

**Tłchq Women and the Environmental Assessment of the NICO Project proposed by
Fortune Minerals Limited**

by

Janelle Kuntz

BSc. in Human Ecology, University of Alberta, 2012

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the department of Anthropology

© Janelle Kuntz, 2016
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

Supervisory Committee

Tłchq Women and the Environmental Assessment of the NICO Project proposed by
Fortune Minerals Limited

by

Janelle Kuntz

BSc. in Human Ecology, University of Alberta, 2012

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Margo Matwychuk, Department of Anthropology
Supervisor

Dr. Brian Thom, Department of Anthropology
Departmental Member

Abstract

This thesis reviews the participation of Tłıchǫ women in the environmental assessment (EA) of the NICO project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited. Undertaken in 2012 in the Northwest Territories, this particular EA saw a precedential engagement between traditional knowledge and western science. Although this EA did not take a gendered approach, Tłıchǫ women's stories and participation in the EA supported the Tłıchǫ Government's interests throughout the review process and in the final mitigation measures. Predominate scholarship does not typically cast Indigenous women as participants in or beneficiaries of EAs and resource extraction projects. Results from this thesis support more recent scholarship that urges for an ethnographic and contextual analysis of each scenario. Ethnographic methods helped me to reveal the culturally specific, diverse and complex ways Tłıchǫ women participated and shared their stories in the Fortune Minerals EA. Tłıchǫ women's stories, I found, were important and relevant to the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board's assessment of the potential social and ecological impacts of the NICO project. I conclude that this EA is exemplary of Indigenous women's agency within a regulatory process and offer suggestions for how to incorporate a gender-based analysis into future EA processes.

Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables.....	vi
List of Figures	vii
Tłchq Glossary.....	viii
List of Acronyms	ix
Acknowledgments	x
Dedication	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Approach to Research.....	4
1.2 Thesis Structure	5
Chapter 2: Stories: A Theoretical Framework	7
Chapter 3: Objectives and Key Research Questions	12
3.1 Methods.....	12
3.1.1 Focus Group	13
3.1.2 Individual Interviews.....	14
3.1.3 Analysis of the Traditional Knowledge Study and Public Hearing Transcripts.....	16
3.1.4 Report of Environmental Assessment and Reasons for Decision.....	18
3.2 Sewing Circles	19
Chapter 4: Tłchq Nation	22
4.1 Tłchq Agreement	24
4.2 Mining in Tłchq Country.....	25
4.3 Strong Like Two People	28
Chapter 5: Literature Review	32
5.1 Environmental Assessment in Canada.....	32
5.1.1 Federal Environmental Assessment.....	32
5.1.2 Northwest Territories Environmental Assessment.....	34
5.1.2.1 Mackenzie Valley Environmental Resource and Management Act.....	34
5.1.2.2 The Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board	36
5.1.2.3 Traditional Knowledge in the Mackenzie Valley Regulatory Process.....	36
5.1.3 Summary	38
5.2 Gender and Environmental Assessment.....	38
5.2.1 Dual Narratives.....	39
5.2.1.1 Narrative One: Disempowerment.....	40
5.2.1.2 Narrative Two: Agency.....	42
5.2.2 Summary	45
Chapter 6: The NICO Project Proposed by Fortune Minerals	46
6.1 Historical Explorations at K'eàgotì.....	47
6.2 Project Feasibility	49

6.3	Timelines and Scope of the Environmental Assessment	51
Chapter 7:	Ṭ̀ḥ̀q̣̀ Women And Ḍ̀è	54
7.1	Women’s Stories	56
7.1.1	The Importance of K’èàgoti	58
7.1.2	Puberty	60
7.1.3	Birthplaces.....	63
7.2	Summary	66
Chapter 8:	Ṭ̀ḥ̀q̣̀ Women in the Fortune Minerals EA: an Analysis.....	68
8.1	The Traditional Knowledge Study	69
8.1.1	Ṭ̀ḥ̀q̣̀ Women in the Traditional Knowledge Study	70
8.1.2	Key Themes Noted by Women in the Traditional Knowledge Study.....	75
8.1.2.1	Significance of K’èàgoti	76
8.1.2.2	Food and Water.....	77
8.1.2.3	Familial Relationships.....	79
8.1.2.4	Past Developments Impacts.....	80
8.1.3	Summary	82
8.2	Ṭ̀ḥ̀q̣̀ Women in the Public Hearings.....	84
8.2.1	The Hearings.....	86
8.2.2	What Women Said in the Hearings	88
8.2.2.1	Children and Families.....	89
8.2.2.2	The Importance of K’èàgoti	90
8.2.2.3	Past Development Impacts.....	91
8.2.2.4	Social Concerns	92
8.2.3	Hearing Summary.....	93
8.3	Informal Methods of Participation	94
8.3.1	Mock Hearing Training.....	94
8.3.2	Administrative support.....	95
8.4	Environmental Assessment Outcomes.....	96
Chapter 9:	Discussion	99
9.1	Connection to Literature	101
9.1.1	Stories	101
9.1.2	Gender and Environmental Assessment.....	103
9.1.3	Legislation.....	106
9.2	Significance of Results.....	109
Chapter 10:	Conclusion	112
Bibliography.....	113	
Appendix 1: Summary of Mitigation Measures from the Report of Environmental Assessment and Reason for Decision in the Fortune Minerals Environmental Assessment (EA0809-004).....	122	
Appendix 2: Ethics Approval Certificates.....	125	
Appendix 3: Focus Group and Individual Interview Questions.....	127	
Appendix 4: Consent Forms	130	
Appendix 5: Research Proposal submitted to the Ṭ̀ḥ̀q̣̀ Government.....	136	

