inuit concerns and involvement would change drastically." While many delegates felt that archaeology's potential for new skills and knowledge outweighed its negative effects, it was still considered critical that a new list of guidelines and recommendations be drafted for the discipline (ibid:5-8). This was accomplished, in part, by modifying the World Archaeology Congress Code of Ethics so that the word 'Inuit' replaced all usage of the terms 'indigenous' and 'indigenous peoples.'

Archaeologist Susan Rowley was a self-acknowledged "fly on the wall" at the predominantly Inuit-attended Ittarniasalirijiit meeting. She describes how she was immediately struck by the session's approach to the subject of archaeology (pers. comm. 2011):

[The organizers] started the conference off by giving everybody a large sheet of paper and asking them to draw what they thought archaeology was. Then they put all the drawings up on the wall. To me, one of the really intriguing things was how many people drew different forms of inuksuit [Inuit stone cairn markers] for it. If you said to an archaeologist, draw what you think archaeology is in the Arctic, it is not necessarily what you think would come to mind. All the stories came out about "this is the kind of inukshuk you build when...this one points to where you would have to drill the hole in the ice when fishing during winter." That sort of thing. It was all about living on the land, and understanding the land, and reading the landscape.

Despite considerable negotiation and progress concerning the inclusion of Inuit people and communities in the practice of archaeology, a fundamental divide in worldview and understanding of the past continues to alienate Inuit and archaeological groups from one another. After summarizing what has changed

in the discipline of archaeology, I will move on to question what new directions might be explored to embed archaeology more fully in both historical and contemporary perspectives of 'community' in Nunavut.

Mapping and Re-mapping: What has Changed in Arctic Archaeology?

With twenty years having passed since the Ittarnisilirijiit Katimajit Conference's declaration of desired change, it is important to take stock of how the archaeological discipline has responded. In doing so, I argue the Inuit politicization of Nunavut's history has resulted in change at three different levels within the practice of archaeology: 1) Permitting and regulation; 2) Awareness and inclusion of Inuit social/cultural associations with the past; and 3) Methodological practice. These three areas will be explored in sequential order.

The implementation of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) in 1999³⁶ gave rise to a new era of archaeology in the Canadian North. The NLCA not only set into place innovative protocols for the research, recovery and storage of archaeological materials, but it also required that the entire process be opened up to the people of Nunavut. Outlining these changes is the carefully drafted Article 33, which pertains exclusively to the field of archaeology and its relationship to an Inuit-owned past. As stated in the opening declaration of the Article (NLCA 33.2.1):

The archaeological record of the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area is a record of Inuit use and occupancy of lands and resources through time. The evidence associated with their use and occupancy represents a cultural, historical and ethnographic heritage of Inuit society and, as such, Government recognizes that Inuit have a special relationship

³⁶ The NLCA implementation must be contextualized by two other dates when considered in reference to archaeology. 1993 is the year the contents of the NLCA were completely drafted and officially ratified by the Inuit of Nunavut, and 2001 is the year these were enforced to create a novel system of archaeological permitting and registry.

with such evidence which shall be expressed in terms of special rights and responsibilities.

Subsequent sections of the article indicate that any excavation or interpretation of the archaeological record is of importance to the Inuit people and that their involvement is accordingly “both desirable and necessary” (NLCA 33.2.2). Explicit passages are included to outline Inuit participation (NLCA 33.5) and to stipulate preferential archaeological hiring policies for both Inuit contractors and field assistants (NLCA 33.6).

Upon the NLCA being implemented, the newly formed Nunavut Government department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth (CLEY) prioritized the creation of a novel set of archaeological regulations for the territory that would more clearly “reflect the needs, interests and experiences of Canada's northern peoples” (Arnold and Stenton 2002: 43). Under the previous jurisdiction of the NWT, Nunavut adhered to the ‘Northwest Territories Archaeological Sites Regulations,’ which was a slightly amended version of the initial 1930 “Ordinance Respecting the Protection and Care of Eskimo Ruins” managed by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). Petitions for DIAND to either change the antiquated and ambiguously worded set of regulations or pass along the responsibility through devolution were initiated as early as 1982, but went unheeded until the imminent creation of Nunavut in the late 1990s (ibid:35). With the passing of the NLCA, the newly established Government of Nunavut assumed legal responsibility for the territory’s archaeological resources. “Prior to the signing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement”, note Charles Arnold and Douglas Stenton (ibid:36), “Inuit had been relegated a minor role in the management of the archaeological resources in the Eastern Arctic. Community consultation, particularly with respect to licensing of field research and the disposition of specimens, was sporadic, non-binding and, thus, an ineffective mechanism for addressing Inuit interests in their

archaeological heritage.”

The introduction of a new regulatory system for archaeology broadened the definition of archaeological artifacts to accommodate Inuit ownership and re-use of ancestral material culture³⁷ and introduced a new tier system of permits to facilitate projects wishing to integrate sites with oral history and traditional knowledge work rather than excavation (Arnold and Stenton *ibid*:39). All permit applications under the new system explicitly require the identification of Inuit beneficiaries working with the research team, anticipated benefits the project will bring to Inuit people, and proof of prior consultation with communities closest to where the project will take place.

Another significant archaeological development brought about by the NLCA was the creation of the Inuit Heritage Trust. The Inuit Heritage Trust (IHT) was initiated as the formal avenue for community interaction in Nunavut and a partner to CLEY – the government entity placed in charge of archaeology within the territory. While CLEY was charged with the vetting of archaeological permits based on ‘scientific soundness’ and the credentials of their applicants, the IHT became responsible for assessing applications on the basis of their intended research topic and involvement with Nunavummiut. Upon receiving archaeological permit applications from CLEY, the IHT is authorized through the NLCA to immediately accept or discount them based on criteria of: 1) conflict with Inuit understandings of benefit or 2) Inuit spiritual association with the sites. If incoming applications are in agreement with both these criteria, the IHT distributes them to appropriate hamlet councils for review. Of the permitting process, former IHT Programs Manager Ericka Chemko states the following (pers. comm. 2010):

³⁷ an archaeological artifact is now defined as "any tangible evidence of human activity that is more than 50 years old, in respect of which an unbroken chain of possession or regular pattern of usage cannot be demonstrated" (Arnold and Stenton 2002:38)

It isn't true that IHT can deny permits based on whether we like them or not. Communities can however, but IHT has to get concrete reasons on why the community doesn't want it done in order to communicate that back and have reason for denying it...We send [communities] a letter and a sheet that has space for them to tick basically 'yes' we are okay with this (communities might add conditions to this if they want to) or 'no' because of these reasons.

Once the hamlet councils have completed the forms, they are reviewed alongside the permit applications during an IHT board meeting, and returned to CLEY to issue the permit. "Trustees to date", continues Chemko (pers. comm. 2010), "have followed the approach that if a community is okay with [the permits], then IHT will approve the permit.

A second impact of Inuit politics on the discipline of archaeology can be found in increasing academic attempts to link the past to a more holistic understanding of contemporary Inuit culture and society. In their analysis of research relationships in Nunavut, Lyons et al. (2010:2) make the argument for a "sea change" in the archaeology's conventionally conservative and scientific approach to the Arctic past. While the magnitude of the shift is perhaps overstated, the generation of archaeologists who have pursued their studies and formative professional work either during or since in the 1990s have developed a particular sensitivity to the deep connections existing between contemporary Arctic life and the region's past. In many cases, this understanding has served to redefine the boundaries of what archaeology is and how it can be practiced. Peter Dawson, who was a graduate student working with James Helmer and Genevieve LeMoine at the time of the 'permit crisis,' insists that the event changed his understanding of "what archaeology could be" (pers. comm. 2011):

Up to that point, I think my trajectory as an archaeologist had been pretty common to a lot of students in so much that my awareness of the history of the communities that I was working out of, the need to

involve Inuit in the work we doing, and so on, was fairly superficial. So, I was essentially placed in a context that summer where I had to radically redefine my research...I became interested in the time I spent in the community talking with people in Resolute Bay...I became aware of how crushing an issue housing was to people in the north. And so I started to conceive of a dissertation that wasn't just going to focus on traditional architecture, it would basically explore the evolution of Inuit architecture, but also indigenous architecture and Euro-Canadian architecture that had been imposed on the Inuit. I noticed when I visited friends in the community that people would be doing unusual things, like butchering seals in living rooms and storing the meat in bathtubs, that type of thing. So I became intrigued with the relationship between house form and culture. Things like the Thule whalebone house seemed to represent an incredibly elegant solution to living in the High Arctic, yet these Euro-Canadian houses...it almost seemed as though Inuit were round pegs being driven into square holes.

In a similar vein, the Director of Avataq's Archaeology Department³⁸ Daniel Gendron, notes that his immersive work in communities changed his outlook on both the act of archaeology and its potential role in Inuit society (pers. comm. 2011):

It did eventually have this impact. Even doing archaeology itself...I don't want to dig sites anymore...I'd rather do stuff like talking with people and seeing how we can use the landscape as a storyboard and how we can try to fit in details of reality and fictional details, because this is always a part of storytelling. I know that some university archaeologists don't like that. I said that to [another Arctic archaeologist] once. She was offended by that. She said "we are scientists, we are serious." I am not saying we are not serious, but we have to admit that we are storytelling. What we know from our excavation is very little compared to the fullness of life that must have happened two thousand years ago. The further away you go, the more storytelling you are doing. It is not an exact science, and we will never know for sure that what we are saying is true. We are trying to make it as close to a reality as we can make it, but you never know...So we have details that are sophisticated enough at some point to make a lot of sense, but we are still speculating. Archaeology is basically speculation. For me, it is not unnatural to go that way with

³⁸ Avataq Cultural Institute is the Inuit cultural organization of Nunavik.

archaeology...the important part about our projects where we hire students to do fieldwork in the summer is not to make them archaeologists, but to make them realize they have a past, and this past is significant, and that they should be proud of it. Beyond this point, if they want to do archaeology, fine, but if they want to do something else it doesn't matter. What matters, is that they have a relationship with their past and that they are accepting themselves.

While the bureaucratic and conceptual boundaries of archaeology have been demonstrably impacted by the rise of Inuit politics, the question remains as to whether the actual methodology of the discipline has changed. A cursory look at much of the cultural resource management (CRM) work currently being practiced in the region would suggest that little has altered³⁹. Within the research sector, however, there has been a growing trend towards the incorporation of ethnographic understandings of landscape and history into interpretations and visualizations of the past. The new "political reality" of archaeological work within an indigenous land claims region (Andrews et al. 1997) can not be considered as entirely responsible for this methodological shift

³⁹ Unlike research-based archaeology, CRM's mandate is largely one of salvage and mitigation. In situations of pending development, the discipline is charged with the task of deciding which areas are significant to both scientific and public interest. One of the most frequent Arctic applications of CRM archaeology since its inception in 1970's lies in its mitigating the impact of current and future land use and resource development of heritage areas. With the understanding of heritage as being encapsulated in material sites--discrete and isolatable spaces--the task of navigating what are deemed to be 'significant areas' becomes far easier. Construction can be cautiously extended to the recognized fringes of the physical site, invoking the ideal of preservation through the creation and maintenance of these historical islands. As Margaret Hannah points out (1997:77), such an approach ignores all aspects of culture that exist beyond the material realm:

[C]ommodification and objectification are implicit in both the name "resource management"...and in the strategies themselves. Sites are "resources," commodities to be managed...They are ranked according to various criteria, but implicit in the ranking is the idea that some are expendable and some are less so...Material evidence is the basis for this classification and economic potential the basis for assessing the significance or expendability of the site.

While CRM has demonstrated effectiveness in the acts of identifying and preserving the material sites around Arctic communities, it has consistently worked against the recognition of history as an expansive phenomenon that is best contextualized by its relationship to the surrounding landscape. In drawing out its Arctic maps, note Andrew Wiget and Olga Balalaeva, CRM's fixation with sites "implies a boundedness or localization of phenomena" (2004:152) that stands in stark contrast to the dynamic processes that once created them.

(which has occurred in many other parts of the world), but has undoubtedly played a large role.

Pioneered by the efforts of Lewis Binford's so-called 'actualistic studies' amongst the Nunamiut of Alaska, there has been a growing trend among Arctic archaeologists to isolate causal relationships between observed/recorded behaviours and their tangible effects⁴⁰. "The archaeological record" notes Binford (1980:4), "is at best a static pattern of associations and co-variations among things distributed in space. Giving meaning to these contemporary patterns is dependent upon an understanding of the processes which operated to bring such patterning into existence." The dynamics of cultural interaction with landscapes came to be understood as coherent systems, which could be compared both across space and time.

Throughout the mid to late 1980s, Binford's mapping of contemporary and historic systems progressed into what has come to be modeled as a 'northern ethno-archaeological approach' (cf. Hanks and Winter 1986; Janes 1989 see also Andrews and Zoe 1997, 1998; Andrews et al. 1997; Friesen 2002; Loring and Ashini 2000; Loring et al. 2003; Lyons et al. 2010; Stewart et al. 2000; Stewart et al. 2004). The emphasis within this approach became one of cultural acknowledgement *within* a scientific framework, guided by the realization, in Goldring and Hanks' words (1991:14) that archaeology must:

⁴⁰ One can only speculate as to the relationship between Binford's 1969 study of the Nunamiut and the political movement of land claims settlement in the area. In 1967, the settlement of Alaskan native land claims was an escalating priority among indigenous groups. The discovery of large quantities of oil in 1968 rocketed the issue to front page headlines. Also in 1968, a 565 page document was published by the US Federal Field Committee for Developmental Planning titled *Alaskan Natives and the Land*, which effectively functioned as a land use study for the 1971 settlement of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Binford has always reasoned his choice of studying the Nunamiut as being related to their extensive reliance on caribou procurement and diet (1978), and no mention of either local politics or the land use and occupancy project is evident in his writing.

recognize [w]hat distinguishes Native People's understanding...the extent to which the human relationship with places has ethical, cultural, medicinal, and spiritual elements, which are interwoven with patterns of economic use. Stories are told about particular parts of the land, spiritual powers exist in certain places that are absent elsewhere, and teachings are annexed to specific places in ways that have little counterpart in non-Native society. In Native cultures, these attributes are often more important than the physical, tangible remains of the past human use of land.

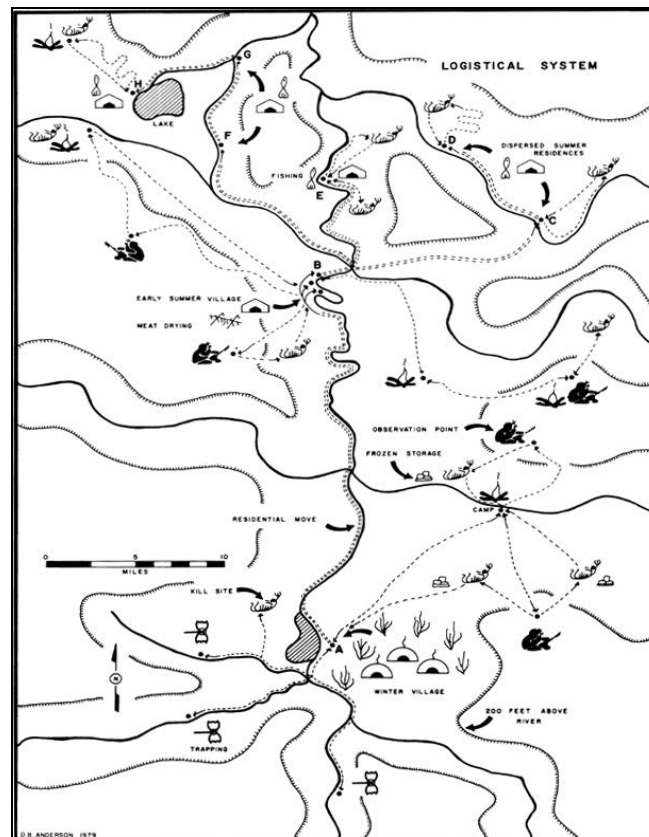


Figure 13. Collector subsistence settlement systems (Binford 1980:11).

In questioning how to recognize cultural meaning in landscapes, many archaeologists turned to the ethnographic record as a direct historical source from which 'deeper' historical analogies might be constructed. A reliance on the oral tradition and oral history of indigenous groups was accordingly sought as a means of 'enhancing' more traditional methods of archaeological recording (Stewart et al 2004:185). The relationship between narrative and material pasts

has had a tenuous history in the field of archaeology, with narratives being simultaneously rejected as ‘unreliable,’ and desired for their potential to provide evocative and accessible explanations for otherwise mute material artefacts. By engaging cultural narrative and material empiricism in unison, however, practitioners of oral history-inspired archaeology insist that “concepts emerge that would remain hidden without these two realms of knowledge being discussed together” (Stewart et al. 2004:190, see also Friesen 2002).

Within northern contexts, the ethno-archaeological approach is primarily dependent on the ‘feature’ as a means of understanding the cultural landscape (see for example Friesen 2002; Lyons et al. 2010; Stewart et al. 2000; Stewart et al. 2004). Feature-based archaeology tends to require a more comprehensive understanding of spatial interaction than site-based cartography is capable of producing. Many archaeologists have argued that the presence of ‘features’ or ‘locations’—low-density concentrations of material remains scattered across the landscape—are more representative of past lifeways than the archaeologically defined accumulations known as ‘sites’ (Stewart et al. 2000). By mapping the landscape through broader ‘off-site’ approaches, the problems of spatial distribution and unified meaning inherent to traditional ‘site-based’ designations of history could be avoided. As Stewart et al. note (2000:267), the presence of features:

can be defined more easily. They can often be interpreted in terms of specific events or behaviours and are affected by fewer of the complex issues that bedevil sites...[thereby being more] sensitive to a broad range of past activities and human movement across the landscape.

Perhaps most importantly, the feature is perceived as a ‘neutral’ foundation, or common denominator, from which more inclusive interpretations can be built. Unlike sites, which require an imposed presupposition of boundary and function, features are capable of being “contextualized in oral traditions, in the

physical landscape, and in archaeological interpretations of material culture and its spatial and temporal distribution” (Stewart et al. 2004:198). The flexibility of the feature-based approach has allowed projects such as Stewart et al.’s 2004 study of Kazan River caribou crossings (see fig. 14) to incorporate more culturally ‘emic’ attributes of seasonality, oral history and place names into their material investigations of the surrounding landscape.

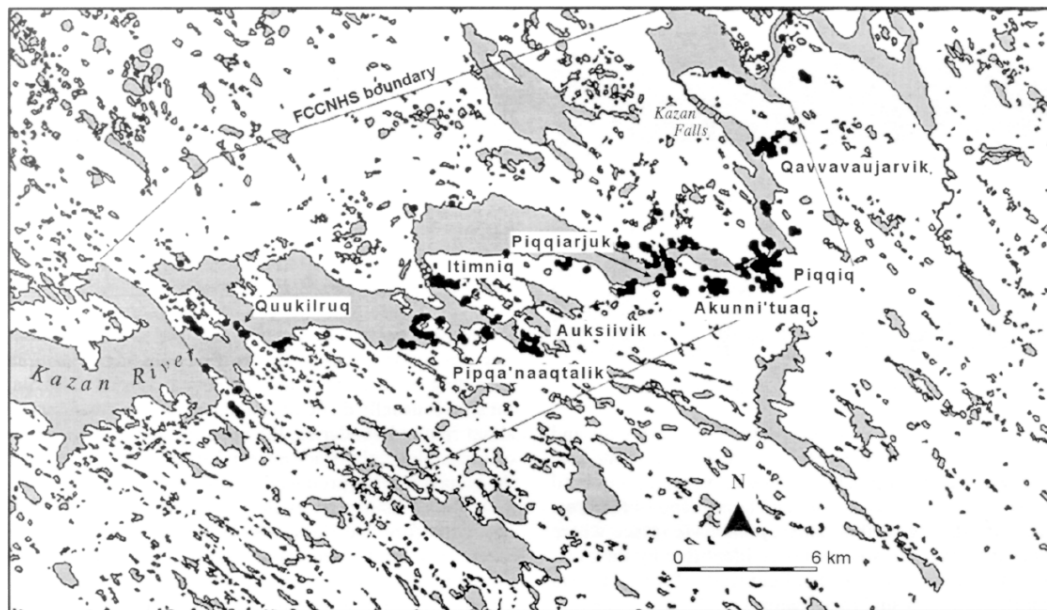


Figure 14. Distribution of historical features, showing locations of some named caribou crossings and camps, and Ipjurjuaq’s monument, within the Fall Caribou Crossing National Historic Site area (Stewart et al. 2004: 195)

The various features plotted by the archaeologists (fig. 14) are understood as being open to interpretation according to various levels of cultural association.

1. Features that project a past: “cultural features...that are monumental or in the past. Some of these preserved features carry special significance in the context of existing oral traditions” (ibid:199)

2. Features that incorporate cyclical activity: “material evidence of tasks can be set into a background account of a “taskscape,” which includes annually repeated activities...Objects and places-both natural and cultural features-are cycled in and out of spheres of human activity over time. Structures are built, places established and they

continue to develop...acquiring “life histories” that include, during later periods of use or neglect, an afterlife of memory and new significance” (ibid:202)

3. Features that signal enduring relationships: “the landscape is organized in ways that reveal relations among human beings, animals and the land”(ibid:203)

The mapping of landscapes through a *lingua franca* of material features has created a practice of archaeology that remains accessible to the interpretations of both scientific knowledge and local cultural perspectives. By describing the landscape as a network of material indices rather than isolated sites, Stewart et al. conclude, “archaeologists may be able to identify cultural traditions or conventions that provide a context for features-structures, artefacts, and locations of camps” (2004:206).

Conclusion

Over the past half-century we have peopled the prehistoric eastern Arctic with various hypothetical populations and cultures...each with a distinctive way of life and each relating to the others in specific ways. Rather than thinking of these phenomena as things which actually existed, I suggest that it might be useful to conceive of them as components of a shared myth...

-Robert McGhee (1983:24)

With every decade, the mapping of Arctic history continues to change. The shifting dots, lines and chronologies of these maps represent not only changes in the imagining of past people and places, but also in the reconfiguration of contemporary relationships. The “shared myth” of Arctic archaeology, as a story of continual negotiation, is made even more difficult as it represents not only a constant repositioning of ideas *between* archaeologists and Inuit, but also *within* the respective groups.

The inscribing and re-inscribing of history draws attention to a central problem in the very notion of community archaeology: how do archaeologists imbed a project in senses of community and history that are always changing? Do they latch onto the elements of community that stay still and speak in a unified strategic voice? Is this to risk encouraging (and potentially creating) an essentialized group that is more a construct of research than a reflection of 'ground level' collectivity. As will be discussed over the second half of this dissertation, the definition of community in the Arctic is exceedingly difficult. Additional complexity stems from the requirement for archaeology in Nunavut to situate itself within a framework that acknowledges the primacy of an abstract and ever-changing 'Inuit community' in the form Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. As demonstrated in preceding chapters, IQ does represent fixed traditions and cultural patterns for engaging time and history, but these remain highly contingent on continued interaction with the stories, experiences and knowledge that underlie their creation. At the same time, however, IQ represents a sense of flexibility that encourages the definition of 'an Inuit way of doing things' capable of transcending notions of authenticity and history (Omura 2002).

No 104.
Record IV C. 59 b.

Weather Incantation.

(To allay a storm)
=Ivyayotailaq, a Puivtiq man

tau-i-yu-am-ma-an in-uy- yu-am- man tau-i-yu-am-maan in-uy- yu-am-
man a-qe-y-luy-am-nuk niv-yoy-luy-am-nuk nud-vim-i-lan in-u-ey-i-
i j d⁴ k i d⁴ f¹ d⁵ voq in-uk-cam-i-lan in-u-ey-i- voq a-ta-ni ka-nam-a qin-ey-lun-
uk tau-yu-am-man in-uy- yu-am-man tau-yu-am-man in-uy- yu-am-
man a-qe-y-luy-am-nuk niv-yoy-luy-am-nuk nud-vim-i-lan in-u-ey-i-
voq in-uk-cam-i-lan in-u-ey-i- voq a-ta-ni ka-nam-a
qin-ey-lun- uk.

Plate 5: A weather incantation to allay storms, sung by Ivyayotailaq, a Puivtiq man, and transcribed by Diamond Jenness (Jenness 1925:325). The words of the song have been translated as follows (ibid: 490): "My great companion, my guardian spirit / My great companion, my guardian spirit / Our fine incantation, our fine cries / There is no snow hut; it is empty of people / He is not a real man; it is empty of people / Underneath it, down there, let us two search..."

Words stem from an important place in Inuit culture. Inuit languages, notes Carpenter (1971:13), tend to draw little distinction between nouns and verbs in the sense that “all words are forms of the verb “to be,” which itself is lacking in these languages. As a result of this “all words proclaim in themselves their own existence”(ibid). This dynamic is further explored by Orpingalik (1931 in Carpenter 1971:11) who explains how song lyrics carry a similar importance, noting “it is just as necessary to me to sing it as it is to breathe.” Songs, notes Orpingalik (ibid):

are thoughts, sung out with the breath when people are moved by great forces and ordinary speech no longer suffices. Man is moved just like the ice floe sailing here and there out in the current. His thoughts are driven by a flowing force when he feels joy, when he feels sorrow. Thoughts can wash over him like a flood, making his blood come in gasps...And then it will happen that we, who always think we are small, will feel still smaller. And we will fear to use words. But it will happen that the words we need will come of themselves. When the words we want to use shoot up of themselves – we get a new song.

Incantations such as the one mapped out above, were typically recited in private from “a spot in the snow where no foot has left its mark” (Carpenter 1971:20). They remain, according to Carpenter (ibid), shrouded beneath a sacred ‘veil;’ “no theory of poetry, no science of ethnology, can ever really tell us what an Eskimo feels when he lets himself sink into the resonances and associations of these words.”

The understanding that the inherent force of words and song can be stored in “little black marks” (cf. Arnâluk in Rasmussen 1921:16) is one that writing cultures have long held dear. So used to typeset, we forget that speaking is an animate act, in which words are layered with movement, gesture and inflection. To disassociate spoken words from the act of speaking, to capture them in print, is to ultimately belie their true form and meaning.

Looking Forward: Contemporary Voices on the Future of Nunavut's Past.

Introduction

Over the course of my doctoral research in Cambridge Bay, between 2008-2012, I conducted an extensive set of interviews surrounding the relationship between the discipline of archaeology, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, and ideas of social benefit and relevance in Nunavut. These interviews targeted individuals intimately involved in the shaping of heritage within the territory—Inuit elders, Nunavummiut, heritage organizations, as well as Arctic archaeologists, teachers, social workers and researchers. As the program of interviews progressed, common themes began to emerge in the stories that people told about their relationships to history. Many archaeologists spoke candidly of both the challenges and rewards of working within a research context managed by and for local Inuit people. Representatives from various Inuit townships spoke with equal frankness about the struggle to create a form of historical investigation that acknowledges local cultural expertise and social desires. These voices have lent an interesting human perspective to the story of archaeology's development in the Canadian Arctic.

This chapter ultimately reflects on the future of collaborative archaeology in Nunavut. By considering this topic within a framework of opinion and firsthand experience, new light is shed on archaeology as a form a personal engagement between individuals, communities, and the past. When speaking about archaeology as a 'discipline,' one tends to forget that its existence in the North is primarily one of small-scale social interaction; teams of archaeologists, field students, elders and the general public coming together for brief seasonal excavations and meetings. This minimal exposure is often sufficient to forge strong opinions about the discipline's role and where it should be going.

Archaeology's own history in Nunavut is often discussed in terms of social exclusion; an Inuit past being built without Inuit participation. As archaeologist Sue Rowley points out to me (pers. comm. 2011), it is often easy to be dismissive of the challenges facing archaeological forefathers; "sometimes we weren't there, so we can't put ourselves in their shoes, and can't quite see the world through their lenses." In considering archaeology's future in the territory, however, this rule does not apply. This chapter will accordingly look to the future through the lenses of multiple personal narratives and opinions on how change should happen and where the discipline's future priorities should lie.

The initial goal of these interviews was to record a cross section of cultural and social perspectives to illustrate the diversity of voices surrounding issues of benefit and challenge of northern archaeology. The project, however, took on a life of its own. By 2012, roughly fifty hours of interviews had been taped with nearly as many individuals. All of these groups spoke of new directions and desired changes in the role that history and archaeology plays in contemporary Nunavut. While these voices are quoted extensively throughout the entire dissertation, this chapter arranges conversations into four distinct themes, including the nature of research relationships in Nunavut, the role of archaeology in Nunavut, the benefit of history in Nunavut, and new directions in education about the past. The chapter will conclude with the abridged transcript from my 2012 conversation with three Inuit women who represent Nunavut's first generation of professional Inuit archaeologists.

Interview Methodology

Despite being a relatively informal oral history project, interviews for this research were recorded according to an ethical consent process approved by both the University of Toronto Ethics Board and the Nunavut Research Institute. Interviews that took place during Kitikmeot Heritage Society projects adhered to

an alternate consent process designed by the KHS to facilitate interaction with elders. I distinguish these interviews with the letters 'KHS' in their citation. On several occasions, participants did not feel comfortable being digitally recorded or circumstances did not allow for a formal interview process to take place. In these situations, written notes were taken from the conversation and appear in this text only if verbal or written permission was subsequently granted by the individual.

The interview process was conducted in a very casual fashion. One of my only stipulations for the interviews was that they were conducted face to face. Participants chose the interview site, and as a result many took place in an atmosphere where interviewees were most comfortable. For academics and professional heritage workers, this was typically an office, while Nunavummiut tended to choose living rooms, kitchens, cabins and tents. Interviews took place throughout various Nunavut municipalities, and in many different cities across Canada.

Interviews generally followed a semi-formal question process. As emphasis was placed on discussions about first hand experience with archaeology and how people related to the past, a set roster of questions was not considered to be necessary. As Thomas Dunk (1991:16) has pointed out, "formalized questions" tend to only draw out "formalized answers." Interviews started with my providing a brief overview of my research interests, and letting the interviewee take charge of the conversation's direction from there. Many Inuit elders chose to route discussions of history through tales of their own life experiences. Many avoided conversations about archaeology because they had no first hand knowledge of what the term represented. Each interview lasted approximately an hour, though length was generally dictated by the interviewee deciding they had said all that they wanted to say. Approximately two years into the project, I began sending copies of interview transcripts back to interviewees in order for

them to review, make desired changes, and ultimately approve the final draft of the interview. This practice was to assure participants that they could freely speak their mind about subjects without having to worry about saying ‘the wrong thing.’ Despite these precautions, not a single change was requested.

While diverse, the interviews in this chapter can not be considered as a fully representative cross-section of opinions about archaeology and history in Nunavut. Due to interviews being conducted only in first person contexts, distance was a contributing factor to individuals being selected. Of the 40 interview subjects, 30 either lived in, or were from, Cambridge Bay. A total of 36 individuals lived in various townships across Nunavut. 31 participants identified as being Inuit, and 21 individuals self-identified as Inuit elders. 13 individuals worked in heritage-related professions, and 9 worked, or had worked, as an archaeologist in a professional capacity.

Contrary to my initial expectations, Arctic archaeologists were the most reticent group to participate in this study. Ten interview requests with Arctic archaeologists were either actively turned down or went unanswered. Whether this was due to their being too busy with other projects or simply reluctant to discuss potentially sensitive issues in their discipline is a matter open for speculation. The controversy surrounding a very public debate over archaeology’s relationship to indigenous groups (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Croes 2010; Lyons et al. 2010; McGhee 2008, 2010; Siliman 2010; Wilcox 2010) has created a certain self-consciousness around discussions of archaeology, cultural identity and community involvement. It is telling, I believe, that the only archaeologists to respond to my interviews were those actively engaged in community-oriented fieldwork. It should also be pointed out that several of my requests for interviews from Nunavut political and cultural organizations also received no response.

Research Relationships in Nunavut

Many of the individuals interviewed—Inuit and non-Inuit alike—spoke of archaeology within the larger context of research in the North. In their 2007 article, Gearhead and Shirley systematically define the core themes that drive Arctic research relationships, emphasizing in particular, areas of economic impact and benefit, power and authority, and research methodology and design. For the most part, Gearhead and Shirley conclude (2007:69), scientific research is “ultimately designed not to generate local employment and revenue, but rather to advance scientific knowledge.”

This sentiment was echoed by many of the northerners with whom I spoke. Despite attempts to introduce cross-cultural awareness into northern research regulations and practice (see for example Griebel 2012; ITK and NRI 2007), there seems to be a strong sense that research is something that ‘takes from’ rather than ‘gives to’ northern communities. As Cambridge Bay elder Tommy Kilaodluk indicates to me (pers. comm. KHS 2008), the problem is often perceived as a failure to meet local traditions of reciprocity:

If southerners learned to adapt to Inuit ways, sharing and helping each other, it would be important. Scientists are always wanting to *know*. They are like sponges, sucking all the Inuit know without wanting to give back.

Along similar lines, KHS Executive Director Renee Krucas argues that researchers often do not recognize knowledge as a commodity that must be put to use. While visiting researchers are often interested in collecting information from elders, she notes, they often do not feel obligated to find some way of translating that information into resources the local people can use (pers. comm. 2011):

I find that their intentions are wonderful, that they are positive and very enthusiastic and they are here for the right reasons, but I don't think in the end what they do is very beneficial. I find that some researchers come in and collect a lot of information, and while they are really nice, and really respectful and appreciative of everything, once they've collected everything they need they are gone and that is the end of it and we don't hear back from them. The elders have given them so much information and shared so much, and they don't get to see how that information contributed to anything...if it made a difference, if it was used we don't know. I find there is a big gap there.

This perceived gap between academic and community interests has created a cross-disciplinary emphasis on 'negotiated research' to better integrate Nunavummiut perspectives and needs with research agendas (see Korsmo and Graham 2002 for an excellent historical overview relating Nunavut politics to changing research practices). As evidenced in chapter 4, the field of archaeology has seen a similar orientation towards 'community.' Archaeologists with whom I spoke were divided in their opinion as to whether the label of 'community research' was having any impact on how research was actually being carried out. Ellen Bielawski, a former Arctic archaeologist and current Dean of Native Studies at the University of Edmonton, insists that community engagement is taking place at a largely superficial level (pers. comm. 2011):

My sense—and this goes beyond archaeology—is that what has happened with what is variously called community engagement, community participation, community-based research, community-driven research is great, but there has been next to no sophistication. And the lack of sophistication is because the university still drives the agenda. The community agendas are seen as less than scientific and less than worthwhile. I don't see—and this may be because I am not on the ground and seeing it—a real down and dirty sophistication of intellectual engagement. And I think it would be quite possible to have that if you let the university-trained people—let them, rewarded them, encouraged them—to hang out with the well informed and highly intelligent thinkers in Inuit and other cultures, and focus on exploring knowledge rather than digging up more sites and training people to do what we have always done and report on it in the same boring ways with a little aside about community involvement.

University of Calgary Arctic archaeologist Peter Dawson, however, is optimistic that this is starting to change. For a new generation of archaeology students, he notes (pers. comm. 2011), indigenous ethics, permitting systems and prolonged social interaction have become natural components of research:

Students are spending time in first nations communities, where they are seeing first hand the effects of government modernization policies and some of the challenges that first nations communities are meeting. And they come back and they are intensely interested in indigenous archaeology...It is because they are seeing first hand. There is a level of empathy amongst the students that I don't think existed in my generation because we didn't spend the time that these students are spending in indigenous communities.

Daniel Gendron, Director of Nunavik's Avataq Archaeology Department, was careful to distinguish between notions of community-based research, noting (pers. comm. 2011), "we have two types of projects. The ones that are generated from the community and the ones that we think would be of interest to the communities":

I think this is where the relationship is different with university people that are not affiliated with communities or an organization that has a foothold in the community. They will arrive with a full-fledged project and try to impose their ideas on the people, and it won't work.

Though optimistic for the future role of community research in the Arctic, Dawson (pers. comm. 2011) points out that an element of social unpredictability will always pose a challenge to its practice. This must ultimately be accepted, he furthers, rather than glossed over for more positive results:

When I read the literature about indigenous and community-based archaeology, all I read about is the good things that happened. I think that—I don't know about your experience—but you go in with the best of intentions and inevitably you are going to accidentally say something and do something that is going to be misconstrued and is

going to challenge people's understandings of what it is they thought you were doing as opposed to what it is you are doing now. I think that is the most challenging aspect of community archaeology, is navigating the social relationships and the misunderstandings that can sometimes occur. Sometimes they can be indirectly related to what you are doing. Something can happen outside of what you are doing, a bad experience with someone else from outside the community, and you kind of get lumped into the same group. There is nothing you can really do about that. But we are just starting out.

During my interviews with Nunavummiut, I specifically asked what elements they felt were most important for incoming researchers to help local people to document. Responses were unanimous that researchers needed to capture the knowledge of elders. As Renee Krucas points out (pers. comm. 2011):

I just have this clock in my head...we only have this amount of time with these elders. Once these elders are gone, then that's it. Who else was born in an igloo, who else was raised on the land, who else speaks Inuinnaqtun, who else knows how to skin a seal, who else knows how to sew a parka, a caribou skin parka, chew hide....Once the time comes when no more elders are here, what are we going to do? We need to use this time very wisely, so when researchers come in and want to take up all of this time to do these research projects that don't really involve any of the kids learning any of these things, or don't involve any of the adults learning these things....its frustrating.

There is also concern over the nature of knowledge actively being collected from elders. Research interviews with this demographic often emphasize questions regarding very specific research themes, sectioning knowledge in a way that undermines more holistic narrative traditions among Inuit (McGrath 2012). Kitikmeot Inuit Association Program Coordinator Julia Ogina (pers. comm. 2010) expresses the need to begin gathering more diverse and 'at risk' knowledge to prevent Inuit history from becoming limited to a partial collection of memories:

We have to document now in areas we don't understand. Or just document for the sake of documenting because our Elders that have the knowledge are going, we only have a handful of people that grew

up part of their life in an igloo or totally out on the land. And once those Elders go...

The Place of Archaeology

Where does archaeology fit into the larger context of researching history in Nunavut? Ellen Bielawski does not mince words when the subject of archaeology's role in Arctic communities comes up. "Never have so few," she notes in reference to archaeologists (pers. comm. 2011), "made something so fascinating so boring for so many." The sentiment that archaeology has to become more relevant to local people was a consistent theme articulated by interviewees with knowledge of the discipline.⁴¹

University of British Columbia Arctic archaeologist Sue Rowley (pers. comm. 2011) feels that it is the discipline's relationship with Inuit oral traditions that most needs to be reconciled:

if you take an oral history and equivalent it to archaeology, at some point the archaeology takes over from the validity of the oral history. You get people saying this part of the oral history cannot be right because it does not equate to the archaeology.

William Beveridge and Ralph Kownak (employed respectively as Executive Director and Heritage Manager at the Inuit Heritage Trust) felt that many of the big changes required in creating a more Inuit-centered archaeology had already been accomplished. "Inuit communities are taking more control," notes Kownak (pers. comm. 2010). "In the past," he continues, "strangers would come and go

⁴¹ Many of the Cambridge Bay elders with whom I spoke understood archaeology only in the broadest sense of 'digging up old things.' As Annie Pokiak explained to me (pers. comm. 2009) "If you have to find those old things, the ones the old people used in the past, then you have to get under the ground to get them." Most were not opposed to archaeologists doing this, although this may reflect their positive association of archaeology with youth education and oral history documentation due to Max Friesen's long running program.

without us knowing what they did. These days we know who is coming in, what they are doing, and we can read their permit reports when they are finished....its a more transparent process." He also sees that positive changes have occurred in Inuit relations to the material record (ibid):

The co-management of our archaeological heritage has brought a sense of mutual stewardship. Some communities used to take materials from sites, but now they realize that the area has to be left for both kinds of interpretation. They are understanding why archaeology is important and that if you open up a [historical] site, you lose important information.

Former Inuit Heritage Trust Program Manager Ericka Chemko also recognizes these changes to Inuit attitudes about archaeology, but adds that they are not uniform across the territory. "It is different in every community," she says (pers. comm. 2010), "depending on how they have been exposed to the discipline. Some townships such as Taloyoak and Cambridge Bay have initiated archaeological projects to see what light the science might shed upon local oral history." She similarly points out that generational shift has an impact on changing attitudes about archaeology. She notes that, for younger Inuit, there are more opportunities to learn about archaeology through fieldschools and courses at college. They come back to Nunavut more appreciative of their ancestors, and also more conscious of the modern Inuk lifestyle, which is able to mix old and new to form its own identity. "It is young people that have become bearers of the new archaeological message," Chemko tells me (ibid). "Older generations are harder to sell on archaeology" she continues, "they are passionate and interested about the archaeological past, but do not have the resources to further explore what that means."

Quentin Cockatt—a man from Cambridge Bay in his mid 20s who took part in a 2007 field excavation and oral history camp with Max Friesen—does not feel that his generation is terribly interested in archaeologically-produced histories. "They

don't really show interest sometimes," he notes (pers. comm. 2011), "its pretty sad." Part of this, he says, is due to the failure of archaeologists to engage youth with historical themes that appeal to them as being interesting and relevant (ibid):

Its unfortunate that they [archaeologists] are pressed for time, when they should know for themselves that it takes time to build interest in anything. The youth today is taking a big interest in hip-hop, you know, that could be their entry to it [archaeology]. Without evolution in any culture there can be no future. I found certainly that evolution and changing a little bit, not completely, but a little bit builds an interest. There are breakdance groups in the east who wear traditional clothing in the routines that they do for the shows. I myself have pulled off some Arctic sport moves in the [breakdance] battle circle. That's another way to go about it. Think about it as if working with the people who have the interest, get the storytelling involved...that's what the dancing that we have is...its storytelling, the songs, its all storytelling.

Daniel Gendron spoke to me at length about the gaps that separate Inuit and archaeological understandings of history. For Inuit, he notes (pers. comm. 2011), "the past is something very alive, or something they want to keep alive, so the best way to keep something alive is to do it. Digging holes is not part of the tradition." Inuit concepts of archaeology as "picking up things," he furthers, has created a need to re-define the discipline in northern contexts:

In their [Inuit people's] mind, I think archaeology is picking up things. They do that, find places, and sometimes they do that to help us. That is how they present it to us, "I found a site, and there were these things there, and I picked them up for you." Or they make these little piles of artifacts so you don't have to dig all over to find them. They are all together in piles. We are trying to explain to them the importance of location, but this is something that is beyond their grasp. They can't see it as something important to their way of seeing the past as something important. Space is something that is open. Things move in space "...why can I not move these things to help you?" Excavation is really a non-Inuit thing.

Having worked as a language interpreter during elders' visits to archaeological sites, Emily Angulalik (pers. comm. 2011) feels that many Inuit still respect archaeological methods despite not fully understanding them:

once you have excavated an artifact and its been hidden for so many years that the elders they become in awe, like "wow....this has been preserved for so long and it still looks like new," they say that. They are quite interested...they've always been interested as to how the archaeologist would have everything structured and planned, they don't just go ahead and dig it out. They do it with respect, they do not want their artifact to be shattered, they want it to be treated properly. That's what I find with the elders, they are in awe of how the archaeologists take care of their work in a form of respect.

I followed up on the relationship between Inuit and archaeological ways of understanding the past during my interview with Julia Ogina. When asked whether archaeologists provide a different message about history compared to Inuit elders, Julia Ogina responds:

I don't think it is a different message. I think today a lot of people need to validate, have some sort of way of validating if that information is correct. Or that it is something that has really happened before. And the Elders, I feel for the Elders so much because they talk about not being heard, even though they told they are not being heard. People are not taking their word any more like they used to.

Cambridge Bay resident Emily Angulalik (pers. comm. 2011) ultimately feels the gap between archaeological and Inuit ways for knowing the past to be minimal:

They seem to be [very different] at the beginning, but down the road are serving the same purpose...Like they are two separate people, but when it comes to getting involved in the world, then it just comes out to be that they are here for the same common purpose.

Much of the complexity involved in situating archaeological practice in the lives of Inuit people stems from a lack of discernable overlap between academic and

local outlooks. A story that Emily Angulalik (pers. comm. 2011) tells me at the end of her interview confirms that such a place of convergence might very well exist in the realm of humour:

we were out at Iqaluktuuq, and you know them plastic utensils, the white plastic utensils, it was left on the ground and I accidentally stepped on one, and [local elder] Analok said" ooh, you broke an artifact...just put it back in the ground and we will dig it back out in another 20 years from now." We sure did have a lot of laughs.

The Benefit of Archaeology

What benefits does the practice of archaeology ultimately have for Inuit communities? William Beveridge (pers. comm. 2010) tells me that he would like to see archaeologists do two things: talk to communities, and participate more in the territory's education system. "If these are accomplished," he continues (ibid), "the IHT can begin to realize its goal of developing professional Inuit archaeologists, who can return to Nunavut and manage the area's history."

Having run a long-term archaeological fieldschool in the municipality of Igloolik, Sue Rowley also sees the heart of archaeological benefit as lying in the education of Inuit people (see Rowley 2002). She is clear to point out (pers. comm. 2011) that education does not necessarily imply turning Inuit into archaeologists, but rather sensitizing younger Inuit to recognize the presence of historical features:

The sense that if people know and can read the landscape and see the sites. Of course the elders can see the sites because they lived in them and know the land, but many of the young people haven't had the opportunities in their life to spend time out on the land. If those people go on to become community land developers, if they can see some of those things, then they can understand and see the sites before they are destroyed for an airstrip or a hotel or a housing development. All of those things need to happen, but they need to know the sites are there and recognize that and be able to put steps

into place to deal with that. I think that is a real benefit of just even some exposure to archaeology, or to reading the landscape, which can be done through a number of ways.

Daniel Gendron (pers. comm. 2011) similarly indicated that the goal of archaeology in communities was not to create Inuit archaeologists, but rather to bring a more general sense of history into individuals' lives:

the important part about our projects where we hire students to do fieldwork in the summer is not to make them archaeologists, but to make them realize they have a past, and this past is significant, and that they should be proud of it. Beyond this point, if they want to do archaeology, fine, but if they want to do something else it doesn't matter. What matters, is that they have a relationship with their past and that they are accepting themselves.

James Howard, a long-time Arctic resident working in social services, feels that, in order to be beneficial, understandings of history have to be bridged with the realities of living in a modern world (pers. comm. 2011).

I do understand the principle that in order to understand where you are going you have to understand where you are coming from, and having traditional and cultural values gives you a strong sense of awareness, of self-awareness, of who you are. My view is that [we need to be] keeping up on today's technology because the communities are changing, because the world is changing so fast, in order for these young people to become contributing members of their communities they need to know these technologies. And become aware.

Whether geared towards creating awareness of the past or present, Renee Krucas indicates (pers. comm. 2011), projects reliant on creating benefit ultimately have to understand the term at a more practical level:

if they want to research how certain activities are benefitting community members, well then create the programs, do the research...If that research proves they are beneficial, then great,

provide an organization such as ours with that proof so we can take that information to our funders to get more money to keep these programs going. That would be awesome, if they could do things like that. But if they are just coming in to research, you know, how things were 50 or 60 years ago, what happened in this time period, and that's it and they are gone well....okay, but we don't really learn anything from that and at the end of the day we could have been doing something much more valuable.

Ultimately, notes Ellen Bielawski (pers. comm. 2011), real benefit will only be created once archaeology recognizes more profound links between contemporary identity and the material past:

Somehow archaeology needs to integrate with that broader question of who Inuit are and want to be. That's what will really make a difference to people today. Otherwise we all know how to dig up nice objects, and we are really pretty good at locking them away. So we come up with a new museum design so more people can see it, and we take away the cultural reference of one time so people can make their own decisions...It will change, as the fads change. I would like to see us asking harder questions for ourselves.

Education and Remembering

In 2011, I spoke with a series of Cambridge Bay elders regarding their understandings of how traditional culture and history might prove beneficial to modern communities. I was particularly interested in having them define what elements of traditional culture should be remembered in contemporary society and what challenges prevented this.

While the past is remembered with a sense of nostalgia, it is also remembered as a hard life. "If I go back and live in a snow house," Mary Kaotalok told me (pers. comm. KHS 2011), "I would be in trouble. I would have a hard time." In wishing for their grandchildren and younger generations to learn more about Inuit history, many elders stressed that this was less about learning specific practices

than a way to build essential Inuit values required to live a 'proper' life. Inuit values, in this case, were often contextualized within practical and concrete examples. As Matthew Nakashook indicated (pers. comm. KHS 2011):

In the old days the Inuit were so conservative. They did not waste. All they did was get enough food for themselves...That is what I would like to see. People providing for themselves and learning the culture, the ways of how our ancestors were hunting. Planning and preparing for their food. That is what I would like to have the youth learn. Not to waste. If people wanted fresh meat [in the old days] they would go hunting for fresh meat. Its like they [today's youth] are only in it for the money. When they are out hunting it is competition. They are always competing.

This desire to see more independence and less waste is also evident in elder Mary Kaotalok's words (pers. comm. KHS 2011):

We used to prepare ourselves making mipku [dried caribou] in the summer time even though there is swarms of mosquitoes. We didn't mind at all because we were preparing ourselves for the cold winter months...right now you don't see much people preparing, or working hard like they used to....It seems like nowadays you catch game, caribou or fish, and say "I'll tend to it later" and then the meat gets spoiled. We are living in so much luxury.

Margaret Nakashook (pers. comm. KHS 2011) explains to me that Inuit youth have strayed from the path of traditional Inuit culture:

I feel for the young people nowadays because it seems they are so scattered...the young people are facing too much of the justice [system] or they go too much to court. It is important for the young people to grasp and hold onto Inuit culture. Learn the Inuit language. Learn the Inuit way. Then you will keep the values...The young people don't have the sense of direction for the Inuit culture, the leadership, but it is important that they practice it.

As elder Amy Kamoayok points out, education is something that younger generations will ultimately have to choose for themselves. “If the children do not want to go to school” she told me (pers. comm. KHS 2011), “then don’t force them until they make up their mind to go back.” Despite wanting youth to “grasp and learn” the Inuit culture, elder Bessie Emingak (pers. comm. KHS 2011) recognizes that they are finding their own ways of living:

It seems like they are wanting to do things on their own without understanding or experiencing the Inuit values and traditions. It seems they are not following the important values I was taught.

No one I spoke with seemed to have a definitive solution for bringing Inuit history back into the lives of youth. In discussing projects designed to increase youth involvement with elders and traditional knowledge and skills, Renee Krucas points out the ultimate challenge of measuring the impact these programs are having :

I think its absolutely having a huge impact. The trouble with measuring that is that...we can’t. But, if we were to do some kind of formal study to see how peoples’ levels of pride are increasing, it is safe to say that it is. More and more people seem to be feeling much more proud, much more aware of where they are coming from, much more respectful of their history. Obviously through these activities, you see them taking pride in who they are. Beyond that, even for the people who are just going home and watching TV, and not sewing or going hunting, they at least still have that feeling of “wow, this is where I am coming from, and my ancestors were amazing, and I am here because of them.” A lot has been lost, but it is still there...the most important things are still there, and the people are still here. To feel proud, that’s the point.

An Interview with Three Emerging Inuit Archaeologists

In the spring of 2012, I attended a workshop being help by the Nunavut Heritage Network to increase networks and capacity building among heritage professionals within the territory. Many of the individuals involved in the project had gained initial exposure to the heritage field through participation in archaeological fieldschools. Of particular note, in this regards, were three young women who had maintained this interest in archaeology to pursue professional careers and graduate degrees in the discipline. To the best of my knowledge these women are currently the only Nunavummiut pursuing professional work and graduate training in archaeology-related fields. Pam Gross (PG) has been employed in both CRM and research archaeology, as well as in heritage-sector research, and is currently studying for a Masters Degree in Indigenous studies at the University of Winnipeg. Jessica Kotierk (JK) has worked for the Nunavut Government Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth and is currently enrolled in a diploma program in Collection Conservation and Management at Fleming College. Krista Zawadski (KZ) has been involved in a long term Nunavut archaeology program in partnership with the Inuit Heritage Trust and has recently completed her Honours Degree in Anthropology at Carlton University.

Pam, Jessica, and Krista agreed to sit down with me one afternoon and discuss their perspectives on archaeology, and whether they feel that their outlooks on the past have been impacted by their cultural upbringing. The following is a transcript of the latter half of our conversation:

BG: Maybe now would be a good time to start talking about the archaeology you have all taken part in. Could you all say what experience you've had with archaeology?

JK: I will go first, because mine is probably the least. I did a field school back in the day right after highschool. It was with Inuit Heritage Trust, so we dug some stuff up and showed it to people in the community. And then when I worked at CLEY [Nunavut Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth], I did paperwork and talked with archaeologists about what they did with collections...years later. That did not make me very impressed with archaeologists, because I felt that you are taking all of this stuff, doing all this work—being part of one field school, I realized how much work it was—but you didn't write anything down or make it clear for the next person. You kept it all in your head. And that is horrible.

KZ: My first field school was in Kugluktuk around 2002 or 2003. There was only 5 students and the archaeologist's name was Ken Swayze. We found a post hole, that was basically it. In 2004 I was in Repulse Bay as a student with Jessica. That was a lot of fun. The following year we went to Pond. I went as a field assistant and also went to Vancouver throughout the summer before and after the field school to do lab work and prepare for the trip. That was fantastic. The following summer I went to Hall Beach with Julie Ross, and I didn't do any lab work...Then I went back to school. IHT doesn't do field schools anymore.

PG: I was with Krista in 2006 in Hall Beach. That was a lot of fun. I really enjoyed the hands on excavation and finding stuff. In 2010, I went out with you and Max and the others from UofT. Working outside of Cambridge Bay was a lot of fun. It was a personal joy to be constantly wondering "was this where my family lived." Who knows who along the way, but they were ancestors for sure. Just thinking that was really neat and exciting and I know that I will keep that memory. I wish the project was still going, but that was the final year for it. Maybe there will be other projects.

BG: You all seemed like you enjoyed archaeology. What did you specifically like about it?

KZ: For me, it was being outside. When I was trying to figure out what I was going to do as a career, my criteria were being outside, traveling, learning and being a nerd. I was like, "I can do archaeology." I can be outside, although its only one month out of the year. For me that is what I loved about it. And being in the dirt.

PG: I forgot to mention that last summer I was working with archaeologists at Hope Bay. Two archaeologists for two weeks. We were flying around in a helicopter making sure that the potential drill spots for the core sampling wasn't on or around any archaeological sites. I really enjoyed being out there and walking across the *nuna* [tundra] looking at other areas and seeing a really pretty landscape. That was a different experience, because I wasn't around when they excavated. They were mitigating one area. I wasn't there for that. It was exciting to be a part of it. Although I don't know about mining and archaeology....but it was interesting.

BG: Why do you think that archaeology doesn't have much of an impact on communities? You three seem to enjoy it, but archaeologists often find that their work has no lasting impact. You are all rare exceptions to this. Archaeologists tend to love archaeology, especially up here, but they can't figure out a way of passing their passion on to people in communities and getting sustained interest. Why doesn't archaeology seem to click?

KZ: I think people talk about archaeology and many people are turned off by it because they can't keep the artifacts. They want to take an artifact home and show it to their grandparents, which a lot of people do. At the same time, socially, it is hard for people to do this sort of thing. You have to go to school a

long time. Realistically, a lot of people in the communities have children in high school or right after high school. To pursue a career in archaeology it is a long term goal. There is no immediate benefit. You can't take a course for a year and be guaranteed a job. If you want to be an archaeologist you have to go to school for 8 years, or whatever program you get into. That is the biggest turn off. For me, I need to be a nerd, so that is why I do it. I don't mind going to school for so long. Realistically, a lot of people have families and they can't really do it.

PG: I think a lot of people don't want to be away from home that long. I think even 8 months is a lot of time. When I left in the beginning of September and just got back the other day, being gone for that duration, I notice kids changing, sprouting to twice their size. It is hard for people, especially when school is getting tough, it is even harder to be away from family. Sometimes to feel isolated when there is no community around you is a challenge. Sometimes it is easier to stay at home and be with your family than it is to sacrifice certain things in your life.

KZ: One of my personal goals is to find a way to teach archaeology at Arctic College, or even in high school. When I went to high school, it was like, "why don't you offer these types of courses?" If there were courses like that, I think the interest would build. It is hard to be away from home. For me, after third year I dropped out because I had my son and had to go back and work. Everyone kept telling me, you're not going to go back to school. To prove them wrong, four years later I went back and now I'm done. I found in that four years when I was home it was really comfortable. It was hard to go to school and live like a student again. It is hard when you have to go away from home.

BG: What about doing archaeology in communities? There is something I research called community archaeology, and it is based on letting communities shape the practice of archaeology. My research looks at how far this approach

can push archaeology's boundaries to talk about the things communities want to talk about. How do you see this approach as a benefit to communities?

JK: I was a research assistant one time to an archaeologist doing studies about the thickness of metal objects. I was excited because I got to see objects, but I don't know how what she was studying benefits or changes people's lives now. It might change how archaeologists study stuff, because she would establish some sort of standards, but it wouldn't be for the general public, it would be for archaeologists. Unless you are an archaeologist, it would not be interesting, unless accompanied by a story that changes things right now.

KZ: I think you can integrate archaeology into a broader project, like cultural camps, or tool use and reproduction. From that example you could use tools, or have students reproduce tools and then use them. I know a lot of people are becoming more interested in hunting with bow and arrows. But it is hard, because nobody knows how to do it. It is hard when you don't know how to make a traditional tool. I am specifically interested in tools, but don't know how to make them. For me personally, I want to go on a culture camp, learn to make a tool and then hunt. I don't know if culture camps already do that, but what I see so far is mostly sewing. It is the same concept as your going out and building that kayak. Same concept, different object.

BG: Is that archaeology, do you think?

KZ: It is part of archaeology. You need objects to reproduce new ones. To create. I know people make harpoon heads now, but they are not made out of stone or bone. If you are doing more traditional tool making, or if you are actually doing archaeology with students, that would be part of learning how to create these tools.

PG: I think it is starting young too. I never knew about archaeology or anthropology before I went to college. I had no idea that that was what I wanted to do, because I didn't know what it was called. Or what it was about. I knew that I loved being outdoors. When I went out on the land, I loved seeing the old sites. But I didn't realize that it is a profession where I can study my own history. That is something I think is important, to start young in elementary school, talking about and educating in Inuit history and where we came from.

BG: What do you think an Inuit archaeology would look like? The ideal of community archaeology is to give communities the power to redefine research of their history. What would that look like up here?

KZ: What is Inuit archaeology? In terms of methodology, it would still be western methods; going out and digging. Inuit don't traditionally have archaeology in the sense that we think about archaeology.

BG: What do you think a more Inuit way of examining the past would be then?

PG: A lot of oral history. I imagine sitting in an iglu or qarmat, listening to grandparents talk about the ways of life they lived and their experiences, just learning from elders that way.

KZ: We were talking about tool reproduction before. For me, it would be hands on, engaging the community to be involved in the activities, like building up a sod house and having stories inside of there. I know we have already done that, we have a couple [sod houses] in Rankin that we've used before, but they haven't been maintained. That is what I am thinking. Engaging elders. In terms of Inuit education, you learn on your own. You are taught, but someone is not going to look over your shoulder and say "that is not how you tie your shoelaces." They will say "I am going to show you, but you practice on your own and I will make

sure you don't tie your finger into your shoelace, but that's it." In that sense, Inuit archaeology would incorporate that. It totally defies the purpose of archaeology because you have to be so meticulous. I envision creating something hands on, meanwhile teaching community how you do that. But how do you incorporate that into archaeology...that is the question right? Maybe you excavate a sod house first and then you recreate one.

PG: I really enjoy the part whenever I participate in archaeology digs when you go out on the land and bring it back to the elders and community and they talk about the pieces that were shown. I remember when we were in Hall Beach we were wondering what this artifact was and [someone told us] it was part of a dog harness. We were all "oh, it was that piece there, that connected the harness together, and that is an important piece." The elders knew what that was for. It was interesting to see and learn from elders that way.

BG: As a last question, do you think that you three, as Inuit, will change how archaeology is done. Whether in terms of conservation, excavation or other areas of archaeology, do you want to see things change? Or are you attracted to it as it is?

KZ: I think for sure we are going to have an impact on archaeology. I don't know about methods, but interpretation for sure will be changed.

PG: I am nervous about the transition, with all the elders passing away. We always go to our elders now to ask for their advice and they play a key role. What about when we are elders, it will be a totally different dynamic. I know that archaeology is going to change, but it is still to going to incorporate traditional knowledge because we have started recording and we can still pass on what we have heard from our elders.

KZ: For me, in my experience, at archaeological fieldschools we will exhibit things to the community. What I never realized, at the time, was that archaeologists around the world don't always do that, or give back to the community, or show artifacts to the community, or incorporate the community, even. My friend, Ezra, after we were working in Repulse Bay, went down to Mexico for an exchange and he said he got really turned off by what archaeology has done there. Turned off by the politics and lack of community involvement. He said it was really different and he always remembered his experience in Repulse Bay and how the community was engaged. I never knew it was like that in other places. At the time, I assumed it was like that around the world, but obviously it is not. That is one of the things I have grown to admire about the archaeology that is done in the north...or at least the archaeology that IHT has done. The community is involved. Personally, I am excited about doing more archaeology. I talked to Bob McGhee recently and I asked him "what is your opinion about archaeology in the Arctic"...I kind of said "I think you guys have found all the big sites already, what did you leave for us, for me." My theory is that we [young Inuit] are going to come in as archaeologists and refine and add on to what has already been developed. But he said, "no, there is still a lot out there still...there is a lot for you to find and build." I got all excited. And now I am even more excited to get into the field. I think in the future of archaeology there will be re-definitions, and I think that is what I am going to be doing in my career. Re-examining archaeology, going back and looking at what they did...is it correct, or is it not correct?

BG: Their interpretations or how they produced them?

KZ: Their interpretations. Not necessarily how they did it; to me that is obvious, methodology has changed and it is still changing. But their interpretations for sure. There is an object, and they [archaeologists] say "this is what it is for." But

you look at it, and say “that is not what it is for...its for combing your hair.” Why didn’t the Inuit tell them back then? I want that to be one of my projects.

Discussion

While disconnected from the larger context of their interviews, the voices heard throughout this chapter attest to the complexity of practicing archaeology in Nunavut. Of particular interest, is that it was the archaeologists with whom I spoke that seem to be the strongest advocates of Nunavut’s political message regarding archaeology’s role as a tool for Inuit benefit. It was primarily archaeologists who pointed out the discipline’s failure to connect with local interests and understandings of history. It was archaeologists that were most critical of how their discipline has performed in the past. Again, one must keep in mind that the interview sample consisted primarily of individuals actively involved in community-oriented research.

Inuit interviewees for their part, were primarily concerned with history at a less abstract level. They recognized the strong link between traditional Inuit culture and the success of younger generations of Inuit. The social challenges facing young people are seen as directly related to lack of exposure to a way of life that engenders self reliance, social bonds, and strong identity. If archaeological involvement was something that would help return traditional values to their children, their grand-children, and communities, then it was something that should be practiced. Since the implementation of the new permit system, notes Ralph Kownak (pers. comm. 2010), there have been very few problems with archaeologists. “They understand what they have to do,” he says.

The most promising message in these interviews comes from the three young Inuit women who have embraced archaeology as a source for change. Their

excitement to alter the discipline from the 'inside' through new layers of cultural interpretation and experience is tempered by a worry that the Inuit sources for alternative information about the past (ie. elders) are rapidly disappearing. As the three women point out, archaeology and traditional Inuit engagements with history share many elements: being on the land, recognition of ancestry, engagement with tools and their uses through tactile experience. The largest deterrents to more thoroughly entrenching 'formal archaeology' in the Arctic are pointed out as being primarily social in nature: the inability to share discovered artifacts with family and grandparents, the movement away from community for long-distance and long term schooling. As Pam Gross points out, the requirements imposed by 'becoming an archaeologist' ultimately alienates one from the conventions of comforts of life in Nunavut: "sometimes to feel isolated when there is no community around you is a challenge."

Conclusion

This chapter's discussion about archaeology's role in Nunavut situates the practice of archaeology as a pursuit that needs to better adapt to the knowledge, social realities and desired directions of northern communities. As indicated by the interviewees, Arctic communities are not 'entities' to be incorporated into archaeological projects through facile methods, but are conflicted categories in which cultural values, traditional lifestyles, and the communication of knowledge between generations are simultaneously idealized, problematized, and recognized as negotiating a period of rapid transition.

The following chapter will consider the approach of community archaeology as a means of beginning to engage 'community' as a diverse and changing concept. I argue that the approach should not be applied as a means for groups to 'react' (cf. Greer 1995, see chapter 6) to archaeologically defined concerns and communities, but rather should work with groups to actively investigate the core

nature of these concerns and identities through recourse to materials and ideas relating to the past. I ultimately argue that community archaeology finds its strongest application in the creation of new communities around the process of defining and engaging tension-laden themes of collective identity, democracy and relevance.

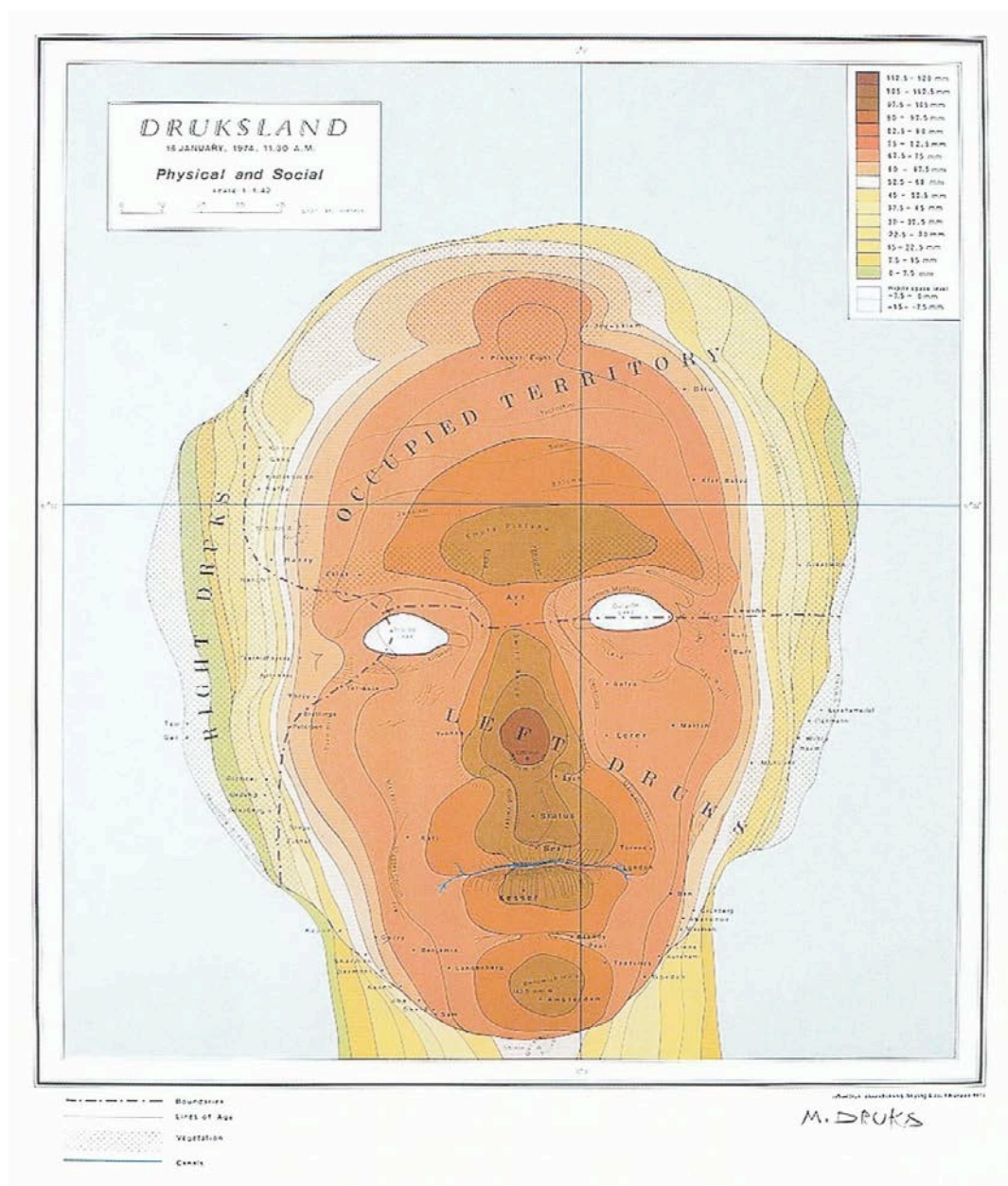


Plate 6: Druksland Physical and Social 15 January 1974, 11:30 am. Michael Druks. 1974.

Born in Israel in 1940, Michael Druks channelled his homeland's political tensions into a career as one of the nation's leading visual and conceptual artists. His famous 'Druksland' series was created shortly after the Yom Kippur War,

offering a personal commentary on issues of occupation and the role of the individual in national politics.

Druksland Physical and Social... remains one of his best-known pieces from this collection. It explores the tension that exists between the use of cartography's universal and impartial language of space to describe a landscape invested with individuals and personal meaning. Specific references are made to the social and political implications of borders, which are simultaneously seen to define and displace the individual. The Druksland map indicates places where the artist lived, schools in which he studied and lists names of family members, friends and cultural institutions.

While designing his *Flexible Geography* series in the early 1970's, Michael Druks was fascinated with the Argentine author, Jorge Luis Borges' short story *On Exactitude in Science* (Borges 1998 ([1946])).⁴² The story details the pitfalls of science's extreme desire to manufacture representations of reality. Determined to perfect the accuracy of maps, the narrative's cartographers expand their delineations of the empire to such extremes that they assume a one-to-one ratio with the real world, replacing personality with portrayal, and losing all sense of practicality in the process. As static representations—life-sized, yet barren of all life—the maps are condemned to the realm of uselessness.

Borges' paragraph-long story—whose authorship he attributes to the fictitious 17th century author, Suárez Miranda—is as follows:

On Exactitude in Science

In that Empire, the Art of Cartography attained such Perfection that the map of a single Province occupied the entirety of a City, and the

⁴² Various English translations of this story have also titled it "On Rigor in Science," the original Spanish title being "Del rigor en la ciencia"

map of the Empire, the entirety of a Province. In time, those Unconscionable Maps no longer satisfied, and the Cartographers Guilds struck a Map of the Empire whose size was that of the Empire, and which coincided point for point with it. The following Generations, who were not so fond of the Study of Cartography as their Forebears had been, saw that that vast Map was Useless, and not without some Pitilessness was it, that they delivered it up to the Inclemencies of Sun and Winters. In the Deserts of the West, still today, there are Tattered Ruins of that Map, inhabited by Animals and Beggars; in all the Land there is no other Relic of the Disciplines of Geography.

Suárez Miranda, *Viajes de varones prudentes*, Libro IV, Cap. XLV, Lérida, 1658

The Research Lens of Community Archaeology

Introduction: The Human Face of History

Our explanations [of the past] are limited by the telescopes that science fashions for us. As riddled with flaws as the original Hubble telescope, our lenses are often crude, capricious things. Rarely showing us what we most want to see, they shed minute specks into exquisite, breath-taking focus, while smudging giant fields into an indecipherable blur. Try as we will, struggle as hard as we can to make better lenses, we are unable to train our sight steadily on the people themselves, their thoughts, their desires, their dreams, the inner lives that make them truly human

-Heather Pringle (2001: 132)

When I began my doctoral research in 2006, community-based archaeology was just coming into its own as a well-recognized academic approach. Lauded by some as the 'New Archaeology' of the new generation (Wylie 2009), community archaeology became the focus of conference sessions and thematic journal issues, promising a practical escape-hatch to the spiralling debates of post-processual theory. The language of community became the perfect avenue for archaeologists to express their solidarity with both the practices and beliefs of their own discipline (the archaeological community) as well as their partnership with groups beyond the academic sphere (communities of interest). By drawing multiple communities into discussions over the meaning of the past, it was hoped that archaeology could begin to adjust its focus from "histories viewed through a single lens" to "histories viewed through multiple lenses" (Franklin 1997:46). For many researchers, including myself, community archaeology suggested an opportunity to introduce more 'human' qualities into an otherwise dispassionate engagement with antiquity (see also Clarke 2002; Tripp 2012:28).

The public face of community archaeology is appealingly revolutionary⁴³. Like many researchers dazzled by 'community' rhetoric, I embraced what I understood to be community archaeology's humanistic message in an admittedly under-critical way. Early case studies in community archaeology often paint the practice in optimistic hues, citing only examples of successfully engagement by archaeologists in order to promote the 'community approach' (Damm 2008). Put simply by Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton (2009:13), the aspects of community most commonly embraced are those that are 'good,' 'safe,' and foremost, 'comfortable'." It was only when I began my work in Nunavut and attempted to apply this approach that I discovered how distinctly 'uncomfortable' much of the process could be. While project goals of empowerment and democracy appear simple enough on the printed page, their ground-level pursuit often entails a situation fraught with political complexities, dissonance and interpretive challenge. Attempts to apply suggested methodologies for community archaeology repeatedly fail; communities rarely respond to projects with the unified and eager voice anticipated by a community approach.

I believe that a sense of disillusionment with community archaeology was a relatively common experience among archaeologists attempting to practice the approach. When I returned from the Arctic to write my dissertation in 2012, I found that much of the literature and attitudes towards community archaeology had already changed.⁴⁴ Firstly, a more critical and sceptical attitude pervaded the discourse of community engagement. There was a sense that the term 'community' had been reduced to rhetoric through over-use and indiscriminate application (Smith and Waterton 2009; McClanahan 2007), as well as assertions

⁴³ A strong case in point is the public Wikipedia definition of the approach, which notes that it is first and foremost a practice "by the people for the people" (Wikipedia 2011).

⁴⁴ This seems to fit well with general academic trends in the consideration of 'community.' The history of community research, note Smith and Waterton (2009:29), has been characterized by interchanging periods of "intense study" separated by phases of "conceptual anxiety and misuse," since it became a focus of academia and policy in the 1950s.

that only the success stories of the approach were being aired (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). As is often the tendency in academia, the 'community' label had also been carefully distilled into a series of bespoke approaches: collaborative archaeology (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Silliman 2008); cosmopolitan archaeology (Meskell 2009a; 2009b); archaeology of civic engagement (Little and Shackel 2007) and indigenous archaeology (see for example Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Nicholas 2008:1660, 2010; Siliman 2010; Watkins 2000). This terminological refocusing had the effect of highlighting the broader community approach as something amorphous, and in many cases, undesirable. With few prescribed methodologies, predictable results or rules for engagement, the community approach became more difficult to advocate.

Despite these perceived challenges to community archaeology, there continues to be a smaller circle of academics that have stuck with the term and continue to explore the ramifications of its non-prescribed research lens at both the community and academic level (see for example Atalay 2012; Faulkner 2009; Reid 2008; Moshenska 2008; Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012; Marshall 2002, 2008; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). These individuals insist that community archaeology's strength lies precisely in its outstanding capacity for novelty, uncertainty and conceptual boundary crossing (see specifically Faulkner 2009; Moshenska 2008; Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012). In this chapter, I will echo such an argument. If community archaeology is to become a successful tool for creating relevance and meaningful histories in diverse cultural and social contexts, it must continue to be recognized as a flexible system for conceptual negotiation, rather than a more rigid checklist of prescribed methodologies and targeted audience.

Meditating on the question of archaeology's ultimate utility in the world, Don Henson (2012) explores the role of community-based archaeology as a 'mediator' between the past and various forms of public. The act of community

archaeology, he insists “is a two-way process whereby [archaeologists] help people find their own interpretations of the past, their own understanding of what archaeology tells us about human behaviour” (ibid:122). This is accomplished by offering the practice and products of archaeological excavation as open questions about the nature of change and contemporary qualities of life rather than closed facts about the past. This chapter will seek to further this concept of community archaeology as a medium for creating dialogue about the past and present unconstrained by academic methodologies and expectations. By re-imagining community archaeology as a liminal forum—a space ‘in between’ categories of past and present, youth and elders, science and traditional knowledge— participants are able to materialize and experience the past in ways capable of informing their own lives. The unconventional nature of the approach allows for the creation of cross-cultural analogy, trans-historical themes, and the hybridization of ideas and beliefs. Community archaeology is not only about creating a venue for encouraging multi-vocal interpretations of the past, but also about using the combined voices to shed light on the more enduring concerns of the modern world. While the potential applications of community archaeology are limitless, this chapter will concentrate on three particularly complicated social themes that benefit from the historical insight generated through a community approach: collective identity, democracy and relevance. As exemplified in later case studies (chapters 8-10), the creation of projects that use the past to encourage reflection of these themes have ultimate benefits for Nunavut’s struggle towards wellness, collective memory and the return of tradition to the lives, stories and identities of its Inuit population.

The Rise of Community Archaeology

The spirit of community archaeology, claims Yvonne Marshall (2002:211), is something that “has always been with us”:

People have always engaged with the past in the process of establishing meaning in the present, and they routinely incorporate objects and places associated with remembered or imagined past events into narratives that create and sustain them as communities.

While community focus is not of recent provenance to archaeology, the condensation of this sentiment into a recognized academic approach has been a significantly more recent development. While the first recorded use of the term 'community archaeology' can be traced to the early 1980's (Liddle 1981:8; 1985), these references appear to stem more from allusions to public communication and the British government's financial sponsorship under the 'Community Programme,' than to any new form of archaeological engagement.⁴⁵ The origins of community archaeology as a conscious and defined practice remain more controversial (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). Scholars tend to locate the emergence of community consciousness as stemming alternately from both practical and theoretical shifts within the archaeological discipline. Anna Agbe-Davies (2010:374), for example, points to the widening of archaeology's interest base as a reflection of changing demographics among its own practitioners, noting that the "slow but constant improvement of national, gender, racial and other diversities within the field" have led to a situation in which "loyalty to the discipline first-and-only rings hollow." At a more theoretical level, the community approach is seen to reflect an ongoing archaeological conversation regarding archaeology's acknowledgement of diverse interests in the past that began in the early 1970's with the development of public archaeology (McGimsey 1972). While archaeology originally assumed a role of stewardship in the name of managing a 'universally-significant' heritage, increased interaction with the public sphere gave rise to discussions of accountability towards alternative perspectives of the past. Postcolonial and gendered frameworks began to further destabilize the authority of a single archaeological voice, leading to new interpretive strategies

⁴⁵ As Isherwood points out (2012:7), this early phase of community archaeology "ended quickly and dramatically" due to changes in Britain's political system.

and a renewed embracement of multivocality and public involvement in the archaeological process.

Faye Simpson (2009) makes a convincing argument for the existence of two distinct geographical and contextual epi-centers for the development of community archaeology. The first of these took root in Britain during the mid 1970's with the governing Labour Party's political focus on public inclusion and education. This period not only tempered a strong public awareness in archaeology, but also served to disentangle archaeology from its previous associations with the upper class. Over the next decade, archaeology became linked to national job creation schemes (Start 1999) and took on an identity of public service and development rather than academic knowledge production. By the 1990's, however, archaeology had become a largely privatized pursuit, shirking its sense of public inclusion for a more professionalized relationship between developers and trained archaeological 'experts.' As Simpson points out (2009:16), "where amateurs had once played a vital role in research and rescue projects they were no longer able to, and, in some circumstances, the new 'professionals' did not want them to as it undermined their paid employment prospects." It is at this stage, ironically enough, that the term 'community archaeology' came into common usage as a means of defining interactions between trained professionals and the public. While the former term of 'public archaeology' connoted total inclusion, 'community archaeology' imparted a sense of more defined and specialized engagement with non-professional groups that better suited archaeology as a commercialized pursuit (Simpson 2009:13).

The current practice of community archaeology in Britain remains divided along lines of commercial development rhetoric and a resurgence of New Labour party ideals fore-fronting inclusivity, public education, and community awareness (Smith and Waterton 2009:21). Under this latter banner, 'community' has been once again redefined to represent national identity and ideals. These projects

have maintained much of the 1980's socialist flavour, including a strong awareness of dominant power structures and maintenance of working class and union rights. In a classic early article on community-based archaeology, Neil Faulkner (2000) examines the rising trend in public-oriented excavation and distinguishes between the creation of 'restricted democracies' and the 'true democracies' of grass-roots level community-engaged archaeology. The former of these, he notes, takes place in the form of official mitigation contracts ripe with 'bureaucratic professional tendencies' (or BPTs, as he calls them), "whose idea of 'public archaeology' is the viewing-platform, designer signboard and glossy guidebook, where the officially- approved version of the past can be delivered in easily-absorbed gobbets" (ibid:29). This is contrasted with what he terms "archaeology from below," which he defines as a fieldwork practice rooted in the community, open to volunteer contributions, organized in a nonexclusive, non-hierarchical way and dedicated to a research agenda in which material, method and interpretation are allowed to interact" (ibid:22). The impact of this approach has been examined through recourse to his long-running Sedgewick community archaeology program (2000, 2002, 2009 see also chapter 8). It is clear from Faulkner's work, and a host of similar articles (Reid 2008; Moshenska 2008), that the early British approach to community archaeology is inextricably enmeshed with socialist discontent concerning the valuing of standardization and efficiency over what are perceived to be more critical issues of insight, pluralistic research and professional workmanship. It is this struggle that continues to define the British approach to community archaeology.

While Britain organized a new approach to archaeology around grassroots platforms of local, working class communities, a second branch of community archaeology developed in Australia and North America in response to escalating indigenous rights movements. Focusing primarily on aboriginal and indigenous groups through a framework of 'descendent communities'—defined as individuals "who can or choose to trace descent from the people who once lived

at or near [an archaeological] site" (Marshall 2002:216)—this branch of community engagement has sought to reconcile scientific studies of the past with alternative historical perspectives blending ancestry, folklore and belief in ways that are often unsupportable to positivist inquiry. It is largely premised on the notion of archaeology as an inherently colonial enterprise, which must undergo significant change to remedy existing structures of authority and control (Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Smith and Wobst 2005). The central issue in many of these cases revolves around what Laurajane Smith (2007:5) terms the "cultural politics of identity," which manifests in struggles over "who has the legitimacy and power to define who a particular group or community *are* and who they are not."

Much of the research described as 'community archaeology' in Australia, notes Shelly Greer et al. (2002: 267), has in fact "revolved around the issue of convincing Aboriginal people that the research proposed by a researcher is 'interesting' or 'of value' to a community as a way of gaining consent, either verbal or written, for undertaking the research." Similar to community archaeology in Britain, there is a sentiment that community archaeology has fallen into two categories of use: one which manipulates the term as political rhetoric for assuaging potentially explosive public interactions; and one which holds deeper ideals of using political situations to actually change the underlying practices and agendas of the archaeological discipline. Shelly Greer (1995, see also Greer et al. 2002) has characterized these respectively as 'reactive' and 'interactive' approaches. A reactive approach to community archaeology, she notes, is one in which the emphasis lies on consultation. The community element in this case stems from indigenous groups having the opportunity to react to agendas and ideas put forth by archaeological researchers, weeding out practices that are deemed to be controversial. An interactive approach, by contrast, seeks to define the very "elements of contemporary community identity that underpin the development of research interests and which inform issues of methodology and practice" (Greer et al. 2002: 268).

While the development of community archaeology in Australia and North America is sometimes portrayed as an ethical awakening of the archaeological discipline, it should be pointed out that many of the community archaeology projects in these countries originated as a matter of legal necessity rather than self-motivated, collaborative agendas. The obtaining of excavation permits in many aboriginal-governed areas often has set pre-conditions regarding consultation and collaboration with local groups (Field et al. 2000; Smith 2000). It was this continual requirement of consultation, notes Greer et al. (2002:266), that eventually led to the encasement of collaborative clauses in legislative guidelines such as the ICOMOS Burra Charter (1999) and Australian Heritage Commission "Ask First" document (2002; see Smith 2000 for full history). Several archaeological organizations, including the Canadian Archaeology Association and World Archaeological Congress, have also envisioned community-engagement as a necessary ethical standard, and accordingly adopted collaborative clauses into their statements of ethics. The North American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), legislated in 1990, is often cited as the act of legislation that has been most responsible for bringing archaeologists and (in this case, indigenous) communities together. NAGPRA was developed in response to increasing concern by native groups over the discipline's handling of the archaeological record (see Trope and Echo-Hawk 2000). The Act, in requiring consultation between federal archaeologists and native representatives, has necessitated a consideration of the multiple claims towards ownership of the archaeological record.

Despite the large part that legal documents and policies have played in developing an indigenous-oriented community archaeology, there is a sense that the spirit of the community approach has progressed beyond the confines of legal guidelines. "Rigorously outlined political directives," notes archaeologist Gemma Tully (2007:158), "can be as much of a hindrance as a help; they define the legalities of consultation, meaning that the incorporation of communities

only need be taken as far as the law demands.” The heart of community archaeology is generally felt to lie in mutual respect and humanism, rather than legal obligation.

Community Archaeology as a Coherent Approach

Despite hailing from very isolated regional and contextual centers of development, the practice of community archaeology has been adopted by archaeologists from around the world, including Africa (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Mapunda and Lane 2004; Muringaniza 1998; Marliac 2001; Ndoro and Pwiti 2001; Pwiti 2005; Sheppard 2002), the Middle East (Glazier 2003; Hodder 1998, 2000; Moser et al. 2002; Paz 2012), Europe (Damm 2005; Faulkner 2000, 2002, 2009), Asia (Habu and Fawcett 2008; Qin 2004; Sen 2002), Oceania (Allen 2002; Allen et al. 2002; Byrne 2012; Crosby 2002; Field et al. 2000; Greer et al. 2002) and the Americas (Ardren 2002; Friesen 2002; McDavid 2002; Pope and Mills 2007; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Rowley 2002; Stenton and Rigby 1995). While its burgeoning popularity was founded to some extent on the community label’s desirability (McClanahan 2007) and amenability to both funding and an enticingly revolutionary rhetoric (Simpson 2008), it was also indicative of a deeply felt need to change the ways that various communities were engaged. As the number of projects working ‘against the grain’ of normative archaeology became more recognizable through their adoption of the community archaeology moniker, the term gradually lost reference to a specific form of engagement. The commonalities linking community archaeology projects world-wide grew less evident, and coherence was often recognizable only in the general desire to work more closely with people and ideas from outside the academy.

This sense of disjuncture became the focus of a thematic volume in the journal *World Archaeology* in 2002. While the volume, titled “Community Archaeology,” was the first global publication to usher the approach into the mainstream

lexicon and awareness of the academic discipline,⁴⁶ it made no attempt to constrain the diversity of case-studies into something resembling a coherent practice. In her introduction to the volume, titled simply “What is Community Archaeology?,” Yvonne Marshall gives a summary of community-based initiatives from around the world. What unites these studies aside from their explicit focus on communities, she notes, is their ability to relinquish archaeological control in ways that lead to a fundamental transformation of the discipline (2002:218):

Community archaeology represents an opportunity. We need it, not because it is politically correct, but because it enriches our discipline. Community archaeology encourages us to ask questions of the past we would not otherwise consider, to see archaeological remains in new light and to think in new ways about how the past informs the present.

While Marshall’s goal for the article lies partially in disentangling community archaeology from association with non-academic practices of cultural resource and heritage management, she reflects on the greater potential for a community perspective to create a social context specific to post-colonial populations and beyond the scope of Bruce Trigger’s suggested trinity of nationalism, imperialism and colonialism (1984). True to Marshall’s suggestion, the majority of community archaeology projects continue to engage post-colonial communities with the goal of creating local empowerment through re-negotiating the construction of history and identity (see for example Greer et al. 2002). This is often paired with the goal to decentralize the power/knowledge claims that academic and ‘professional’ archaeologies have traditionally demonstrated regarding the past (Smith 2007; Smith and Waterton 2009). As Yvonne Marshall notes, the

⁴⁶ It should be noted that the international journal *Public Archaeology* contained two articles explicitly dealing with community archaeology in its first published issue (see Faulkner 2000; Field et al. 2000). Despite predating the *World Archaeology* “Community Archaeology” volume by two years, the journal had a much smaller readership and far less impact in creating recognition of the approach.

community approach's most distinguishing characteristic is "the relinquishing of at least partial control of a project to the local community" (2002:211). This sense of shared control is not restricted to the act of excavation, but ideally manifests at multiple levels of "decision making about research topics, research sites, analysis of data, curation and management of collections and the production of materials that are culturally appropriate" (Clarke 2002: 251).

The levelling of practical and interpretive processes is often portrayed as achievable only through the abandoning of traditional research agendas for more negotiated and inclusive forms of inquiry. Collaborative inquiry, in its broadest definition, is "a process consisting of repeated episodes of reflection and action through which a group of peers strives to answer a question of importance to them" (Bray et al 2000:6). In their analysis of how this collaborative process plays out as a research dynamic, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008:9) outline three necessary stages of engagement: 1) "establishing a group of peers as co-researchers in which research is conducted *with* people-not *on* them or *about* them;" 2) "cycles of reflection, which may often take place during group meetings in which reflexivity becomes action, a process of correcting distortions, one's reasoning, perceptions and attitudes;" and 3) "finding a question important to all the inquirers, although typically the individuals initiating the work pose a question that is then negotiated among the participants."

Unlike more orthodox scientific and social science research, collaborative inquiry requires researchers to deviate from the rigidity of set agendas and research plans to involve communities through more flexible and reflexive approaches. While rarely cited by community archaeologists (see as notable exceptions Atalay 2012; Pyburn 2009), such deviations are often modeled on social anthropology's mature field of participatory and applied research strategies, most notably Participatory Action Research (PAR). Pioneered during the 1950s, PAR

recognizes that any form of research will have social consequences, and that changes inevitably occur as a result of questions being both asked and answered (Baum et al. 2006; Whyte 1991). While traditional forms of research tend to concentrate primarily on generating knowledge, PAR is driven by a conscious quest to create changes and improvements in society. As a result, researchers engaged in PAR often wear the dual hats of 'researchers' and 'activists,' working closely with communities to formulate research questions that will directly address real problems and issues. PAR takes the position that the production of knowledge does not have to be an objective process, and should not have to occur in a laboratory setting or controlled environment. Instead, the approach recognizes that all research is inherently political, and that engagement with these politics should be fore-fronted so as to actively benefit and strengthen the relationships between individuals, their communities, and the greater physical environment.

Mapping Community Archaeology: Guidelines and Explicit Practice

Despite the fact that community archaeology's strength derives from its adaptability to specific social and cultural contexts, its lack of sound methodological structure and fixed interpretive strategies has also been perceived as a deterrent to its coherence as a credible academic approach. As demonstrated by Gemma Tully (2007:168), the widely varying methodologies employed in the approach create a distinct air of academic uncertainty:

Different cultural priorities are problematic enough, but when mixed with limited time and finances, as well as the possibility of issues surrounding the location of displays, repatriation and reburial...it is unsurprising that *acceptance* and *flexibility* were discussed again and again.

There have been several attempts to outline guidelines and specific practices

through which communities can be engaged. The most articulate and often-cited example was developed during the Community Archaeology Project at Quesir (CAPQ), Egypt (Moser et al. 2002) ⁴⁷. The basic set of methodological practices developed by Moser et al., can be summarized in the five key aspects outlined below (2002: 229-242):

1. Communication with local organizations aimed at collaboration in the interpretation of regional history, with an emphasis on open interaction and plain language reports.
2. The interviewing of elders to recover local oral history.
3. The employment and training of local people with the aim of developing full time positions.
4. Public presentation of research findings locally including:
 - a. Creation of an accessible photographic and video archive and
 - b. Development of educational resources, especially for young people.
5. Community control of heritage merchandising.

Based on their work in East Africa, Mapunda and Lane have outlined a very similar set of practical strategies for negotiating community archaeology (Mapunda and Lane 2004:215-219 as summarized in Marshall 2008:1084):

1. Research Goals: Before beginning any survey or excavation, a researcher needs to visit the local communities to inform them of the proposed work, to “ascertain how the local population perceive their past,” and to encourage “suggestions as to how the research may be of benefit to their communities.”
2. Labor Recruitment: Employment of local people should seek to meet local as well as projected needs. In addition, those employed should, where possible, be chosen by local people, in part so they might act as “village ambassador” – a liaison between community and archaeologists.
3. Exhibition: The project needs to organize exhibitions which not only inform the local community about finds and preliminary results, but also emphasize the relevance of these to local people.

⁴⁷ This methodological list was later amended in a reflexive study by Quesir Project participant, Gemma Tully (2007). See Tully (2007:176-78) for expanded methodology.

4. Project Assessment: The project should be assessed in the field in order that “the input of local people is honored and incorporated”
5. Popular Publication of Results: “Researchers should endeavor to produce, at relatively low cost, some tangible reminder of their research and the main results for public distribution, especially in their research area, but also beyond.” Such materials should be modest, “easy and inexpensive to reproduce,” and if possible, include photographs.

The above two strategies are intended to integrate local community into every level of an archaeology project. While Moser et al.’s methodology, in particular, has come to be seen as the ‘standard’ for community practice amongst archaeologists, both it and Mapunda and Lane’s guidelines make certain assumptions about the nature of archaeological interaction. Firstly, these methodologies interpret community archaeology as a form of ‘outreach.’ Community participants are invited into the archaeological process, and the flow of knowledge tends to be largely unidirectional. The project, in short, remains one that is still centrally focused on the archaeological act of excavation. The second assumption made by these methodologies is one of universal applicability to archaeological contexts. While Moser et al. (2002:229) note that their list is not intended as a “recipe” for the practice of community archaeology, and that it has been designed only to “offer some useful ideas for others seeking to undertake work of this nature,” there remains the suggestion that the methodologies are amenable (in whole, or in part) to any situation in which archaeologists wish to interact with local populations. Gemma Tully’s 2007 comparative study of community archaeology projects offers contradictory evidence, however, noting that the methodologies listed above rarely see application across the wider body of community-engaged archaeology.

While a variety of similar methodological outlines exist for community archaeology (see for example Field et al. 2000; Clarke 2002; McDavid 1997), many of the most effective strategies emphasize basic rules of research conduct within

(primarily indigenous) communities rather than archaeological contexts. Such guidelines include those developed by Barbara Harrison (2001) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), and have been adopted by archaeologists who wish to engage with indigenous communities through a broader framework of respectful working relationships rather than archaeological good practice (see for example Lyons 2007). This distinction is not lost on Yvonne Marshall (2008) who notes that most of the collaborative methodologies available to archaeologists are not something unique to community archaeology. What makes community archaeology distinctive, she points out (*ibid*:1085), “is the way it brings the above methodologies together, and in the emphasis it places on the move from consent- or consultation-based interaction with communities to a collaborative process.”

Ongoing deliberation over methodology has brought community archaeology’s acceptance as a ‘serious’ approach into question. Gemma Tully (2007) cites connections between strict, replicable methods and academic validation in the field of archaeology, noting that community archaeology will become recognized as valid and respected within academic spheres only when it assumes a more organized and rigorous framework. Once it has gained this credibility, she notes (*ibid*:157), community archaeology can “truly begin to benefit the cultures and knowledge systems it represents.” That community archaeology—an approach founded on contextual adaptability—must demonstrate consistency in order to gain mainstream respect is a notable (albeit contradictory) dilemma. In recognition of this catch-22, Gabriel Moshenska (2008:52) insists that a definition of community-based practice as step-by-step procedure detracts from the foremost objective of building projects around the interests and needs of communities:

I am disinclined to define community archaeology in anything but the broadest terms. If pushed, I would argue that it is the actions of individuals or groups to investigate the archaeology of their local area or other areas of interest or importance to them. If pushed a little more

I would specify the involvement of nonprofessional archaeologists in this process. I would not like to go any further for fear of alienating self-proclaimed community archaeologists of my acquaintance...The point is that community archaeology can and should take the needs and interests of the community as its starting point, rather than existing research priorities.

Moshenska's insistence that community archaeology should cease to be understood as an entity, or set of restricted practices, has gained popularity in recent years, especially amongst British archaeologists. Robert Isherwood (2009, 2012), for example, attempts to re-identify community archaeology as a set of social relations centered around the notion of place. To this end, he defines community archaeology as a practice that "concerns the relations between communities and the archaeology of their places, and...becomes manifest within the events that occur when community groups actively engage with the archaeology of their significant places" (2009:21-22).

Collective Identity, Democracy, and Relevance: Defining the Core Themes of Community Archaeology

On the surface, community archaeology is an ideal realization of mutual benefit between communities and researchers. For many researchers, this vision of community archaeology manifests as a set of designated project obligations to 'non-academic' communities, whether they be educational, employment-related or involve more tangible products such as museum exhibits, internet sites or plain language reports. Success in this regard, is typically measured by matching stated project intent with quantifiable community outcomes. While the means for impacting communities are clearly identified by archaeologists, there is little discussion of how anticipated impact actually manifests within communities.

The need to question the equation between social contribution and benefit in community archaeology seems almost contradictory: the extra work, time and

money attributed to community outreach is naturally rewarded by increased employment and participation, heightened local awareness of history, and a breakdown of cultural and disciplinary barriers. For a separate branch of community archaeology researchers, however, this 'obvious' equation is seen as impetus for new questions (see for example Byrne 2012; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012; Rowley 2002). Many of these practitioners share a belief that benefit does not solely derive from positive (and quantifiable) outcomes of collaboration, but also from the struggle created through attempts to make sense of the world in both past and present terms. Through the process of re-working the past, a spectrum of diverse, and often contradictory, meanings and narratives begin to emerge as various groups struggle to shape the project through their particular beliefs .

Despite its emphasis on 'bridging' relationships and cultural understanding between archaeological and non-archaeological communities, the practice of community archaeology finds its character in discord rather than reconciliation. The greatest impact of community archaeology, I argue, is produced by highlighting and actively feeding difficult and problematic issues. While every community engagement with history will produce its own set of conceptual struggles between communities, heritage professionals and archaeological remains (cf. Isherwood 2012), I argue that a distinct set of 'themes,' or tensions, tends to underlie these engagements. When treated as their own source of inquiry, the probing of these themes alongside historical materials produces a form of dialogue that shatters the rhetoric of 'collaboration' and stimulates profound, historically informed insight into contemporary social issues.

The first of these themes is that of 'collective identity.' Community archaeology, as implied by its name, focuses first and foremost on the issue of 'community.' The term is often considered as self-evident, implying coherent collectives of people based upon criteria of place, culture, ethnicity or shared values. In her

book chapter titled “The Cult of Community,” Angela McClanahan examines the prominent—and often problematic—position that the trope of ‘local community’ occupies in both the academic and public imagination. The term, she notes (2007:52):

immediately suggests an inherently good, organizational network that confers on its members a shared sense of morality, purpose and belonging. It conjures up familiarity, as well as degrees of sentimentality and ‘cosiness.’

Due to the many preconceived notions that surround the term ‘community,’ there have been relatively few efforts to scrutinize the concept and articulate its application to a wider range of encounters. As Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton point out (2009:24), a generic understanding of community continues to dominate both public policy and the discourse of heritage. It is for this very reason that community can easily become what David Hughes (2008:478-49) terms a “coercive concept,” easily capable of straddling “the threshold from a unit of analysis to an activist agenda.” This terminological flexibility has accordingly been harnessed to facilitate acts of nation building (Anderson 1991) and to promote political ideals of “one homogenous group of people sharing ideas, desires, and beliefs.” (Simpson 2009:51).

The rhetorical power of community, combined with its frequent justification through historically-linked materials and narratives, requires that it become a highly conscious component of the community archaeology process. A deeper investigation of community highlights the complexity inherent in the creation of coherent collectives, and mires in the “thick assortment of meanings, resummptions and images” (Amit 2002:13) that simultaneously avoids precise definition and maintains a strong emotional resonance.

While many archaeologists recognize that ‘community’ is a neither a stable nor

unproblematic entity (Marshall 2002:215), there is a tendency to rely on three primary, and often overlapping, criteria when identifying community groups for collaborative projects. These consist of 1) 'local' people living within proximity to an archaeological area; 2) descendant people identified, or identifying themselves, as holding direct ancestral relationship to the past of an area; and 3) alternative communities of individuals who belong neither to the locality of the archaeological area, nor the ancestry of its initial inhabitants, but share beliefs, interests and practices which they feel bonds them to the site's history.

In line with broader academic and political trends (Amit 2002:42), archaeology generally highlights locality as the clearest criteria for 'coherent' community. As pointed out by Gemma Tully (2007:159), location-based definitions of community provide archaeologists with "a useful starting point for investigating the relationship between a current population and a particular archaeological site, as it can incorporate the multiple identities of groups within a community without seeking to divide them." The concept of community as a spatially contained and accessible group of individuals is recognizably appealing to archaeologists attempting to define a coherent membership with whom they can work to explore the past. Yet, as Hughes points out (2008), this sense of spatially concrete communities is often unwarranted in an era in which "movement and hybridity are the order of the day" (ibid:478; see also Amit 2002). Despite the residential bias inherent to discussions of community, groups transcending boundaries of place and geography must also be considered. In the literature of archaeology, these are typically described as either 'descendent communities'—implying theoretical considerations of indigeneity (Kuper 2003; Watkins 2005; Lane 2006; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008)—or as 'communities of interest,' a less defined reference to communities who are bound together through perceived attachments to a common form of heritage (Merriman 2004). This latter category is often highly contested, as exemplified in numerous case studies of goddess cults and neo shamanists laying claim to famous heritage sites (see for example

Bender 1998, 2000; Blain and Wallis 2006; Hodder 1998, 2000). The grounds for collectivity in these latter cases are often considered by archaeologists to be 'created' rather than 'authentic,' warranting a diminished consideration of their interests and access to the sites.

The archaeological tendency to focus collaborative projects in relation to a single, defined community often creates the impression that communities are both essentialized and homogenous phenomena. It is clear that new and more nuanced ways of understanding community are required to better engage with the public. As Agbe-Davies points out (2010), there needs to be a movement away from 'weak' theoretical conceptualizations of community as simply a context for research engagement. As archaeologists, she notes (*ibid*:374), "we need to deploy a non-essentialist concept of community that allows us to analyze where we might fit into existing frameworks and determine how we can participate in them." A form of practice is required to not only recognize communities as complex and conflicting, but to take into account the contextually fluid nature of affiliation.

The second theme to stimulate profound discussion in community archaeology is that of 'democracy.' Due to the implied nature of collaboration inherent to community archaeology, issues of power and democracy are of central concern for its practitioners. Democracy, in this sense, is typically conceived in terms of what Feyerabend (1980) has described as "democratic relativism," namely the consideration of diverse traditions of thought (whether scientific, religious, cultural, etc.) as being of an equal status. As paraphrased by Cornelius Holtorf (2007:161):

The issue at stake is about finding the right balance between public participation and the possibility of creative self-realization for as many people as possible on the one hand, and the need for the state and its agencies to ensure that competent decisions are taken in all areas

where, otherwise, public interests might, on the other hand, be harmed...In a democratic state, academic disciplines must answer to people's needs, address their desires and concerns and be subjected to political control by non-scientists – even if citizens may occasionally decide against what the experts would deem to be in their best interest

In archaeological terms, democratic relativism begins with the recognition of deeply engrained traditions within the discipline, and of their potential impact on non-academic communities. Awareness of unequal power relations in archaeology is not limited to project participation and decision making, but also relates to the archaeological process (data collection and analysis), how resulting information is selectively vetted and applied, and how community involvement is limited within the wider process of interpreting the past (Smith and Waterton 2009:19).

Empowerment of democracy in community archaeology is largely considered in terms of speech acts or multi-vocality, with an underlying premise that better archaeology can be achieved when more diverse voices are involved in the interpretation of the past. As many authors have pointed out (see for example Atalay 2008, 21012; Byrne 2012; Clarke 2002; Holtorf 2007; Smith 2006; Watkins 2000), archaeology is deeply reliant on its perceived role of communicating 'expert' knowledge about the past to the public. Put more bluntly by Cornelius Holtorf (2007:149), "it has become customary that archaeological projects proactively reach out to fill the mouths of all those fellow citizens who are hungrily longing for insights about what went on in the past." In his research on archaeological communication, Cornelius Holtorf (2007) advocates the necessity of a more democratic model for the engagement of archaeological dialogue that emphasizes both scientific responsibility and sustainable development within a participatory process dominated by non-scientists. This approach "does not start with either archaeology's messages about the past or with archaeology's need for support in society but with what non-specialist citizens themselves actually want

to get out of it.”(ibid:157). As such, the development and communication of community-based content is not about simplifying material for less competent audiences, but rather altering the entire communication process to incorporate narratives meaningful to the audience at hand.

The emphasis on creating a democratic platform for archaeology through the inclusion of multiple voices leads to the larger issue of how (and if) the voices of community should be reconciled. This becomes especially problematic when issues of authenticity, tradition, and cultural inheritance arise. When multiple people speak multiple (conflicting) messages on behalf of their collective group, whose voice is considered to be an ‘authority’? Does the creation of a level interpretive playing field ultimately diminish the authority of the statements, results, and collective group?

It has also been argued that community archaeology’s emphasis on democracy occurs at the expense of the voice and values of an authoritative scientific tradition. As McGhee points out (2008,2010), the re-distribution of historical authority to non-archaeological groups somehow deprives archaeology of “the scientific attributes that make it a particularly powerful narrator of the past,” resulting in archaeological explanations that carry “at most equal weight relative to Indigenous oral traditions and religious discourse” (2008:233). Archaeologists such as Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2007:28), have countered that the inclusion of multiple voices enhances rather than jeopardizes archaeological interpretation:

While all narratives should be given *equal consideration*, they should not necessarily all be given *equal weight*...Allowing for multiple—overlapping and entangled—narratives does not devalue the truth, but in opposite terms often gets us closer to understanding people, events, processes and structures—the very heart of anthropological analyses.

One of the most balanced perspectives on community archaeology’s democratic

role can be found in the work of Sarah Byrne (2012). She envisions community archaeology as a form of 'knowledge management,' "not only because archaeologists need to manage the knowledge that emerges from community participation, but also because they need to manage the manner in which they impose their own knowledge onto the communities with whom they work" (ibid:28). This perspective refocuses community archaeology on the collection and organization of various interpretations rather than the rigorous vetting of these interpretations in search of the most 'logical' representations of the past.

A final theme to consider in community archaeology is that of 'relevance.' In a provocative article responding to an *Archaeological Dialogues* forum entitled "Is Archaeology Useful?" Shannon Lee Dawdy (2009) takes the position of devil's advocate in relation to popular notions of archaeological utility, questioning the basic assumption that archaeology should have to make itself useful. "Once we open the door, accepting that archaeology *should* be useful," she states, "can we control the uses to which it is put, and by whom?" (ibid:132). Citing an array of circumstances in which archaeology has been used for nationalist ends—including Kossinna's infamous manipulation of archaeological materials to support Nazi ideologies—Dawdy weaves a cautionary tale surrounding the linking of archaeology with practical agendas. Even in more politically 'neutral' circumstances of public and community archaeology, Dawdy notes that the sense of usefulness being advocated stems primarily from the agenda of archaeologists themselves (2009:137):

While archaeology can be made to serve all these needs, it is unlikely that a local community would turn to archaeology first for any of these except perhaps...economic development - when an archaeological site is visually spectacular enough that it can be developed for heritage tourism. If your children need better public schools, are you going to turn to archaeology as a solution? If your community is strained with racial tension, is archaeology the solution?

For entertainment, would most people prefer to dig in a hole or go to the multiplex?

The idea of archaeology being ineffectual beyond the realm of knowledge creation strikes a raw nerve amongst many archaeologists. While Dawdy's confrontational views of public archaeology as a predominantly self-serving pursuit have been dismissed as being both "outdated" (McDavid 2009:164) and "dramatic" (Holtorf 2009:182), the question of what services archaeology can provide to communities is both valid and pertinent.

The issues of relevance and usefulness come to the forefront in community archaeology due to the approach's required negotiation of project control and benefit. The approach's ideal of forming community archaeology projects from the basis of a need, problem or concern already present in the community pushes the discipline to move beyond highly generalized statements of benefit (see for example McGimsey 1972) and develop solutions for specific issues. In best-case scenarios, archaeologists are actively sought out by communities seeking to resolve uniformly recognized concerns, or to develop widely desired educational or economic programs (see for example, Crosby 2002; Friesen 2002; Hollowell and Nicholas 2009). In more complicated situations, various individuals have different objectives and opinions regarding the value and usefulness of archaeology's role in their community (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Simpson 2008:10). If not specifically 'chosen' by a community, does an archaeologist find a target community for a project because of its unified position on a certain issue? Conversely, if an archaeologist is approached by a community with defined needs, is their engagement of a project conditional on meeting set standards of usefulness? The situation grows ever more complicated.

Another pressing question in the discourse of community archaeology is whether the approach should seek usefulness by providing political service to

communities. The relationship between archaeology and contemporary politics has generally been treated with an air of discomfort, primarily due to the discipline's distinction as a scientific (and therefore objective and impartial) lens for history. As Lynn Meskell points out (2005b:123), "archaeologists have traditionally operated on the assumption that they are not implicated in the representation and struggles of living peoples and that all such political engagement is negatively charged." Laurajane Smith counters this argument by insisting that it is precisely archaeology's emphasis on the 'de-politicized' ideals of objectivity and technical rigor that allows it to be used as a tool in the governance of social problems "which can, if done successfully, then reinforce its usefulness" (2009:123). "The real question," notes Randall McGuire (2008:7), "is not whether archaeological knowledge should be objective or subjective but, rather, how scholars can connect the subjectivities of knowing and the realities of the world in our construction of archaeological knowledge." The development of a distinct brand of 'action archaeology' has arisen as a way to explore this engrained dichotomy between pure and applied research.⁴⁸

The use of archaeology as a tool for political engagement and commentary is accompanied by the recognition of higher research stakes in creating knowledge that is linked directly to situations of practical action and consequence. Barbara Little identifies the need for archaeologists to more closely monitor both the

⁴⁸ Action archaeology (also known as activist archaeology) is a term first coined in relation to ethnoarchaeology by Maxine Kleindienst and Patty Jo Watson (1956), but whose modern usage generally references an archaeology that works *for* living communities rather than *in* them (cf. Sabloff 2008:17). The approach belongs to a chain of thinking that recognizes academically-situated activism as a form of 'hybrid research' capable of being theoretically driven, and at the same time applied towards real-life problem resolution (see for example Hale 2001; McGuire 2008). As Miller and Henderson (2010:141) point out:

An activist archaeology asks archaeologists to become more consciously aware of the contexts within which they conduct public archaeology, to recognize the potential impacts of their research can have on the communities in which they work, to include community members as equal participants in their research when they can and when the opportunity arises, and to actively engage in social change through the research.

potential consequences and wider political picture inherent to such collaborative work (2007:11):

We can think of our own self-defined activism as intentional action to bring about social or political change, but we must be vigilant and continually self-critical and questioning about the types of changes we advocate. If we aim our activism at progressive social change and social justice, we should understand that we may be aiming at a moving target.

A final interesting framework through which to consider relevance in community archaeology is that of justice. Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2007) speaks to the idea of collaborative archaeology as providing a vehicle for restorative justice in communities. Restorative justice typically focuses on the healing of individuals and communities affected by past violence or misfortune, but can be considered in a broader sense of community wellness. As Colwell-Chanthaphonh points out (ibid:38), such projects generate usefulness by encouraging the recognition of multiple viewpoints so that ideas of truth are “constantly being questioned, debated, and desired.” This position envisions community recovery (and ultimately wellness) through terms of inclusivity, the creation of “affirmative interaction among disparate peoples,” and the relating of “individual stories to structures of power” (ibid:39).

Conclusion

In line with Greer et al's previously referenced differentiation between 'interactive' and 'reactive' forms of archaeological engagement (2002) this chapter has sought to establish both the novelty and effectiveness of community archaeology as lying in the use of 'interaction' to create new understandings of the world. Not only should community archaeology be capable of recognizing social, political and historical complexity in research environments and adjusting its practice accordingly, but it should find its true spirit in pushing these same

complexities further through dialogue about the fundamental nature of collective identity, democracy and relevance.

The second half of this dissertation will detail a series of practical case studies regarding engagement between archaeology and local meanings of history in the Canadian Arctic. While situated in the Nunavut 'community' of Cambridge Bay,⁴⁹ these case studies attempt to use history as a means of exploring both existing and new understandings of what community is, and can further be. As discussed in Chapter 2, the idea of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit remains a central, yet controversial, basis for Inuit community. While it gives rough shape to what defines Inuit people as 'unique,' its presentation as condensed principles simultaneously detracts from the diversity of historical and cultural relationships that underlie the creation of tradition-based identities. The search to elucidate new meanings for Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit through practical, heritage-related experience is the guiding force behind my application of community archaeology to case studies in Cambridge Bay. I argue that by situating archaeologically-derived narratives *within* a socially and culturally embedded framework for historical meaning making, these case studies create critical dialogue regarding the diversity of who the Inuit are, what they believe about the past, and how history becomes an integral part of every day life in the Arctic.

⁴⁹ The reader is again reminded that 'community' is a term frequently employed in the Canadian Arctic to designate physical municipalities rather than their populations.

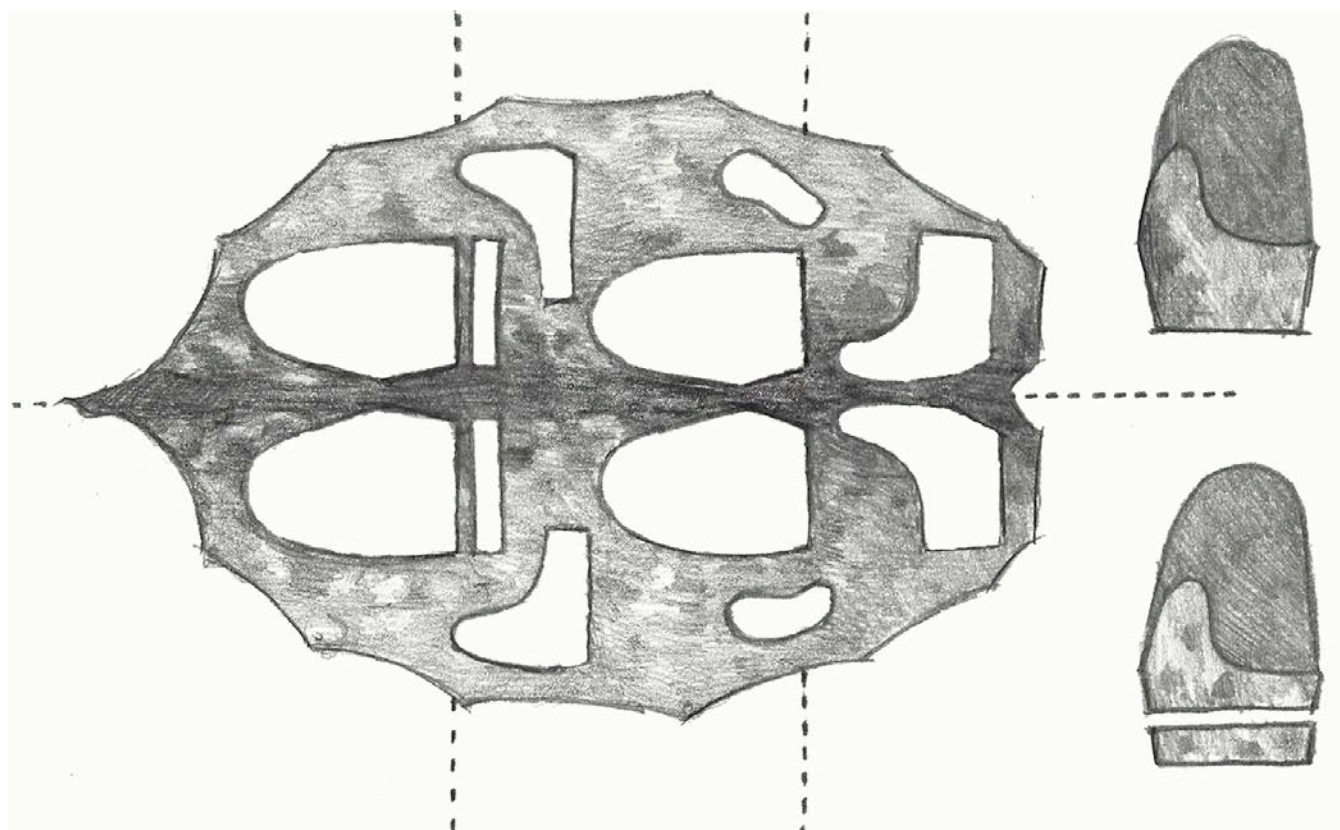


Plate 7: Dividing a ringed seal skin into mittens, as explained by Cambridge Bay elder Mary Avalak. Author's sketch in field notes, February 2011.

This [sewing] is something that my ancestors were doing. That's why I want to keep the traditions alive.

Kitik Meon He Etoa E (inuk) der 2010 sewing

The process of sewing, for many Inuit, represents a direct connection to history. Sewing is a skill handed down through generations of women, taught by mothers and grandmothers.⁵⁰ At a young age, girls traditionally learned to fashion outfits for their dolls, gradually building their skills into a deeper

⁵⁰ While predominantly a woman's task, reliance on sewing for physical survival meant that it was also learned and practiced by men. As Peter Ernek recalls (in Oakes and Riewe 1996:18):

As a young boy I was encouraged to sew by my father. This was because a sewer [female] was not always available to sew... In the summer especially when we took long walks to hunt, we always brought an extra piece of bearded seal skin to repair the outer soles of our kamiks [boots].

understanding and appreciation of pattern and the domestic tasks that would be expected of them as mothers and wives (Anawak 1989:46).

My first winter in Cambridge Bay was spent agonizing over stitches. Determined to ingratiate myself with the group of elderly women who gathered almost daily at the Kitikmeot Heritage Society to sew, I adopted the practice as a means of gaining entry into their stories and lives. Over time, my demonstrated dedication to sewing gradually wore away at barriers of language, culture and age. That first winter, the subtleties of local learning began to clarify. Shoddy or lazy stitching was pointedly ignored or condemned with the simple word “ugly.” A concerted effort or fine workmanship was often equally rewarded with silence, but also implicit recognition that I was ‘ajungittuq’ (a capable person) and an accompanying rise in the difficulty level of my next lesson. The transfer of knowledge and skill continues to take place in a manner that gently guides the individual being instructed, while simultaneously allowing him or her to find their own way towards better practice. If the subtle educational markers set out to define this path are repeatedly skipped or ignored, then the student is generally deemed unready to learn.

What impressed me most about my sewing lessons was that they were always related to an act larger than sewing. Even in an age of readily available, pre-fabricated winter-wear, the sewing of mittens and boots was not only about independence, but also identity, cultural expression, and survival. The image sketched above represents the proper way to divide sealskin for sewing into mitts as indicated to me by Cambridge Bay elder Mary Avalak (pers. comm. 2011). In the conversation that prompted this demonstration, Mary explained how sewing was a form of both cultural and individual expression. Tradition, she noted, often dictates the proper way to partition and pattern a seal hide.⁵¹

⁵¹ ‘Tradition’ in this sense most frequently alludes to regional, rather than pan-Inuit, customs. Mary grew up in the Wellington Bay area, roughly 50 kilometers from contemporary Cambridge

High value is placed on the creation of visual symmetry, this being met by having all paired pieces cut from mirror images of the hide. Tradition similarly dictates a division of the hide in such a way that as little surface material is wasted as possible. Within this greater cultural grid, however, lies the opportunity for individuals to assert their own identity by patterning and decorating the final project according to their own inclination. “All of us,” Mary noted, “we do it different in our own way.” Many Inuit women with whom I spoke still owned copies of their mothers’ and grandmothers’ sewing patterns, some of which they would systematically retrace. Unlike more generic patterns—which differed little in size or shape from their heirloom equivalents—these transmitted patterns were treated with an air of protectionism, being lent out selectively, if at all, to non family members. The act of recreating these patterns is inseparable from the legacy and revival of their ancestry.

Bay. When giving practical instructions, she often qualifies them with the sentence “that’s the way we learned to do things where I grew up.”

Community Archaeology in Practice: Ethnography and the Establishment of Local Partnerships and Perspectives

Introduction

There is an evocative article written by anthropologist Emmanuel Tehindrazanarivelo (1997) in which the process of cultural fieldwork is explored through the analogy of dance.⁵² He describes the act as a mutual exchange of subjectivity and objectification between fieldworkers and “people in the field;” a highly emotive forum in which power is expressed through intricate steps of interchanged control (ibid:56). Like the relationship between dancing partners, notes Tehindrazanarivelo, the interaction between an ‘outside’ anthropologist and an ‘inside’ community (ibid):

symbolizes and embodies the playground for the struggle and exercise of power. It serves as a forum where an understanding of power is expressed, including the resolution of conflicts, management of leadership, and popular participation...[The dancers] compete with each other. The observers do not miss any opportunity to comment on the steps and to make their views known about who is the best and why...The interchangeability of the roles of dominant and subordinate (leader and follower) in the alternating pairs of dancers expresses the interchangeability of power and control.

The concept of fieldwork as a ‘dance a power’ invokes an image of mutual understanding developed through physical proximity and conceptual negotiation. It positions anthropological research more as a study of human relationship than cultural deciphering, implying that if a profound understanding is to be reached, it is only through the long, slow shuffle of interaction.

⁵² In his article, Tehindrazanrivo refers specifically to the ‘rebiky,’ a ritual dance practiced by the Sakalava people of Madagascar that reenacts struggles between two local ruling families. Despite the specificity of the reference, many other forms of dance uphold the analogy of articulated power dynamics.

In 2008, I moved to the Nunavut municipality of Cambridge Bay to partake in such a study. Over the course of the next four years, I would spend a total of 26 months conducting my doctoral research in that location. This period of time was essential to promoting a deeper understanding and relationship with the communities that gradually developed around the research project. Throughout my attempts to define a practice of community archaeology for the Canadian Arctic, I was often reminded of Tehindrazanarivelo's analogy. The negotiation of power in this case had little to do with the ownership of physical artifacts from the past, so typically the source of debate between archaeologists and indigenous groups. At hand was a much larger dialogue regarding the ability, and right, to situate a contemporary population within specific frameworks of history, meaning and knowledge. As the project progressed, it became less about defining the past, and more about understanding the dizzying convergence of tradition and modernity, colonialism and independence, familiarity and foreignness that defined the Arctic township in which we all found ourselves living. This gives resonance to the understanding that community is comparable to Doreen Massey's idea of 'place' as being lent specificity not from "long internalized history," but rather from "the fact that it is constructed out of a particular set of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus" (1991:28).

Life in modern Nunavut can be difficult⁵³. As Jaypetetee Arnakak sums up (2002:36):

Nunavut, by any standard and on all levels, is a land of extremes. There is no denying the grim facts that statisticians churn out. We have the highest suicide rate, the highest birth rate, the highest drop-out rate, the lowest GDP, and so on. Yet, in the midst of all this dysfunction, people survive, and society survives.

⁵³ Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.'s most recent annual report on the state of Inuit culture and society (NTI 2011) provides a telling statistical summary of challenges currently facing the wellbeing of Inuit populations.

It should be added that people and society not only ‘survive,’ but also ‘thrive.’ Despite the strata of social concerns that layer northern communities, they are simultaneously celebrated as ‘home’ by many of their inhabitants. The presence of extended family and relationship networks, the beauty of the landscape, and the ability to know one’s environment with the deepest sense of familiarity and tradition all conspire to make these towns the most appealing place to live for many Inuit people. As Tanya Gillis, who grew up in Cambridge Bay, pointed out to me (pers. comm. 2012), “the bad and the good balance each other out...it can be terrible, but as terrible as it is, it can be just as calm.”

This chapter details the origins of my ethnographic fieldwork in the municipality of Cambridge Bay. The development of an explicitly community-oriented project was in this case a gradual process, fraught with numerous dilemmas of how to define both collectiveness and history within the area. This was ultimately accomplished by letting community members define both these criteria according to their own standards. The relinquishing of academic authority required, in turn, the development of a more grounded research methodology which could better incorporate local partners and understand how and why historical learning takes place.

Over the last decade in Nunavut, there is an increased sense that anthropological—and by extension, archaeological—research must take place within a new paradigm of conscious interaction and immersive methodology. After briefly reviewing the spectrum of ethnographic approaches designed to address contemporary relationships and realities in northern communities, this chapter moves into an ethnographic account of Cambridge Bay’s history as both a municipal centre and transitioning community. The final section of this chapter will explore the transition of my initial research program for Cambridge

Bay into one more reliant on local frameworks for learning and partnership development.

The New Ethnography

Ethnography, in its broadest definition, refers both to the acts of researching and defining human culture, and to the typically text-based account defining this process and its results. Over the last decade, traditional frameworks for conducting ethnographic research in Nunavut have begun to be questioned (see for example, Akulukjuk 2004; Lyons 2007; Lyons et al. 2010; Stern and Stevenson 2006). This has generally resulted in the replacement of formal academic methodologies by more contextual strategies, including bespoke research techniques developed 'in' and 'for' specific communities and cultural groups being studied. Peter Kulchyski (2006:157), for example, describes his methodology for researching gestural acts in Nunavut as one of simply "going there," which entails a process of "visiting, listening, talking, waiting, assisting: mimetically adopting to the extent possible the norms of community life." While these practices appear similar to those of participant observation, the desired framework is now one of 'participatory observation,' (cf. Kral and Idlout 2006) with the essential difference being that traditional roles of 'researcher' and 'the researched' are reorganized. As Kral and Idlout point out (2006:57):

Whereas the participant observer as outsider researcher participates in the everyday life of the culture or community being studied, the participants in participatory research include those being studied in the role of co-researchers. They are now also observing from beyond their traditional roles as research subjects.

Accompanying this shift is also a reconsideration of objectivity's role in producing 'good research.' This manifests as recognition of both the subjectivities of community participants and that researcher fidelity to individuals,

communities and cultural standards can take precedence over the advancement of academic knowledge. A good example of this is found in the work of Molly Lee (2006). She describes a scenario in which a study on Yup'ik weaving culture ultimately generates a "double project," in which the study of Yup'ik basketry "is inextricably tied to the growth of a cross-cultural friendship, and the friendship has moulded the form this study has assumed" (2006:33). In addition to altering the methodologies through which research is conducted, such 'cross-cultural friendships' ultimately impact the brand of knowledge to result from research. Lee, in one example, speaks of being "prevented by loyalty" (ibid:33) from discussing topics that she feels might jeopardize or betray confidence built through her long-standing relationships.

As exemplified in Chapter 4, a similar 'ethnographic turn' has also begun to pervade the practice of archaeology in the Arctic. With the rise of community engagement, archaeologists have been drawn into a situation in which their authority and interpretations of the past are framed in perspective of a wider social and political arena. Archaeologists have had little choice but to deal with the ramifications that ideas about the past have at contemporary levels of politics, identity and belief. As Julie Hollowell and Lena Mortensen (2009:2) point out, the widening of archaeology's scope has landed archaeologists in an undefined terrain of social interaction in which various distinct iterations of the past must be acknowledged and reconciled within the discipline.

New practices of ethnography are emerging as means for archaeologists to reflect on the contemporary social implications of producing and using knowledge about the past (see for example: "archaeological ethnography" (Meskell 2005), "anthropological archaeology" (Ferguson 2003), "ethno-critical archaeology" (Zimmerman 2008), "ethnographic archaeology" (Castañeda and Matthews

2008), “ethnographies of archaeological practice” (Edgeworth 2006)⁵⁴. These approaches draw on the accumulated experience of social ethnography and applied anthropology; two fields which, in the words of Larry Zimmerman (2008: 191), forefront the respect of living people by directing researchers to:

seek permission to conduct study, consider the interests and concerns community members might have, negotiate the interpretation of data, and worry over the ramifications that publication and information about the community might have.

Of all these approaches, the practice of ‘ethnographic archaeology’ can be said to be most relevant to the objectives of community archaeology. While realized through a variety of methodologies and contextual applications—including ‘thick description’ of research practices, the study of research positioning, and engagement through trans-cultural exchange and ethnographic installation (Castañeda 2008, 2009)—ethnographic archaeology as a working concept refers to “archaeological projects based in research and management of the past that have integrated ethnography into their core processes and dynamics as a strategic way to further develop archaeology as a reflexive and social science through the investigation of and engagement with the socio-political and economic dimensions of its own enterprise” (Castañeda and Matthews 2008:5-6). The incorporation of ethnographic methodologies into archaeological practice aim specifically to “bring to light and into regular archaeological practice the diverse stakes and strategic social forces that establish archaeology as a viable and appropriate social concept” and “reflect on how this archaeology-concept functions in specific sociocultural contexts” (ibid: 15). The practice can further be clarified by contrasting it with such approaches as ‘archaeological ethnography’⁵⁵

⁵⁴ A very helpful table is provided by Quetzil Castañeda (2008:30-31) to help understand the differences and similarities of these various approaches to articulating ethnography in the archaeological discipline.

⁵⁵ Archaeological ethnography is concerned primarily with the study of the past. In this form of research, ethnography is used to produce information that relates directly to archaeological understanding and explanations of how things happened in the past. Frequently termed

through its desire to gather knowledge from the present in order to produce knowledge about the present, rather than to solely generate new understandings about the past. It similarly differs from the inward gaze produced by ethnographies of archaeological practice (cf. Edgeworth 2006) by shifting its focus away from ‘archaeological’ acts, and towards ways in which non-archaeologists relate to the knowledge and interpretations produced through archaeological endeavours. The approach of ethnographic archaeology helps archaeologists to recognize that “whenever archaeologists come to a place, they walk into ongoing conversations and perceptions of “archaeology” and “the past,” encountering people and places that already have a history of engagement with sites, artifacts, and stories about the past” (Hollowell and Mortensen 2009:2).

Cambridge Bay: A Social History in Street Signs



Figure 16: Cambridge Bay's position in Nunavut

‘ethnoarchaeology,’ this form of practice is often engaged with an understanding that material occurrences in the past constitute epistemologically real events, whose signature cultural and behavioural patterns might be replicated or explained through a modern day recreation of similar or comparable events.

From the moment I arrived in Cambridge Bay, I was at odds to properly define the municipality. Communicating with friends and family in the south, I was overwhelmed with the question of “what it is like up there.” In all truth I didn’t know how to answer. Detailing the physical town hardly touched on the intricacy of its social components. Statistical descriptions of Cambridge Bay’s population—approximately 1600 people, roughly 80% of whom are Inuit—did not even begin to hint at the cultural implications of those numbers. Inspiration came one day in a selection of excerpts edited and compiled by St. Jerome’s University historian Whitney Lackenbauer (2009), detailing a visit to the area by John D. Ferguson—a University of Toronto anthropology graduate student—more than fifty years earlier.

In the summer of 1956, the Northern Research Co-ordination Centre sent Ferguson to the Arctic to “describe the changing way of life in the western Canadian Arctic, and the way in which its Eskimo residents are adjusting to the new opportunities of wage employment” (Ferguson 1957 in Lackenbauer 2009:n.p.). Wage employment, in this case, related directly to the initial stages of DEW-Line operation in those areas. Particularly fascinating about Ferguson’s final report is its section on Cambridge Bay, which features an extensive survey of housing conditions, daily schedules and local attitudes towards wage economy. Rather than reporting on the successful integration of Inuit and DEW-Line cultures—as was quite possibly intended by the report’s federal sponsors⁵⁶—Ferguson recognized himself as a witness to a critical juncture facing Inuit people. The rupture of Cambridge Bay’s population from traditional ways, the author notes:

is not generated from within the Eskimo society; it is imposed from without by the white people...Long and regular hours are a typical

⁵⁶ The government’s frosty reception to Ferguson’s report is suggested by the completed document being placed in a locked cabinet at the department of Northern Affairs and never circulated (Lackenbauer 2009:n.p.).

feature; the work is difficult, baffling and requires none of the traditional skills of the hunter-trapper. A man's time is no longer his own and he may no longer travel where and when he pleases.

The report concluded with the final observation:

To say that the Eskimos located at the various D.E.W. line sites stand at a crossroads is to state the obvious. One might add that it is a cross roads at which there are sign posts with meaningless words written on them.

Ferguson's allusion to signposts is all the more powerful given its reference to a culture traditionally so reliant on place names and landmarks for navigation. I began to consider contemporary signage, and how it defined the relationship of people to their surrounding environment. In line with my earlier attempts to visualize cultural relationships to history through mapping (see chapter 3), I concluded that way-marking represents an intriguing way to envision the dynamics of power and change in a northern community. The practice of allocating names suggests the power to call into existence (and often dominate) a certain reality. The practice of ignoring or contextually re-imagining place names implies the ability to resist that power. This section will accordingly extend the analogy of sign posts to examine the transition and current complexity of Cambridge Bay.

What is today recognized as Cambridge Bay was originally known to local Inuit through the broader regional term of Iqaluktuutiaq ('a place of fair fishing'). Since the earliest arrival of Inuit, the area has served as an important late summer fishing site during seasonal rounds (Norman and Friesen 2011). Recent historic groups inhabiting the area accordingly self-identified as the Iqaluktuurmiut (people of the fish).

I once jokingly asked my friend Emily Angulalik how her Inuit ancestors found their way prior to street signs. She replied that Inuit have always known their way by names (pers. comm. 2011). “If you were from the Umingmaktok region, then you are known as the Umimakturmiut. If you are heading towards Kugluktuuq, then you will meet the Qurluqturmiut. The people in Gjoa Haven are the Uqsuqturmiut.” These names, she said, *these people*, “are our road signs.” As Emily points out, the act of naming in traditional Inuit culture served an integral role in the construction of social and personal identities. As discussed in Chapter 2, regional identity groupings were often fixed in physical space through place names. Perhaps most importantly, however, place names have traditionally served a role as containers for memory. Named trails and features imparted the stories of a land and its people, and were passed along from generation to generation (chapter 3, see also Nuttal 1992). The creation of these memoryscapes transformed the world into a place that could be shared and understood, so that it became, according to Collignon “a human place where one can live a full life [and] not just survive” (2006b: 200).

Upon their arrival to the Arctic, the first instinct of non-Inuit explorers was not to investigate the intricate cultural landscapes already in existence, but rather to construct a world familiar to their own systems of classification and naming. The dauntingly blank spectre of ‘terra incognita,’ soon filled up with the names of expedition patrons and commemorative titles to honor the gradual advance into the Arctic. Chief Factor Warren Dease and Thomas Simpson, of the Hudson Bay Company, christened Victoria Island after the reigning Queen and renamed its southern shores during an expedition to delineate the continental coast in 1839. On western maps, the area would thereafter be known as ‘Cambridge Bay,’ after Adolphus Frederick, the Duke of Cambridge—a generous patron of scientific endeavours. Over the next seventy years a stream of explorers began to move through the area—Sir John Franklin (1819-22), John Rae (1851), Richard Collinson (1852-53), Roald Amundsen (1903-06)—all leaving trails of foreign names in their

wake (see fig. 16). Needless to say, Inuit were relatively unaffected by the foreign names and designations attributed by explorers. While the scrawled titles of charts and maps were the talk of Europe, they had little bearing on the realities inherent to survival on the land, and for centuries the two groups continued to live out parallel, yet independent, cartographies.

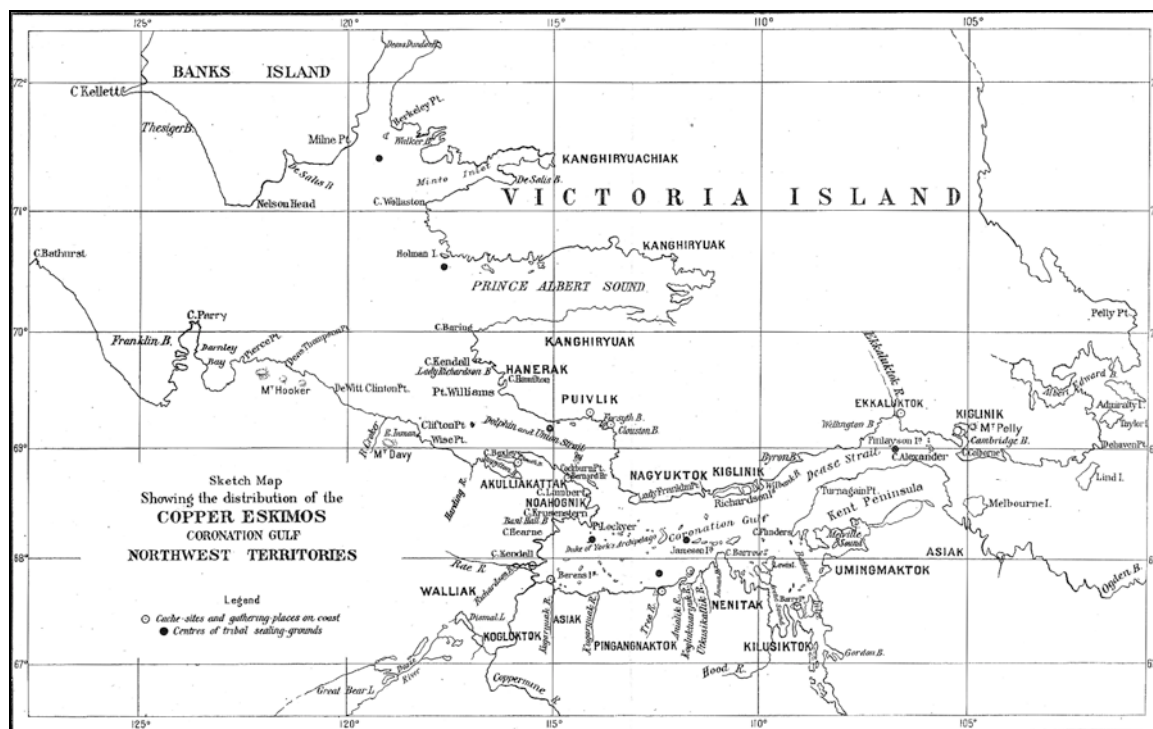


Figure 16. A map illustrating the distribution of the 'Copper Eskimos' made by Diamond Jenness (1922:n.p.). Of note, is the mixture of local and foreign place names present on the map.

In the year 1921, a cryptic new name crept into the lexicon of the Ikaluqtuurmiut. The HBC, or Hudson's Bay Company, established a depot outpost on the shores of the area now known as Cambridge Bay, with the intention of increasing competitive trade for fox furs. The HBC acronym, like many of the acronyms to follow, brought to the Inuit people not only a new and confusing name, but also a foreign logic of living. By the early 1950's, the shores surrounding Cambridge Bay were crawling with acronyms. The RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) established a post in 1926, in 1929 the first airplane was piloted into the Bay, ushering in a permanent RCAF (Royal Canadian Air Force) station and DOT

(department of Transportation) base. With increased local traffic, the RC (Roman Catholic) Mission Church was quick to move in. The character of these new arrivals was presaged by their acronymed names; their employees went about their business with utmost expediency and efficiency, carrying out the various tasks and visions they had been sent north to oversee. Throughout the early stages of this process, life was relatively unchanged for local Inuit. While hunting strategies and migration routes were shifted due to an influx of trading goods (Jenness 1921), they retained their language and much of their traditional nomadic lifestyle, using the now dually named Iqaluktuutiaq and Cambridge Bay only as a nucleus for the trade of white foxes for sundry goods. This all changed, however, with the construction of the LORAN tower and its successor, the DEW Line.

In 1947, Cambridge Bay was chosen as the site for one of three long-range navigation (LORAN) stations, designed to facilitate airplane positioning through the triangulation of low frequency radio signals. The construction and maintenance of the 625-foot tower required the employment of local Inuit. Using the site's scrap lumber, a semi-permanent Inuit settlement of approximately 20 houses and 100 individuals, was erected. By 1951, the LORAN project was considered obsolete, and was soon replaced by the even more ambitious DEW-Line project in 1952 (see Chapter 4). The Cambridge Bay Dew-Line, known as CAM-MAIN, was one of six original DEW-Line centers to be erected, bringing over the course of its first year alone, over 230,000 tons of military supply material into the town. The building and maintenance of the DEW-Line station provided sustainable employment to local Inuit, who began to abandon hunting and trapping for a more predictable life of settlement and wage economy.

The transition into this new way of life is remembered with a mixture of fondness and regret. As Cambridge Bay elder Annie Pokiak recalls, there were many perks to wage employment (pers. comm. 2009):

My parents really got settled down [when] the DEW-Line came here. My dad started working for them, so...it was really good. It helped for food, and whatever you need, you know. Our dad worked for DEW-Line for many years...he was doing odd jobs like seeing the houses inside, moving crates and stuff like that. Whatever the DEW-Line guys needed to have things moved...So it was good in those days thinking about the DEW-Line when my dad was working a lot. And when he came home from DEW-Line he brought back oranges, apples, chocolates. And we didn't have to pay for them.

Despite these benefits, Annie Pokiak also sees the DEW-Line as the gateway for many of the hardships that continue to plague the contemporary community:

Nowadays you know, living this new way of living, I really just find it hard to cope, because of so many bad things, wrong things, going around...what's really different is that there is too much alcohol. Too much drugs. In the old days there were none of that stuff, until the first white man moved to Cambridge Bay. That's when the liquor started coming in.

While Ferguson's prediction of 'signposts with meaningless writing' would not see literal fruition for another twenty years, one need only look at his early hand-drawn map of the town from 1956 (fig. 17) to realize that the signposts of change were already in place.

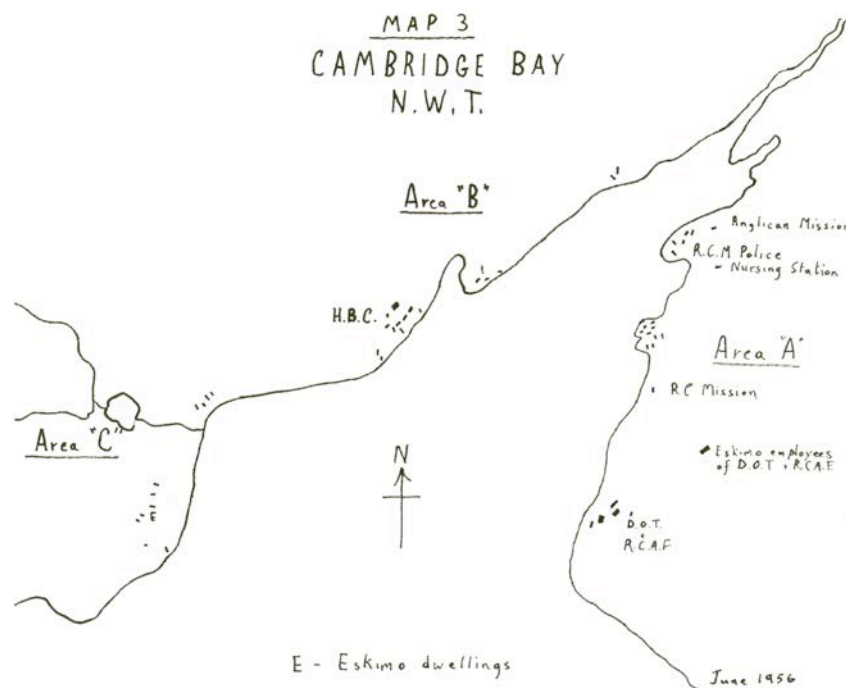


Figure 17. Map of Cambridge Bay and its various divisions (Ferguson 1957:n.p.). The original map has been digitally retouched to clarify script.

This town map, likely the first of its kind for Cambridge Bay, is labelled in three distinct areas according to their respective municipal roles. Area 'A' on the northwest shore, which contained the Roman Catholic and Anglican Missions and RCMP Detachment; 'B,' the Hudson's Bay post, and 'C,' the shore closest to the DEW-Line site. The author comments that within a month of his being in Cambridge Bay, all but ten of the area's 26 Inuit families had emigrated to Area 'C' for primarily DEW-Line related work.

As area 'C' expanded into the sizeable hamlet of contemporary Cambridge Bay, only several informal street names were devised to designate the boundaries of the town. Airport Road led southeast-ward towards the landing strip and DEW Line station. Ocean Road was used to designate the southern periphery of town, which stretched alongside a gravel beach. In later years, the northern boundary of the town became known as 'Home Brew Alley.' While these local names street names were used to navigate within the town, a host of more fluid and expedient

names were also devised to facilitate interactions with the outside world. “We used to need to come up with street names in order to receive packages and catalogues by post,” long time Cambridge Bay resident Wilf MacDonald once told me (pers. comm. 2011). “We would just make them up.” Being housed on the shoreline, he said, he “used to always choose either Sunset Boulevard or Baywatch Avenue.” What is interesting is that all of these early impromptu street names met Inuit traditions of being both descriptive and indicative of the terrain that they described. One traveled down Airport Road to catch a flight, or gravitated towards Homebrew Alley when looking for a party. The spaces in-between could be navigated through reference to people. Common instructions for reaching a location might include, “Follow Airport Rd. to Hadlari’s house, and go next door” or “You will find my house three down from Nakashook’s place.” For local inhabitants this sense of geography confirmed a feeling of being at home, of navigating through intertwined landmarks of known people and places. For outsiders, however, the experience could be daunting. Cambridge Bay resident Kevin Taylor, who began his work in the North as an oil burner technician, told me of his horrifying experience working in an Arctic town without street signs (pers. comm. 2011). “Every time I was given an assignment,” he said, “directions were in relation to somebody [else’s] house.” Without the knowledge necessary for making connections between people and place, he said, he was consistently and utterly lost.

Upon being allocated the status of ‘hamlet’ in 1984, a disorientating new spatial logic was mysteriously applied to Cambridge Bay. One day, it seems, streets quite simply took on the appellation of animals.

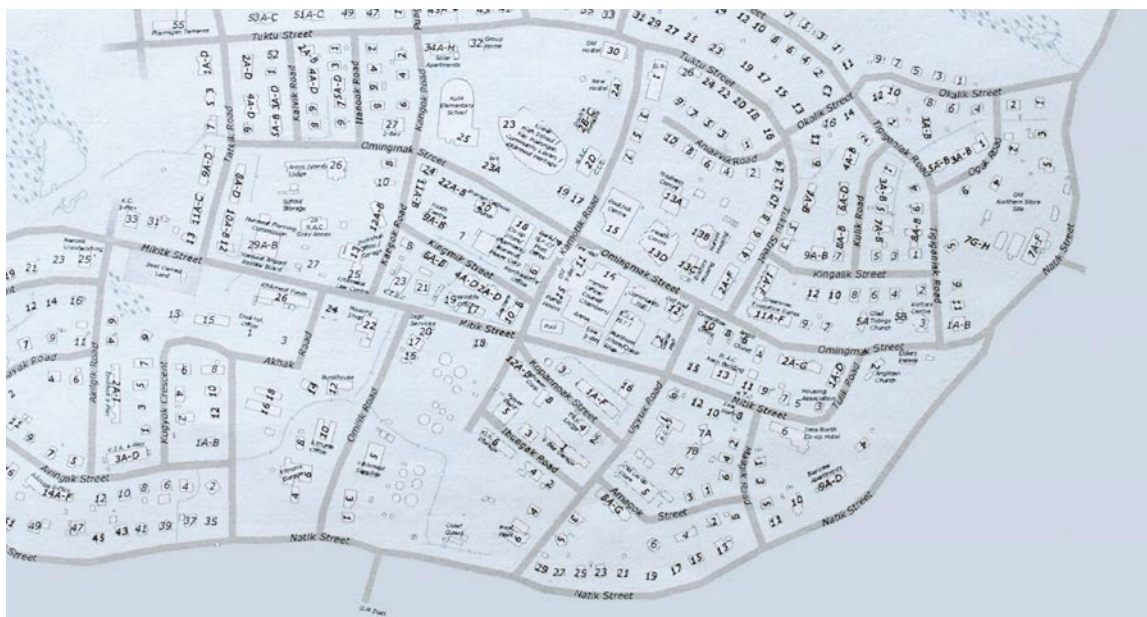


Figure 18. Detail from a road map of Cambridge Bay. Major street names include Omingmak (Musk-Ox), Mitik (Female King Eider Duck), and Natik (Seal). (Hamlet of Cambridge Bay Planning and Lands Department 2010).

How and why the decision to transform the town into an Arctic bestiary was made, has seemingly vanished from both local memory and paperwork.⁵⁷ My brief survey among local elders indicated that not one of them could remember taking part in the decision to name their streets, and could not even remember when the signs were erected. Local elder Mary Avalak (pers. comm. 2011) could suggest only that the streets started being named “when the government came to town.” When I asked the same question around the municipal offices, I was told that animal names were likely chosen over individuals’ names, because they would offend less people.

One might be tempted to assume that scarcity of documentation surrounding the naming of streets indicates that there was either general consensus or indifference to the act. A very similar case that took place fifteen years later in

⁵⁷ My numerous interviews and inquiries regarding the topic indicated that the answer lay with an influential former Cambridge Bay resident who served at various points as an MLA, municipal council member, and mayor for the hamlet. This individual retired from local politics and left the community in 2004. My attempts to contact him about the topic have, so far, gone unanswered.

Iqaluit, however, suggests that many subtle tensions may have existed. In 1998 Iqaluit's council launched a street naming initiative for the city, with the dual goals of facilitating navigation for the town's emergency services and remedying Iqaluit's status as Canada's only capital city without street signs. They developed a list of names very similar to those of Cambridge Bay: Qinmiq (Dog) Rd, Kakivak (Fishspear) Rd, in addition to various traditional food and tool names. What is interesting in this case, is that the initiative was met with public outcry and petition. Many Iqaluit residents spoke out against the suggested Inuktitut names, saying the most simple of names were purposely being chosen to allow for easy pronunciation by non-Inuit residents. "When I first saw these names, I thought they were elementary, like baby talk," Lena Ellsworth is quoted as saying in the *Nunatsiaq News*, "I guess my first thought was that this was another process of assimilation...They were trying to call it traditional, but it's a very qallunaat way of twisting it into traditional. It's very simplistic, almost disrespectful, when you think of it." (Rideout 2002). "It's simply not the Inuit way of doing things," added Annie Quirke in the same article, "for the street names we would use landscapes" (ibid). The editorial section of the *Nunatsiaq News* paper was subsequently flooded with suggestions for street names more appropriate to the physical terrain: "Washboard Road, Scattered Rocks Avenue, Too Narrow Drive, Dusty Street, Mud and Pothole Corner...." (*Nunatsiaq News* editorial April 7, 2000).

As Cambridge Bay continues to expand, it has been forced to make decisions regarding new street names. This time there seems to be more awareness of controversy. The year 2005 saw the construction of a new 800-yard road in the rapidly developing northwest corner of the town, which was dubbed Koihok Maghagak Crescent, to commemorate the death of Rhoda Maghagak⁵⁸, who was found murdered in her home the previous year. Doug Crossley, a member of

⁵⁸ Rhoda's Inuinnaqtun name of 'Koihok,' was used for the sign.

town's land committee was quoted in a Northern News Service article as saying (in Lippa 2005:n.p.):

We just thought because of what the community and the family went through with the death of that girl, and not being able to bring closure to it, it was a small gesture that we could do to help them out.

The conflation of names and places was not unheard of in traditional Inuit culture. Camping or fishing spots, for instance, could be referred to in reference of the people who once used them (Emily Angulalik pers. comm. 2011). The notion of memorial landmarks, however, is contrary to tradition. Names in the Inuit culture are passed along through people rather than places and objects, traveling from generation to generation in the form of 'atuuq,' or 'soul-names' (Anawak 1989). These atuuq imbue their bearer with the essence of the original namesake, transforming them into the same being, regardless of age, gender, or kinship relations.

The trend towards commemorative naming has recently spread to many local buildings in Cambridge Bay. The town currently boasts of a May Hakongak Community Library, a Luke Novoligak Community Centre, and a Helen Maksagak Government Building. In reference to the conference of people's names onto buildings in Iqaluit, resident Sandra Omik noted (Nunatsiaq News April 20th, 2000):

it was quite painful to realize that a building was named after a deceased loved one... The name becomes meaningless once people start referring to the building name. The qallunaat, although trying to be noble, failed to ask questions of the Inuit about this practice of naming buildings, which they are accustomed to.

During my interviews about building commemorations in Cambridge Bay, a more temperate attitude seemed to dominate. Some elders still felt strongly that

people and places had no business being mixed. Local elder Mary Avalak, for instance, told me that the first time she heard of a person's name being attributed to a building, it made her "want to run far, far away" (pers. comm. 2009). Many residents, however, seemed to feel that while such use of naming was not a customary Inuit practice, its intentions were in the right place. As resident Emily Angulalik told me (pers. comm. 2011):

Maybe they [the building names] are just to show how the respect of that person was. Looking at the Helen Maksagak building, she served as a commissioner; therefore that was part of the government, so out of respect they named [a government building] that...It does play a big role in the Inuit culture. Like [naming people after] places that they've been to or grew up....its part of the culture. And again, adopting how it is in the South...like Queen Elizabeth street in Edmonton.

Among younger generations, however, the situation is rapidly changing. Having lost much knowledge regarding local language and landscape, many youth are finding that the urban environment provides a new source for the construction of culture and memory. The same signs that signal a decrease in traditional ways for many elders, have been latched onto as symbols of belonging. Being able to decipher the meaning of Inuinnaqtun street names sparks a sense of pride in many young people, as does the fact that their own family names have been commemorated on street signs and building fronts. For a group with limited ties to traditional life, these signposts act as a confirmation that both themselves and the town they live in remain unique in a rapidly homogenizing world. Gesturing to a newly translated sign affixed to the front of the town's Royal Bank building—which read in bold white letters 'RBC Manikavia' (RBC Bank)—one young man remarked to me gravely (Anon, pers. comm. 2010), "this is a sign of our traditional culture being kept alive."

Project Methodology: On Building and Re-building

The story of my research in Cambridge Bay began, like most academic research, in the confines of a university office. While I was initially wary about defining my research methodology prior to having spent significant time in Cambridge Bay, it quickly became clear that the academic system is not designed to easily accommodate either ambiguity or reversals of the established research sequence. Ethics protocols require detailed explanations of interview techniques and subjects prior to the commencement of research. Thesis proposal committees similarly request well-defined research questions and clear statements of research purpose prior to releasing their students into 'the field.' While these policies are designed to minimize project harm and maximize project efficiency, they also instill a dangerous sense that literature reviews rather than situational experience might suffice in formulating appropriate research questions and methodologies. As Lisa Stevenson astutely points out (2006:11), "one of the unspoken secrets of ethnographic research is that some of the most useful insights about what is going on come when the methods fall apart."

One of the original objectives for this project was the production of an educational course bridging the history of the landscape immediately around Cambridge Bay with more contemporary themes relevant to the context of the community (Griebel 2008). The course, as it was designed, would allow high school students to learn and apply the professional methodologies of archaeological and archival documentation, in addition to being able to draw important conceptual links between their own contemporary world and that of the past. As an excerpt from a letter I wrote to Cambridge Bay's Kiilinik High School board in 2008 explains:

Despite being a 'history' course, the proposed curriculum will not explore the past as an isolated period, but will focus on considering its

relationship to the people, ideas and technological mediums of present day times. It is hard to teach and learn about history when it is perceived as being entirely disconnected from modern day events... By looking at history as a vast, connected chronology, it becomes easier to make sense of 'change' as a necessary, but also controllable, phenomenon.

At a methodological level, the course was consciously built around Stephanie Moser et al.'s criteria for community archaeology (2002), incorporating all requisite elements of collaboration, employment, public presentation, interviews, education and documentation. After successful feedback from both Kiilinik high school staff and members of the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, a preliminary course curriculum was completed, and negotiations were underway to bring the course into the high-school curriculum within a year's time.

My first clue that the design of the course was failing to connect at some basic level came in the form of an article published by the Nunavut News North about the project (Sloan 2008). In the article, Emily Angulalik, a local teacher and founding member of the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, was quoted as saying that the course would benefit children "though their education, to understand their identity, to understand who they are as Inuit...It's almost like a sphere...It's ongoing." To qualify this statement, Angulalik offered the following thought:

I am grateful to have a little kindergarten student that is named after my mother, so often times I would respect her and then sometimes it seems like in her character my mother would come out.... You respect them, not only as kindergarten students, but also as, you know, your mother or your aunt. It's not only the name. You have a connection towards them.

At the time, this last statement struck me as being decidedly out of place. What, if anything did a name have to do with the larger picture of community archaeology? As briefly explored earlier in this chapter, the Inuit tradition of soul naming remains strong in Nunavut. Before reaching an age of 'ihumaqtuuq' (the

quality of being rational or aware) children are bestowed with the name of a historical or still-living individual.⁵⁹ Referencing this tradition, Nelson Graburn (1998: 30, see also Lyons et al. 2010; Lyons 2010) speaks to the Inuit idea of the personal past, as a “past of *specific persons*.” Local history, as I eventually discovered, was far more grounded in this cycle of names, than in the scattering of archaeological sites to which I had been attempting to anchor it.

It soon became painfully obvious that my entire course had been devised according to both an academic and practical logic utterly foreign to local people. Between the time discussions about the course began and the time I had moved north to deliver its content—a space of approximately two years—the school had already seen the rotation of three principals and roughly half its staff of teachers. Further hampering the course were lingering tensions between education authorities and the local heritage society with whom I had partnered, which stemmed back to issues of control that arose with the building of an integrated school and community heritage centre in 2002 (Kim Crockatt, pers. comm. 2010). While the majority of staff operating in both organizations had no firsthand experience of the initial conflicts, mutual boundaries of propriety and obligation between the two groups remained residually tense.

While designing this course, I had consciously made an effort to speak to, and maintain correspondence with, various individuals who would have a stake in

⁵⁹ The characteristics, skills and talents of that individual are bestowed upon the child along with the name. Jack Anawak (1989:45) illustrates this process through reference to his own Inuit name of Illuitok:

Illuitok, a respected, elderly woman from the community of Pelly Bay near the Arctic Circle has a son who, later in his life, when she is old and ill, names his own son Illuitok. This child is now the old lady's namesake. The passing on of his mother's name to the man's son signifies the importance of this system in preserving the past on an intimate daily level...the man who gave his son his mother's name at birth relates to the baby by addressing it as 'my mother.' As the baby grows up and becomes aware of the name he carries, he will in turn address the parent as 'my child'...Thus, we Inuit are taught that all things stem from and continue to be tied to the past, and that it must continue to be respected and preserved.

the delivery of the course. The fundamentals of the course, however, were still being adopted from official narratives regarding both Inuit culture and the appropriate archaeological methods for interacting with it. It was with a fair amount of trepidation that I realized the project would have to be re-designed through recourse to local perspectives, beginning with the most basic question of how learning in such a context takes place.

Learning in Cambridge Bay

“You can come into a community knowing a lot or you can come into a community learning a lot. There is a big difference.” This was a piece of advice given to me—unfortunately, three years too late—by Ernie Leblanc (pers. comm. 2011), a long time student councillor and wellness program instructor in Cambridge Bay.

Upon the failure of my original curriculum program, I struggled to untangle the preconceptions of my research from the realities that guided life where I was living. Such was the extent of this unravelling that I was ultimately left with only a series of loose threads. Over the course of the next three years, I began to slowly weave these back together in a fashion that made more sense at a local level. Like the sewing lessons described at the beginning of this chapter, this process was gently guided by local elders and community members. My attempts to include academic theory and novel ideas into this communal process were always accepted, with an underlying understanding that local participation, feasibility and enthusiasm would ultimately dictate whether they would be successful or not.

Both learning and teaching in traditional Inuit society are based around a concept of ‘ihuma,’ the mental faculty “that makes it possible for a person to respond to his surroundings, physical and social, and to conform to social

expectations" (Briggs 1970:359). Individuals are not born with this capacity, but acquire it, usually as a small child. Until the age of 3 or 4, a child is usually not responsible for their actions because they lack *ihuma*, which can only be gained through watching and learning from positive examples being conducted in their environment. An Inuit child, notes Jean Briggs (1991:268), will learn nothing until it is ready to remember.

There is an ethnographic study that I have always loved which examines Inuit understandings of intelligence and what it means to be smart within a contemporary community context (Stern 1999). At the end of this article, Pamela Stern considers how Inuit communities confer *ihuma* upon incoming anthropologists by using the latter's own acts of participant observation. Speaking to her personal experiences within the municipality of Ulukhaktok (Holman), she details the subtle ways in which appropriate behaviours are taught through joking, example, avoidance and storytelling (ibid: 510). As with local childrearing practices, the teaching of appropriate behaviour to anthropologists is performed with deference to personal agency, with every suggestion being embedded in another context so as to allow the individual to find their own path towards the wisdoms being conveyed. As Stern (ibid: 511) points out:

We could hear the advice without either having to acknowledge it or question it. We were not expected to defend our actions and never did a discussion of our particular situation result. We were free to accept or ignore their suggestions. There may have been many more times when people tried to instruct us, but those lessons were lost in the subtlety of the teaching method and our own insensitivities.

To maintain a rigid academic agenda is to flounder under such a system. A direct approach of concise questions and focused investigation ultimately alienates one from the subtlety that continues to define people and knowledge in northern communities. As Jeanne Briggs quickly recognized during her early

studies of the Utkuthingmiut Inuit, “‘why?’ is one of the rudest questions one can ask” (1991:267).⁶⁰ As Daniel Weetaluktuk (1980:4) elaborates:

Some Inuit find it hard to understand how going around and asking questions can be considered “work.” Inuit tend to perceive work in immediate, practical terms. Going around a camp asking lots of questions does not appear to be a very serious activity.

This reluctance towards academic styles of learning is strongly evidenced in dilemmas playing out in Nunavut’s education system. Largely modeled on teaching methods and curricula imported from the south, Nunavut’s classroom learning is being rejected by adults and youth alike.⁶¹ As pointed out in a Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. report on education and wellness (NTI 2011:27), “many Inuit regard formal Canadian education with scepticism, due to the fact that formal schooling has, from its inception, formed an integral part of an assault by Euro-Canadians and their culture on Inuit culture and society.”

A desire for a return to more traditional ways of learning is increasingly being voiced at both local and government levels (see for example NTI 2011:27-32). This encompasses an increased focus on traditional Inuit knowledge and skills as well as more recognition of appropriate traditional teaching methods. As Cambridge Bay elder, Tommy Kilaodluk, informed me (pers. comm. KHS 2008):

Having children out on the land without pen and paper, they learn more about Inuit culture. People are living in town more, they are not out on the land. It would be easier to teach out on the land...From the

⁶⁰ Briggs (1970:362) highlights the Inuit perception that anthropologists too often have too much, rather than too little, *ihuma*. An individual who possesses too much *ihuma*, she notes, “concentrates too much on one idea, one thought.” “More that one anthropologist who has worked with Eskimos” she continues, “has been characterized by his hosts as *ihumaquqtuuq*, because he put such pressure on them with his continual visits, questions, more visits, and more questions, when the Eskimos would have preferred to work, talk, eat, sleep, unbothered by the anthropologist.”

⁶¹ Statistics Canada records from 2006 demonstrate a high school completion rate in Nunavut of roughly 35 percent for individuals under the age of 25.

time you are young, starting from babies growing up, you cannot learn to be on the land on a schedule, in a week or in a month. It is not a 9 to 5 thing. It would be a good thing to learn out on the land without a clock or watch. It is not how you learn the Inuit way. Today we are always going by time and the clock. We must be on the land year round to feel what it is like. If you are in class all day your vision is vague. The school system now is alright, but you can not learn about the land.

As will be evidenced in the coming chapters, the preferred form of land-based and tactile education has direct implications for the process of both learning and teaching about history. As with general knowledge, history is communicated in small gestures and subtle comments, and tends to have little relevance for the official question and answer process. From experience of nearly 40 years spent living and working in Inuit communities, Janet McGrath (2003:9) offers the following advice to researchers attempting to understand Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit:

Spend time with Inuit. Do things together – especially land-based activities. Listen and observe intently; avoid asking a lot of questions. Trust that a shift in power could mean more for each side. Examine your assumptions (“Why do I have this judgment, and where does it come from?”). Sometimes IQ thinking demands an open-ended approach to a problem, and much repetition over the same ground until a solution begins to appear. Move away from viewing and treating IQ as a system of information (from our information-based culture, economy and system) to seeing it as a way of relating to society, individuals, and the land we depend on (for our collective culture, economy and system).

Chapters 8-10 will more explicitly explore how this awareness was applied in the engagement of community archaeology programs.

A Partnership Formed: The Kitikmeot Heritage Society

In explaining the differences that exist between ‘information-based systems’ and ‘relation-based systems’ of knowledge (see above, Chapter 3), Janet McGrath highlights the influence that strong social networks continue to have on Arctic communities (2003: 7-8):

Often action takes place in the collective; sometimes if others are not acting it is not appropriate to act alone. The value of action is measured by how it serves others – and is praised accordingly. A capable hunter provides meat for the community; a capable seamstress makes warm clothes for her family. Recognition is sought through connection too. If others say you are good, then you are.

The development of research relationships within any community happens at many levels, including the formation of personal, familial, and cultural partnership (Atalay 2012:104). Particularly among the Inuit, knowledge of faces and names, and entry into small level exchanges of action and discussion act as valuable social currency. One is drawn into the network of recognition and reciprocity as someone with known talents and needs, effectively becoming part of a community.

As relationships of this quality take time to build, it is often suggested that community research begins with organizations, institutions or visible sponsors already present on the ground (see for example Atalay 2012:113-115; Carman 2002). As Sonya Atalay points out (2012:65), pairing researchers with community-trusted organizations helps to ensure that the former’s presence within the community is perceived to be “invited rather than imposed,” leading to further expectations that “their focus is directed rather than directive, and their function is facilitative rather than manipulative.” The linking of a research project with organizations and individuals already present within the community also helps, as noted by Andrew Crosby (2002: 363), to distinguish

differences, “between archaeology that attempts to incorporate or involve local communities into externally devised projects and those initiated by the communities themselves.”

In the case of my dissertation, I was fortunate to develop my research from the very beginning through a partnership with the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, an elder-directed organization located in Cambridge Bay. Since its inception in 1995, the Kitikmeot Heritage Society (KHS) has assumed the mandate of documenting and preserving Inuinnaqtun language and heritage throughout Nunavut’s Kitikmeot region. The KHS provides in-school traditional skill workshops, accessible archives and exhibit displays; fore-fronting projects that encourage Inuit values and teaching methodologies. The organization represents a ‘grass roots’ initiative in the fullness of the term, with its development founded on recognition that there was a gap between local people and relevant cultural resources. Working from the small library school, the group’s founding members began to document oral history, gather old photographs and historical records, and develop cultural learning materials that were, in KHS President Kim Crockatt’s words, “not just written in books” (pers. comm. 2011). The organization gained critical momentum, which progressed towards the development of an independent cultural centre. The May Hakongak Library and Cultural Centre currently contains the town’s library, museum, heritage facilities, regional archives and art gallery, all of which are operated and managed by KHS staff.⁶² The most significant impact this heritage society has had in a community context, according to Kim Crockatt (ibid), is the creation of projects to restore traditional values, cultural awareness and intergenerational relationships in a manner that is both relevant and accessible to local people:

⁶² In August 2012, Cambridge Bay was selected for a pilot trial of Google Street View for the Arctic communities. As part of this initiative the KHS was visually mapped and uploaded to the Google Map database. A virtual walk through the museum is available at the following link: <https://maps.google.com/?ll=69.118105,105.054877&spn=0.019978,0.090895&t=m&layer=c&cbll=69.118105,105.054877&panoid=fbcpleHNNhNsfxF2vPN9HFg&cbp=12,98.95,,0.5.79&z=14>

First of all elders are involved in the decision-making process...I think the fact that they feel their opinion is valid and validated, that makes a big difference. Also I know a million people have said to me over the years, you know researchers come up and do their research and no one ever hears from them again. Even if they do have access to research reports the material is inaccessible. Having a way to show people what is done and show people the results of the fieldwork, like we do at the cultural centre, that makes a huge, huge difference.

The frequency and diversity of workshops and initiatives sponsored by the KHS is a testament to their dedication to familiarize young generations with traditional Inuit culture. On any given day, the building is home to youth sewing classes, after school literacy and cultural immersion programs, and a resident group of local elders. In order to sustain these initiatives, the KHS—which receives no core government funding—relies on a relentless regimen of grant applications and project reports. For staff, daily routine is as much about promoting and justifying the maintenance of Inuit culture, as it is about the cultural activities themselves. One is reminded of Nancy Wachowich’s reference to Nunavut’s successfully hybridized cultural institutes, which exist “as memorials to the not-too-distant past made to speak to the increasingly bureaucratized present”(2006:131).

My own connection to the KHS was greatly facilitated by the organization’s ongoing partnership with my doctoral supervisor, Max Friesen. In 1999, the KHS contacted Friesen regarding the possibility of creating a collaborative research project. This project was designed to document the Iqaluktuuq⁶³ region’s rich cultural and archaeological history through a combined methodology of archaeological excavation and oral history interviews (see Chapter 8), and has resulted in an ongoing relationship between the field of archaeology and local

⁶³ Iqaluktuuq is located approximately 50 km northwest of Cambridge Bay

awareness and knowledge regarding the region's history (Friesen 2002; Griebel 2010).

The word 'partnership' is typically ambiguous regarding the dynamics of power and shared control. In the context of the KHS, I use the word partnership to describe a situation in which I functioned within the larger established framework of the organization in several different capacities. While my work was initially being conducted as fully independent doctoral research, the cost of self-financing projects and living full time in the Arctic quickly became too high to support. In 2009, the KHS hired me as a researcher, allowing us to apply for further project funding on behalf of the organization. Despite this transition, the organization's elder board members continued to assume their strong role in both shaping and executing the workshop activities described in the following chapters. In the following chapters, I make frequent mention of surveys, meetings, and oral history interviews held to determine the position and attitudes of local elders and community members. These events are all coordinated through the KHS and are a testament to the overwhelming interest and investment that local elders have in ensuring that local heritage remains strong. For any given project, a group of between 12 and 25 elders will gather to assess ideas, and contribute knowledge and advice to ensure that projects assume a direction deemed beneficial to their community.

The KHS is fully acknowledged as being equal owners of all the research created as part of our collaborative project, both in terms of physical product and intellectual property⁶⁴. As a community-embedded organization, there is an

⁶⁴In the past, the KHS has had issues with incoming researchers using project interviews and oral historical material without acknowledgement, and this remained a conscious concern throughout our collaboration. As a result, I was continually careful to distinguish interview material that was paid for directly through my own research funds (and interview consent process) and material generated through KHS-funded programs. In both cases, the resulting material is stored in the KHS archives, where it remains accessible to the community.

understanding that the KHS keeps these materials in trust for access and use by future generations.

Defining Community in Cambridge Bay

In 2008, veteran Arctic archaeologist Robert McGhee published a controversial paper outlining the detriment aboriginal-centered archaeologies are having on both public well-being and academic knowledge production. In the uproar of critique to McGhee's stated position on so-called 'aboriginalism' (see for e.g. Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Croes 2010; Lyons et al. 2010; Siliman 2010; Wilcox 2010), many of McGhee's concerns regarding the creation of distance between imagined identities and empirical facts went unheard. The most pressing issue in McGhee's article is archaeology's uncritical questioning—and even creation—of essentialized communities in its quest to better understand 'alternative' pasts and defuse potential conflicts in the present.

Upon beginning my research in Cambridge Bay, I struggled with how to define a partner community (or communities) in terms that were not self-imposed. Though the project was primarily situated as an engagement with a 'location-based' community, the individuals that formed this collective were incredibly diverse—many had moved to Cambridge Bay from other communities, from outside of Nunavut, or were simply in a process of 'passing through.' In the cases of many Inuit adults and elders, allegiance lay with the vast tracts of 'nuna' (land) rather than the settlement in which they spent most of their time. For many youth, however, town distinctly represented the place where they were 'from.' The definition of an 'Inuit' community in my Cambridge Bay research proved equally ambiguous. While the majority of people in the town were of Inuit descent, others were of mixed parentage or Inuit raised 'down south.' Perhaps most confusingly, in several cases non-Inuit individuals had lived for

such an extent of time in the Arctic that they were occasionally identified as 'Inuk' by others. Community affiliation, it seemed, was as pragmatic as any other tradition in Arctic society. As pointed out in various studies of Inuit identity, the emblems used to self-identify to an 'Inuit community' are often both contextual and inconsistent (Briggs 1997; Omura 2002).

My subsequent course of action for engaging community in my project stemmed from the advice of Cambridge Bay resident Elizabeth Hadlari, who informed me that in Inuit society, "the best you can do is to subtly demonstrate your ability, and people will seek you out for help in areas you have shown yourself to be good" (pers. comm. 2008). This statement struck me as important because it positions Inuit community as something that forms in response to perceived usefulness combined with awareness/demonstration of proper social conduct. Tentative links can be drawn to Sarah Byrne's concept of a 'community of practice' in archaeology (2012). Byrne envisions community as a 'work in progress,' which is defined in equal measure by both the active assembly of individuals and the sharing of interests, passions and concerns that bring those individuals together. Citing the work of Etienne Wenger (1998:184 in Byrne 2012:29), Byrne insists that the engagement and formation of these communities of practice "requires the ability to take part in meaningful activities and interactions, in the production of sharable artifacts, in community building—conversations, and in negotiation of new situations." Anna Agbe-Davies' long-term study of African Diaspora archaeology (2007, 2010) equally serves as a model for recognizing community as something manufactured as part of the research process. In her attempts to reconcile the idea of community as both a natural category and a process, Agbe-Davies (2010:383) devises an interesting analogy between the idea of community and the social science category of race:

While not objectively 'real', it *becomes* real through its enactment by people who behave as if it were...In other words, its reality is not

natural or essential, but rather processual or generative. Therefore, as social scientists, we need to familiarize ourselves with the objectively real phenomena with which individuals and groups produce their understanding of their communities.

This form of thinking suggests the engagement of community archaeology as an opportunity to move beyond the study *of* community as an entity, and towards the advocacy *for* community as a desired state. It also entails the conscious recognition of community as something that actively builds around history, rather than something that dictates how history is perceived.

Rather than targeting specific individuals in Cambridge Bay as a reflection of Inuit community in which to anchor my case studies, I ultimately decided that community should be something defined through the process of research. Community in this context is envisioned as something ‘built,’ a group of individuals (archaeologists and non-archaeologists alike) actively participating in the definition of Inuit tradition (or IQ) through critical reflection on both their history and present day conditions. By engaging community as an active process, a space is created for the concept as it simultaneously exists in localized, ancestral, imagined, and experiential forms. Fewer lines are drawn between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ categories. The understanding of community as an actively engaged process to make history meaningful in the present is ultimately accomplished by refocusing archaeological research to accommodate the ‘objectively real phenomena’ (cf. Agbe-Davies 2010) through which understandings of community (both past and present) are produced.

Conclusion

Despite the pretence of participant observation, academia has generally encouraged anthropologists (and by extension, archaeologists) to develop and maintain a sense of community unto themselves. Knowledge and methodology

is to be gained from a combination of literature produced by other researchers and the detached observation of cultural subjects and practices. Bolstered by this sense of community, researchers generally enter the field as pronounced authorities, with predetermined 'best practice' guidelines for interacting with the complex social, cultural and political environments in which they find themselves. This scenario is one in which there is little room for the practices of humility and subtlety so often required in situations of learning.

To engage in fieldwork as a 'dance of power' is to recognize that it relates directly to knowledge. Knowledge production is a currency of power. The negotiation of power does not mean that academic learning and methodology become irrelevant in the face of local expertise. It similarly does not imply that all individuals with whom the researcher interacts are respective experts in 'another way of knowing.' Rather, the analogy of fieldwork as dance situates knowledge as a product of human interaction. Dance requires partners, just as fieldwork requires partners to continually adjust to the subtle patterns and rhythms of each others' presence. The following chapters will explore how this dynamic played out in an archaeological context, gradually transforming the practice of archaeology from its traditional cornerstone of excavation to a more IQ-situated approach of living history.

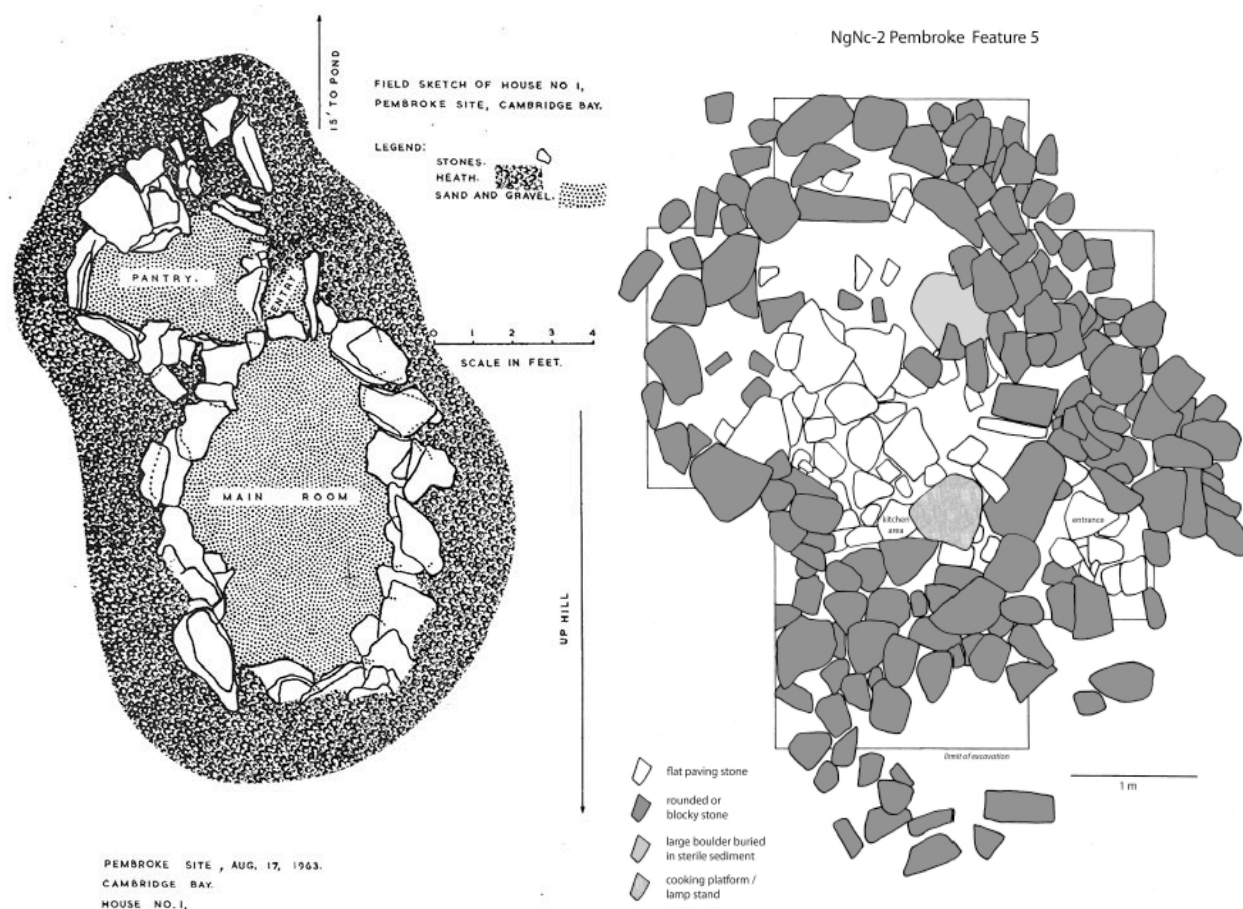


Plate 8: Envisioning history at the Pembroke Site in 1963 (left) and again, forty five years later, in 2008 (right) (Taylor 1972:48, Friesen 2009:12).

During an initially unrewarding field survey of Victoria Island coastline in 1963, pioneering Arctic archaeologist William E. Taylor felt his fortunes beginning to change upon discovering a series of small sites located in the proximity of Cambridge Bay (Taylor 1964:51):

Better luck rejoined the party at Cambridge Bay where we found five sites on Freshwater Creek, a short stream draining Grenier Lake into the head of the bay. For obvious reasons, and mindful of [excavation team member] Monahan's wishes, they are called after Cambridge colleges, Clare, Downing, Pembroke, and, one the northwest riverbank, Newnham and Girton. As there are other sites left untested

along both sides of the creek, one may eventually add to that list of borrowed names.

In 2008, one of these sites became a similar portent of optimism for myself. Earlier in the year, I had been invited by University of Toronto's Max Friesen to participate in an excavation at the Pembroke site, several features of which had previously been investigated by William E. Taylor (Taylor 1964,1967). In addition to field excavation, my participation was to entail preliminary research for my dissertation on community archaeology. The site in question was only several miles from Cambridge Bay and offered easy public access and strong potential for community engagement. Ongoing communication with local elders and the Kitikmeot Heritage Society from the previous year's fieldwork at the nearby Huluraq site gave every indication that their enthusiasm and interest would be sustained throughout this project. I entered into the excavation confident that the face of Arctic community archaeology would be significantly changed.

As evidenced by the maps above, the face of community archaeology ended up bearing suspicious resemblance to the generation's that preceded it. The juxtaposition of these two maps begs the question of what has changed in the near half century between them. More specifically, their similarity requires one to ask what degree of change is possible in the act of excavation. Do these two maps represent an inevitable product, or a potentially flexible process capable of integrating knowledge and action beyond the scientific sphere?

To answer these questions is difficult. Certainly, the technologies and techniques of excavation are amenable to change. The criteria for defining and collecting artifacts from Pembroke's two excavations, for example, has altered drastically during intermediary years. The mounds of dirt that still stand beside Taylor's excavated sites—devoid of larger artifacts, yet still littered with faunal remains and less obvious finds—attest to a shift in the discipline's understanding of what

constitutes 'usable data.'⁶⁵ Yet despite this transition, the act of excavation is arguably designed to *realize* history in a particular manner. It is at heart a deeply cultured process, a system entirely dependent on its practitioners' conviction that precision in measurement, and detail in mapping, bring one inevitably closer to the conditions for truth. While numerous studies have demonstrated the strong extent to which human subjectivities ultimately govern the excavation process (see for example Carman 2006; Faulkner 2000; Van Reybrouck and Jacobs 2006), the process as a whole is still reliant on a narrative of methodical rigour.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ As noted in the introduction to Taylor's published manuscript on the Victoria Island excavations (1972:6), the pursuit of "artifactual pearls" requires "a good deal of digging," most preferably in middens, which tend not to "consume time in technique, recording and interpretation."

⁶⁶ Neil Faulkner (2000:28) explains:

Those who favour standardization in fieldwork do so from a strongly positivist position, though this is rarely made explicit and is perhaps more often than not unconscious. Their approach implies a sharp distinction between 'facts' and 'interpretations': the job in the field is to collect the stratigraphic and artefactual 'facts' using 'objective' or 'scientific' methods, leaving site interpretation (essentially 'subjective') to a later stage when all the data have been analysed.

The Pembroke Site: Community Archaeology as Excavation

Introduction

Excavation is what archaeologists do. Surveys of the general public in both America (Ramos and Duganne 2002) and Canada (Pokotylo 2002) consistently indicate that 'digging' is by far the concept most commonly associated with the word "archaeology." And for very good reason. The films, television programs, and print of popular media bombard the public imagination with a 'branded' image (cf. Holtorf 2007b) of the Indiana Jones-styled investigator whose tools for detection are the trowel and spade. As Cornelius Holtorf (2006:82) points out, however, there are also pressures from within the discipline that help ensure that excavation remains an integral component of archaeology:

Among archaeologists, those who do not do fieldwork are often mocked as armchair archaeologists...In the field, students become 'real' archaeologists by learning the practical skills and methods of academic archaeology.

The reasoning behind the discipline's emphasis on excavation is not purely attributable to the need to unearth 'raw materials' required to form ideas about the past. The process of fieldwork, continues Holtorf (ibid:92), is "not only the sum of applied methods and techniques" but also a deeply cultural experience in which values, customs and traditions are perpetuated in a near-ritualistic setting. Put in similar terms by David Van Reybrouck and Dirk Jacobs (2006:33), "excavations are not only places where observations are turned into facts but also where individuals are turned into archaeologists."

As a series of quantitatively oriented methodological steps for extracting and documentation material history and its surrounding context, the techniques of excavation give little leeway to the inclusion of 'non-archaeological' voices.

Perhaps as a result, digging is rarely highlighted as part of community-based archaeology programs, which often emphasize collaboration in terms of interpretation and education rather than material data collection.⁶⁷ For many indigenous communities, the act of non-locals digging up and removing materials is still heavy with colonial association. While archaeological excavation is often advocated as a strong pedagogical tool for involving and educating the public in the techniques and traditions of profession of archaeology, it is significantly less capable of being adapted to forefront public understandings of the past.

In 2008, under the direction of Max Friesen, I took part in a community-oriented archaeological excavation of the Pembroke site on the outskirts of Cambridge Bay. As an assemblage of very visible, ancestral Inuit occupations located only a short distance outside of town, the site's investigation provided the perfect opportunity to engage with local individuals and promote new dialogue on the nature and importance of history. Over the course of the four-week excavation, Inuit elders were brought out to the site to interpret its features and artifacts, and a day camp for children was held to teach them about past lifeways and the methodologies of the archaeological trade.

Despite engaging these groups, the Pembroke excavation failed to register at a more profound level with local understandings and objectives regarding the engagement of history. This chapter will attempt to make sense of that disconnect, approaching the larger question of whether archaeological excavation is a suitable and relevant methodology for engaging Inuit in a community context.

⁶⁷ In this case, one has to distinguish between British and indigenous branches of community archaeology. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the brand of community archaeology that originated in Britain developed primarily around the idea of 'democratizing,' or incorporating general public into the act of excavation (see for example Faulkner 2000,2002,2009; Simpson 2009). This emphasis on excavation has yet to be as fully incorporated in indigenous-based community archaeology.

The Pembroke Site: an overview

To the north of Cambridge Bay, a single gravel road stretches off into the tundra. On any given day in summer, this road is trafficked by town residents heading out to cabins, fishing trips in the interior lakes, or to climb the mountainous flanks of Uvayok—a legendary giant that collapsed from starvation in the time before humans (Pelly and Crockatt 1999). Along this road, approximately a mile from the community graveyard and mouth of Freshwater Creek, one notices a worn sign indicating the Pembroke site.



Figure 19. An overview of the Pembroke Site (viewer facing south). The parallel stone lines indicate an old branch of the road that ran over the top of the hill (photo by Max Friesen).

The Pembroke site is strategically situated on a small rise adjacent to a river and pond. As pointed out by elders visiting the excavation (pers. comm. 2008), the subtle gradient of land would have alternately insured protection from dominant northeast wind in the winter and provided a source for maximizing wind

exposure during the summer to keep the mosquito swarms away (see figs. 19, 20).

In 1963, William Taylor mapped the presence and name of the Pembroke site as part of an extensive survey of archaeological sites located in the vicinity of D.E.W. Line stations between Cape Perry and Cambridge Bay. In addition to documenting an area which had been previously unexplored by archaeologists, Taylor and his team conducted the survey with the intention of shedding light on the murky historical origins of the Copper Inuit (Taylor 1972:1).⁶⁸ The Pembroke site was partially excavated over the course of two field seasons in 1963 and 1965 (Taylor 1964, 1967). Taylor and his team identified twelve structural features at the site (hereafter labelled as 'F'), five of which—including two semi-subterranean winter houses (F1,F4), and three tent rings (F7,F11,F12)—were fully excavated by the group.⁶⁹ A further four features were excavated during our 2008 field season, including two semi-subterranean houses (F2,F5), one tent ring (F9), and a communal ceremonial structure (F8), known in the Inuinnaqtun language as a 'qalgiq', or 'place for gathering' (see chapter 10).

⁶⁸ Copper Inuit is a name given to Inuit occupying the western half of what is today known as the Kitikmeot region of Nunavut. The name was coined during the early 1900s in reference to the group's use of natural copper sources for the production of tools. Despite being an imposed name describing a non-traditional collective group—'Inuinnaqtun' is the Inuinnaqtun term generally applied to this wider population—many Inuit have no problem using the term Copper Inuit, and often use it in self-reference (Condon et al. 1996:xvi-xvii). As Taylor explains in the introduction to his monograph (1972:1), Diamond Jenness had postulated that the origins of the Copper Inuit lay in the migration of an early proto-population from the interior tribes to the West of Hudson Bay. Taylor (1963), as well as a series of other prominent archaeologists (Rowley 1940; Van Stone 1962) had, in turn, made arguments that many, if not all, Inuit historical groups were direct descendants of the Thule culture.

⁶⁹ The 2008 excavation of the site was able to identify only 11 features. The Pembroke site has been dramatically altered by recent human activity, most significantly by the building of the gravel road which borders the site to the west and a secondary (currently unused) arm of road which travels over the top of the hill, immediately adjacent to feature 8. Despite this, Max Friesen notes (2009:4), "observation of the ground surface on both sides of the road did not reveal any evidence of partial or destroyed features, so I think it is most likely that the currently visible 11 features represents the full complement from the site."

Although the site's yield of temporally diagnostic artifacts was low, Taylor estimated the site to be among the original Thule occupations in the region (1967, 1972). A single radio-carbon date was obtained by Taylor from a piece of bone, and gave a date of 785+/-120 BP, calibrating to roughly 1100-1300 AD. This early date was further justified by the discovery of what he originally understood to be a Natchuk harpoon head—a distinct typology indicative of the earliest phase of Thule migration. While this form later proved to have resulted from the reworking of a later stage harpoon, the site's antiquity was still estimated to belong to the initial phase of Thule migration based on arrowhead tang forms and the fact that semi-subterranean dwellings at the site still exhibited separate exterior kitchens—a residual Alaskan attribute that tapered out through the initial phases of Thule migration. Based on four radiocarbon dates taken from the site during the 2008 excavation, a later date between 590+/-40 BP (Cal AD 1300-1420) has been estimated for the site (Norman and Friesen 2011; Friesen pers. comm. 2012).

Given the small number of artifacts present at the site (Taylor located only 21 artifacts in the excavation of 5 structural features and our own team only 47⁷⁰), and the relative paucity of faunal remains, it was likely that this site represented only a brief occupation. While two features (F5 and F9) demonstrate successive levels of occupation, most of the other dwellings appear to have been lived in for only one year. From the available evidence, an archaeological narrative of transition and migration was produced for the site. As Friesen and Norman conclude (2011:n.p.):

To sum up in a way which goes slightly beyond the facts of the case, the Pembroke site saw occupation by a migrating Thule group of

⁷⁰ This number should be considered as a relatively arbitrary estimate. It represents a tally of all artifacts located within the four features, exclusive of debitage (antler and stone), flake counts, and artifacts clearly attributable to non-Thule provenience (ie. Dorset or contemporary Inuit culture).

perhaps 25-30 people, who arrived during the summer. They erected their tents midway up the side of a knoll which afforded a good view of the surrounding region and easy access to a major char river. They also constructed a prominent karigi [or qalgiq], probably used mainly by men and boys on a daily basis as well as by the whole group for ceremonies. As summer faded to fall, each family constructed a winter house at a lower elevation, making them serviceable for a single winter, but not adding unnecessary architectural elements, since they planned to move on. That winter may have been difficult, with dwindling food supplies, particularly stored caribou and char, supplemented by lake trout fished through the lake ice and Greenland cod fished through the sea ice, the latter being perhaps a species of last resort...The following spring most of them moved on, with the possibility that one family stayed behind for an additional year or two. This scene was, no doubt, repeated countless times across the Arctic, but Pembroke offers a fairly rare example of a site which has remained undisturbed enough that we can begin to see the migrating group, rather than just rocks.

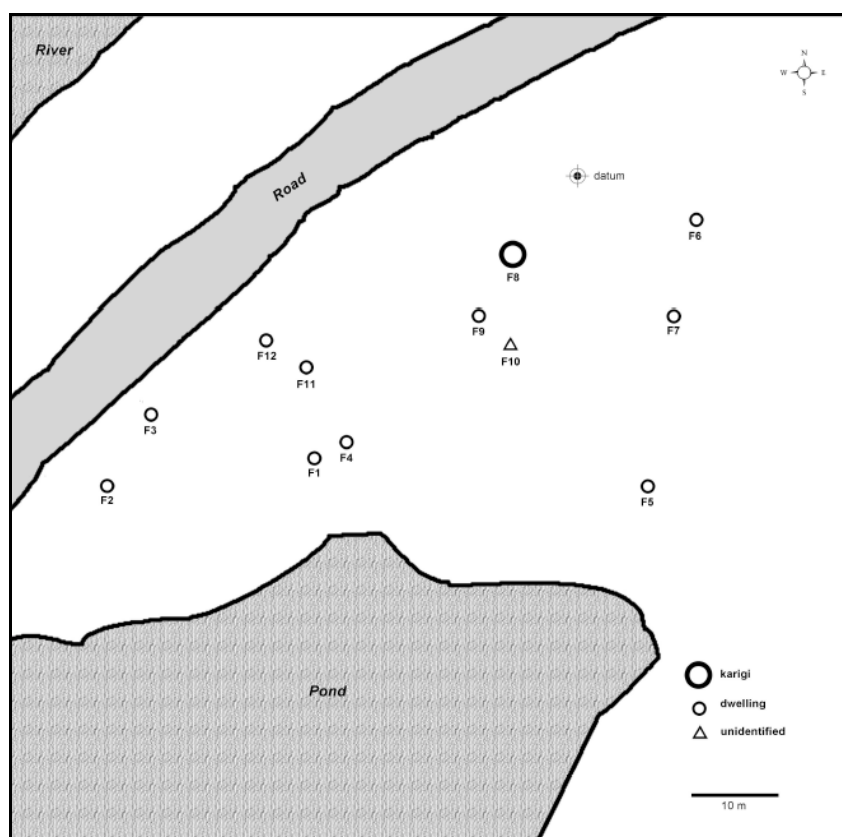


Figure 20. Map of the Pembroke site (NgNc-2) and associated features (Friesen 2009:5). The datum marks the highest elevation point of the hill, which gradually slopes down towards the pond. More robust winter houses (F1-F5) are located towards the base of the hill, whereas warmer weather tent rings (F6, F7, F9, F11, F12) are situated midway up the hill.

Pembroke as Community Excavation

The Pembroke excavation did not specifically originate as a community archaeology project.⁷¹ The excavation was part of a larger, multi-researcher initiative for the International Polar Year initiative known as “Dynamic Inuit Strategies in Arctic History” (IPY 2011). Max Friesen’s contribution to this initiative was a series of excavations in 2007 and 2008 under the banner of “Thule Societies on Victoria Island,” the goal of which was “to reconstruct the chronology, economy, and social organization of early Thule occupations in this region in order to understand the mechanisms which allowed Inuit to successfully colonize a new environment” (Friesen in IPY 2011). As with the 2007 phase of the project—a combined archaeology and oral history camp at the Huluraq site located approximately 50 kilometers north of Cambridge Bay—the Pembroke project integrated community elements through participation with the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, involvement of local elders and youth, and traditional knowledge components of site description and interpretation.⁷² As Max Friesen points out (pers. comm. 2013), the Pembroke site:

was originally chosen for investigation during Kitikmeot Heritage Society meetings designed to plan the multi-year International Polar Year project in the Cambridge Bay area. Several different sub-projects were decided on, with Pembroke chosen both because it was close to town and potentially easily accessible to the community, and because

⁷¹ There seems to be an emerging consensus in archaeological literature that community archaeology entails a dedicated and conscious focus on community involvement from the very beginning of the project, including local ideas being used to shape research questions and methodology (see for example Atalay 2012, Crosby 2002). This is strongly linked to the idea that specific participatory strategies are required to shape all elements of the research process. Despite this assertion, many early community archaeology projects describe their community engagement as something that naturally flowed from a purely academic initial research question and design (see for example Clarke 2002).

⁷² While the Dynamic Inuit Strategies project specifically highlighted “the direct participation of and collaboration with a broad spectrum of Inuit cultural and community organizations” (IPY 2012) among its four other research goals, it should be stressed that the community component of both the 2007 and 2008 projects were not designed to simply fulfill these criteria. Since beginning his work in the Iqaluktuuq region, Max Friesen has undertaken community involvement as both an ethical imperative and source for new ways of understanding the past (Friesen 2002).

the presence of a qalgiq [ceremonial house], and the site's apparent great age, were considered good reasons for further study of the site.

In July of 2008, a team consisting of Max Friesen and four University of Toronto graduate students (including Lauren Norman, Sean Desjardins, Talena Atfield, and myself) flew to Cambridge Bay to excavate the Pembroke site. While my role in the Pembroke project was that of a field assistant, I took a special interest in the proceedings as a case study in establishing a community-based project. Despite recognition of Pembroke as a potentially early Thule occupation, the site was chosen primarily for its proximal location to Cambridge Bay. Due to the remote nature of many archaeological excavations in Nunavut, only a select contingent of local communities is ever exposed to the process. This group includes elders, who are frequently flown out for day-trips to archaeological areas to share their knowledge of the area and help interpret the sites and excavated materials, as well as youth, who are typically hired onto archaeological projects to assist field crews. Being roughly three kilometers outside of Cambridge, alongside a well-traveled road, the Pembroke site had the potential to facilitate frequent and varied interactions with individuals within the community. The fact that the site was of Thule origin—a group ancestral to contemporary Inuit populations—was also deemed to be an attractive feature for local populations. The connection between local residents and the site's former inhabitants was clearly identified on a descriptive sign already present at the site as part of an earlier heritage walk sponsored by the local visitors centre. Also a rarity amongst Arctic archaeology projects, was the degree to which the archaeological field crew became integrated into the community. Throughout the three weeks of excavation, the team resided in the town of Cambridge Bay. While the decision to replace the field season's typically complicated logistics of camping with the comforts of an in-town hotel suite was an obvious choice, it was hoped that 'urban living' would have direct ramifications for the level of community engagement.



Figure 21: Gwen Angulalik interprets the qalgiq structure during a visit to the Pembroke site by local elders.

As Stephanie Moser et al. point out, (2003:232) successful community archaeology demands that contact between visiting archaeologists and the community “is not simply perceived as a business relationship”:

it has become increasingly clear that for many in the community it is desirable for us to make a personal investment in our work, developing friendships that involve regular and long-lasting contact. In other words, they want to know that we are coming back because we care about the place and the people, not just our research.

While Max Friesen was already a well-known figure about town, the rest of the team’s four members quickly formed friends and acquaintances amongst the local population, with the archaeological project and its findings being further discussed through casual social interactions.

Assessing the Impact and Challenges

As an archaeological excavation, Pembroke can easily be said to have been a success. Features were dug, artifacts were located, and a relatively complete picture was developed regarding the lives of the individuals who once occupied the site (Friesen and Norman 2011). As a community excavation, however, the situation is more difficult to assess. While disinclined to judge community engagement in quantitative terms, I would estimate that roughly twelve elders, twelve children and twenty adult visitors (both Inuit and non-Inuit) visited the site over the course of three weeks. Despite the Pembroke site being located directly off of a well-traveled road, interactions with public were fewer than expected, and limited primarily to the passing interest of non-Inuit motorists and pedestrians. While local people continued to use the areas to all sides of the archaeological site in order to fish for char, camp, swim, grieve at the local graveyard, and commit hair-raising stunts on ATVs at nearby 'death-doughnuts' in the sand, their courses rarely intersected with our own. Making this even more frustrating, was the fact that our social interactions in town were always met with polite interest and enthusiasm about the project; "I will have to come out and visit the site" being a frequently-offered comment. Yet visits only trickled in. As one entry in my field journal despairingly notes, "traffic continues to pass our site but often slows, passengers peering from the rolled up windows as though watching a pride of safari lions devouring its kill" (author's field notes, July 21st, 2008). Several people in the community informed me after the excavation's completion, that this apparent lack of interest was due in large part to the population simply not knowing they were allowed to stop and ask questions. While I will argue later that local disconnect from the site goes much deeper than a simple matter of expressed permission, this still highlights a perceived barrier between local people and outside research projects.

Despite an extensive search, our project also had difficulty locating and hiring local students to help with the excavation. Of two paid team positions being offered, only one was filled by a KHS intern and subsequently abandoned after only a single day in the field. The hiring of local field students remains a contentious issue in Nunavut. Local employment is often considered requisite for demonstrating 'Inuit benefit' in permit applications. While the hiring of Inuit students as fieldworkers is often highly rewarding for both participating youth and the rest of the archaeological team (see chapter 5), this form of engagement is often fraught with difficulties.⁷³ Stories circulate about archaeologists who find themselves mere days into a remote excavation before a student assistant becomes bored, home-sick, or fed up with the hardships of camping, and requests to be flown (at considerable expense to the archaeology project) back their home community. In 2010, the Inuit Heritage Trust archaeological field school program was cancelled in part because more work was being invested in managing social dynamics among participating students than in the act of excavation. Based on her experiences in Igloolik, Susan Rowley (2002:267) astutely points out that "there was always a conflict between archaeological fieldwork as a learning experience and as a nine-to-five job."

Despite not reaching as wide a variety of public participation as desired, the Pembroke excavation did arrange for a field day with both elders and youth from Cambridge Bay. Children from a local day camp were brought out to the site to learn about its history and to take part in the excavation and screening of several test-pits. Their visit overlapped with that of local elders, who assembled to take part in the interpretation of the site's features and artifacts. Elders

⁷³ This is not a problem restricted to archaeology. As one Cambridge Bay resident who wished to remain nameless told me (Anon, pers. comm. 2011):

One dilemma we face here is finding people who are serious about taking part, it is not always easy to find young people especially who want to do something outside of school...Even if you offer to pay some youth to show up, and the work can be so exciting—I would do it for free if I was a youth—but there are a lot of youth here who just are not interested. They will agree to take part but just not show up.

suggested information regarding the site's strategic location, and identified potential uses for some of the tools recovered through excavation.

There is no doubt that the Pembroke site provided value for Cambridge Bay residents as an enjoyable experience. As a venue for more profound exchanges of information regarding history, however, the excavation did not do so well. The issue was not that local Inuit were disinterested in the history communicated by Pembroke, but rather that the excavation provided few elements that could be effectively processed as 'history.' The material remains retrieved by the excavation were largely fragments and bones which visitors to the site had difficulty assembling into a coherent image of the past. There were furthermore no events or stories associated with the site or its location to distinguish it as memorable. Sarah Byrne describes similar results in relation to her Papua New Guinean community excavations, noting the sense of disconnect that is created by imposing solely archaeological criteria for history (2012:39):

due to the fact that these engagements were controlled and directed by the archaeologists, the practice of excavation was unfamiliar to the islanders — an unknown territory of sorts. Despite efforts to translate the importance of excavation, when the miniscule remnants of the past that were of interest became apparent — oftentimes only small lumps of charcoal or small slivers of knapped obsidian — there was a distinct reduction in enthusiasm from those involved.

For months after the Pembroke excavation, I struggled to define what prevented local Inuit from a more profound interest in the act of digging. Despite traditional taboos against interfering with ancient graves, houses and tools (see chapter 4), Inuit are no strangers to the act of artifact collection. Both the surface collection of artifacts and the excavation of material resources from ancient sites is sufficiently prevalent in Nunavut that both the Government of Nunavut and Inuit Heritage Trust have launched media campaigns discouraging the public from these acts. The dilemma, I finally concluded, has more to do with the

foreign system—or in Byrne’s words, “unknown territory”—of archaeology that governs sanctioned artifact removal, than with the nature of acquisition in its own right. This led to the further question of whether the Pembroke excavation could have been conducted in a more suitable, community-oriented manner, or whether the act of excavation inherently creates a divide between those who understand history in an ‘archaeological’ manner, and those who do not.

The discourse of community-based archaeology is often torn between recognizing the excavation of artifacts as an essential part of the archaeological process (Simpson and Williams 2008:75), and understanding that the methodologies of excavation are sufficiently alienating as to prevent the successful integration of non-academic participation (Atalay 2012). If excavation is indeed an essential part of community archaeology, can its methodologies be altered to allow for a less academically-circumscribed dialogue and engagement with history? To date, there has been notably little success in attempts to reconfigure the process of excavation to meet the historical understandings of its participants. Community archaeology’s creation of ‘openness’ (cf. Moshenska et al. 2007) in terms of archaeological excavation is typically perceived as granting public access to the experience of ‘being an archaeologist.’ The Sedgeford Archaeology Project (see Chapter 6; Faulkner 2000, 2002, 2009) represents a notable exception, having the explicit goal to define new parameters for democratic process in archaeological excavation. The Britain-based project held a six week fieldwork season over the course of 10 years, with between 50-75 volunteers participating every week (Faulkner 2000: 30). Recognizing the impact that each of these individuals plays in the creation of data, project co-director Neil Faulkner sought to develop a form of excavation that could be methodologically structured by participant involvement rather than the other way around. “Excavation,” he notes (2000:26), “is a highly individual and organic entity, a thing of strengths and weaknesses which are ever changing, and it cannot be fitted into the ready-made mould of a detailed ‘project design’.” In a

2009 article analyzing the spiralling breakdown of the Sedgeford Archaeology Project, Faulkner ultimately concludes that the project's failure lay in the "naïve" assumption that democracy would be "inherent in lack of formality and structure" (2009:53).⁷⁴

Ian Hodder (1999, 2003, Berggren and Hodder 2003), has similarly argued for the re-structuring of excavation process through an approach he terms reflexive archaeology or 'interpretation at the trowel's edge.' This approach recognizes excavation, rather than post-excavation data crunching, as the natural locus for site interpretation. By transforming the excavation process into a scenario in which each component of investigation is discussed, recorded, and deciphered on-site before being used to inform the next steps to be taken, Hodder insists that the subjectivities of field excavators can be harnessed to better guide the team's ultimate interpretation.

It might be said that archaeology in Nunavut already incorporates a minimal amount of reflexivity (cf. Hodder 2003) in its approach to excavation. Sites are occasionally chosen according to local interest or elder knowledge relating to their former use (Friesen 2002; Lyons et al. 2010; Stewart et al. 2000, 2004), yet rarely is local 'specialist knowledge' employed in a cyclical process to build and modify interpretation at excavation sites. Considering a wholesale application of reflexive and democratic approaches to excavation in Nunavut, however, is a largely futile exercise. This is due in great part to the logistics of excavating in

⁷⁴ The collapse of Faulkner's project does not necessarily imply that archaeology's internal order can not be successfully changed. A similar effort by Margaret Wood to eliminate the "pecking order" and hierarchical authority associated with interpretation during an excavation at the Colorado Coal Field War Archaeology Project achieved better results (2002: 193):

The fieldwork did not whirl out of control, and we achieved our goal of defining the site boundaries and identifying features. In the evenings we would gather to discuss theory, practice, and our own experiences. I saw this as the beginnings of a learning community.

All of Wood's excavation participants, it should be noted, already had field experience and/or academic training.

the North. With short field seasons, tight budgets and remote, fly-in field camps, the financial and temporal budgets associated with 'normative' excavation are sufficiently strained without the addition of lengthy processes of 'on-site' interpretation. A more cultural deterrent to the reflexive process is found in the fact that prolonged debate and abstract speculation do not come naturally to many Inuit. Jean Briggs (1970:350) describes the emotional quality of 'kanngu' (shyness or a wish to avoid displaying one's talents or knowledge in front of other people) that pervades Inuit culture. Reluctance to express strong opinions about a site would also be hindered by the pragmatic nature of Inuit attitudes towards material culture. As Natasha Lyons points out, material objects are often known through a personalized and experiential history of practical use (2007:215). Traditional Inuit life on the land dictated that the material world would often be employed in whatever way best served the purpose at hand. While many Inuit will freely offer their opinion regarding the potential history of a site or use of a tool, I have met few who are willing to argue their personal interpretations to the exclusion of all others.

Looking Beyond Excavation

Overall, the Pembroke site excavation was highly indicative of the community archaeology experience across Nunavut in that it emphasized excavation bridged with local elder and youth participation. Despite recognition that Inuit often struggle with the methodological precision work of excavation (Weetalutuk 1981:4-5), digging remains central to archaeological ideas of community engagement in the Arctic. It is important, however, to question what other avenues are available, and how these alternatives might create new forms of interaction and benefit. A survey of the three most-recognized community archaeology projects from Nunavut (Friesen 2002; Rowley 2002; Stenton and Rigby 1995) indicates that while site excavation lies at the core of each program, additional components of community engagement have been added to better

integrate and inform the fieldwork. Each of these projects will be reviewed to summarize non-excavation activities and their respective benefits.

The Tungatsivvik Archaeology Project originated in 1991, and had a central focus of excavating the Tungatsivvik site, located near Iqaluit. The goal of the project, as stated by its organizers Douglas Stenton and Bruce Rigby (1995:48) “is to marry the rigour of southern academic learning with northern needs, interests, and cultural knowledge.” This was ultimately accomplished through an educational framework, with archaeologists providing classroom instruction to allow “students and community members alike to acquire technical knowledge and skills they can use to develop community-based heritage programs” (ibid:47). The project attempted to build on previous educational initiatives in the North by inserting the subject of archaeology into the post-secondary curriculum of Iqaluit’s Arctic College. As part of the Environmental Technology Program, the course was geared at providing residents of Nunavut with skills to successfully assume technical employment and government positions as part of the land claims initiative (ibid:48). Beginning in the first year of degree study, program training entails a series of classroom and field lectures, field exercises, and lab analyses (ibid:48):

Students attend an introductory field camp where they learn the basics of establishing and maintaining a field research camp. This is followed by classroom instruction in introductory anthropology and related courses on northern topics. The second academic year begins with a three-week archaeological field camp that combines lectures on arctic culture history, techniques of archaeological data recovery, and basic principles of field conservation with a field practicum involving archaeological site surveys and excavations...The field course is followed by a laboratory methods course in Iqaluit, in which students sort, clean, and catalogue artifacts and faunal remains, and conduct preliminary analyses on these materials. When this work is completed, students present the results of the field work to the community.

What distinguishes the Tungatsivvik Project from regular field school training is

its emphasis on creating benefits for local communities. In their report on the project, Stenton and Rigby clearly outline four distinct areas targeted for community benefit (ibid:44-45):

1. **Increasing local skill capacity and historical knowledge:** "The project has provided much needed training for northern students in the area of cultural resource management...Students who have participated in the project have gone on to work with other field parties and to apply that new knowledge in other occupations upon graduation."
2. **Broadening of general historical knowledge through addition of oral history and Inuit interpretation:** "The project has added to the understanding of local and regional prehistory and history, and has provided an opportunity for community members, young and old alike, to interact and integrate oral history, traditions and legends with a better understanding of physical artifacts."
3. **Increasing involvement of community as knowledgeable cultural resource managers:** "The project has developed community resources in the area of heritage management. In this, a local base of information has evolved, and community members now have the ability to be a knowledgeable client, with the growing ability to determine the nature, timing, focus, and location of future cultural resource research needs."
4. **Increasing local awareness of, and pride in, local history:** "...the project has succeeded in fostering an awareness of group identity and pride in past accomplishments at an individual and community level. Critical to this has been the development of ownership of one's history and the ability to direct its interpretation to others."

As evidenced by the above passages, the non-excavation portions of this project remain quite grounded in the language and goals of academic archaeology. This is understandable given the development of this course as part of an academic institution's curriculum. One still has to question, however, the definition of benefit as increasing the local population's knowledge of history as an 'archaeological' phenomenon. While such benefits do, as the authors note, make communities a more "knowledgeable client" and increase their employability in

the profession of cultural resource management, there is simultaneously a sense that Inuit students are being distanced from culturally-nuanced understandings of the past that are so valued by their elders.

A somewhat different educational approach to archaeology was taken by the Igloolik Archaeology Field School Program, which began in 1990 as a joint initiative between archaeologist, Susan Rowley and Igloolik high school teacher, Carolyn MacDonald (Rowley 2002). Like the Tungatsivvik project, the Igloolik field school investigated a series of archaeological sites in a manner which sought to encourage students to consider their heritage with pride and learn the necessary skills to potentially adopt archaeology as a career. The framework for this course, however, was considerably more anchored in the community. As Rowley writes (2002:268):

We try to involve the community at all levels. As much as possible, we use community elders to inform our understanding of the past. Towards this end, we invite elders to visit the excavations and help us to interpret our finds and the site. We invite the community to visit the site, and we develop an exhibit for the community. In this way, we involve the community not only through the enrolment of their sons and daughters in the program but also through their participation as experts and viewers of the exhibit.

When describing the Igloolik Archaeology project, Susan Rowley maintains a relatively critical stance regarding the project's contributions to the community. Benefit, she notes, does not imply the creation of Inuit archaeologists. Rather, she told me (pers. comm. 2011), the skills imparted through excavation can be used in a broader sense to help students deal with more contemporary and practical problems:

Our goal in doing the project with high school students was twofold: one was to show them that some of the skills they were learning in school actually had real-life applications...it was to show them those,

but also to encourage them to actually continue in education. Through giving them high school credits in this to take some students who might be floundering, or might not finish, might help them to see it through and finish...I would still see that as a benefit to Inuit...It is not necessarily a benefit to Inuit history, or a benefit to Inuit archaeology, but a benefit to the community writ large. I think we have to be open to those kinds of ways of looking at what benefit to Inuit means.

Another community project that looks beyond excavation is that of the Iqaluktuuq project (Friesen 2002; Stoughton 2006). The Iqaluktuuq project began in 2000, when the Kitikmeot Heritage Society (KHS) contacted Max Friesen to help document the extensive history of human occupation at the nearby area of Iqaluktuuq. As KHS president Kim Crockatt describes (pers. comm. 2011), the project was largely instigated by local elders:

We talked to the elders about what their priorities were, or areas that they felt needed to be studied and they felt that site was really important. There was some concern...of the artifacts you could see falling out of the banks into the river. And the fact that that was such an important place in terms of the history of the people here in Cambridge Bay. So they wanted us to go out there and do some research. Now, they didn't necessarily come with the idea of getting archaeologists up and that sort of thing, but it was pretty evident that that was exactly what was needed.

From the very start, the project has sought to involve local people at every stage of the archaeological process. Friesen's excavations differ from traditional archaeology primarily in their emphasis on social engagement between southern archaeologists and Inuit elders. This interaction provides elders with a better understanding of archaeological methods, and lends a cultural context to sites that allows archaeologist to reconsider them through processes of analogical inference (Friesen 2002:330). The project is carried out through a two-part research model. Approximately the first five days of the research camp emphasize traditional knowledge interviews, and have a small team of archaeologists working with local elders to gather oral history and stories pre-

dating their own experiences. The second part of the camp, lasting three to four weeks, is devoted entirely to the archaeological excavation of the area. The hiring of several local students as field workers is a standard practice for this portion of the project. As Friesen points out (ibid:336):

It is important to note that the archaeology does not occur in isolation from the elders involved in the oral history component of the research. Archaeological sites are chosen for excavation not only on the basis of their 'academic' merit, but also in an effort to develop the kinds of information which will be useful in displays installed in the new cultural centre in Cambridge Bay. During the oral history fieldwork, elders and archaeologists visit archaeological sites together, in order to discuss and interpret them. Furthermore, during the most recent field season in 2001, the archaeology crew excavated a test unit in an archaeological site adjacent to the oral history camp, in order to allow the elders to see the process of archaeology in action."

The emphasis on creating inclusion goes beyond practical participation and into interpretation of the sites (ibid:338):

The Iqaluktuuq Project exists *because of* the enthusiastic efforts of a group of elders, who want to be involved in the research process. Therefore, I feel an obligation to reflect their efforts, ideas and intellectual authority as much as possible. This is more effectively done by directly linking their traditional knowledge to the interpretation of the archaeological record.

Both practically and conceptually, the act of archaeological excavation remains something foreign to many Inuit. As early as 1979, Daniel Weetaluktuk stated the "situation [of archaeological research] has to be taken into consideration so modifications and changes can be made in the procedures...to incorporate the northern reality"(1979:4). So far, this re-consideration of archaeology has taken place in tandem with contexts of excavation, with added components of oral-history, student training and employment, education, and bridging with

traditional knowledge. Yet, as Daniel Gendron, director of archaeology at Nunavik's Avataq Cultural Institute, has noted (pers. comm. 2011), :

when we are in contact with [Inuit] cultural committees, when we offer them money to do some projects or programs, they don't think of excavation. They think of making things that were used in the past and they have lost, partly, the means to do these things. They want to relearn. They are using archaeology to relearn their own culture. In that sense, excavation is our thing, it is not their thing.

This sense of disconnect between these visions for building knowledge about the past has deep ramifications for a contemporary political situation in which archaeology is increasingly being mandated (and in some cases, funded) to make meaningful contributions to indigenous heritage. As Daniel Gendron further points out (pers. comm. 2011), archaeologists are being specifically hired to connect with communities, yet are finding themselves unable to do so:

I've experienced this on many occasions—you're going into a community and ask the people, "tell me what you want me to do. I have money, I have people to work, and I would like you to tell me what projects you would like us to do in your community." Often people are just turning around and saying "well, you are the archaeologist, we hired you for that, so just figure it out yourself"...For me, this is a problem because this total reliance on me is not what I want.

Two obvious avenues remain open to answer the question of how to build a new framework for community archaeology in Nunavut: train Inuit to become archaeologists (ie. to value the historical record according to set practical methodologies and interpretive strategies), or alter current understandings of what archaeology is, and how it can impact communities. This latter option requires that archaeologists rethink not only how they communicate their specialized brand of knowledge about the past, but also how they engage local populations in a such a way as to elucidate local historical meaning.

In considering community archaeology as a process of 'knowledge management,' Sarah Byrne (2012) recognizes that the interface of multiple perspectives of knowledge often serves to create obstacles for the successful integration of archaeology in cross-cultural contexts. The first perspective, she notes (ibid:48), "views knowledge as an object that exists independently of human action." In this case, we can draw a close parallel to the driving assumption behind archaeological excavation; that a certain 'authentic' knowledge about the past is contained in archaeological sites and materials and can feasibly be deciphered through appropriate methodological techniques. The second perspective, she notes (ibid), is "knowledge embedded in people." This form of knowledge not only "challenges the disembodied approach to knowledge" but also "views knowledge as not easily separable from its human actor, and is only meaningful and actionable to those who are already knowledgeable." A less recognized third perspective of knowledge, writes Byrne (ibid), is that of "knowledge embedded in a community." "This perspective" she furthers, "views knowledge as a public good that is socially generated, maintained, and exchanged within emergent communities of practice."

Rather than defining community archaeology, the Pembroke excavation opened the doorway to a series of new questions about what a locally-conceived form of archaeology might look like. If not reliant on excavation to produce 'object-derived knowledge,' what shape would the practice assume? Would movement towards more desired perspectives of knowledge as embedded in people and community (both existing and desired) be the transition through which a more profound understanding of the relationship between community, archaeology and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit emerges?

Conclusion

Regardless of the archaeologists' motivation to involve the wider community in the research process or indeed a community member's own desire to take part, participation can only be sustained if those taking part are interested in or feel connected to the activities actually taking place. Some may argue that it is the job of an archaeologist to create and stimulate functioning communities of practice (through processes of education and outreach, etc.) but, equally, it is true that archaeologists should be responding to and enhancing the aspects of heritage which are of most concern to the community.

- Sarah Byrne (2012:42)

In 2010, a newspaper article titled "Inuit Stories of Tuniit Backed up by Science" emerged as an interesting postscript to the Pembroke excavation. The article, printed in *Nunavut News North* (Ryder 2010), describes how a series of radio-carbon dates taken from the Pembroke site and various Iqaluktuuq sites were ultimately able to confirm Inuit oral traditions. As stated in the article (ibid:n.p):

Friesen and his team have used radiocarbon dating to prove to the scientific community what Inuit say they have known all along -- that the Tuniit and Inuit may have crossed paths as they existed during the same time in history.

Max Friesen is quoted extensively throughout the interview, describing the archaeological process that produced the dates and the potential ramification of their results. As to the future goals of the project, Friesen states (ibid), "one of the things we do want to do is go back to some of these sites that gave us the very late Tuniit dates and also the very early Inuit dates to try to find more evidence and see if we can actually find evidence of interaction," "Inuit legend already knows the answer to that question," concludes the article, quoting an explanation given by Cambridge Bay elder Mary Avalak (ibid) that the inter-marriage of Inuit and Tuniit is "how come some of our people are tall."

In subsequent interviews with Cambridge Bay residents, the impression is less certain that Inuit legend does know all the answers. As Kitikmeot Inuit Association Program Coordinator Julia Ogina told me (pers. comm. 2010):

I think today a lot of people need to validate [the oral tradition], to have some sort of way of validating if that information is correct. Or that it is something that has really happened before. Our elder Mary that works here, she said that [Inuit met with Tuniit] so it must be true, it must be true that really happened...I was here when [KHS researcher] Darren mentioned it to her that these are the [radiocarbon] results that came in and she said, "so it really did happen." To me that made me realize that she was not really believing in what the elders had said. That it was validated through the carbon dating...So, that made me realize that if she's thinking that way, then there is other people in the younger generations that have to have that validation, and that is what archaeology helps bring to the table in support of what the elders have been saying.

The practice of excavation, notes John Carman, is foundational to archaeology for two reasons (2006:98): "it is a primary source of data for analysis and interpretation and it is by doing excavation that archaeologists are made." What needs to be considered, however, is whether the practice of excavation is foundational to Inuit communities.

This is no denying that participating in archaeological excavation is both enjoyed by Inuit communities and considered useful as a source for producing artifacts, stories and even justifications for their own beliefs about the past. As evidenced in chapter 5, the methodologies and training associated with excavation are beginning to gain popularity among younger generations of Inuit. Participants in Arctic field schools frequently comment on the adventure, camaraderie and positive educational experience provided by the endeavour. As Pam Gross, a Cambridge Bay member of Max Friesen's 2010 archaeological field team explained to me (pers. comm. KHS 2010), the act of excavation is particularly beneficial for gathering information about topics in which little knowledge exists:

Its very important for us to learn about these things, because it shows a past that we have in the north, and the past of our history from about two thousand years ago until today. The Dorset are extinct now. We don't have oral history but we are able to learn about their ways from their garbage dumps. They put everything they didn't use anymore into a pile and we are looking at that to find out more information on who they were, what they ate and how they lived.

There are many benefits that archaeological excavation can bring to communities in Nunavut. As Jan Kolen indicates (2009), excavation allows for an encounter with materials and ideas about the past not otherwise part of social memory or the dominant rhetoric of the past. This does not mean, however, that excavation can be considered an integral source for community archaeology. Community archaeology implies not only local control, but also the creation of a flexible conceptual space in which issues considered important to local people can be discussed. The relative rigidity of excavation – with its emphasis on perpetuating archaeological identities and notions of authenticity – ultimately makes it very difficult for this dynamic dialogue to occur.

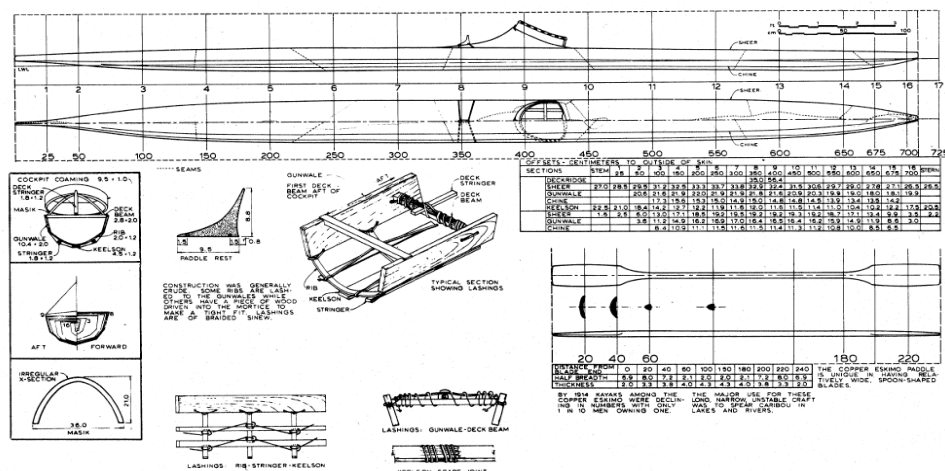


Plate 9: Line measurements taken from a Copper Inuit kayak (CMC IV-D-1057) housed at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Zimmerly 1985:10). On the first day of our kayak building workshop in Cambridge Bay (see below), I provided this line-drawing as a map to guide measurements for reconstruction of the boat. The map was discretely placed on the ground, where it remain unused until the project was over.

There is a fascinating study by Keiichi Omura (2007) that examines the practice of Inuit storytelling as one of experiential re-enactment. Based on a series of interviews with Kugaruuk elders using 1:250,000 scale maps, he describes the process through which participants effectively re-live their previous travel routes

through the maps' printed terrain. Describing one man's storytelling, Omura notes (ibid:35):

the elder did not indicate to me generalized knowledge about routes, but reconstructed his experiences of the trip actually executed in the past in sequence, as if he was re-enacting that trip again by means of words and gestures... He also demonstrated how he had managed to overcome all the difficulties through flexibility, taking proper steps to meet changes in individual situations. In short, the elder did not relate a generalized pattern which was abstracted from memory of his experiences, but repeated his actions during hunting trips, by means of words and gestures.

Omura goes on to suggest that this process of experiential rather than generalized engagement might be extended beyond the realm of mapped terrain. "It is not until one engages with something that one can know what it is," he states (2007:45). "One has to engage with known objects through such activities as observing, approaching, measuring, hunting and eating, and then give forms to the relationships with them prior to knowing them as discrete objects detached from oneself."

The investment of human experience into physical objects, and the drawing of identity and memory from artifacts, are both relationships that define many northern indigenous people's engagement with the material realm (see for example Lyons 2007, Lyons et al. 2010; Loring 1998, 2001). The literature describing this relationship—particularly within the context of historical objects—leaves several questions about the nature of interaction between people and 'things' unanswered. Can an object be invested with historical meaning when it is new rather than old? At what level of physical abstraction does an object cease to lose its relationship with identity and memory?⁷⁵ Can a younger

⁷⁵ An interesting consideration of this question is provided in an article by Dawson et al. (2011) that examines the role of 'virtual world' technologies in mediating Inuit relationships to the material past.

generation, unfamiliar with traditional language and ways, come to understand historical artifacts in a similar way to older generations?

The above image of a kayak speaks to these intricacies in the relationship between material representation and experience in Cambridge Bay: A line drawing from one of the only existing specimens of a particular kayak design is rejected by project participants during a workshop to bring back community knowledge surrounding the construction of the very same boat. Given the similar fate of this drawing to that of the map in Borges' narrative (see Plate 6), perhaps we can conclude that authenticity might be found more in the human experience of re-building the boat than in the accuracy of measurements taken from the original object.

Artifacts and Exhibits: Building History from 'Things'

Introduction

Being abruptly distanced from the community with no form of direct communication means that many of the dynamic sets of relations that took place during fieldwork are now absent. The nature of archaeological analysis means that these sets of relations become reified and codified into 'things' such as datasets, dots on maps, text and audio files, and the like."

- Sarah Byrne (2012:46)

Archaeological excavations are typically considered through the trope of assemblage: they amass the scattered fragments of the past, build them into a collection of artifacts, and bring forward a coherent idea about the events that once took place. Another way to look at excavation is through a framework of dispersal. With every excavation, a plethora of new 'things' (cf. Byrne 2012) spin out into the world like shrapnel: material artifacts, maps, and disparate shreds of speculation all result from the act of digging. Typically understood in terms of a larger picture of the past, the individual fate of these 'things,' and their connection to the process that produced them, is rarely further considered.

In a summary of his findings from the 1965 excavation phase of several Pembroke site structures, William Taylor pronounced that, "the very few artifacts found are inconsequential" (1967:228). Their subsequent deposit in a storage facility at the Canadian Museum of Civilization seems to echo this conclusion. Following the 2008 Pembroke excavation, I began looking for thematic threads that might better weave the site's archaeologically dispersed materials back into existing networks of knowledge.

This chapter looks at the development of new archaeological programs based on more locally intuitive methods for considering the material past and its

relationship to the present. The goal of this research was to move beyond archaeological thinking about material items as producers of ‘authentic’ knowledge in terms of their age and utility for deciphering the past. The course of fieldwork was redirected towards initiatives that acknowledged and recorded the ways in which material culture was actively being harnessed to reflect on the condition of both people and communities. As reflection and dialogue about such issues is not something that occurs readily in everyday contexts in Nunavut, community archaeology’s contribution as a unique forum for such discussions gradually becomes clear.

On Histories and Objects

In the Inuit culture, say I were to live a hundred years ago, everything to me would be a spiritual matter. I’m living in order to survive off the land. If game came to me during a hardship, if there were no game coming around and for some reason I caught a caribou or a seal, then that is almost like a spiritual gift. I am sure the Inuit lived in harmony back then. That is how I would see things with the tools; they didn’t just leave it there or forget it. I am sure they would just say, we will leave it here and someone else will use it. That may have been the purpose of living.

-Emily Angulalik (pers. comm. 2011)

For many Inuit people, the realms of materiality, spirituality, and history converge. As demonstrated by Emily’s comments, objects can be envisioned as extensions of ancestry and history, handed down as “spiritual gifts” to aid in the ultimate cultural goal of “living in order to survive off the land.” Attributing symbolic value to material items is by no means a cultural trait particular to the Inuit. The material world is heavily invested with broader metaphors. As Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton point out (2009:29):

Material culture makes the intangible and ephemeral *material*—social and cultural values, identity and memories are all intangible and

mutable, but are rendered 'real', touchable and in some ways 'knowable' through material symbolism.

This is particularly the case with objects recognized as historical artifacts. These are deemed to be somehow impregnated with special qualities imparted by time and long-term use. For many, as David Lowenthal (1985:xxii) elaborates, material items are valued as 'bridges' to times and places that remain otherwise inaccessible:

memory and history both derive and gain emphasis from physical remains. Tangible survivals provide a vivid immediacy that helps to assure us there really was a past. Physical remains have their limitations as informants, to be sure; they are themselves mute, requiring interpretation; their continual but differential erosion and demolition skews the record; and their substantial survival conjures up a past more static than could have been the case. But however depleted by time and use, relics remain essential bridges between then and now. They confirm or deny what we think of it, symbolise or memorialise communal links over time, and provide archaeological metaphors that illumine the processes of history and memory.

Bridget Mosley (2010) considers artifacts through an alternate framework of 'agency,' noting their ability to affect both people and their behaviour. Citing Thomas' notions of exchange (1991), she notes that extended association with objects, "such as occurs in the creation and use of material culture," is capable of leaving an "enduring imprint" on those artifacts and the people who use them (ibid:63). Perhaps most demonstrative of this relationship among Inuit is the material category of *atuqtut*, or amulets.⁷⁶ As Cambridge Bay elder Koihok explains (in Keith and Stewart 2004:22), amulets were often given to children by

⁷⁶ This relationship was not specifically confined to the material world. As discussed before, properties could also be conferred through *atiit* (personal names). *Agliqtaqtut* (taboos) were also capable of influencing the properties of individuals and groups. As Keith and Stewart report based on interviews with Cambridge Bay elder Moses Koihok (2004:22):

Agliqtaqtut touched the whole life and surroundings of Inuit. When people believed that they were experiencing bad luck or the hardship as a result of transgressing *aglitatut* they would try to take action to appease the offended powers.

their parents when certain physical and social characteristics were desired to be conferred:

Our culture was full when I was a child and our parents wanted the children to be successful in doing certain things. They would treat the child so they would be successful. [For instance when] parents wanted a kid to be very light footed and nimble this was done through amulets and words when they put it on.

The discipline of archaeology has generally struggled to deal with the metaphysical implications of the material world (Moseley 2010). While areas of spiritual importance are increasingly considered as off-limits to archaeologists and indigenous rituals are often willingly incorporated into archaeological fieldwork, these are generally followed as matters of protocol rather than acknowledgement of “the possibility of power or agency residing in remains of the past” (ibid:67).⁷⁷

Throughout the Pembroke excavations, I tried to be particularly observant of the local community’s interaction with materials from the archaeological site, anticipating that this was the area where greatest potential for cultural interest and insight lay. Upon visiting the Pembroke site, and being presented with various excavated artifacts, elders ventured a series of statements regarding the objects. These ranged from basic tool identification to more general observations regarding the role they might have once served. Overall, the interpretations were either vague⁷⁸ or overlapped with the archaeological team’s understandings of the materials to such an extent that few of them could be incorporated to produce novel perspectives of the site. It seemed strange that the one element of

⁷⁷ A similar situation prevails in the Canadian Arctic, where the “religious or spiritual significance” of a site is criterion for denial of an archaeological permit (NLCA 33.5.6).

⁷⁸ Vagueness, in this sense, refers to the consistency or ‘source’ of an interpretation, rather than its content. While some elders drew understandings of the tools from more grounded connections to their own life experiences, others ventured observations purely as self-described ‘guesswork.’

excavation most amenable to cultural interpretation was unable to significantly re-inform our material explanation of the site. Several potential explanations exist to explain this. Firstly, there is a possibility that archaeological and local interpretations of material culture are not that different, having effectively been 'evened out' through years of dialogue between the two traditions. Since its origin, archaeology has been heavily informed by Inuit explanations of artifacts (see Chapter 4; Rowley 2002). George Nicholas and Tom Andrews similarly identify the phenomenon of historical "readback" (1997b:277 see also Denton 1997:121, McGhee 2008:589), during which indigenous communities internalize and further perpetuate academically-derived interpretations with the understanding they stem from their own 'traditional' culture. A second possibility is that the community's elders are too far removed from experiences that would have given them a profound knowledge of the materials. Most of the elders living in Cambridge Bay settled there in the 1950s, having spent only their early adult years engaged in land-based living. While many of them have continued to spend time camping out on the land, it has become entangled with contexts of wage economy and purchased rather than self-built materials. Despite the reverence which Inuit continue to bestow on the knowledge and wisdom of elders, many of this latter group in Cambridge Bay attest to the passing of an era of "real" elders, qualified as individuals who spent the greater portion of their adult lives on the land and engaged with traditional lifeways. As one Cambridge Bay woman in her seventies pointed out to me in reference to the group's lack of this material knowledge (Anon pers. comm. 2009), "a very old elder would know, but we are not that old. The elders don't know much about these things anymore; they are elders, but not real elders."

A final potential explanation for the observed disjuncture between elders and artifacts lies in the context of material interpretation that was presented by the Pembroke excavation. Would materials be understood and presented differently if the situation requiring interpretation was easier for elders to relate to than an

archaeological dig? With this latter possibility being most amenable to further inquiry, I decided to delve deeper into the contexts that guide material relationships among the Inuit.

Personal history is a property commonly invested in material artifacts by Inuit people. As Natasha Lyons concludes from her extensive analysis of various artifacts' meanings for Inuvialuit elders, individuals' memory, experience and aspirations are projected onto the material world. "Rather than treat artifacts as objects," she notes (2007:163), elders "subjectified them by giving them cultural context and situating them within concrete historical circumstances." Elders' narratives regarding historical materials not only stem from a particular cultural setting, but are designed to perpetuate similar social and cultural contexts (ibid:214):

[Elders] were interested in telling [their] history from their own viewpoints, and specified the importance of passing this information onto their grandchildren and great grandchildren. Interested outsiders were welcome to listen, but their stories were intended mainly for their people. In examining and discussing artifacts, the Elders had little concern with the views of outsiders, but a great concern with 'getting it right' for their people.

The incorporation of cultural materials into daily life is a valued Inuit practice for ensuring that their historical and practical legacy are readily adopted. These materials are strongly linked to the actions which result from their use. In this way, materials are rarely considered to be entities unto themselves, but rather are a form of intermediary for the reproduction of memories, skills, and social roles. As Jack Anawak points out (1989:46), the process of socializing individuals through engagement with traditional objects begins at the youngest of ages:

Toys and playthings are fashioned for [children], including tools and traditional dress so that they may learn early about the roles they will assume. Girls are provided with packing parkas, called *amoutis*, and

carry their dolls on their back as they will carry their children in the future, and they are taught the traditional styles and methods for sewing and designing clothing...Children quickly come to understand in my culture that time-honoured skills and attitudes can never be relegated solely to the past; that they ensure a way of life and survival in the present and for the future.

Anawak further stresses that involvement with historical materials is something that must continue throughout an individual's life through their employment in 'coping' and 'survival' skills (ibid:47):

This means not only acquiring the skills associated with procuring food and shelter, but actively practising the traditional skills and attitudes and coping mechanisms that allow for adaptation and survival as distinct people. These skills are only attained through incorporating the past into the present.

The above passages stress that material objects are esteemed for their ability to both reflect the past and channel the experience of 'being Inuit' through contexts of practical engagement. While Anawak asserts that contemporary Inuit-made tools continue to reflect historic meaning through adherence to traditional designs (ibid:46), he equally points out the tragedy of old artifacts being removed from the North by archaeologists.⁷⁹ "Our people" he notes, "want to find ways to house and preserve these artefacts within our homeland" (ibid:48). The interesting contradiction of this statement (ie. history equally being considered as 'old artifacts' and 'modern artifacts perceived as old artifacts') formed the foundation of my first endeavour to explore the intricate relationship between desired forms of material engagement and the perceived nature of the materials being engaged.

⁷⁹ The archaeological process in Nunavut is one that rarely leaves materials behind. Despite existing legislation requiring archaeologists to "provide an opportunity for residents of the community to examine any specimen removed from the site" (NLCA 33.5.7), materials are exported south for storage in Yellowknife's Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre and the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Despite the construction of a territorial archaeological storage facility being outlined in the NLCA, such a centre has yet to be created.

The Cambridge Bay Casting Program: Artifacts as Replicas

Following the Pembroke excavation in 2008, I travelled back down to Toronto to write and defend my thesis proposal, and returned to reside full time in Cambridge Bay in November of that same year. During various meetings with the KHS' board of elders to review the outcome of the previous summer's excavation, it became increasingly clear that the 'archaeology' had been related to primarily on a tangible level. Many elders spoke of the importance of physically touching the past; be it through a place, an artifact or the more tactile motions of remembering. Old stories, they insisted, could be better recalled with the aid of these material mnemonics. The importance of archaeology, elders conferred, lay not in the methodological precision of the act, but in the touchstone of material remains (and resulting stories) that the act produced.

In December of 2008, I organized a workshop to temporarily return a collection of the Pembroke site artifacts from storage at the University of Toronto.⁸⁰ The goal of the workshop was to gather people and artifacts together, and to reflect on how this union might clarify local understandings of materials as artifacts, as well as cultural and social tools. As a basis for engaging participant involvement with these materials, the workshop was organized around a casting program led by Terry Pamplin (Exhibit Designer for the Prince of Wales Northern Cultural Centre), which anticipated the additional benefit of creating on-site replicas for local use. This program entailed a three-day course to initiate participants into the skills of foam mould casting and technical painting. This casting method was consciously chosen for its feasibility within a northern setting. Unlike more complex techniques of latex or resin casting, which require expensive and time-sensitive chemicals and advanced technical knowledge, our casting method

⁸⁰ A similar request was made to the Canadian Museum of Civilization in regards to the stored collection of artifacts from Taylor's original Pembroke excavations, but was ultimately denied over concerns regarding the artifacts' handling by "non-professionals."

could be accomplished both easily and affordably using only orthopaedic memory foam, plaster and paint. The simplicity of the casting method allowed for individuals of all ages to participate, and for left over materials to be distributed to participants for at home use and instructing the process to others.

To my admitted surprise, twenty individuals of mixed age, occupation and ancestry showed up to create replicas from both the Pembroke artifacts and other 'historical' items (such as bones found on the land, an ulu knife, and a modern brooch depicting a drum dancer) that they chose to bring in. This sense of surprise should be qualified by the fact that people rarely show up for public events in Cambridge Bay without the incentive of catering or a draw for prizes (neither of which I offered). The composition of this group interested me, as its only sense of coherence lay in the individuals' shared social connection to myself. Attendees were either friends met over the last months living in Cambridge Bay, heritage colleagues, or general acquaintances and their children.⁸¹ While these individuals were interested in seeing the Pembroke artifacts, the primary draw was their desire to communicate about the history of the area with someone *socially familiar*, whether it be someone they had tea with or simply spoke to at the grocery store on a regular basis.⁸² Many pointed out to me that they saw the event as a special opportunity to discuss and learn about the past.

The general mood at the casting workshop was one of curiosity, with individuals eager to see and discuss the artifacts that had been brought in for casting. As

⁸¹ This is not, as one might expect, due to the workshop being advertised only by word of mouth. Throughout December, I postered the town, spoke about the workshop on local radio and visited both schools to speak to students.

⁸² While this may seem like a somewhat irrelevant point, the workshop's attendance can be contrasted with a visit by two consultant archaeologists from a nearby mining operation several months later. Despite advertising their lecture and its intentions to describe findings relating to the history of the area, the archaeologists did not have a single attendee. When I asked an Inuit friend why she didn't show up, she responded that she didn't know "who those people are", so how could she learn about Inuit history from them.

many people had been out on the land camping throughout the summer, it was the first time they were seeing the objects. The nature of involvement surrounding this workshop was noticeably different than that of the excavation. People came forward with questions I had not heard asked at the archaeological site: Why aren't sites named after Inuit people? How do archaeologists come up with the dates for materials at sites?" Of particular note, was that questions relating to the original use of the artifacts materials were asked to attending Inuit with knowledge of traditional hunting rather than myself. In questions relating to the function of a harpoon head and 'kaniqtaq' (an anchoring piece to secure a seal hole breathing indicator into the snow), these individuals' answers were accompanied by re-enactments of specific techniques for the tools' employment.

Aside from producing replica artifacts for both the Kitikmeot Heritage Society and individuals' personal collections, the primary benefit of this workshop was one of interaction between people, artifacts and ideas. A concentrated tactile engagement with the artifacts was necessitated through careful handling, detailing of the plaster casts, and colour matching in the painting process. This was as close as many of the participating members had ever been to an excavated artifact. The artifacts were treated with deference due to their being "something really old" and a belonging of their ancestors. Although there seemed to be no particular recognition of the resulting casts as sharing their 'historic' aura, they did become physical touchstones for reviving the knowledge that was imparted during the course. One student told me that he was taking his casts home to show his mom how to hunt seals. Another workshop participant who brought in, and shortly thereafter lost, an exquisite historic copper-bladed knife she had found on the land, later expressed her happiness to me that she still had the

‘original cast’ so as to teach her children about how the knife had been used in traditional times.⁸³



Figure 22. A participant in the casting project takes an impression of a historical era harpoon head.

The dialogic properties of these artifacts were further cemented during an elders' meeting held as a follow up to the course. Elders initially handled the casts gingerly, believing them to be old artifacts found on the land. Upon breaking one, and finding it to be plaster inside, the spell was broken and conversation was replaced with hilarity, as the elders spun every possible variation of joke regarding the difficulty of hunting with plaster weapons. The humour of the situation brought out more stories and recollections of incidents that took place in the past.

⁸³ The presence of this museum-quality artifact at the workshop also gave us the opportunity to discuss the importance of ‘context’ in archaeology and various perspectives on the ethics of owning old items and removing artifacts from environments in which they are found.

Widening the Circle: Artifacts as Mediums of Personal, Societal and Temporal Reflection

In April of 2009, a second workshop was held as an art history module for the Arctic College's NTEP (Northern Teacher Education Program) students. NTEP is a four year program that prepares Nunavummiut to become classroom teachers in Nunavut schools through a curriculum that emphasizes observation and practical classroom situations. The class I worked with was composed of seven adults in their 20s and 30s.

Rather than providing a more standard academic narrative of local history (with descriptions of past living conditions, cultural sequences and material chronologies), the workshop focused on questioning the status of 'objects.' Students were presented with an opening question: What makes an object that is ordinary become extraordinary, and what makes an extraordinary object become ordinary? An introductory talk attempted to clarify the rather cryptic question with reference to a series of cross-cultural examples that ranged from Marcel Duchamp and the 'readymade movement,' to the depiction of 'ordinary Inuit life' by renowned Inuk print-maker Annie Pootoogook, to the impact that collection and curation of functional objects has on their social status.

After a brief lecture on how both artists and archaeologists create importance for artifacts according to spatial and chronological context, students were introduced to a series of local artifacts without defined provenance,⁸⁴ and asked to explain whether they should be considered as 'ordinary' or 'extraordinary.' Their assignment for the end of the week was to develop an exhibit around their answer.

⁸⁴ When the Kitikmeot Heritage Society first opened, they received a flood of anonymous artifact donations that individuals had picked up while traveling and camping out on the land. While they were quick to stop the practice, they were still left with a vast collection of artifacts without context that could be neither used for research purposes, nor discarded.

Over the next three days, students were taught the skills of artifact casting in order to create replicas of the objects. Throughout this process they were encouraged to critically examine various aspects of their aesthetic, social and symbolic significance. Some students brought the replica artifacts home to ask elder family members about their original use. Some looked no further than their own instincts for analyzing the pieces.



Figure 23. An assortment of exhibits produced through the NTEP workshop.

One again, the participatory nature of the program allowed students to parallel history with their own contemporary lives, and to interpret and reorganize the material record in terms of their own experience and expectations. One student built an exhibit in which she ranked artifacts according to their utility for living on the land, despite having never been in a situation in which such tools were used. Another used vibrant colours and specimen jars to illustrate her own sense of alienation from the past. One woman used her exhibit to philosophize on the various ways in which metal and other natural materials have been combined throughout time.

The two phases of the casting program highlighted several interesting themes surrounding local engagement with material objects. Firstly, they identified that materials are meant to be used. While the creation of plaster replicas created realistic facsimiles of traditional tools, participants were consistently disappointed that they could not actually be employed. "I'm going to have to make a real one of the these when I get home" was a comment that was frequently offered. A second aspect revealed through the workshop was the importance of materiality for the channelling of knowledge. Information flows more easily when linked to a tangible mnemonic, regardless of how abstracted that item is from the 'genuine' item it represents. The presentation of one participant's replicated fishing lure, despite being unevenly cast and painted in fluorescent red, brought out tears because it reminded her of how people used to starve when they couldn't catch fish. As identified earlier, cast artifacts were used on multiple occasions to teach others about the past, and as sources through which stories could be both invested and withdrawn.

A final lesson imparted by the casting project was the importance of properly situating discussions of the past. The workshops provided something akin to what Tester and Irniq describe as a 'kappiananngittuq,' or "'safe, or non-scary, place' where...matters can be discussed across cultures" (2008:58; see chapter 2). Distance from the more 'professional' environment of the archaeological excavation provided individuals with a stronger sense that they were active and authoritative participants in the interpretation of history. Rather than being audience to a tour or lectures about their heritage, participants began taking the initiative to identify and physically recreate elements of the past that they found to be both interesting and worthy of attention. People felt more comfortable to debate formal archaeological interpretations of the artefacts, and to offer more elaborative accounts of alternative utilities. A small item, preliminarily interpreted by the archaeological team to be a snow knife pendant, took on new levels of interpretation as a shaman's ornament, a component of a seal hole

indicator, and a marrow extractor. A rich narrative, weaving together stories of personal experience and elaborate contextual use accompanied each of these suggestions.

The Kayak Program: Artifacts as Cultural Revitalization

The seed for the next phase of community archaeology programming was sown by chance and circumstance. In the late spring of 2009, Richard Best—a British boat-maker and Arctic enthusiast—visited Cambridge Bay to assess its potential as a starting point for a Northwest Passage kayak voyage. Best's interest also lay in finding out more about Copper Inuit methods of kayak construction and design. His questions to elders and community members created an awareness that such knowledge had largely disappeared from local memory.

Unlike many groups in the Arctic, the Copper Inuit did not build large sea-faring boats known as 'umiat,' and relied only on kayaks to navigate ocean bays and the numerous inland lakes and rivers that crisscrossed the tundra. The long, streamlined shape of the boat helped hunters to travel quickly through the water in order to pursue and spear caribou that were swimming from shore to shore (Arima 1987). In accordance with a nomadic lifestyle, kayaks were also built to be as narrow and lightweight as possible so that they could be carted across the tundra on backpacks and dog sleds when not in use in the water (Zimmerly 1985). During winter months, the boats would be stored on high stone or snow pillars with their skins removed to prevent them from being eaten by animals (Jenness 1946:141).

Copper Inuit men traditionally used kayaks to hunt caribou during summer and early fall months. While these animals were generally fast and difficult to catch on land, they were vulnerable to being attacked in the water. Diamond Jenness

(1922:148-49) describes how Inuit would intercept caribou gathered at river crossings in their annual migration routes, or drive them towards lakes with long lines of 'inukhuit' (stacked stones resembling humans) and the frightening howls of women and children pretending to be wolves. As the caribou entered the water, hunters would rush out of hiding with their kayaks to chase down and stab the swimming animals with lances and knives tied to the end of sticks (see fig. 24). Ropes would be looped around the dead caribou's necks, and they would be dragged to shore and butchered. Kayaks were also occasionally used in the catching of fish. A kayaker would troll a fishing line through the water while using his teeth to hold the rod. Upon hooking a fish, he would quickly paddle back to shore before reeling it in, so as not to capsize the unstable kayak (Jenness 1922:155).

While several richly detailed accounts of kayak use among the Copper Inuit exist (see for example Jenness 1922,1946; Richardson 1851), written accounts are largely lacking due to the late arrival of explorers to the region and the rapid acculturation of Copper Inuit in the early 20th century. As early as 1914, Diamond Jenness noted low levels of kayak use by the Copper Inuit, remarking that fewer than one in ten hunters possessed a complete kayak, or even the frame of a boat (1946:140).⁸⁵ The following era of Hudson Bay Company posts and fur trapping led to the further abandonment of kayaks. With the introduction of a monetized economy, local people began moving to towns, traveling less, and relying more heavily on imported rifles and metal sea-faring boats for the hunting of game.

Richard Best's questions about kayaks continued to reverberate long after he left Cambridge Bay, and gradually began to take shape as a community project.

⁸⁵ Jenness (1922:149) also qualifies kayak use as something belonging primarily to the Bathurst region and the mainland south of Coronation Gulf. Kayaks were rarely used by Copper Inuit groups on Victoria island, caribou hunting instead relying on the use of a 'taluk' (a shallow pit from which arrows can be shot).

While not directly related to the Pembroke site,⁸⁶ the project offered a chance to explore relationships to both a past material tradition and experiential contexts of material engagement. More importantly, the project's origins stemmed directly from a local rather than academic interest.

My survey of roughly twenty five Cambridge Bay elders indicated that only a few individuals could remember having ever used a kayak. While several of the elders with whom I spoke had built small-scale kayak models, or watched others assemble the boats during their youth, only one, Moses Koihok, had experience in constructing a fully functional boat. Being ill of health, Koihok was unable to participate in the project, but during an interview in 1995 (Stern 1995) he recorded some of his recollections about kayak building:

A long time ago when I got married...was the time I got a kayak too. I was told to make a kayak, which was hard for me to do. The centre was high. I made the centre of the kayak too high. I didn't know any better, that's why. Although there were good kayak makers I was told to make one. So I made my own...As we grow older we get wiser, not the way we were. Our parents would scold us but that was their way of teaching us. Our purpose was to hunt. That was what we looked forward to daily. When I was making a kayak he said to me..."Why are you making your kayak so high...Do you ride in kayaks that are high?" I didn't know how to make one but I made my first and did the best I could. With the help of elders, I made the kayak lower. Measuring with the length of your hand from the tips of the middle finger and thumb. I made the kayak. As I started rowing my kayak, it was the roughest to row...

⁸⁶ A tentative link between Pembroke and kayaks exists in the presence of a linear arrangement of stones (F10), interpreted as a possible disturbed kayak rest (Friesen 2008:6). This connection was discussed over the course of the kayak building project, but did not play a significant role in the interpretive structure of the project.

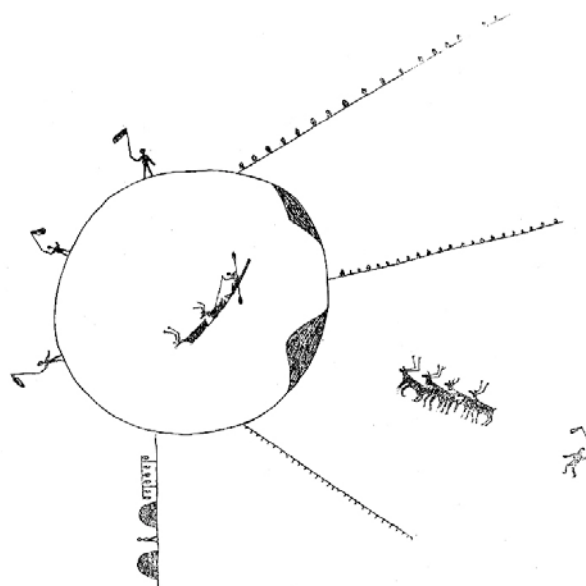


Figure 24. A anonymously illustrated map detailing the hunting of caribou by kayak (Jenness 1922:150).

Over long hours of tea, cribbage and sewing, I sat with local elders to consider the implications of this waning material knowledge. What does it mean when a practice formerly important to Copper Inuit lifestyle disappears altogether? Can such a technology be revitalized through only partial knowledge of the process? How would contemporary youth benefit by possessing this knowledge?

Despite not having previously built any kayaks, many elders felt that the boats were deeply tied to their sense of identity. Kayaks were material objects that required invested labour involving the domains of both men (construction and use) and women (preparation and sewing of skin covering). While no longer a skill that was actively used, kayak building is still considered requisite to a way of life that actively informs what it means to be 'Inuit.' As kayak builder Jessie Apsaktaun pointed out to me, "we were taught how to build kayaks by our ancestors and we should keep it going for the generations to come" (pers. comm. KHS 2009). "We Inuit never know if we might have to live like this all over again if global warming happens" furthered Cambridge Bay youth Deder Maksagak in reference to his desire to learn how to rebuild a kayak (pers. comm. KHS 2009).

Only three Copper Inuit kayaks still exist in museum collections around the world (Zimmerly 1985:11). At a meeting of KHS elders in the spring of 2009, it was decided that this number was too few. A kayak acquired by Diamond Jenness in 1914 and currently housed in the Canadian Museum of Civilization was selected as a model to guide rebuilding.⁸⁷ An agreement was made with the museum in April 2009 to allow my visitation and photographic documentation of the boat. A set of line drawings from the boat executed by David Zimmerly in 1982⁸⁸ were also obtained.



Figure 25. A Copper Inuit kayak (CMC IV-D-1057) in storage at the Canadian Museum of Civilization

As a final component of the project's preparation, Jesse Apsaktaun and Ovide Alakannuaq—two experienced kayak builders from the community of Kugaaruk

⁸⁷ The specific kayak was not selected for any unique traits other than the proximity of its origin to Cambridge Bay and the detailed description of the boat provided in Jenness' study of Copper Inuit material culture (1946:139-141).

⁸⁸ These blueprints were subsequently published in smaller format several years later (Zimmerly 1985).

(Pelly Bay)⁸⁹— were brought in to help participants with the processes of kayak building.

From the beginning, Inuit attending the camp made it clear that remembering the history of kayak building involved more than knowing how to construct a boat. It was in great part about finding the right spot to camp: a place sufficiently removed from town that one could feel that they were back on the land. Our campsite also had to be close to local materials. Seals were harvested for food and to build a skin covering for the boat. Dwarf willows were cut to be bent into boat ribs. A caribou was procured to provide sinew for sewing and antler for pegging the boat's gunwales together.

Our camp consisted of a full-time team of seventeen individuals—local elders, professional kayak builders, youth interns, a video documentary trainer, camp helpers and heritage society staff—who remained at the camp for a total of three weeks. For most people in attendance, and particularly for participating youth, the camp was looked up as a combination of a paid job and heritage learning experience. If no wages had been provided, many would likely not have remained present. Only the elders were truly in their element, several shedding tears when they had to head back into town upon completion of the project.

Boat building took place primarily through the use of traditional tools, including whittling knives, bow-drills, antler nails and sinew binding. The construction

⁸⁹ Jessie and Ovide were consciously chosen as instructors due to their participation in a similar kayak revitalization project that took place in their hometown. As Jessie recounts regarding his own training (pers. comm. KHS 2009):

I learned how to build kayaks in the late 1990s when a few elders were talking about bringing back the culture [and] the Netsilingmiut style kayak...They brought the people out from Vancouver to help them out, the kayak builders show the elders how they built kayaks in Vancouver

No sense of contradiction was observed in the fact that elders were re-educated in ancestral traditions by boat builders from outside their culture.



Figure 26. Left: Mary Avalak uses an ulu knife to shave the hair from a sealskin in preparation for creating the kayak cover. Right: A propane tank is used to heat water to steam kayak ribs for bending.

and techniques of tool-use were documented on HD cameras by camp participants with the help of Erin Freeland, a community video trainer sponsored by Insight Share (a UK-based video organization). Six hours of community-shot, documentary footage and interviews were collected. The footage was subsequently edited into a documentary film by camp participant Pamela Gross. The documentary links ideas of traditional knowledge recovery and climate change, and has seen screening at both the 2009 Copenhagen Climate Change summit and the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C.

Despite my efforts to secure detailed photographs and blueprints of Jenness' original kayak, the building of the boat took place in a manner that made it clear that reproducing the kayak was not about creating a replica. The measured line-drawing provided from the original Copper Inuit kayak went unheeded. Participants stressed that boats were traditionally built to fit their owners' dimensions, indicating that there was no 'authentic' template for the object⁹⁰. As detailed by Jessie Apsaktaun (pers. comm. KHS 2009), the important element of construction was one of sequence rather than proportional accuracy:

⁹⁰ A similar account of this is given in a KHS interview with James Taipana that took place in 1997 at the site of Kuukyuak (KHS 1997).

The steps were first to cut the woods to their size and length, and from there we start working to build a kayak...We work on the 'mahik' [cockpit support], then we put the 'ayaqsaks' [deck beams] on. After the 'ayaqsak' we put the 'tigpits' [ribs] on, then the 'hiania' [side stringer], that's how we start working on it. Then the 'paaq' [cockpit hoop], the paaq takes some time...The way we make the wood bend is to boil some water and slowly pour water to soften the wood.

A sense of pragmatism seemed also to apply to the tools used to reconstruct the boat. It was important for participants that traditional construction tools (ie. bow-drill, whittling knife, antler nails, sinew) be present at the site for demonstrations of their use. There was, however, no sense of conflict in using a modern drill to expedite the lengthy process of attaching cross-beams, or using a propane tank to more rapidly boil the water required to bend boat ribs (see fig.26). These modern additions were irrelevant to the fact that a traditional kayak was being constructed in a traditional manner. As pointed out by camp participant Peter Avalak when asked what he learned from the camp (pers. comm. KHS 2009):

A lot. What the elders talk about, you hear them telling stories. Not using nails on a kayak. No nails! Just bones and [sinew] thread which was right from the skeleton. That's what I learned a lot. I have a little bit more knowledge of how they start off a boat...

Due to an overwhelming local interest in the project, the camp became widely used as a daytime site by individuals from town to set fishing nets, learn about local history, and to eat land-procured food. By the second week, our camp averaged roughly forty to fifty visitors a day, requiring a thrice daily shuttle bus service into town to facilitate the large number of visiting elders and individuals without vehicles.



Figure 27. A group of visitors examine the kayak work in progress.

Many people gravitated towards the building of the kayak as a healing process. The creation of the boat was a cathartic experience for many; in symbolizing the recovery of traditional culture, it simultaneously revived awareness of how tradition has been allowed to slip away. Stories were told of residential school educations, the loss of language, the social circumstances that prevent individuals from leaving town and getting back on the land to resume their traditional ways. Ancestors were remembered for their knowledge and their absence mourned. As participant Peter Avalak told me (pers. comm. KHS 2009) :

This is sort of like a healing project for me because my father passed away. I needed this...It sort of healed me a lot being with the elders and seeing traditional ways, using traditional tools. It was sort of overwhelming last night [when the kayak was finished]. I had a bit of tears and got to wishing my father could see me.

The process of building the kayak gave participants a way to gain traditional knowledge and skills within a socially valued framework of culture revitalization. It simultaneously gave participants a story which they could

relate to others to both affirm their own identity (as Inuit), and contribute to the recognized cycle of knowledge transferral. As youth intern Dedre Maksagak explained (pers. comm. KHS 2009), “I been telling them [people in town] where I been and what I’ve been doing. I can tell them my story.” Peter Avalak (pers. comm. KHS 2009) similarly constructed a new narrative from the experience at the camp:

I think all of it, the kayak, being with the elders, cooking and eating traditional food, camping out—which I haven’t done in a long time—it was awesome...Now I have something to say to my friends when I go home.

The kayak revitalization program indicated that the building of history is often more reliant on engagement with the knowledge imparted through people (the elders) and community (the camp) than accuracy in reproducing a historical object. Two days after its completion, the drying seal skin cover for the kayak tightened to such an extent that it crushed the boat ribs, rendering the vessel unable to be used in water. This seemed to make no difference in its classification as a ‘historical item,’ save that, in the words of elder Lena Kamoyoak (pers. comm. 2009), it was now an “ugly” historical item. The boat was indelibly marked as something belonging to tradition.

Lessons learned from the Land: Artifacts and Environment

In the months following the kayak project, I worked with elders to think of ways in which the camp’s cultural dynamics could somehow be reproduced in Cambridge Bay’s more urban setting. ‘Town’ and ‘land’ are two very discrete categories in the Arctic. As Edmund Searles points out (2010:152, see also 2008), the reliance of Inuit identity on land-related activities and the repudiation of qallunaat culture, results in strong associations between location and traditional learning:

many Inuit believe that larger towns like Iqaluit, Nunavut, where large numbers of Qallunaat live, work, and intermarry with Inuit, are places where Inuit culture and identity are being lost. Conversely, places like outpost camps and smaller settlements, which are thought to exist beyond the influence of Qallunaat culture, are imagined as places where Inuit can learn properly about their culture and heritage.

As Dedre Makasagak made clear at the camp, being away from Cambridge Bay was conducive to bettering both his frame of mind and capacity for learning. “I feel good,” he said (pers. comm. KHS 2009), “happier than being in town always being bored.”

Location not only seems to impact individuals' capacity for learning about history, but also has distinct implications for how history is remembered. Consider, for example, the following story as told by Emily Angulalik (pers. comm. 2011):

You are out there [on the land] with an elder, and once an elder is out, it seems like everything starts coming to their knowledge, things start coming back. Its good to have interviews in a four room wall, you know, in a house. But if you are out there you grab a stone, and I am sure an elder will talk a lot about this stone, what are the uses for it. There is the Inukshuk, you build a hearth with it, you use it to break up your *patik*, when you are having bone marrow. There are all these purposes for this. I remember trying to interview [Cambridge Bay elder] Analok when we were in his house, and I knew it wasn't successful because we were just talking, but then sure enough we went out on the land and he just started expressing, feeling, just to be out in the open..."now I remember what we've done, now I remember." It just makes sense to be out on the land.

The remembrance of history is often triggered through the senses. When out on the land, elders have often commented to me that they can ‘smell’ what things used to be like. Similar sentiments are evoked through the viewing and handling of historic artifacts (CBC 2012), the perusal of old photographs, and the taste of

meat caught, butchered or prepared in a traditional way. While breathing in the smoke of fish cooking on a dwarf willow fire during a 2012 landcamp, several elders wept because, in one of their words, “we feel like we are young again.”

A second attempt to build a kayak as an in-school education program highlights some of the differences that land-based learning has on material engagement. In November of 2009, we extended the kayak building program into Cambridge Bay’s Kiilinik High School. Having rehired the summer workshop’s youth intern as an instructor, we worked with the school’s pre-trades and carpentry classes to build a second kayak for local recreational use. In addition to building a boat, the curriculum involved the manufacture of traditional Copper Inuit tools such as whittling knives and bow-drills. A workshop on pounded copper riveting was added to enhance the manufacture of tools and further situate the project within a context of Copper Inuit tradition.



Figure 28. A student binds steamed kayak ribs with caribou sinew in the high school carpentry shop.

It quickly became clear that critical elements were missing from the project. Without elders guiding their work, both the instructor and participants became distracted from the project. The one-hour intervals of class time were not

sufficient to maintain the spell of traditional work. Students discontinued construction of the boat prior to affixing its cover.

Bringing the Land Indoors: Artifacts as Museum Exhibits

As with archaeological excavations, notes Gemma Tully (2007:159), museums “are no longer seen as neutral ground.” As a result of this, many museums have undergone a dramatic reversal of their original roles (Peers and Brown 2003). While many institutions once operated under a mandate to collect and exhibit material relics from past civilizations and ‘vanishing’ cultures of the modern world, museums are beginning to work more closely with the living ‘source communities’ (cf. Peers and Brown 2003) from which their collections derive. Not unlike community archaeology, this process envisions a relationship between museum staff and source communities that is reliant on shared control and decision making, with definitions of appropriate exhibit objects and message often being determined at the local level. As Gemma Tully (2007:160) points out:

it is vital that the communities whose heritage is being represented have a say in all areas of exhibition creation. This does not merely include participating in the wording of text or object selections, but needs to incorporate decisions about the subjects and themes that are the focus of the exhibition. The space in which the displays are organized, the decoration and layout also need to be collaboratively addressed to ensure that the knowledge constructed creates the meaning communities hope to impart rather than telling us more about the designer/author than the subject matter

The creation of community exhibits is often considered as an integral component to community archaeology (see for example Wahlgren and Svanberg 2008; Jones and McBride 2006; Knecht 2003; Merriman 2004; Moser et al. 2002; Moyer 2004; Rowley 2002; Skeates 2002; Tully 2007). Particularly within Arctic contexts, local museums have been envisioned as an important source for revitalizing local culture and having communities tell their own versions of culture history

(Fienup-Riordan 2003; Graburn 1998; Knecht 2003; Museum International 1994). This is often accomplished by giving Inuit people a greater say in the curation and display of material history.

In 2011, our working group of heritage staff and elders gathered to contemplate ways to create an exhibit around the kayak program for Cambridge Bay's May Hakongak Cultural Centre. There was a desire that stories about the camp could be displayed alongside exhibit materials. Over the previous two years, my dissertation research had considered various ways in which Cambridge Bay residents interpret and reconstruct material culture. Its direction was now being shifted towards ways of *representing* the material past. Being traditionally nomadic people, the collection and display of 'non-utilitarian' materials never featured greatly in the lives of Inuit. The process of settlement, however, has changed this. Many households possess what might be described as 'shrines' containing items deemed to represent the past. These vary from old photographs to artifacts found on the land and more modern items that are no longer readily available and therefore deemed to be 'old' (tobacco and powdered milk tins from the 1950's, collectable figurines from past tea box promotions, etc.). Nelson Graburn's fascinating case study of the eccentric Saputik museum (1998) helps to gain a broader understanding of the ways in which 'Inuit-ness' might both impact (and be reinforced through) the nature of material display.

The Saputik museum was a heritage centre opened by Tamusi Qumak in 1978 in the Nunavik community of Puvirnituk. The Saputik museum was a rare example of a foundationally 'Inuit' museum in terms of both its collections and operation. As Graburn describes (1998:26):

Tamusi envisaged time as a river carrying everything irrevocably out to sea to be lost forever. Their [Tamusi and town elders'] museum (they used the recently made-up word takujaksakuvik [a place to hold things that are to be seen]) caught and saved things like a weir does.

People were to donate their clothes and the possessions of their deceased loved ones, material items they no longer needed (e.g., sleds for dogs, not snowmobiles) and soapstone carvings of which they were proud...Later the museum came to house many hundreds of archaeological, mainly lithic, objects of Thule or more recent historic origin...The museum did not have regular hours, a trained curator, or any systems of registration or publicity. It was kept locked because of potential theft; the soapstone sculptures were a particularly saleable type of object for young people who wanted quick money. When Tamusi Qumak or anyone else could find the key, entry into the museum was available to interested visiting whites, or Inuit, or to school groups at any time.

Graburn further notes the way in which this 'historical' museum framed the past in terms of the modern community (ibid:28):

This personally constructed collection was representative of neither the generalized "past" nor even the "recent past" but of local people who were still living or who were alive in the memories of living people... it was a bricolage, a mental and material construction made out of the debris of events of past lives, meaningful to those who created it but much less so for visitors and tourists.

As Anita Herle (2000: 271) has pointed out, "a museum exhibition cannot fully encompass all the stories and complicated negotiations involved in its development." Despite this challenge, it was made clear that the complicated specifics of the kayak's construction were more important than more abstract details about how such crafts were used in the past. The resulting exhibit—including a 22 foot long, environmentally controlled case, and accompanying narrative text—was conceived and constructed entirely on-site in Cambridge Bay to ensure that the process remained firmly grounded in the community's vision of the kayak story. The exhibit is centered on the two kayaks produced through workshops. Both boats were left in their 'original' shape: one with flat-bottomed ribs, and the other in its unfinished state.

The exhibit narrative, which runs in panels along both lengths of the case, was

developed as a 'big picture' representation of kayaks in the community. The story details the origins and traditional uses of kayaks in Copper Inuit culture, the subsequent decline of boat use, and the efforts of our project to revitalize and re-document the skills associated with boat making. The text is a collection of different voices surrounding the topic with direct quotations assembled from historic and contemporary interviews with Inuit, early ethnographic reports and 'scholarly' interpretations of the kayak's role in Inuit culture.

Various windows containing material artifacts punctuate the textual narrative of the exhibit. Like the kayak, these artifacts are all products of local reconstruction projects. A loon bag manufactured during a two-week elders camp in 2011; a fieldwork diary opened to a page illustrating the relationship between Inuinnaqtun names and different parts of the boat. Artifacts that couldn't be re-created through practical engagement incorporated replicas produced through the casting program.



Figure 29. The completed kayak display case, containing both the sealskin kayak developed during the 2009 land camp and the kayak frame subsequently built at Kiilnik High School.

Conclusion

What is the ultimate legacy of historical ‘things’? Following his 1997-99 archaeological research in the Maya community of Pisté, Mexico, Quetzil Castañeda attempted to investigate this question through the use of a new methodology that he termed “ethnographic installation” (Castañeda 2009). By re-introducing the lost ‘things’ produced by local excavations—archival documents, fieldwork journals and photographs, material records, etc.—to the Pisté community, Castañeda hoped to better illuminate the ‘transcultural processes’ or hybridized mixtures of meaning, value, and historical understanding that existed both across the cultural community, and their relationship to the field of archaeology. The approach sought to, “create a ‘shared’ history and past through the appropriation of these documentary fragments that simultaneously *was* and *was not part of their past* and, thus, *was and was not their ‘history’*” (ibid:264). The study sought to “make the past present” in several different senses (ibid:266):

to present the past for a contemporary audience that has some stake in this past; and to make the presence of this past as open-ended in its meaning as possible, as a means to facilitate its appropriation by those in the community who would claim a stake in this present(ed) past.

Like Castañeda’s work, I envision the aforementioned series of Cambridge Bay projects to function as “ethnographic triggers” which ultimately “elicit local views, experiences, meanings, memories, and stories” (ibid:264). While the artifice of staging these ethnographic installations is admittedly evident in the work, I argue the resulting projects were always controlled by the people who consciously chose, or chose not, to become part of their processes. As Castañeda points out (ibid:265), the ethnographer is ultimately at the mercy of “informants who impose their restrictions on interviews and encounters.”

Where the projects described in this chapter ultimately differ from Castañeda's work is in the decision in many cases of Cambridge Bay residents to identify their own criteria for both material history and interaction with these objects. These initiatives illustrate not only *what* is considered to be a historical 'thing,' but also the contexts required to maintain proper engagements with these items.

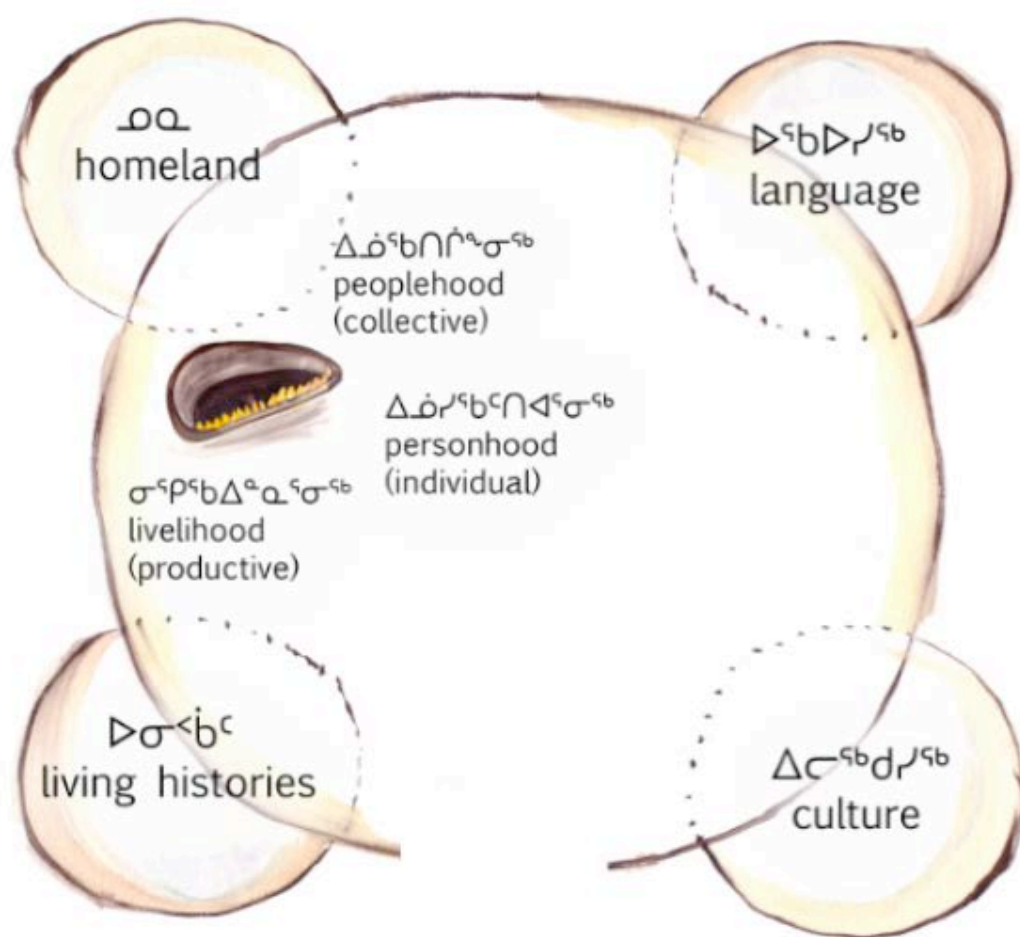


Plate 10: The Qaggiq Model for Inuktitut Knowledge Renewal (McGrath 2012: 252).⁹¹

It is somehow fitting that the first PhD dissertation to be written in the Inuktitut language is based on conversation. In struggling to create a vision for Inuktitut epistemology and knowledge renewal⁹², the dissertation's author, Janet McGrath,

⁹¹ 'Qaggiq' is an alternate spelling for the word 'qalgiq' (plur. qalgiit). The variation is due to dialect, and both terms reference a place where gathering occurs. During one interview, Umingmaktuk elder Mary Kaniak (pers. comm. KHS 2011) informed me that this term was often extended to describe the large stone rings that were traditionally used to corral flightless geese during the summer months in which they molt their feathers (see Pryde 1971: 217-18 for a detailed description of this hunting technique). In archaeological literature, communal structures are often called 'karigis' based on an Alaskan variant of the term. For the sake of consistency, this chapter will use the Inuinnaqtun term 'qalgiq' for the structure, save in the case of direct citation.

⁹² McGrath clearly defines Inuktitut not "just as a language, but as a way of being and an intellectual system with many of its requirements" (ibid:100).

turned to the voice of Aupilaarjuk, an Inuk elder from the Kivalliq region of Nunavut. The first half of her dissertation is an unabridged and un-translated Inuktitut transcript from her month-long dialogue with Aupilaarjuk during May 2010. In the second portion of her work, McGrath struggles to reconcile the intellectual tradition of Aupilaarjuk's wisdom with the language and understanding of western academia. The author's frustration with this deeply complex task is evident throughout her self-reflexive text: How does a non-Inuit, Inuktitut speaking woman who was raised in an Inuit community articulate an Inuit elder's spoken understanding of cultural renewal into writing to be comprehended by non-Inuit academics? Inspiration, for McGrath, eventually comes during one of Aupilaarjuk's stories regarding snow and survival. While explaining various iglu (snowhouse) forms, Aupilaarjuk pens a diagram of a qaggiq, a large communal snow house which "gains its strength and height by way of being built on older *igluit*" (ibid:237). The underlying metaphor of this building is not lost on McGrath (ibid:239):

In that moment I immediately saw the significance of the qaggiq in terms of renewal. Qaggiq is a space for gathering, renewing relationships, refreshing skills through games, a place where stories and songs are shared, and community is affirmed. If there are tensions, they will be brought out appropriately because the wellbeing of the group relies on harmony. In that sense, qaggiq is a renewal of community. It is a source of strengthening of relationships and knowledge of homeland, language, living histories and ceremony. The other thing that is significant about the qaggiq is that it is a new structure made over old structures to support renewal of the community. Qaggiq in its very architecture is an innovation that incorporates the old to make the new or renewed. Nothing was 'wrong' with the old igluit, it was just late winter and their time was done.

During the 2008 excavation of the Pembroke site, a communal house of a similar variety was mapped and excavated (see chapter 8). While our excavation team was somewhat slower than McGrath in recognizing its symbolic implications for

the modern community, there was something that resonated about the feature. Even when reduced to the mere suggestion of scattered rock walls and benches, there was a vaguely haunted feeling about the building.

Over the next two years, the qalgiq from the Pembroke site gradually re-asserted itself within the community. Like McGrath's description, the structure became a hybrid of new and old. Archaeological foundations provided both physical and conceptual support for the re-imagining of a modern ceremonial house, which in turn, supported renewal of the community.

Building From the Ground Up: The Community Qalgiq Project

Introduction

The Thule gathering house—variously known through different northern dialects (and phonetic spellings thereof) as ‘kazigi,’ ‘karigi,’ ‘kashim,’ ‘keshagem,’ ‘qaggiq,’ ‘qargi,’ and ‘qalgiq’⁹³—verges an enigma in the field of Arctic archaeology. Though the structure was adopted by nearly every Inuit society from Alaska to Greenland (Taylor 1990:51), there are few material records from which physical form, or the activities that took place therein, can be reconstructed. While post-European contact references to qalgiq activities abound (see below), the origin and nature of collective rituals that took place prior to this point remain largely a matter of speculation. For this very reason, the excavation of an early Thule qalgiq at the Pembroke site offered an intriguing opportunity to address the question of such structures’ social and cultural roles. The elaborate qalgiq’s presence in a temporary, low-occupancy seasonal camp highlights the importance of collective gathering to the group who once lived there. During the process of sharing the archaeological results of the Pembroke site with Cambridge Bay residents, the presence of the qalgiq became a focus of local interest. This group recognized direct parallels with their own contemporary struggles to define ‘community’ amid rapidly widening generational gaps in knowledge and values. The question was raised as to whether the interpretation of a 600 year old qalgiq could provided a situation in which ideas of ‘community,’ both past and present, could be explored in unison.

⁹³ As Taylor catalogues (1990:51), a similar variation in terminology for the structure exists in the English language. The qalgiq has been variously defined as a ceremonial house (Hawkes 1916:59), club house (Birket-Smith 1924:135), communal house (Hawkes 1913:4), dancing house (Boas 1901:141), feasting house (Rasmussen 1929:227), festival house (Rasmussen 1931:324), meeting house (Birket-Smith 1959:143), men's house (Spencer 1959:214), pleasure house (Payne 1889:7), singing house (Boas 1907:491), social house (Kroeber 1939:23), and quasi-ceremonial gathering place (Spencer 1959:43).

The tradition of community gathering remains strong in Cambridge Bay, despite the practice having become visibly altered to meet the requirements of urban settlement. Elaborate municipally-coordinated events including community hall meetings, the spring-time 'Frolics Festival,' beer dances and holiday game nights have come to replace traditional gatherings hosted in humble structures of snow, sod and stone. Despite this, there remains a certain sense of nostalgia and longing for the coming together of Inuit people in spontaneous celebrations of identity, unhindered by perceived complications of alcohol, strangers, funding, administration, and the expectation of prizes. Speaking about the excavated qalgiq with Cambridge Bay residents seemed to fuel this longing, igniting curiosity about its original use and what it possibly meant to the small group of families who once built it. The presence of this rare structure initiated a two year long discussion that eventually led to a decision to physically recreate it as a forum for bringing together local and archaeological visions of the past in a manner that celebrated the idea of community gathering.

This chapter describes the collaborative process of reconstructing the Pembroke qalgiq. Due to the local symbolism of the qalgiq as a source of 'community,' the negotiation of the structure's form and meaning took on a deep significance. The reconstruction was accordingly tempered not only by various individuals' beliefs about its physical appearance and function in the past, but also their expectations as to what a community is, and what a community-oriented structure should therefore look like. While initially conceived through an archaeological lens of historical accuracy and authenticity, the resulting structure gradually became shaped by local priorities that accentuated broader goals of functionality, learning, and wellness.

The final product of our work was fully installed a new museum exhibit in Cambridge Bay's May Hakongak cultural centre in the spring of 2011. I would like to consider this completed installation as a monument not only to

archaeology's ability to engage with distinctly contemporary themes, but also to the overwhelming role that community desire (and desired community) plays in creating visions of the past. With the structure's somewhat unsettling conflation of scientific detail, social desire, archaeological authenticity and post-modern abstraction, I feel that some balance has been achieved between the idea of Arctic history as material remains, and Arctic history as an ongoing and changing discussion about what it means to belong to a northern community.

Qalgiq Structures in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Records

Descriptions of qalgiit are relatively rare in archaeological literature, and entail primarily examples from historic and recent pre-contact periods in Alaska (see for example Irving 1962; Lutz 1973; Oswalt and Van Stone 1967; Van Stone 1968, 1970). These qalgiit typically distinguish themselves as extremely large structures. The remains of several early Thule gathering houses have also been recorded in the Central and Eastern Arctic (see for example McCullough 1989; Mouël and Mouël 2002; Savelle and Habu 2004). Unlike later era qalgiit, early Thule examples were usually built as semi-subterranean terrestrial structures to insulate for cold weather and multiple-season occupation. The identification of these archaeological features as qalgiit is often tenuous due to their differing only marginally in terms of structure size and artifact composition from other forms of contemporaneous dwelling. The distinction of a structure as a qalgiq typically rests on the presence of seating benches that are too narrow for sleeping, the positioning of these same benches around the structure's entire margin rather than just opposite the entrance, the absence of cooking remains (Irving 1962), and an unusually high number of unfinished artifacts and carving debris as to suggest tool manufacture and maintenance (Savelle and Habu 2004:217).

In the ethnographic record, the design and dimensions of qalgiit could vary greatly. In south-western Alaska, Edward Nelson (1899:245-46 in Lutz 1973:113) reported that the rooms of a 'kashim,' were traditionally between 4 to 8 meters square, with a surrounding bench of 15-18 cm amenable to both sleeping and sitting. The huge expenditure of energy and materials required for the construction of these qalgiit testified to their importance within communities, which would often use them daily as social gathering centers. As Lee and Reinhardt point out (2003:110), the structures were sufficiently intrinsic to Western Inuit understandings of 'cultural space' that expedient versions were often erected as substitutes in situations where more formal qalgiit were not available (see fig. 30).

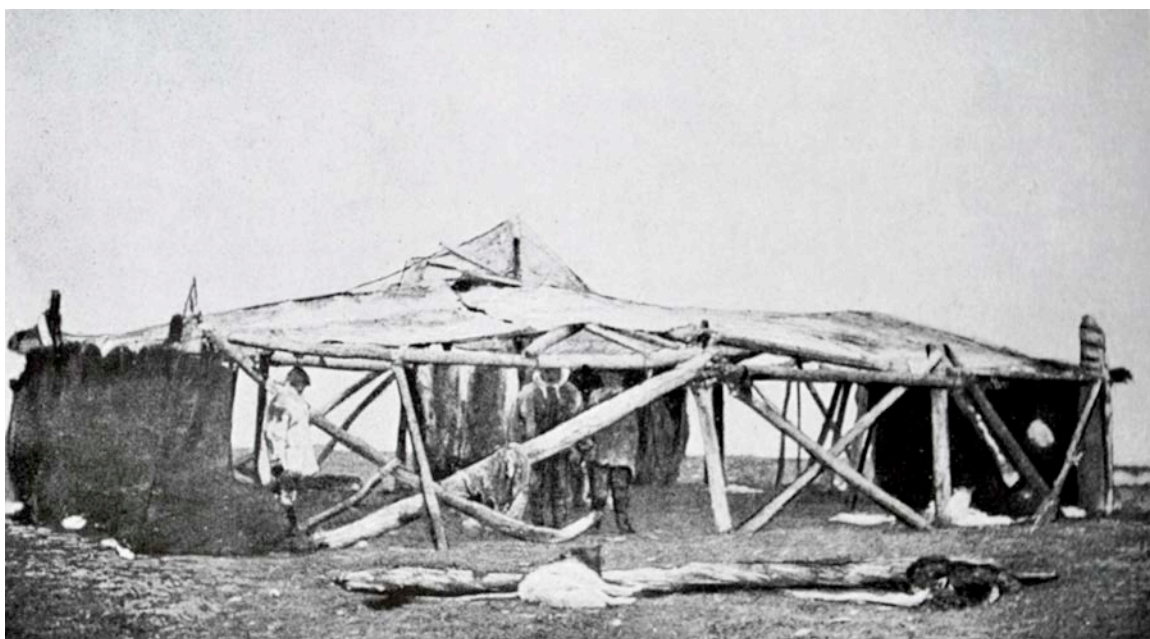


Figure 30: An impermanent north Alaskan 'karigi' (qalgiq) consisting primarily of unmodified driftwood. The three individuals visible inside the structure indicate scale. (Cantwell 1889:84).

Significantly different construction methods governed the building of early Thule qalgiit in the Central and Eastern Arctic, which lie above the tree line and required available wood to be used in a more sparing manner. An early example from Somerset Island was constructed using bowhead whalebone supports and

baleen (Savelle and Habu 2004); examples from regions without bowhead whales relied on more quotidian materials of stone, hide, sod and scavenged wood.

When the use of temporary snow houses on the sea ice replaced the practice of terrestrial winter house construction during the Postclassic Thule phase (A.D. 1400-European Contact), mediums for qalgiq construction followed suit⁹⁴. The use of snow as a construction material allowed Inuit to obtain qalgiq sizes comparable to those seen in Alaska. First hand accounts indicate that sizes could range from 5 to 8 meters in diameter from the outside wall (Boas 1888:600; Fleming 1956:218; Lister 1777). As many as sixty people (Rasmussen 1932:19; Stefansson 1914:62), and even upwards of one hundred people (Birket Smith 1959:126) have been recorded to occupy Central Arctic qalgiit at a single time.

The basic structure of these domed snow qalgiit was fairly uniform across the Arctic, as they were built larger, but in much the same way, as the snow igluit in which families spent their winters. Arctic missionary Julian Bilby (see fig. 31, 1923:217-218) records Baffin region qalgiit as being:

Generally built upon the usual round plan of the igloo, sometimes three being grouped together, apse and transept fashion, with a common entrance (nave). The company disposes itself in concentric rings round the house, married women by the wall, spinsters in front of them, and a ring of men to the front. Children are grouped on either side of the door, and the singer or dancer, stripped to the waist, takes his stand amid them and remains on the one spot all the time.

⁹⁴ The Little Ice Age of the Neo Boreal episode, beginning roughly between A.D. 1400 and 1600, is generally deemed responsible for this transition in lifestyle (see for example Maxwell 1985:304-06). A decline in open-water bowhead hunting is evident from A.D. 1400 onwards, accompanied by a retreat of populations from the High Arctic. The strategy of winter seal breathing hole hunting – which required individuals to live at various locations on the sea ice – was increasingly adopted as a seasonal way of life.

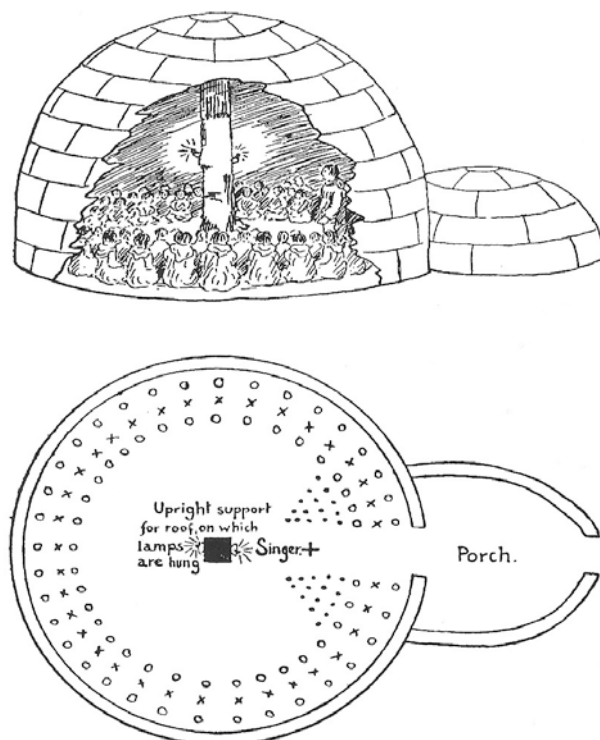


Figure 31. A side and plan view of a Baffin Island qalgiq with a central snow pillar to provide lamp light and structure support (Bilby 1923: 218-19).

While multi-domed structures were not unknown in the Eastern Arctic (see for example Mathiassen 1928:131), the architectural ideal tended towards a single chamber with front entry porch. Central Arctic traditions of qalgiq building by contrast often involved the use of multiple snow house units. Conjoined snow houses were favoured by the Copper Inuit occupying the region surrounding contemporary Cambridge Bay. These qalgiit were capable of taking on multiple forms through an adjoining of smaller residential units to a central larger domed dance house (see fig. 32). An increase in the number of adjoining residential houses required a corresponding increase in the size of the central dance house dome; as a result, two and three lobed dance houses were fairly common, while four lobed structures were known of, but rare (Jenness 1922:71). Connecting these structures allowed individuals to conserve fuel by sharing the heat and light from soapstone lamps.

As early Thule Inuit groups migrated from Alaska eastwards across the Arctic around the 13th century A.D., it appears as though they brought a modified version of the community house with them (McCullough 1989:245-48). Unlike their Alaskan counterparts, the qalgiit of the Central and Eastern Arctic were rarely gender exclusive (Lee and Reinhardt 2003:67; Taylor 1990). The space would accommodate large gatherings of individuals for dancing, games and feasting, as well as more ceremonial rituals involving shamanic performances to assess future hunting prospects or determine the reasons behind local misfortune (Taylor 1990; see also Jenness 1922:220-22). As ethnographically documented by Diamond Jenness (1922:222), singing and dancing were the principle activities of the Copper Inuit qalgiq.

As indicated by historical accounts (see various sources compiled in Taylor 1990), the qalgiq often played a social role in relieving interpersonal tensions and minimizing group conflict through dispute resolution, spiritual intervention or competitive activities. As Taylor points out (1990:58), “conflict was a special problem in larger settlements because there was no effective mechanism for settling disputes above the level of the winter household.” Murder and blood feuds were historically common across the Arctic. Taylor is clear to point out that the role of the qalgiq was not only a diffuser of issues existing within the immediate winter settlement community, but also an “important integrative force,” bringing together and forging bonds between hosts and visitors from other settlements and regions through feasting and entertainment (ibid:64).

Qalgiq Reconstruction

Over the course of a year following the Pembroke excavations a significant effort was made to maintain a continuing dialogue with Cambridge Bay residents regarding the nature and importance of the site. Aside from the various practical

workshops presented in chapter 9, meetings were frequently held with the KHS' board of elders (numbering between 12 and 15 individuals) to review the results of our work and consider new directions for archaeological engagement. Throughout this process, the presence of the qalgiq spoke strongly to many of these elders due to its presence as a 'community gathering centre.' Rather than echoing archaeological understanding of the qalgiq as an isolated historical phenomenon, however, their discussions of the structure related it directly to how Inuit live together in modern times. Questions were asked regarding how a population 'back then' would come together as a group, and how it might be different than the ways in which people gather today. Of particular interest in these conversations was the linking of the qalgiq to issues of 'wellness.' As explored in chapter 7, the population of Cambridge Bay struggles with daily challenges to its sense of community coherence and wellness, and the phenomena are often understood as interrelated. Wellness, in this sense, is often envisaged in terms of maintaining strong interpersonal relationships, values and ways of life practiced by Inuit prior to settlement in towns. During a series of interviews with Cambridge Bay elders on the topic of how community life has changed since settlement in towns, the themes of group alienation and declining wellness emerged in conjunction again and again.⁹⁵ Moses Koihok, an elder who moved to Cambridge Bay from the Bathurst Inlet region in 1959, spoke of substance abuse as the biggest challenge to living properly, highlighting its influence on isolating people from both each other and traditional values (pers. comm. KHS 2011):

In my time, I remember that people often gathered to celebrate through drum dancing. Although they smoked [cigarettes] back then

⁹⁵ While the initial community gatherings surrounding this project were unfortunately not recorded, a follow up series of interviews was conducted by myself/KHS in the summer of 2011. Designed to document the perspectives of twenty individuals regarding alterations in lifestyle brought about through settlement in Cambridge Bay, interview questions investigated local attitudes towards the community, including understandings of historical change and desired direction for its betterment. The following passages were initially translated into the third person by Emily Angulalik, and have been reverted back to first person quotations.

it did not bother them. They would celebrate by drum dancing and getting together. [The cigarettes] did not harm them because they were together and celebrating. In the old days people were often helpful. They would help each other, supplying food for other families. They did not think about alcohol or tobacco as much...I find that today the people are a lot different compared to what it was like back then...It seems like they are more isolated and segregate others, whereas often times [in the past] they would help each other. The younger people aren't listening, are not following these important values of helping each other, supporting each other like back then. It is very important that the younger people must follow this important value. People are more into alcohol than following the values of the Inuit.

The greatest impression regarding community seemed to be one of irreconcilable generational shift. As Paul Omilgoitok told me:

It seems like with the youth today, they are not experiencing the Inuit culture. It's like the youth don't even care for the Inuit culture because of the difference. In today's society there is too much gambling, too much alcohol, too much other substances...For the younger generation, it is like they do not even know...The English language is so dominant today that the Inuit youth are following their [Qallunaat] culture instead of the Inuit culture focused on the preparation of food and living off the land. It seems like the youth are not having the proper nutrition, the nutritional food they should be eating, because their parents are too busy gambling or having substance abuse. They are too busy and wrapped up around that, that they are not feeding their children the proper nutrition that they need. That is one of the reasons why they [the children] are not listening.

When asked regarding potential ways to overcome this problem, Omilgoitok responded that the only way to refresh traditional values was to create a situation in which children could start re-learning their culture:

the youth would understand and know the equal balance of the English language as well as the Inuinnaqtun culture and language, combining them both. Even speaking to children about Inuinnaqtun culture in English, that way they can understand and know the Inuit culture...they will grasp it and hold onto the culture like that. If they

get the discipline of knowing the land, living off the land, today, then it will be a lot easier for them in the future.

Similar to Janet McGrath's 'qaggiq model' for cultural revival (see plate 10), elders being interviewed articulated that a convergence of traditions, language, and historical knowledge would be required as a remedy to what they saw as obstructions to the success and health of their community.

Conversations regarding traditional meanings of qalgiit for community wellness led to the desire to see such a building reconstructed in Cambridge Bay. In the autumn of 2009, it was decided by the KHS that the Pembroke qalgiq would be re-imagined as a new exhibit for the May Hakongak Cultural Centre. An exhibit storyline team of roughly 15 members was assembled from an assortment of heritage professionals—including KHS staff, two University of Toronto archaeologists, a contracted exhibit designer, and a panel of local Inuit elders—as well as a revolving roster of other local volunteers and interested adults from the town. During a large focus group meeting held in December 2009 we began to tease apart some of these ideas and combine them into a blueprint for a physical structure. Due to the geographic dispersal of the group, further communication subsequently took place through smaller group gatherings and email/phone communication. Ben Shook, an innovative architect and Polar enthusiast was brought in throughout the summer of 2010 to guide technical elements involved in the design and rebuilding of the qalgiq.

Despite the collaborative nature of the project, it quickly became evident that the team was divided into two distinct groups regarding their approach to the qalgiq as both an interpretive and educational tool. On one side (consisting primarily of participating academics) were those individuals who felt that the qalgiq's message was mainly one of representing the past in a manner suggested by the preponderance of material evidence. The other side (primarily Inuit adults and

elders) did not object to the qalgiq being a venue for communicating of ‘factual’ knowledge about the past, so long as the reasons for communicating such knowledge were tied to the advancement of their contemporary community.

The physical nature of the Pembroke site’s qalgiq structure extended beyond the collective memory of participating Cambridge Bay elders ⁹⁶. While numerous memories remain regarding the construction and use of snow dance houses, traditions of permanent stone qalgiit have been lost to time. As a result of this, the qalgiq’s physical reconstruction initially proceeded according to a distinctly ‘academic’ logic, in which Pembroke’s material evidence was reviewed alongside archaeological literature relating to qalgiit and systematically assessed to find the most likely analogy for reconstruction. The mapped blueprint of the Pembroke qalgiq provided the basis for dimensions, indicating an interior diameter of roughly 3.25 meters and what is likely a raised seating bench of flat stones surrounding the inside perimeter (see fig. 33).⁹⁷ The limited quantity of stone surrounding the structure indicated that a framed cover was most likely erected over a low stone foundation, rather than the structure being designed as a higher-walled and roofless stone windbreak, which is also found throughout the Eastern Arctic. Excavation of the feature turned up no cooking debris, and a predictably small number of antler fragments and debitage (n=60) and other tools (n=2), as befits a structure whose use existed outside of the domestic sphere.

⁹⁶ While spatial organization within Inuit dwellings has been relatively constant through the earliest Thule times to modern tent arrangements (Le Mouél and Le Mouél 2002: 185), building structures have greatly changed. Since early historic times, Copper Inuit have been highly mobile and favored a lifestyle that transitions from winter snow houses on the sea ice to combined snow and tent structures during warmer spring weather, and a variety of tent designs during summer and fall months (Jenness 1922:56-82). With the exception of the semi-subterranean ‘qarmat’ – defined as “autumn houses with skin roofs (Mathiassen 1927: 133) – permanent, multi-season terrestrial structures were generally not used.

⁹⁷ True to form for qalgiit, these dimensions indicated a floor surface one and a half times the size of the other structures at the site.

Little is currently known regarding the design of permanent dwellings during the early phase of Thule expansion. While stone rings representing the structures' foundations remain detectable, the design and materials once used in erecting structures over these foundations have largely vanished (Park 1988). In 2002, an interesting analysis of semi-subterranean dwellings at an early Thule site known as 'Co-op' by Jean François Le Mouël and Maryke Le Mouël (2002)⁹⁸ sought to clarify architectural designs used by early migrating groups. While radiocarbon dates for the Co-op site's multiple occupations are somewhat problematic (ibid: 177), they generally cluster between the dates of A.D. 1200-1400, a timeframe corroborated by the presence of early artifact types and defined exterior kitchen extensions on all of the structures, both of which are hallmarks of early Thule phase expansion⁹⁹. Based on the evidence at hand, Le Mouël and Le Mouël concluded that the early structures were most likely fitted with a "panel roof" in which "a lintel is apparently fixed to two long vertical poles about halfway up...[and] forms a frontal portico that supports the front ends of two to five very long poles, placed either parallel to each other or fanning out (ibid:174).¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ The Co-op site is also located on Victoria Island, albeit closer to Prince Albert Sound near the modern community of Uluhaktok (Holman). It was excavated over the course of five field seasons (1980-86) although much of the data and artifacts were tragically lost in a 1984 field lab fire.

⁹⁹ While more extensive and robust, and in a much better state of preservation than Pembroke site dwellings, Co-op site house traits are in general agreement with the 'early Thule' chronological and cultural positioning of the Pembroke site.

¹⁰⁰ The precision of the authors' description is based on an image of similar dwellings depicted in a carving on a walrus tusk bow drill handle from the early Classic Thule period found on north Baffin Island (in Mary-Rousselière 1960: 12-13).



Figure 33. The qalgiq foundation as mapped during the 2008 excavations. The darkened stones represent flat rocks and support stones likely used in the formation of bench seating (Friesen 2009:15).

Like Le Mouël and Le Mouël, our academic conclusions favoured an architectural analogy drawn from an early 20th century Greenlandic tent documented by Birket-Smith (1924:154-56, see fig. 33). Known as an ‘erqulik’ (“the one with the rear”), or double arch tent, the tent style is believed to have originated in the Central Arctic, only to be adopted by north Greenlandic Inughuit people during a visit by Baffin Islanders in 1856 (Lee and Reinhardt 2003:24). Unlike many historical-era Inuit tent structures, the framework of this tent was able to maximize floor area and ceiling height without using a traditional tipi, or steeply sloped shape. This form, our team’s elders agreed, would physically allow for the same activities as traditionally performed within

the snow houses of their direct memory. The large upright beams ensured a suitably high ceiling and maximum length of vertical walls to allow for sufficient performance space.



Figure 34. The structural frame of an erqulik, or double-arch tent (Birket-Smith 1924: fig. 119).

Another academic consideration regarding the structure's re-creation was the technical constraints that would have been imposed by resource availability. Although little is known about early Inuit strategies of resource acquisition, historic Copper Inuit groups possessed extensive trade networks and were known to travel great distances to obtain raw resources (Morrison 1991). As the area in question afforded no access to bowhead whale hunting (Ryan 2003:104), it was assumed that wood would have been the solely available material for framework construction.

With a rough archaeological vision in place for the qalgiq, we began to work at fleshing out the surface details of the structure. It is at this stage that archaeological notions of 'authenticity' began to quaver. Seven Inuit elders from our team had been assigned the responsibility of building out the qalgiq's skeletal structure. In contrast to previous efforts to align the building's

construction to what was understood to be the most empirically accurate representation of materials and styles used in the past, the elders seemed to hold little fidelity to the idea of ‘duplicating’ a history they did not know. While they continued to speak about their desire to ‘get the qalgiq right,’ the statement took on new connotations of maintaining standards appropriate to their own experiential knowledge, including task sequence and material patterning (insisting that canvas pieces used to line the qalgiq be first sewn into seal shapes in order to interlock ‘properly’), and educational priorities (having at least one young person present to learn how to cut and sew the skins). These actions were not linked to a desire for visual conformity to models of the past, a fact accentuated by the elders’ indifference to canvas lining being used to replace skins (“just paint it like skins”), or to staples, nails and screws being used to hold the structure together. As elder Anna Nahogaloak pointed out, why stitch 50 meters of wall material by hand when a sewing machine is readily available?

Several additional layers of interpretive tools were conceived and designed by the academic component of the team to complete the structure’s educational message: a set of mannequins depicting a man and a child was installed in one corner of the exhibit to illustrate its origins as a site for teaching and socializing youth (see fig. 36), a narrative of historic qalgiq use and the Pembroke excavations inserted as panels on the exterior of the display. Replicated artifacts from Pembroke were also included to better illustrate material components of the site.

Despite the lack of outward conflict between the academic and Inuit components of our team, it was relatively clear that a profound gap divided our understandings of the qalgiq. The rhetoric of community archaeology inspires the idea of shared control as a profound and active struggle to define positions of power and voice. Yet in this case, subtlety reigned to the extent that lack of conflict was often assumed to imply collaborative consent. As the carpenter

hired to actualize our group's vision, however, Ben Shook felt that a hidden contradiction lay within the structure. In a reflexive on-line journal entry describing the building process, he notes (Shook 2010):

when we asked the elders about what it [the qalgiq] would have looked like, or how the skins would have been oriented, they kind of scratched their heads. One said, "Well, it wouldn't have been inside." Like, it just doesn't compute that this thing would be placed indoors. So I ask myself, who is this for? This community is 95% native; this Heritage Center is for the community. Why are we building a replica of the old way that no one under the age of 65 understands... and those older are just baffled anyway?

As the project progressed, it became increasingly clear that the structure would not be productive in ways desired by local people when serving as an archaeological time capsule. A series of interviews was accordingly held with elders to reorient and deepen our group's understanding of the qalgiq as a source of 'community.' Elders responded with memories from their childhood experiences of gathering, vivid recollections of drumming, dancing, and the joy and electricity of people coming together to celebrate life. To emulate this sense of community and history as visceral phenomena, the qalgiq needed to become animated through collective performance, whether it be the entertainment of storytelling and drum dancing, the education of young people, or other processes through which individuals describe who they are and how they belong to a community. As our team's translator and collaborator Emily Angulalik pointed out to me (pers. comm. 2010), Inuit have a special term to designate such spaces: 'unipkaarviit,' or 'places where stories reside.' It was around this point of time that the idea of transforming the qalgiq into a theatre was born.

Since 2009, Cambridge Bay has developed an affinity for film. That year saw a KHS initiative to foster awareness of local culture and history through the medium of documentary video. InsightShare, a UK-based participatory video

non-profit, donated audio-visual equipment and a week of video training to an initial group of 10 high school students selected for their interest in media technology. These students were encouraged to record their experiences of both historical and present events. It didn't take long before the program and its media skills caught on, with students training others how to use the media equipment to voice their concerns and opinions. Within the year, even Cambridge Bay elders were recording their own interviews and actively documenting traditional knowledge workshops.

In a collective decision to depart from more standard models of museum exhibit development, our team considered ways to integrate these videos into the qalgiq's design. The best way to represent the story of the qalgiq, it was ultimately decided, was to highlight the structure's statement on history and community as an open question rather than definitive set of conclusions. Video projects from Cambridge Bay were amassed and centralized in a database. A large-scale viewing screen was wired into the qalgiq wall. Working between local elders and a computer programmer, a separate touch screen system for browsing through the database and selecting videos was designed and installed.



Figures 35. The exterior and interior of the completed qalgiq in the May Hakongak Cultural Centre. (photos by Brendan Griebel 2012/Ben Shook 2010)



Figure 36. A man and boy mannequin dressed in traditional clothing placed in a corner diorama in the qalgiq to demonstrate its function as a centre for intergenerational learning. The man is carving wood using a copper bladed whittling knife, while the boy looks on.

As of February 2013, roughly 50 videos have been installed in the qalgiq. Many of these videos are in the Inuinnaqtun language, created by elders urging their people to remember their past. A locally filmed movie from the 1960s has been digitized from archival film reels, providing a color-saturated retrospective on a modern community in the making. Delving even further back, a local student film documents her experience at an archaeological field season, the eye of her camera probing into trenches and test pits in search of something recognizable. Perhaps most importantly, these messages are not passively consumed. They intermingle with the voices and actions resulting from the qalgiq's daily use—as a reading room, a meeting centre, and workshop space—during which people actively try to build these perspectives of the past into their contemporary identities and lives.

Conclusion

The technology of [Cambridge Bay] is schizophrenic. People are curious about the old ways. The kids are in some way proud of the old ways. They are also enamoured of the West. A Skidoo that goes 70 miles an hour on the sea is pretty cool. The construction of the qalgiq has brought me to realize I have not participated in making a qalgiq, but have further enunciated the bifurcation of these two worlds. We have made a replica. Of course it is positive to aid the imagination and to bring youth into the presence of history. But what is it for?

-Ben Shook, qalgiq fieldnotes (Shook 2010)

The idea of 'change' is one that is increasingly used to define the Arctic. Melting icecaps, shifting age demographics, transitions in both human and animal migration patterns; all of these events, while typically viewed through a 'big-picture' lens, primarily have repercussions for the local people who must accommodate the new realities into their everyday lives. The town of Cambridge Bay continues to change at a pace that is alarming for many of its inhabitants. In the last six years, Cambridge Bay has expanded by over 10 percent, with almost 30 percent of its total population being under 15 years old (Statistics Canada 2011). Only 5 percent of the total population reports the use of Inuinnaqtun/Inuktitut as a household language (ibid). In 2011, the federal government announced that Cambridge Bay had been chosen as the site for the construction of the Canadian High Arctic Research Station ushering in yet another new source of rapid change. This very high profile and large-scale initiative is slated to introduce an estimated 35-50 permanent employees (and their families) into the community following the station's completion in 2017 (George 2012). The project has already visibly increased visits by dignitaries to the community, including the attendance of the Prime Minister in August 2012 (see fig. 37).

This rapid change has created a heightened need for people in Cambridge Bay to begin articulating their voice as strong community. In order for CHARS' incoming research projects to successfully engage cultural elements within the community—as is outwardly stated in the station's principles (Government of Canada 2012)—these same elements must first be discussed and defined according to some degree of consensus by the community itself. This is a form of knowledge that comes from the convergence of community: the telling of stories between generations, the sharing of skills and the diffusing of local issues in such a way as to forge stronger bonds, both locally and with incoming groups.

The question that remains is whether the construction and use of a qalgiq has facilitated ideas of 'community' and deepened local understandings of history, culture and identity. I argue that this was ultimately achieved through the sense of encounter and creative dialogue engendered by the site. This will be further explored in the following chapter through recourse to community archaeology's themes of collective identity, democracy and relevance.



Figure 37. A photo of the qalgiq issued by the Office of the Prime Minister during Stephen Harper's visit to Nunavut in 2012. From left to right: Federal Minister of Health Leona Aglukkaq, Prime Minister Stephen Harper, Nunavut Premier Eva Aariak, Cambridge Bay MLA Keith Peterson.

According to anthropologist Edmund Carpenter, it is significant that Inuit possess no direct words for the actions of 'creating' and 'making' (1971:14):

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.

I would like to conclude this chapter by considering the qalgiq project as an indicator of the negotiation that must take place if archaeological projects are to profoundly shape local connections between history and community. These concepts, like the ivory described above, must be realized as being limited in their flexibility. To over-extend a community project into academic understandings of the past through rigid adherence to empirical facts or the functions they are assumed to serve is to challenge community's ability to define, to create, and to simply try and be 'itself.'

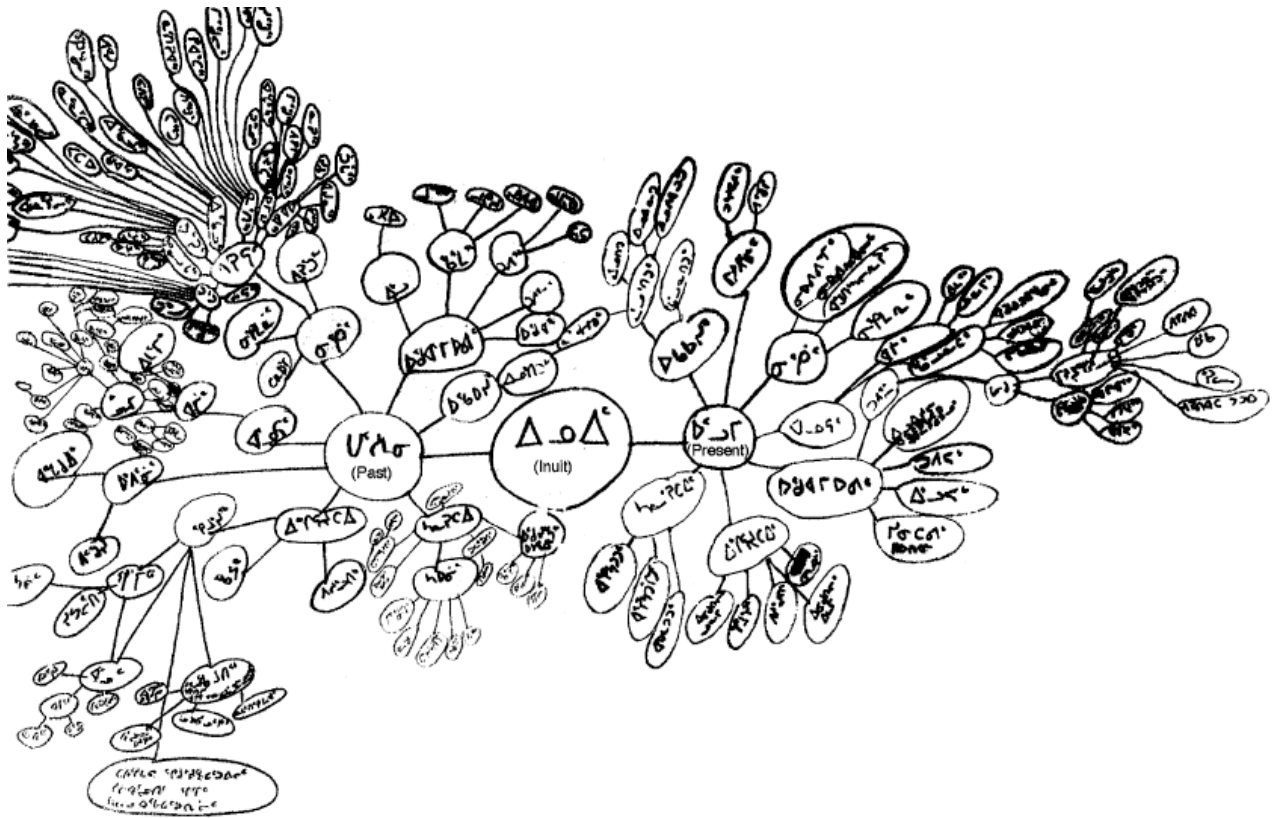


Plate 11: A concept map exploring Inuit identity (Wolforth 1998:570). English subtitles have been provided by Wolforth for the central three nodes, indicating the loci of 'past,' 'present,' and 'Inuit.'

The human mind and the human condition depend on a balance of the past and present. We know who we are and how to be in the world thanks to stories. We are held by the way these stories link us to a place; and the world we live in is given meaning by how our stories link us to our ancestors and to one another. The stories themselves are a mixture of the practical and the mysterious. We need both of these to be able to see, to make decisions, to be both puzzled and to solve the puzzles...Without stories we are lost—to the world, because we cannot know it for what it has been, and to ourselves, because we cannot find who we are and might be able to be.

-Hugh Brody (2008:54)

In the winter of 2012, I stumbled across an article written by McGill educator John Wolforth (1998) and was struck by a disturbing sense of *déjà vu*. The article describes Wolforth's venture into the community of Cambridge Bay in the late 1990s to create a culturally situated social studies program for local NTEP¹⁰¹ teacher-trainees. The two week social studies course, notes Wolforth (ibid:566):

walks the narrow line between providing material that both meets the academic standards of a respected southern institution, and is at the same time accessible and relevant to teachers whose...cultural and linguistic base is quite different. I saw it as my task to try to bridge these differences, to introduce the students to the skills required of good social studies teachers in a way that respected, and in fact drew from, their own experience as Inuit.

Wolforth saw this course as a means of introducing a new framework for communicating the differences of knowledge that exist across academic and Inuit cultures (ibid: 67). This was accomplished in part by examining the issue of time as a culturally 'loaded' concept. Wolforth carefully outlines the criteria that define his own academic understanding of time as being something that is linear, quantifiable, and logical in its sequence of 'time-lined' events.

The image represented above is a cultural 'time line' developed by an Inuit student from his class during an assignment to better understanding connections between individuals and time.¹⁰² While giving visual form to understandings of Inuit identity, notes Wolforth, the project of drawing concept maps created as many questions for participating students as it answered (ibid:569): "Since Inuit is the basic concept, should the only examples of subconcepts be those that relate directly to Inuit, and to no other culture? If *inukshuk* (a beacon of stones, piled

¹⁰¹ NTEP refers to the Northern Teacher Education Program (see chapter 9).

¹⁰² The reason the concept map is in Inuktitut syllabics rather than the Roman script normally associated with Cambridge Bay's dominant Inuinnaqtun language is attributable to the fact that the NTEP program draws together students from across Nunavut. Wolforth at one point comments on the difficulties of having two orthographic scripts present in his classroom (Wolforth 1998:569).

on top of each other to resemble a human being) is an example of communication, is television also within the same category?"

The conceptual map attests to the understanding that the past, in some shape or form, is inseparable from the present. In the Inuit imagination, notes Alberto Manguel (2008:122), "it is place and time that remain constant as we travel through them." "Stories, on the other hand," he continues (ibid), "change in order to hold the passing of memory, since the telling of a legend is always both a voice from the past and contemporary of the teller...a constant moment that is, all at once, present, past and future."

Living History, Archaeology and the Importance of Memory in Nunavut

Introduction

Will the Inuit disappear from the face of the earth? Will we become extinct? Will our culture, language and our attachment to nature be remembered only in history books?...If we are to survive as a race, we must have the understanding and patience of the dominant cultures of the country...We must teach our children their mother tongues. We must teach them the values which have guided our society for over thousands of years...It is this spirit we must keep alive so that it will guide us again in a new life in a changed world.

-NSDC (1998 in Stevenson 2006:168)

The above passage, originally spoken by John Amagoalik, was brought up during one of my interviews with former Arctic archaeologist, Ellen Bielawski (pers. comm. 2011). In the text, Amagoalik—one of Nunavut's leading political figures—shares his vision for the founding of an Inuit homeland. Bielawski and I had been discussing what potential role archaeology might play in helping Nunavummiut meet their agenda of cultural survival. The question, Bielawski states, is not whether the Inuit, as people, will disappear from the earth—"it is very obvious that they are not going to"—but rather "who are they?" and "who do they want to be?" (ibid):

I think we don't just document prehistory and history to document it. I think we do it to use it. I think we do it to understand who we are. And for peoples like Inuit, the recent transitions, the last century coupled with an increasing pace of change for everybody, the lack of engagement between youth, middle agers, and elders...somehow it seems to me that there are questions to be asked about the Inuit experience...who are they? Who do they want to be? I don't think in our silos of education, and policy, and employment, and archaeology, and global warming, did they have any time to contemplate who they wanted to be. And that is what's needed.

The mission to regain a strong sense of cultural identity and tradition has been among the foremost political goals of Nunavut (see chapter 2). Inuit have made clear that their survival as a distinct people relies not only on remembering past traditions, but also the successful integration of these memories with the material and social realities that dominate their contemporary worlds.

The process of retrieving, reviving and reinvesting historic knowledge is something that must stem from an ‘inummarik’ (“being originally, or ‘truly,’ Inuit) perspective that privileges Inuit values and language (see arguments in ITK 2012; McGrath 2012; NCCAH 2012; Swinton 1977). As Janet McGrath cautions however, an emphasis on traditional Inuit frameworks is not meant to “endorse the idea of social scientists rushing to the aid of Inuit to document the Inummarik way” (2012:208). Such work, she furthers (ibid:208-9), “needs to be an internal project...a broad, time-sensitive and urgent project that needs to be guided and carried out by those with the Inuktitut worldview and ontology and whose knowledge productions are directly designed to aid local transmission and adaptation.”

How then does archaeology – and more specifically, community archaeology – fit into this process? Should archaeology continue to be practiced in communities as a visible source of academic difference in understandings of history, a ‘time-line’ against which Inuit can define and compare their own models of the past?¹⁰³ Or should archaeology actively attempt to integrate IQ to form a unique hybridized approach to investigating the relationship between contemporary and historic lives ? Will the escalating interest of Inuit youth in archaeology

¹⁰³ In his article looking at constructions of Inuit and qallunaat identities in the Arctic, Edmund Searles (2010) notes that closeness between Inuit and non-Inuit ways of life tends to accentuate their differences. Remembering a conversation with one Inuit informant (ibid:163), he recalls that he, “claimed that it is easier to distinguish between Inuit things and Qallunaat things because they have been brought closer together; increased proximity has made it easier to identify the differences between the two groups.”

ultimately bring about its own cultural revisions to the discipline without the artifice of non-Inuit intervention?

This chapter will consider these questions in light of the larger picture of cultural and collective memory in Nunavut. It asks the sensitive question of where the limits of memory lie. Can contemporary Inuit memories revive sufficiently detailed interpretations of history to meet contemporary demands for knowledge about the past? Can archaeology contribute to this process? While Nunavut holds oral history and the narrative recollections of elders in high esteem as retainers of history, what happens when generations of 'real elders' (cf. chapter 9) come to be replaced by a population with less experience of traditional language, skills and knowledge of the land? As the Inughuk woman Ikinilik once made clear to Knud Rasmussen regarding her culture's ability to retain the past: "we forget things we don't use" (Rasmussen 1931:500).

On the Importance of Memory

Memory, notes psychologist Daniel Schacter (1998:306), is an integral part of the human ability to both make sense of experience and articulate it through the construction of stories:

These tales are all we have of our pasts, so they are potent determinants of how we view ourselves and what we do. Yet our stories are built from many different ingredients: snippets of what actually happened, thoughts about what might have happened, and beliefs that guide us as we attempt to remember. Our memories are the fragile but powerful products of what we recall from the past, believe about the present, and imagine about the future.

As discussed in chapter 2, memory in Nunavut is upheld as an "ethical injunction" (cf. Stevenson 2006). "Remembering is seen as a safeguard to the existence of an Inuit people," notes Lisa Stevenson (ibid:170), "but it is the

memory of a way of life rather than a set of historical events that shores up Inuit identity.” In this context, memory gains its cultural value as a repository for traditional knowledge, skills and values, all of which are perceived as sources for contemporary identity and success. Statements connecting knowledge about the past to the prosperity and perpetuation of new generations of Inuit are abound in Nunavut. As one notable example affirms (NCCAH 2012:2):

Inuit Elders have used the bow and arrow analogy to explain the relevance this life view, established over centuries, has for the future of Inuit. They say that if you do not draw back the arrow in the bow, it will drop a short distance in front of you. In other words, the level of our understanding of the views and values of our past helps determine the degree of success we have with our future; the better our understanding, the greater our success.

The discourse of memory in Nunavut generally emphasizes the presence of ‘living histories.’ This term has been used to define both the status of living elders’ experiences in traditional language and lifestyles and the active revitalization of these same traditions (see for example Younger-Lewis 2005; Lyons et. al 2012). Janet McGrath (2012:266) defines living history in a broader, collective sense as “shared perspectives among networks of people at the local level – whether individual, local, community or territory-wide.” As McGrath further points out (ibid:268), the transmission of living history primarily takes place through the same intergenerational relationships that are currently being challenged by growing gaps in language and practical experience.

The notions of ‘collective’ and ‘cultural’ memories also frequently appear in reference to memory in Nunavut.¹⁰⁴ These concepts involve what Lisa Stevenson (2006:173) identifies as a complex “slippage” between individual life histories and a larger collective consciousness. While personal recollections are typically

¹⁰⁴ Natasha Lyons (2010) looks at similar ideas through a framework of ‘social memory.’ Social memory, in this case, “refers to the process that a community undertakes in remembering a shared and communal history” (ibid:25).

privileged by Inuit culture for attributes of specific (as opposed to generalized) detail and perspective grounded in experience, they have become situated within a larger “cultural memoryscape” (ibid:174) as a result of more recent political emphasis on building (and safeguarding) collective Inuit identity through recourse to their collective history and knowledge (ie. IQ). In this somewhat complicated context, personal memories become entangled with a broader sense of community (ie. remembering ‘Inuit’ traditions to help preserve ‘Inuit’ culture), while still maintaining a cultural ideal as a form of non-generalized storytelling, based on direct, first-hand experiences. The situation becomes even more complex, as the gathering of collective memories inevitably involves a conscious curation of knowledge through perpetuation of some narratives at the expense of others being forgotten (Lyons 2010).

For individuals stemming from cultures that privilege written rather than oral traditions for remembering, the reliability of verbally transmitted memories is generally considered as suspect. The discipline of archaeology is no exception to this rule. Oral histories and narrative traditions are either systematically excavated for layers of authenticity and factual accuracy (see for example Echo Hawk 2000) or rejected entirely due to their being “less focused on establishing objective truth” than written and material correlates (Persky 1998:75).¹⁰⁵ While it has been pointed out that details in Inuit oral history are often reliable up to a century after described events took place (Arima 1976), attempts to link them to earlier historic events or material correlates are often fruitless. Ernest Burch (1996:131) insists that storytelling among the Inuit offers no specific formula for the couching of history in memory, the criteria for building and retelling memories often varying according to cultural context, situational circumstances and the individual storyteller.

¹⁰⁵ This quote stems from an archaeological testimony at the precedent-setting court case known as *Delgamuukw vs. the Queen*, in which British Columbia First Nations presented their claims to land based exclusively on oral testimony. Oral history was ultimately decided to carry equal or greater weight than written evidence.

A complex conflation of myth and historical memory occurs at both the individual and collective levels among the Inuit. While many Inuit linguistically identify stories and legends as separate entities (see chapter 3) the distinction is less one of accuracy than proximity to individual experience. As Yvonne Csonka points out (2005:325), such classification “from the Inuit point of view, does not rest on the criteria of realism or credibility, but rather on that of proximity to the facts, not so much in time as in terms of personal connection to those who were witness to them.” In a similar vein, Laugrand has pointed out that “the truth value of a declaration derives more from an elder’s authority than from conformity with reality” (2003: 109).

Memory, Narratives and Community Building

In Nunavut, memory has ultimately come to be understood in terms of a collective story, capable of both strengthening and sustaining community identity (see for example McGrath 2012; Norget 2008:233; Nuttal 2002; Robinson 2008; Sejersen 2004). As Phyllis Morrow explains (2002:19-20), the links between storytelling and community building run deep in the Arctic:

Story is what makes experiences of place into communities of people. Community requires a history and set of associations with place...While our experiences and sentiments are individual, they involve mutual ties and obligations, things shared and interconnected among neighbors and kin—assistance rendered, allusion caught, insight kindled, conflict modulated. Community is built as people have experiences together, but also as they recollect their experiences. As we retell, we relive experiences with those who originally shared them. We also include new people, at various levels and in different ways, in the telling. In this process, one person’s narrative often triggers another’s memories, and we build a universe of shared discourse as our experiences and recollections of experience intersect and shape one another.

Just as the presence of stories can strengthen community bonds, the absence of stories can have dramatic implications on levels of social wellness. Regarding his own experience of silenced narratives, Inuit filmmaker Zacharius Kunuk poignantly remarks that (2002:13), “it seems that when our elders stopped talking, our children began killing themselves.”

In her excellent overview of the role narratives play in northern communities, Phyllis Morrow (2002:17-18) describes a crucial function of the story as one of tacitly speaking the unspoken; as revealing something about “social and intellectual forces below the surface, about money and power, about our visions of the work to be done,” and ultimately the “patterns in the apparent chaos of social experience.” The sharing, or dialogue, of stories as a social process helps individuals pool their knowledge and create a common understanding of both ‘sense of place’ (Basso 1996) and the cultural integrity of their community (Cohen 1985). This is accomplished through both defining what elements are not shared, and accentuating cohesive elements at the expense of “incongruities of actual experience” and “moments of discord” (Morrow *ibid*:21). Through story-telling practices, notes Keiichi Omura (2007:46), “Inuit do not try to construct and provide objective representations of the environment independent of them, but to give forms to their own lives, in which they have become a member of the Inuit community.”

These strong connections between collective memory, identity and community building insist that broader, and potentially more sensitive, questions be asked of archaeology’s relationship to memory in Nunavut. What happens when the creation of Inuit memories is recognized as occurring at a political rather than personal level? The territory of Nunavut has been described as possessing a “presentist mandate” (Csonka 2005:32), meaning that its drive towards historical consciousness originates primarily from contemporary political circumstances. Should the memories and stories produced in this process be perceived as

somehow different than those of individuals? The archaeological stake in this question lies in whether the discipline is being used in service of 'the people' or 'the state.' Where does the line exist between 'nationalist' ideology and the struggle to support coherent communities and the survival of tradition? Does archaeological engagement with a territorially prescribed emphasis on traditional values and memories entail the creation of a 'nationalist archaeology'?

Nationalist archaeology, notes Bruce Trigger, is engaged primarily to "bolster the pride and morale of nations or ethnic groups" (1984:360). "It is strongest," he continues (*ibid*), "amongst people who feel politically threatened, insecure or deprived of their collective rights by more powerful nations..." The creation and perpetuation of national memories through archaeology, while common, is often perceived in a pejorative context as a form of propaganda or strategy to legitimize particular regimes at the expense of others. In better case scenarios, the social values and historical understandings produced through nationalist archaeology have little 'lasting power' (Trigger 1984). Worst-case scenarios have been documented in tragic detail, with popular examples including Nazi era employments of the archaeological discipline and the Babri mosque riots in Ayodhya (see for example Arnold 1990; Ratnagar 2004). As Yannis Hamilakis suggests (1996:977), archaeologists should unite in a more critical stance to "deconstruct and effectively oppose nationalist narratives of the past and the present, as hegemonic discourses."

While I hesitate to describe the Nunavut territory's emphasis on traditional knowledge as a 'nationalist regime,' such potential exists in attempts to codify and operationalize IQ through ideas based on a 'golden age' of cultural uniformity. While I do not echo Hamilakis' belief, in this case, that the archaeological role lies in 'opposing' nationalist narratives of the past, I argue that archaeology does have a responsibility to foster dialogue at a situated community level regarding the various ways in which history may or may not

have taken place. As Randall McGuire points out “sharing a common history does not mean that people have shared a common experience of that history” (2008:23).

In answering the question “What is Community Archaeology?” Yvonne Marshall (2002:218) reflects on the potential for the approach to create a “fourth and very different kind” of social context specific to post-colonial populations and beyond the scope of Bruce Trigger’s suggested trinity of nationalism, imperialism and colonialism. In a similar attempt to move beyond these three socio-political frameworks for archaeology, Fawcett et al. (2008) identify multivocality as a source for buffering the influence of political agendas on archaeology. Multivocality, in this sense, aligns with Hodder’s understanding of the term as the moral and ethical responsibility of archaeologists to encourage interpretation of the past by a diverse range of individuals (see Hodder 1999). In this way, Fawcett et al. note (ibid:2), “ sites will be relevant to people from a variety of academic and non-academic backgrounds and multiple complementary and/or contradictory interpretations will be available.” While even Trigger concedes that “the more questions that are asked and the more narratives of the past that are formulated the better” (2008:190), he cautions that diversity only increases the need for archaeologists to “synthesize divergent viewpoints,” produce more “holistic” interpretations, and ultimately curb their own “narrative fantasies” about the past.

Archaeology as Storytelling, Listening and a Creator of Memory

There has been a trend among archaeologists to consider the social role of their discipline as one of narration about the past (Clarke 2004; Gibb 2000; Given 2009; Holtorf 2008; Lewis 2000; Little 2000; Majewski 2000; McKee and Galle 2000; Praetzelis 1998; Young 2002). While many of these studies focus on the role of

fiction in archaeology, less literal considerations of this analogy envision the inclusion of narratives as a methodological tool for research, “an explicitly subjective, but rigorous, means of exploring archaeological and archival data (Gibb 2000:3).

The vision of ‘archaeologist as storyteller’ has been tempered by an opposing stance suggesting that the discipline’s ultimate role should be that of ‘listening.’ In her article on Arctic narrative, Phyllis Morrow suggests the role of the social scientist in the Arctic as one of professional ‘listener,’ with the goal to “identify the overlapping and conflicting senses of place that underlie local sentiments” (2002:19). In defining this role, Morrow suggests a “mid-level” approach that lies between a “folklorist’s search for repeated narrative elements” and a broad “Levi-Straussian interest in the symbolizing process itself” (2002:22):

We do have trained ears, and when we listen closely to the personal narratives and traditional stories that Northerners tell to each other and to us, we may discern an almost inaudible dialogue, a quiet commentary about people’s concerns and preoccupations, an “oral history” of the present...

A similar role of ‘listening’ has been suggested specifically for archaeologists in the Canadian Arctic (Fitzhugh and Loring 2002). This understanding aligns with McNiven and Russell’s idea of an ‘archaeology of oral tradition,’ which inverts the traditional relationship between material and narrative data. “Instead of oral history being used as an extra dimension to archaeological evidence,” they note (2005: 245), “archaeological evidence is used to add an extra dimension to oral tradition.”

Where do these opposing analogies of storytelling and listening leave the practice of archaeology in the Arctic? I suggest that they both converge within the larger analogy of ‘ihuma,’ or understandings of reason that accompany

adulthood in Inuit society (see chapters 3, 7). Reason is measured as a balance between listening and having sufficient knowledge (gained through experience) to be able to engage society in a manner deemed to be socially appropriate. Ihuma is conferred upon an individual by the community in subtle narrative ways that outline positive social behaviors. As a socially and culturally embedded form of knowledge, ihuma is not a 'natural' awareness, and is required to be actively informed and instructed to develop along proper lines (Briggs 1970). The acquisition of ihuma by an individual will ultimately come to influence the way in which he or she further describes the world. As described by Keiichi Omura (2007:2), one who has acquired ihuma:

does not easily generalize about phenomena nor reduce complex phenomena into a simple principle without regard for the detailed context. An 'adult' is sensitive to and gives careful consideration to the subtle details and contexts of phenomena in order to cope.

Perhaps most importantly, the concept of ihuma implies an understanding of the social conventions and expectations of a community. As Jean Briggs points out (1970:362), "one must have ihuma to be considered a fully competent member of society."

While this analogy is not meant to suggest a form of archaeology adherent to Inuit worldview, the balance between learning through listening, and telling stories in ways both accessible and usable to Inuit people does make room for a practice in synch with cultural understandings and social standards. If we consider community archaeology as a 'reasonable' social practice, how does its narrative process mesh with traditions of memory and storytelling already present in Inuit communities? Can archaeological interaction, like collective memories of history, help create communities and strengthen the bonds between individuals, place, and the past?

Community archaeology, I argue, is able to provide a context through which people can better 'situate' a sense of tradition in their contemporary lives. Christopher Matthews and Matthew Palus (2009:144) envision that "becoming knowledgeable about a place to be a way of residing in that place." Individuals, they further write (ibid), "achieve legitimacy by becoming knowledgeable, and archaeology (specifically, association with archaeologists) is one opportunity among several others to expand one's range of stories, that is, to demonstrate appropriate local knowledge, to become "at home" and acquire an aura of habitation." For many younger generations of Inuit, this sense of 'being situated' in both Inuit identity and history is something that is lacking. With no experience in traditional languages, life on the land, or other activities deemed to constitute an inuktitut state, young generations have difficulty reconciling their own lives with those of an identity that is supposed to define them and which, in turn, they are supposed to perpetuate. In describing his participation in a 2007 elders and youth community archaeology camp conducted by Max Friesen, a young Cambridge Bay man named Quentin Crockatt (pers. comm. 2011) articulates archaeology's role in helping him draw connections between past and present communities:

I got to not only get a sense of how long our ancestors and we have been here, and it just also shows how life was back then with the tools they had and it brings new meaning to the Inuit stories that are told...It kind of helps keep the cycle on my perspective of our own culture...People back then lived with each other in close quarters and they are still doing it today. There can be a lot of tension... Archaeology helped me to appreciate those stories more than I would have if I didn't take part...It brings sort of a realism to the Inuit stories that were told. Our stories that are being told that the elders know...To me this brings a total appreciation.

It is clear that archaeological narratives cannot be conceived as a replacement to the stories Inuit tell about history. Typically confined to the printed pages of reports and books, archaeological stories become severed from the community,

“unseen and unread” by local populations (Ipellie 2008:81). They are less entrenched in local people and land. When properly engaged within a community context, however, I argue that community archaeology functions much like Tamussi’s makeshift museum (chapter 8). It expands the ‘weir’ that catches and saves the “debris of events of past lives” (Graburn 1998:28) for contemporary communities to reflect upon, and build back into their own stories and memories.

Re-imagining Community: Assessing Cambridge Bay Projects as Dialogue in Collective Identity, Democracy and Relevance

Throughout this thesis, I’ve drawn a loose parallel between IQ and community archaeology. In both cases, I argue, attempts to codify their practice for purposes of application have detracted from their consideration as ‘living technologies’ (cf. Arnakak 2000), or ‘non-scary conceptual spaces’ (cf. Tester and Irnik 2008), in which ideas can be developed and discussed, history can be experienced, and memories formed while still acknowledging their present-day origins.

Broader understandings of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit see it as knowledge embedded in process and relationships, which ultimately contributes to the betterment of community; the “transfer of an ever-evolving set of knowledge and skills that are essential for producing a contributing member of family and society” (NTI 2002). This idea of IQ as a foundation for ‘wellness’ has been most thoroughly explored in a document by the NNCAH (2012). As noted by the authors (ibid:5), IQ can be considered as both a perspective through which to envision wellness and a process that can be followed to ensure that wellness is perpetuated in communities:

From an IQ perspective, a sense of personal health and wellness is reliant on a strong sense of identity and belonging, an understanding of purpose and role in terms of a personal contribution to be made to

improving the common good and serving others, and an appreciation of the specific skills and abilities one has to contribute to those ends.

IQ, like community archaeology, is not something that can be accurately defined or described in precise terms (NCCAH 2012:7). Rather it is the *process* of trying to figure out what these concepts means, that ultimately leads to community building and healing. When practiced in a setting that acknowledges the primacy of a community's need to create change and mend itself through history and memory, the ultimate benefit of community archaeology is to help in this process. This does not imply a blind acceptance of local interpretations, but rather a critical employment of the discipline's dual roles as 'storyteller' and 'listener' to help unravel the complexity that underlies both historic and contemporary narratives.

To better explore this relationship, I will further weave the ideas of IQ and community archaeology into the Cambridge Bay case studies presented in chapters 9 and 10. As previously discussed, I envision community archaeology as a 'process' or 'dialogue' that uses the past (whether in material form, or as conceived by participant communities) to inform present day issues surrounding collective identity, democracy and relevance. In the Cambridge Bay archaeology program, a departure from excavation allowed the past to be reframed in terms of engagement with 'historical' materials, traditional knowledge revitalization and the drawing of parallels between contemporary lives and those of ancestors. It must still be recognized that the act of excavation provided many of the source materials and ideas for the community to either reinterpret or use as validation for their own beliefs about the past. While not the best locus for cross-cultural dialogue and interpretation, excavation in this case remained strongly tied to the community archaeology process. Excavation provides a medium through which archaeologists can comfortably assume their role as storytellers. This does not mean, however, that communities must accept these stories. Like John Wolforth's

cultural timeline assignment (see Plate 11), excavation provides a methodologically linear process that can be held up as a symbol of difference, a desired 'emblem' (cf. Briggs 1997) of the ways in which Inuit think differently about the past. Communities can pick and choose elements they consider to be most desirable and logical in terms of their own lives: radiocarbon dates from a site can justify why Inuit people are not all the same height (see chapter 8), material artifacts summoned from beneath the ground can invoke nostalgia and empathy for people and places never directly experienced (see chapter 9), and a six hundred year old ceremonial house can be seen as incentive for creating documentary movies about contemporary social issues (chapter 10).

The ultimate challenge of conducting community archaeology comes when the archaeologist moves beyond the role of storyteller and into a position of listening. As with Inuit auditors of archaeological tales, listening is not always equivalent to believing; a listener is licensed to interject, to request that details be fleshed out or specific elements re-enacted for clarification. In doing this, however, a listener must keep in mind the personal nature of narratives and, as Briggs adamantly insists (1991:267), never outright ask the rude (and often unanswerable) question of "why"?

The analysis of narratives serves a potentially transformative function by presenting an opportunity for self-reflection and dialogue (Morrow 2002:27). The exchange of existing stories, and the building of new stories, provides a context in which to openly meditate about critical issues that are generally considered 'too big' to think about in quotidian situations. Engagement with history—whether negotiations over the excavation and reconstruction of tangible materials, or the recollections of stories and memories—provide a medium in which to embed these issues that is outside daily life and dominant political rhetoric. It provides, in Morrow's words (*ibid*), "a stimulus for people to say things to each other that they normally only said amongst themselves."

Defining Community and Collective Identity

In chapter 7, I invoked the idea of community as being a ‘process’ or ‘desired state,’ rather than a fixed category with whom researchers can work. In the case of this particular research project, I further outlined community as the act of individuals participating in the definition of Inuit tradition (or IQ). The question now, is whether this is something that occurred over the course of the Cambridge Bay case studies.

It is safe to say that the hundreds of people who took part in this dissertation’s case study projects were drawn there for multiple different reasons. A list of reasons openly offered by participants include: a chance to be on the land, course credits, curiosity, personal healing, personal attachment to myself, financial incentive, desire to experience traditional lifestyles, desire to eat land food and learn more about the ways that people used to live. Regardless of the specific reasons given, people who collected around the projects (Inuit and non-Inuit alike) did so with an awareness that something critical about the nature of being Inuit was being both built and communicated. As participant, Julia Ogina, told me during preliminary stages of the qalgiq project (pers. comm. 2010):

I was just talking about identity, Inuit identity, and somebody else was asking me “what is Inuit identity? Is it value based, or is it just belief based, or the IQ principles [based] identity?”...when I hear back from the talk about this exhibit about the qalgiq, that’s really exciting to me because that’s a big part of our history here, and how its connected to Iqaluktuuq and that’s part of our identity. This is what happened here. And so much of our history...a lot of people don’t know really their own history, the movement of their people.

Understanding what it means to belong to a larger ‘Inuit’ community is a conscious endeavor in Nunavut. In a globalized world increasingly characterized by migration and the mixing of cultures and ethnicities, engaging history has

become an important foundation for anchoring understandings of Inuit identity. As Krista Zawadski, a young Inuk woman, explained to me (pers. com. 2011), creating links to history is particularly relevant for a younger generation of Inuit who are openly questioning the nature of their cultural belonging:

youth are looking to find out where they fit in. The obvious thing is that you look at your history and that helps to develop your identity. If you are just thrown into a society, you say "who am I," especially if you are thrown into a society down south in a city, you say "wait, I am different from everyone else here." So then you look into history to find out who you are so that you could better represent yourself. That's the way I see it. Especially for Inuit, you have to look from post colonialism. We are obviously not living a very traditional lifestyle anymore. So then, its kind of like "who are we now"?

As Keiichi Omura notes in a study of self-identification among the Inuit, younger Inuit without practical experience of heritage are particularly vulnerable to creating a unitarily rigid self-definition of identity, a "frozen world defined as "true Inuit"" (2002:105). It is for this very reason that personal engagement with the material past is particularly important. The theme of sensual connection emerged repeatedly throughout the various traditional technology casting and revitalization programs (chapter 9). People commented on the ability to "touch" the past and "feel" what it must have been like back in the old days. Through the understanding of objects (archaeological or otherwise) as traces of past people and actions, 'historical' memories could be built. "Remembrance," notes Andrew Jones (2007:26), "is not a process internal to the human mind; rather, it is a process that occurs in the bodily encounter between people and things."

In referring to the artifacts resulting from these processes as 'traditional' or 'historical,' it is important to note that these material engagements go beyond a notion of mimesis.¹⁰⁶ There is little sense that materials of the past are being

¹⁰⁶ Mimesis is here defined by its sociological understanding as "the deliberate imitation of the behavior of one group of people by another as a factor in social change" (OED 2013).

perfectly replicated, nor is there an understanding that individuals engaging in these activities are somehow ‘becoming’ their ancestors. Rather the production of these tools—or perhaps more specifically, the internalizing of knowledge and experience used to produce these tools—functions as an important conceptual bond that positions individuals within a temporal continuum central to understandings and definitions of Inuit identity. As phrased by Alberto Manguel, memory is often something “exactly equivalent” to contemporary experience (2008:123):

that which is remembered *is* the reality in which we live, physically and imaginatively. There are no ‘stages’ of knowledge and recognition in the act of remembering. We are that which previous experience has taught us, communally and individually...The story that has been told exists only as the story told now.

While practical skill development and material experiences are understood as the most immediate avenues towards ‘becoming more Inuit,’ there is also a sense that these same lessons can be channelled through observing and listening to the experiences of others. As Jason Kunuk (2004) uncovered during his interviews during the filming of the Nunavut-made movie *Atarnajuat*, there is no contradiction to learning to be Inuit from a television screen. As Micheline Ammaq, one of the Inuit actors, tells him (ibid:23-24):

Yes, we learn just by watching and listening. We learn more by watching than just by listening. Maybe by television—if it is a learning scene I would like that and I think it would be a good learning scene...For example if your grandfather tells you to go seal hunting in spring, you would not answer, ‘I can’t do it.’ Maybe some would answer that, but an Inuk, a real Inuk, always does what an older person tells them to do. If you have seen the videos, you go to a seal hole and you stand beside it. When you want to learn something you see some things in the films.

The decision to construct the qalgiq as a community cinema seemed to echo this sentiment. While many of the videos are interviews with elders regarding traditional methods of tool making, hunting, or skill application, young people in the community have taken it upon themselves to explore how these can be translated into contemporary realities. Pam Gross' video uses footage from the kayak camp to focus on the environmental changes that challenge a return to traditional ways: pollutant accumulation in wild animals, unpredictability in seasonal cycle, the impacts that accompany social desire for imported rather than local materials. Awareness of this change, Gross seems to suggest, is a new form of Inuit knowledge, that draws from, and remains equally relevant to, the old.

The current political situation in Nunavut has created a situation in which Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is understood as an integral portal to collective Inuit identity. In her study on the transition of ethnic 'traits' to 'emblems', Jean Briggs (1997: 228) notes the tendency for everyday signifiers of culture to become "emotionally charged markers" which can subsequently be used as "mirrors" and "building blocks" designed to reflect and fortify our own understandings of difference. In considering the social value attributed to historic 'emblems'—in this case, the quote specifically references traditional skills such as iglu building, sewing and hunting—Briggs (ibid:230) notes that importance is often found in creating recognizable links to self-identity:

It is not even necessary for the majority of Inuit to have once participated in these activities...What is necessary is that people be able to create chains of association and lines of reasoning that link the behaviors cognitively and emotionally with the half-remembered, half-imagined past.

For many Inuit, however, the presentation of IQ as 'work protocol' or a set of written traditional values provides them with few means for internalizing these

essential relationships between culture, history and their own identity. As Jessica Kotierk, a young Inuk woman living in Iqaluit, explains (pers. comm. 2012):

When I worked at the Government, I guess they talked about IQ, but it was a different thing from my job. It was something to be checked off..."we talked about that, now do your job." It wasn't actually part of planning anything, saying, "we have to do this." When you went to a meeting to orient yourself to the Government and they had cultural training it was just [presented as] values, explaining what those values are: environmental stewardship, serving others, being welcoming ...Those are not just Inuit things. Those are things that I feel most people want to do. Everywhere! It is kind of still unclear as to what the difference is.

An understanding of being Inuit, Kotierk furthers (pers. comm. 2012), does not come from applying abstract values to your life, but rather from intuitively recognizing yourself in both old and new traditions:

I think you kind of figure out what Inuit means by looking at Inuit history, by saying "that is me, that is me" even though they are from different communities, you can be like, "this is what we have in common and it is what binds us all together, not just me individually." I want to know what defines all of us, what is that common thing...I want to know what my father grew up with that I am not growing up with, that will help me understand what these people around me are going through that I wasn't there for. It is good to know, both in terms of people in the distance – that you imagine – and people right around you.

The process of the Cambridge Bay projects build on this notion of identity through investment of self. By participating in the reconstruction of a kayak, the process of casting and curating archaeological artifacts, or the filming of new directions in Inuit knowledge, one has access to the knowledge, stories and practical skills that allows one to internalize, and perhaps more importantly, re-tell, the experience as an example of being 'Inuit.' This most closely meets cultural desires for IQ as a "living technology," which can be used to help

promote “healthy, sustainable communities regaining their rights to a say in the governance of their lives using principles and values they regard as integral to who and what they are” (Arnakak 2000). To re-iterate the words of Anna Agbe-Davis (2010:383), the community – whether imagined in terms of participation, ‘Inuitness’, locality, or ancestral history – “becomes real through its enactment by people who behave as if it were.”

Democracy

In an interview envisioning prospects for a more socially responsible form of archaeology, Mark Leone (in Dalglish 2007:57) describes the democratic process as one that entails:

entering a conversation with a community about how that community was made and wants to remake its identity. None of this involves old-fashioned grand narratives or flattened interpretations. Nor does this privilege local histories at the expense of generalizing understandings of the colonial world. Rather, the larger process is the establishment of an enhancement of the democratic process through conscious understanding of how people came to be in the position in which they find themselves now.

The democratic process for Leone is simultaneously one that generates “open speech environments,” which “create a level playing field by requiring equal opportunities for speaking, clear rules of engagement, no unintelligible speech, and no predetermined hierarchy” (ibid).

The Cambridge Bay projects engaged this sense of democracy primarily through creating situations of multivocality. While most obviously evident in the process and product of the qalgiq reconstruction, the dialogue that surrounded the interpretation, value and use of material artifacts (both from archaeological

and contemporary sources) brought an equally diverse range of narratives to light.

With multivocality, however, comes an inevitable juxtaposition of worldviews. While recognizing narratives as a 'builder of community,' Phyllis Morrow (2002:21) simultaneously points out that:

not all narrative expressions embody the positive elements that people seek in community, and some may function to isolate individuals and subgroups from each other. In short, it is a complicated sort of sense of ourselves, in relation to each other, that we make through the narrative process, not a simple harmony of voices.

The building of case study engagements without a pre-constructed sense of community facilitated the inclusion of diverse voices. Without a fixed community to represent, I felt more at ease including participant statements that fell outside the expectations that typically surround what a group would or would not say. Statements regarding the 'Inuit community' in Nunavut (whether political or otherwise) tend to rigidly define the Inuit voice (see for example a book called *The Inuit Way*, Pauktituutit Women's Association 2002). The notion of set IQ principles has equally helped to foster an understanding of 'inherent' and 'coherent' knowledge of traditions among Inuit. By allowing multiple conflicting voices to express themselves, I sought to consider how various participant statements drew new boundaries for Inuit culture.

Certain knowledge raised during our project did not sit well with everybody. Elders' memories regarding a tool's use, an object's name, or the proper protocol for reconstructing an artifact often conflicted both with those of other elders and archaeological interpretations. This was due to several factors, including variance in personal and regional traditions. This issue also arose when dealing with

materials dating prior to the elders' personal experience. As Julia Ogina pointed out to me (pers. comm. 2010):

Some Elders don't know totally that there is different groups in Inuit history that have come through their region. They think it has always been one group of Elders, unless the stories have been told to them...some stories never got passed on to the Elders. I feel those Elders don't know a lot of the old history...Sometimes it is awkward, because I hate having to educate Elders and they are the ones that I respect, just because I respect them for being elderly but it makes me realize that there is a different group of people who has been there before. There is different information than what the Elders have.

The case studies also raised a number of issues regarding Inuit engagement with the past that generally do not see print. This includes recognition that collaboration is often not that successful, that IQ values can be a political construct, that people sometimes gravitate to engagement with history for reasons of contemporary financial gain, and that current generations of elders sometimes do not know about the past. Description of these realities are deemed to reflect poorly on Inuit culture and to add insult to the present injury of a society still in the process of recovering its sense of tradition.¹⁰⁷ I argue, however, that these themes can be explored in a sensitive manner to build new visions of community.

While engagement with democracy in archaeology involves accommodating numerous (potentially conflicting) voices, it also entails recognition of power imbalances and positionality in research. This came to the forefront most obviously in the reconstruction of the qalgiq. The process of physically recreating the qalgiq made visible the fact that one interpretation was being chosen over another. In discussing her 'qaggiq model' for knowledge renewal, Janet McGrath (2012) insists that the framework draws from the dialogical

¹⁰⁷ Many of the people who spoke to me directly about these issues specifically asked that their names not be attached to the quotes.

properties that traditionally characterized qalgiq use. In a modern context, she furthers, qalgiit should be envisioned as an analogy for negotiating the diversity and power imbalances that exist in Nunavut communities. In this case, she notes (ibid: 254-55), the qalgiq represents:

a conceptual space in which qablunaat can listen, experience and observe the strength of Inuktitut renewal so that they understand more clearly what they need to support. Qablunaat have enjoyed, and continue to enjoy, economic and systemic privilege in Inuit lands. This has led to an ingrained epistemic privileging that, in my observation, is hard for qablunaat to see or acknowledge. There is also “white guilt” that leads qablunaat to say “it wasn’t me personally that did those things, why do I have to take the blame?” Yet it is not about blame, it is about dialoguing now to “grow something new”. Dialogue in the qaggiq is about social and economic justice within an Inuktitut cultural and relational paradigm...Understanding that knowledge is relational and therefore knowledge renewal is relationship renewal, we can see that as a society there are historical wrongs we need to overcome as well as systemic and structural ones stemming from that history—these are relational issues...Through Qaggiq dialogue, intergenerational relations are renewed and restored, and inter-group and inter-agency support is established to help people act responsibly towards these Inuktitut knowledge processes.

While situated within a distinctly Inuit context of cultural revitalization or ‘renewal,’ the Cambridge Bay qalgiq juggles the tricky situation of negotiating different understandings of history. Given the project’s focus on encouraging local development of Inuit identity, does an archaeological narrative have the right to be part of this process? Anna Agbe-Davies has argued that it is only when archaeologists “participate in the making of ‘communities’ that our discipline’s work most effectively ‘serves’ them” (2010:385). This seemed to be the general impression in the case of Cambridge Bay. At one meeting regarding qalgiq reconstruction, the subject of archaeology’s role in the project was raised, and elders expressed their gratitude that the discipline had been there to help “remember the things we forget” (KHS 2009).

Relevance

The Canadian Arctic has a troublesome history of individuals' and governmental good intentions sowing catastrophic results in northern communities. In retrospect, many of these actions seem ludicrously naive: the importation of styro-foam igluit to replace traditional Inuit snow houses (Duffy 1988:31), or the relocation of entire Inuit populations to extreme northern regions of the Arctic (Tester and Kulchyski 1994). More often than not, this is due to the fact that these decisions were designed and implemented with little to no consultation with Inuit people.

Archaeological intentions to create benefit and relevance in communities are often identified as being similarly double-edged. To gain access to the material archaeology of a region, Richard Handler notes (*ibid*:108):

we often rationalize our Western desire, which, ultimately, is the pursuit of archaeological or anthropological knowledge both in and of itself, and for the purpose of “building careers” (for let us keep in mind that we build our careers precisely by claiming to pursue knowledge for its own sake) – we rationalize that desire as a desire to “partner with” or “give something back” to the local people among whom we work.

As Alison Wylie points out (2009:4), community archaeology projects ideally counter this by striving for definitions of usefulness as conceived by community groups rather than incoming researchers.

Were the community archaeology projects in Cambridge Bay relevant to community members? This is a tricky question, and requires a closer understanding of what relevance entails. Cornelius Holtorf is clear to distinguish between the value and use of archaeology in communities. While the meaning of

these two terms might overlap, he notes (2009b:182), they remain separate ways of engaging communities and should not be confused by archaeologists:

Archaeology is *valuable* when people enjoy it in some way, usually because they appreciate that archaeology is an equally exciting and meaningful practice generating significant stories that are simultaneously about both the past and the present...By contrast, archaeology is *useful* when people employ it for their own particular purposes and gain concrete benefits beyond those deriving from stories about past and present as such.

In terms of concrete ‘usefulness,’ I would venture to argue that the projects had little impact on the community. As elders so humorously identified, replica casts can not be used to hunt. The kayak, being improperly built, has little usefulness according to its intended function. The qalgiq structure provides a notable exception to the case of utility. On a daily basis, community members find various uses for the qalgiq: classrooms and social wellness programs employ it to view contemporary and historic films; an afterschool reading program occupies its benches throughout the afternoons; several teenagers have informed me that the structure’s ‘mood lighting’ and relative privacy make it one of the best places for making out in Cambridge Bay.

Much of the Cambridge Bay projects’ relevance for the community lies in a less tangible sense of usefulness imparted through the knowledge it has both documented and created. As Jessica Kotierk points out to me (pers. comm. 2012), much of this usefulness stems from the pride of recognizing ancestral identity:

I was thinking about how history is useful because you can get pride from knowing the successful things that happened in the past, and say “that is associated with me.” I can feel proud that that has to do with me. And you can feel that in the present. History is not just important for knowledge sake, but also to make it useful now.

Emily Angulalik, who took part in many of the projects, expressed a similar opinion regarding the usefulness of archaeology as an educational tool. This utility, she expresses, comes only with proper forms of engagement (pers. comm. 2011):

archaeology is just as important as any other education. It basically ties down to where our roots come from, for me. It helped me along the road to see where I can go through my education, I can understand and discover that archaeology is important for me and my children, my grandchildren, so they can understand where Inuit came from, where I came from, where they come from. And having archaeologists come up to do a project is important for the community, its good to have the archaeologists communicate or share their ideas and knowledge to the people rather than not saying anything about it, or just coming up here and saying, “ I am going to excavate this place, and that is the reason I am here without consulting with the Inuit or with the local people.” Both parties should be in agreement with this project rather than just the archaeologist doing his work. It helps both ways, both the Inuit and the person doing the work, it benefits both of them to share their ideas and knowledge. It’s important to have both the archaeologists’ point of view and the Inuit traditional knowledge point of view.

The real gauge of relevance, I would argue, lies in a community’s willingness to sustain a project and the knowledge it has created. Time will ultimately tell whether the ideas planted through the community archaeology program will continue to grow.

Conclusion

IQ is the existential milieu of being Inuit...It is a living, breathing, dynamic, ever-evolving way of life. It is not something you can touch and survey like a sculpture, a qajaq or any other cultural artifact—for these are merely reflections of the Inuit mind. IQ is the answer to the why we, the Inuit, see the world the way we do.

-Government of Nunavut (GN and DSD 2000)

The story of Qitdlarssuaq and the Inughuit people provides an interesting perspective on the notion of Inuit cultural survival. Throughout the early 1800's, European explorers penetrating the utmost reaches of the Eastern Arctic returned with tales of "Arctic Highlanders," whose populations had lived in total isolation for so long as to believe themselves to be the only humans in the world (Ross 1818; Kane 1856). This sense of isolation colored the first depictions of the 'Polar Eskimo' (now referred to by the term 'Inughuit'). There was a general impression of explorers encountering a culture in its terminal stage, cut-off from the world and unable to sufficiently cope with the harsh climate surrounding them. While these reports might be easily dismissed as 'foreign projections' or travelers' empathy, nearly all accounts detail a similar realization of cultural and physical decline as being voiced by the Inughuit themselves. When Francis M'Clintock encountered an Inughuit group in 1857 during a search for Franklin's lost expedition, he noted their general 'alarm' at "the rapid diminution of their numbers" (1859:137). Kane, in 1854 (1856:108-109), noted similar fears amongst the Inuit population near Etah, noting their confirmation "that they are dying out...so rapidly as to be able to mark within a generation their progress towards extinction."

Inughuit people attributed their cultural and physical decline to an epidemic disease that carried off the members of their group who were knowledgeable in kayak building and other traditional skills (McGhee 1994:568). The group accordingly lacked tools considered essential to a successful Inuit lifestyle and identity – the umiak boat, the kayak, the bow and arrow, and fish spear, as well as social and symbolic conventions ubiquitous among other Inuit populations. As Oswalt (1979:136) notes of the group, "their food-getting specialization sustained them, but it reduced their variability and flexibility to a point that their existence was precarious. We may praise the adaptive perfection of their technology and at the same time recognize that left alone it might have led to their doom."

In the end, the cultural 'doom' predicted for the Inughuit was circumvented due to the arrival of a Baffinland Inuit migration in the early 1860's. Led by the shamanistic figure of Qillaq (more popularly known by his Greenlandic name of Qitdlarssuaq), the Baffinland group traveled from Pond Inlet to Greenland for reasons that remain speculative (Schledermann 1996:149, see Mary-Rousselière 1991 for most thorough analysis of the voyage). Upon encountering the Inughuit, the Baffinlanders reintroduced numerous social and material technologies that are today credited with Inughuit cultural resurgence and population revival (see for example McGhee 1994). Qitdlarssuaq attributed his inspiration for contacting the Inughuit to a shamanic vision that allowed him to fly over the ocean waters to discover another group of Inuit living on the far shores. An interesting historical footnote, however, exists to the tale of the shamanic leader. While navigating the Phoenix in search of the lost Franklin expedition, Captain Edward Inglefield records his meeting with a group of twenty-five Inuit men, women and children led by Qitdlarssuaq near Dundas Harbour on Devon Island (Inglefield 1853). As part of this encounter, it is understood that Inglefield (aided by his Greenlandic interpreter) produced a map for Qitdlarssuaq, a naval chart upon which the position of, and route towards, the ailing Inughuit community was indicated. Whether or not this map was the ultimate source of the migration remains a subject open to interpretation.

Can the maps of methods of archaeology help to build understandings of Inuit Qaujimaqatuqangit and revive Inuit communities and culture, or is that a task purely reserved for Inuit visionaries? I argue that the Qitdlarssuaq story clarifies the role that archaeology should be taking in the Arctic. As visitors to the Arctic, archaeologists (like Captain Inglefield) have gained specific insight through attempts to position themselves, history, and the Inuit people. While resulting in ornately detailed maps, their observations have often come at the expense of passively watching traditional people and lifeways teeter on the brink of survival

(Fitzhugh and Loring 2002:6). When Captain Inglefield produced his map illustrating the location of the Inughuit people for Qidtlarssuaq, it is difficult to guess as to whether he was motivated by a desire to see the ailing community revived. Regardless of his intentions, this sense of restorative justice is what ultimately defines archaeology's new role in the north. Research, as noted earlier by McGrath (2012:55) is not about 'blame' or reviving the mistakes that were made in history. Rather, "it is about dialoguing now to "grow something new."" As Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh reminds us (ibid:38), "scholars are neither heroes nor saviors, but only participants who can offer insights given their particular disciplinary training."

Gemma Tully suggests that an integral element of community archaeology is the ability for archaeologists to bring history back to a community, noting that (despite often being challenged as otherwise) "consideration of the role that community archaeology can play in the revivification of the past for the present population is not an outlandish proposal" (2007:170). Community archaeology's role, I argue, is not to produce a definitive course for Inuit people to follow in the re-imagining and revitalization of history. It is ultimately found in the suggestion of routes, the telling of stories that can help individuals make their own connections between past and present worlds. The decision to heed these maps to transform local communities and identities is a decision that only local visionaries can make. Relevance and usefulness are criteria that must be emically defined. As suggested by Janet McGrath (2012:208), any attempt to revive Inuit knowledge should necessarily privilege "Inuit tradition and Inuit language in its original form."

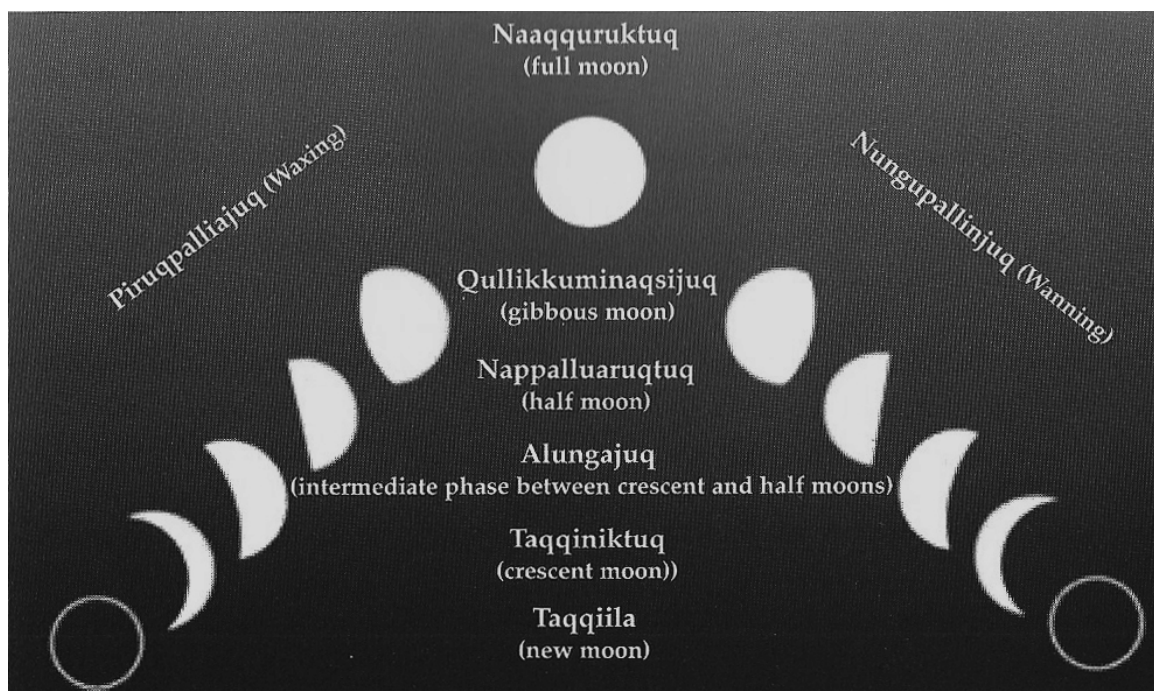


Plate 12: Iglulingmiut designations for the phases of the moon as designated by Nathan Qamaniq (MacDonald 1998:135). Citing Noah Piugaatuk, MacDonald (ibid:111) notes that he refers to this “competition between the Sun and the Moon as ‘ingiaqautijuuk’ ...adding that in his recollection one of the two luminaries was defeated by the other; there was never a draw.”

“The Hare Makes the Earth to be Light;” a story told to Knud Rasmussen by Naalungiaq, a Netsilingmiut man (Rasmussen 1931: 208).

In the very first times there was no light on earth. Everything was in darkness, the lands could not be seen, the animals could not be seen. And still, both people and animals lived on earth, but there was no difference between them. They lived promiscuously: a person could become an animal, and an animal could become a human being. There were wolves, bears, foxes, but as soon as they turned into humans they were all the same. They may have had different habits, but all spoke the same tongue, lived in the same kind of house, and spoke and hunted in the same way.

That is the way they lived here on earth in the very earliest times, times that no one can understand now. That was the time when magic

words were made. A word spoken by chance would suddenly become powerful, and what people wanted to happen could happen, and nobody could explain how it was.

From those times, when everybody lived promiscuously, when sometimes they were people and other times animals, and there was no difference, a talk between a fox and a hare has been remembered:

“Taaq, taaq, taaq!” “ Darkness, darkness, darkness!”
said the fox. It liked the dark when it was going out to
steal from the caches of the humans.

“Ulluq, ulluq, ulluq!” “Day, day, day,” said the hare.
It wanted light of day so that it could find a place to
feed.

And suddenly it became as the hare wished it to be; its words were the most powerful. Day came and replaced night, and when night had gone day came again. And light and dark took turns with each other.

There is always a certain amount of tension involved in the playing out of cycles. There is the inevitability of shift, the fact that everything *must* change before being replaced by the new. Periods of darkness are required so that more enlightened times can exist. To re-quote Kenojuak Ashevak’s explanation of her seasonal Nunavut map (Plate 3): “if these weren’t here, these couldn’t have been here.”¹⁰⁸

It is not only the natural world that requires constant transition, but also our ideas about the world. As so famously pointed out by Thomas Kuhn (1962), knowledge progresses through revolution. This is no different with archaeology. While the discipline thrives on reading ideas of change and cycle into materials of the past, it struggles when those same forces threaten the stability of its contemporary practice. But with each generational shift comes new ideas regarding the form and function of history. These new ideas result in a

¹⁰⁸ On a sad, yet somewhat fitting, note Kenojuak Ashevak passed away on January 8th, 2013, the day I wrote these words.

competition of words, a 'rage against the dying of the light,' and then, the inevitable succession. As a result of this continual cycling, the past is a map that will never be drawn to perfection, nor ever captured in complete likeness. As Claude Lévi-Strauss insists (1966:257-58)

A truly total history would cancel itself out—its product would be nought...History is therefore never history, but history-for. It is partial in the sense of being biased even when it claims not to be, for it inevitably remains partial—that is, incomplete—and this is itself a form of partiality.

Broadening Horizons and New Routes Forward

Introduction

One of my most vivid memories from the Pembroke site excavation was an evening that the sun was eclipsed by the moon. On August 1st, 2008 Cambridge Bay became a “hotbed of astronomy” (Mathisen 2008). Identified by experts as the one place in the world most likely to see a total solar eclipse¹⁰⁹, the town was besieged by visitors from around the world. Of the actual eclipse, resident Vicki Aitok reports seeing (in Mathisen 2008):

the gradual darkening and then almost total darkness for about a minute. We could see for miles - water shimmering all across the tundra. The darkness came and then we could see the shadow of the moon on the land, followed by a beautiful orange sky. Everything was peaceful and time seemed to stand still.

Watching this process from the Pembroke site, I remember it being an equally surreal experience. Around three in the morning the light of the midnight sun became dusky, but not entirely obliterated. For almost an hour, the boundaries between light and dark were blurred.

Perhaps due to association with the Pembroke site, memory of the eclipse has floated back to me often over the course of writing this dissertation. I’ve come to see that curious event as a way to better understand the research conducted in Cambridge Bay through questions of boundary and change. In an eclipse’s transition, when do light and dark cease to become themselves? In a situation of hybridized archaeology, how far from excavation can practice stray before it loses the essence of the discipline?

¹⁰⁹ The northern limit of the solar eclipse track passed roughly 16 north of Cambridge Bay, providing an eclipse magnitude of 0.9995.

Throughout this dissertation, the idea of IQ has been stressed as a concept in motion, a tool for survival that relies on flexibility to meet the obstacles of a changing world. Community archaeology, must similarly be considered as a 'living technology,' capable of shifting to accommodate new circumstances and challenges requested of the discipline. The question remains regarding how a community approach might impact the bigger picture of archaeology. Will its argument of conceptual flexibility, rather than concrete principles and practices, ultimately encourage archaeology's survival? While it is clear that archaeologists, like Inuit, will not "disappear from the face of the earth?" (cf. Amagoalik), the discipline is also faced with serious questions regarding its current identity and who it wants to be.

I will use this final chapter to consider the bigger picture of change in the discipline of archaeology. The diversity of ideas inherent to post-modern, post-colonial and increasingly globalized discourse within the field has made many archaeologists feel threatened that an essential component of archaeology is at risk of being lost. If archaeology can no longer be defined by excavation and interpretation of 'the past' (cf. Smith 2007), then what has it become?

The Toll of Academic Gate-keeping

The discipline of archaeology, notes Bruce Trigger (1986:8), is able to distinguish itself from other social sciences through its charge to decipher behaviour and ideas from the material remains of the past. "Unless they can successfully infer human behaviour from material remains," he insists (ibid), "archaeologists can contribute nothing to the study of humanity."

The argument that archaeologists contribute to notions of humanity only through

a truthful telling of its past is indicative of its failure to understand the nature of humanity in the present. There is an interesting new dialogue developing around the issue of where to situate archaeological research. Should archaeology be limited to the understanding of past populations? Or is 'archaeology' a term that can equally apply to the study of modern ideas and people? (see for example Holtorf 2009; Lyons et al. 2010; Siliman 2010; Wilcox 2010). This conversation is part of a larger attempt to distinguish boundaries for the discipline, not only in terms of temporality, but also in relation to its integration with politics, social awareness, and other domains considered to lie 'outside' the field (Stump 2013). The following excerpt by archaeologist Tom King (2011)—extracted from a debate that dominated the World Archaeology Congress' web digest for the summer of 2011—exemplifies the concern that archaeology is being extended beyond tolerable limits:

However broad the interests of younger public archaeologists may be, I think there's a fundamental danger in trying to reflect and represent the cultural interests of the public under the rubric of "archaeology." Archaeology has to be about studying the past; if it's not that, it's nothing...The cultural integrity of neighborhoods, villages, rural communities; the rights of indigenous peoples...traditional uses of plants, animals, the land, water, air; spiritual beliefs and practices. These things may be grounded in the past, derived from the past, but they are not things 'of' the past, and they are not just objects of study...If we continue to call ourselves archaeologists while going beyond archaeology, we risk confusing the public we seek to serve and the governments and other change agents with which we try to intercede. If we continue to look at the cultural world through mostly archaeological eyes, we risk confusing ourselves."

In recent years, Arctic archaeologist Robert McGhee (2004, 2008, 2010) has strongly advocated a firm stance for 'set archaeological standards,' particularly in relation to indigenous communities. Significant contributions to the knowledge of history and society, he argues, can be made only through "the denial of rights to historical interpretation based on claims of genetic or cultural

heritage” and “the denial of views of the ancient past based on traditional forms of knowledge” (2004:13). By enforcing these commitments, he concludes “we are no longer talking of sharing the past, but of a rational viewpoint on the past being heard by all” (ibid:14). At stake in this issue, it seems, is not only the ability of archaeology to accurately read the past, but the identity of the discipline as a whole.

In an article exploring new conceptual directions for archaeology, Cornelius Holtorf (2009c) refers to the practice of “academic gate-keeping” within the archaeological community; an advocating that research topics and practical methods are kept strictly within certain perceived disciplinary boundaries. Holtorf details an array of academic rewards—peer-review, hiring procedures, and preferential funding—designed to ensure that expectations of ‘what archaeology is’ remain consistent. While departures into more trans-disciplinary frameworks are tolerated, and even treated with interest, there remains a sense that they somehow fall short of the integrity and specialized capacity inherent to a more ‘traditional’ and ‘scientific’ archaeological approach. This practice, as Holtorf points out, (ibid:312) ultimately leads to a stagnation of the discipline:

exclusive and narrowly defined academic fields of competence serve nothing but the perpetuation of the academic disciplines themselves—and indeed of academic discipline in the singular, constraining renewal and suffocating intellectual creativity.

The solution to this situation, he notes (ibid), is one of ‘hybridity,’ or the breaking down of barriers between disciplines and people through the cross-fertilization of ideas.

The idea of hybridity has trended over the last decade in archaeological literature (see for example Card 2013, Counts 2006, 2008; Falck 2003; Holtorf 2009c; Liebman 2008; Silliman 2009). Understandings of the concept have focused

primarily on cultures in the past, exploring ways that archaeologically-defined groups—typically considered in terms of isolation and homogeneity—shared extensive ‘social spaces’ promoting interaction, assimilation, translation, and change (see for example Counts 2006, 2008; Falck 2003). Hybridization, notes Falck (2003:110), is not a “dualistic territory” in which one group’s traits are swapped with those of an ‘other.’ Rather, she continues (ibid), hybridity represents a “third space between alike and different, and it is a space with tension.” Recognition of everything being ‘polluted’ by hybridity, she concludes, is a mode of resistance capable of defeating essentialized notions of ‘purity.’

Archaeologists considering the role of hybridity within their own discipline tend to envision it as a fusion of normative archaeological practice with contemporary, cultural and cross-disciplinary knowledge. For Stephen Silliman (2009), hybridizing archaeology is about situating the knowledge created through archaeological practice within a broader social context. He describes how hybrid practice can be used by archaeologists to “serve as a social and political strategy to blur borders, to unsettle method and theory, to acknowledge colonial legacies but not be consumed by them, and to insure that histories created through archaeology remain grounded and relevant” (ibid:15). Somewhat in line with Falck’s (2003) notions of hybridity as a means of sullyng ideological purity, Silliman (ibid:17) argues that the introduction of new language and methodologies into archaeology helps decolonize the discipline through ‘sharpening’ its critical awareness and ‘blurring’ its performance “to make its boundaries more permeable, its methods more negotiable, and its practices more explicitly cultural rather than only empirical.” Ultimately, he notes (ibid), “this turns our attention to what we *do* as archaeologists and the effects of that doing on the world.”

Archaeology and Imagination

In his essay tracing the origins of the human imagination (2001:29), Steven Mithen confronts his readers with a particularly interesting question:

Is imaginative thought simply a curious byproduct of our evolution, or was it specifically selected because it increased the fitness of those who, through some random genetic mutation, were more imaginative than others?

Mithen's question becomes relevant when considered at the level of archaeological research. Does an imaginative angle increase the likelihood of a project's survival? Does opening research up to a wider spectrum of ideas and voices make it more functional and responsive to its modern environment?

Bruce Trigger (2003) once noted that imagination was essential for progress in archaeology. He sees imagination not only as a form of creativity, but also as an openness to explore the creativeness of others. Imagination, he insists, is accomplished through the discovery of new interpretive pathways and the measuring of alternative narratives against established interpretations' explanatory power (ibid:183):

By contradicting accepted interpretations of the past, these ideas stimulated research that tested both old and new ideas. The result in each case was to advance archaeology both methodologically and in terms of its understanding of the past. The greatest obstacle to making progress in archaeology is intellectual complacency. Without the ability to imagine alternative explanations, archaeology languishes. On the other hand, without the opportunity and determination to test ideas, imagination is of little value.

Similar to other proponents of archaeological imagination (see for example Lewis 2000), Bruce Trigger encourages a cautious tension between thinking outside of

the box and needing to confirm the validity of those thoughts through recourse to the box's own methodological tools. "Like genetic mutations in living organisms," he notes (2003:184) "novel ideals must be subject to some form of rigorous selection."

I argue that the true selection criteria for archaeological ideas are ultimately found outside the discipline. In the context of Nunavut, they are located in the blank 'anticipated benefits' box of archaeological permit applications; in the mixed interest and reluctance of young generations to discover the past; in the community board meetings and community planning groups who increasingly decide where and what is to be dug. These locations are where the true stimulus for archaeological imagination (and arguably, archaeological survival) lie. The questions that must be asked to meet these criteria are not found within the traditional repertoire of archaeology: How does an excavated artifact relate to the lives of people 800 years after it was made? What embers of identity still flicker in a story or name passed along for generations? How can the memory of something never experienced firsthand continue to shape the identity of a modern political territory?

Building Community Archaeology in the Canadian Arctic

Over the course of this dissertation, I have discussed the various ways in which community archaeology engages populations as a both a hybrid and imaginative process. It blends the desires, research interests, and voices that shape 'community' with the methodology and canonical knowledge of a discipline specializing in the study of the past. What remains most important about community archaeology, however, is that it cannot define itself beyond the realm of situated practice. It gains form through the motions of construction, and deconstruction, from 'things,' identities and ideas that are in a constant process

of being shaped. Along these lines, Janet McGrath forwards the idea that northern research should be conceived as a 'sanaugaq,' or 'made thing' (2012:284):

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.

Framed in such terms, community archaeology can be said to build knowledge (and by extension, ihuma or rationality) through process, practical engagement and innovation. The formation of knowledge is ultimately a social and applied process; a 'knowledge for' rather than 'knowledge of.'

In his attempt to situate the practice of archaeology as a contemporary phenomenon, Michael Shanks similarly argues that the past is foremost something that is required to be 'made' (1995:55), noting that it "will not excavate itself and does not exist in the form that it was." The archaeologist, therefore, "sculpts what has become of the past into a form with which archaeologists can deal" (ibid). He envisions the act of archaeology as a 'heterogeneous network,' which actively connects and builds upon elements otherwise considered to exist beyond the boundaries of archaeology—"career trajectories, volunteers, wheelbarrows, cornfields"—and brings them together into a project that constitutes a reality of the past (ibid:56). Shanks' ultimate aim is to stress the responsibility of archaeologists to build, shape, and reconstruct (ibid):

Simple discovery and unmotivated or neutral description of things found is no option. Something must be made of them. This requires an attention to what is desired and needed, to audiences and communities served by archaeologists. The creativity of archaeology needs to be taken seriously: it is the work of invention and the archaeological imagination.

As described in chapter 11, these notions of building, deconstructing, invention and imagination are where the practice of community archaeology converges with the North. Like community archaeology, IQ hinges on modern ideas and contemporary reconstructions of the past. To create a definitive process for either of these concepts is to deny the responsibility to further shape them towards what is both 'desired and needed.'

Conclusion

Is it possible that historical reality is not something independent of these differently centered perspectives, nor their sum total, and not the result of a critical sifting of different viewpoints by independent experts "at the end of the day"? Can we conceive of historical reality as an overlay of contextual stories whose ultimate meanings are open-ended because the contact relations that produced them are discrepant, unfinished?

-James Clifford (1997:319)

Metaphors used to describe research in the Arctic are typically concerned with excavation. As Janet McGrath points out (2012:282) there is a 'mining model' in which "data is extracted, processed, and polished into gems or gold;" there is also a 'resource development model,' which "entails an extraction of something 'crude' and refining it for consumption elsewhere or for sale back to the north." Both of these, one could argue, are suitable for traditional understandings of archaeology's role in Nunavut.

I would ultimately like to consider community archaeology through a less subterranean description. Community archaeology in Nunavut is something that dwells above ground; that navigates terrain and builds rather than extracts. It is a practice that thrives on change, and relies on a process of ideas about the past being constructed, deconstructed and incorporated into daily lives. For the practice of community archaeology, the 'reality of history' (cf. Clifford 1997) is not something that is buried in 'object' knowledge, but rather circulates in the lives of contemporary people and communities.

Mapping a fuller understanding of community archaeology in the Canadian Arctic is something that will take time. Each successive project tests new waters and helps shape new directions of both archaeological and community imagination. Each successive generation of Inuit archaeologists will help more thoroughly entrench the practice in understandings of who the Inuit people are and want to be. As these various courses for community archaeology are successively charted, they will gradually give form to an approach that—like an archaeological site plan or an Inuit map—provides perspective through its layering of multiple stories, histories and visions of the past.

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