List of Tables

Table 1: Timeline of the NICO Project Environmental Assessment.....	51
Table 2: Tịch q Women's Participation in the Fortune Minerals Environmental Assessment	69
Table 3: Public Hearing Dates, Agenda Items and Speakers.....	86

List of Figures

Figure 1: Tịchọ Boundaries	23
Figure 2: Location of the Proposed NICO Project by Fortune Minerals Limited	46

Ṭḥcḥq̣ Glossary¹

Ṭḥcḥq̣ Term	Translation and Meaning	Source
aṣj̣ edets'eeda dịile	The place we go where we can survive	Georgina Chocolate
Behchoḳò	One of four Ṭḥcḥq̣ communities; formerly known as Fort Rae	TCSA 2006
dạèṭoḳò	Lean-to tent	TCSA 2006
dè	Land; country	Legat 2012; TCSA 2006
dii	A time from one's own memories; nowadays	Legat 2012; TCSA 2006
Gamèti	One of four Ṭḥcḥq̣ communities; formerly known as Rae Lakes	TCSA 2006
gòo tàda	Cancer	TCSA 2006
Gots'òkàti	Mesa Lake	Mary Siemens; TCSA 2006
gots'ò	The time during the elders predecessors; since the time of	Legat 2012; TCSA 2006
gowoo	A time when all beings were the same; ancient times	Legat 2012; TCSA 2006
Ìdaà Trail	A major transportation corridor formed by the Marian River and Camsell River, which connects Great Slave Lake to Great Bear Lake	Legat 2012
K'eàgoti	Hislop Lake	TCSA 2006
kwet'ìì	White person; English-speaking person	Legat 2012; TCSA 2006
Mòwhì Gogha Dè Ṇj̣tlèè	The Ṭḥcḥq̣ treaty area	Ṭḥcḥq̣ Agreement 2005
ts'aht'ìì	Girl at her first menstruation	Mary Siemens; TCSA 2006
Wek'èezhii	An area established by the Ṭḥcḥq̣ Government, co-managed between them and the federal government	Ṭḥcḥq̣ Agreement 2005
Wekweèti	One of four Ṭḥcḥq̣ communities; formerly known as Snare Lake	TCSA 2006
whaèhdòò	The time of Yamòòzaa, all was in harmony, places were named for people's safe travels; people long ago	Legat 2012; TCSA 2006
Whati	One of four Ṭḥcḥq̣ communities; formerly known as Lac La Martre	TCSA 2006

¹ Source: Legat 2012; Ṭḥcḥq̣ Community Services Agency 2006; Ṭḥcḥq̣ Agreement 2005; Georgina Chocolate (personal communication) and Mary Siemens (personal communication).

List of Acronyms

CEAA	Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency
DDBE	Dogrib Divisional Board of Education
EA	Environmental assessment
EIA	Environmental impact assessment
GNWT	Government of the Northwest Territories
IBA	Impact benefit agreement
MOU	Memorandum of understanding
MVRMA	Mackenzie Valley Resources and Management Act
NWT	Northwest Territories
PNG	Papua New Guinea
REA	Report of environmental assessment
SEA	Social and economic agreement
SEIA	Socio-economic impact assessment
TCSA	Tłchq Community Services Agency
TK	Traditional knowledge
TUS	Traditional use study
WLWB	Wek'èezhii Land and Water Board

Acknowledgments

Foremost, I must profess my gratitude to the Tł̨ch̨ Government, elders and staff who supported and participated in this research. Special thanks are owed to Wendy Mantla, Georgina Chocolate and the staff at the Culture and Lands Protection Department for their guidance and generosity throughout my time in the NWT. Masicho.

Masicho to Cecilia Zoe-Martin, Patricia Mantla, Alice Mantla, Mabel Migwi, Edith Wellin, and all of the other ladies at the sewing circles for sharing their teachings and kindness with me during these evenings.

Masicho to Mary Siemens for her masterful transcription work and to Leslie Saxon, Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Victoria, for her insights and accepting the role as my external examiner.

This research would not have been imaginable without the support of my mentor Ginger Gibson MacDonald. I am indebted to her for the relentless leadership, guidance and inspiration she has afforded me throughout both my academic and professional careers. Masicho.

I would also like to thank my supervisor Margo Matwychuk for her pivotal assistance throughout my Master's and helping me grow as an academic. She has been an essential source of support throughout the many challenges of graduate research. I am grateful for her dedication and affability over the past two years.

Dr. Brian Thom has been a champion of my research from the beginning. I owe him tremendous thanks for his tireless support, both financially via research assistant work and academically as an esteemed professor and interlocutor.

Lastly, I am obliged to an immeasurable network of family and friends who supported me throughout this undertaking. This includes my dear friend Sara Wong who hosted me in Yellowknife and truly epitomizes northern hospitality; my peers at the university who were constant sources of support and motivation; my parents, Marj and Ray, for their wisdom, direction and patience; my grandparents, Dona-Jean, Bill and Marie, for their life-long investment in my well-being; my brother Brent and sister-in-law Kelly for always picking up the phone and prioritizing family; and finally, my love Ian. You encouraged my ambitions from the beginning, standing as a selfless and tenacious partner throughout the entire process. Thank you for making every day a bright one.

Dedication

For the elders Melanie Lafferty, Monique Mackenzie, Mary Adele Tlokka and Melanie Weyallon, whose stories breathed life into this thesis. Masicho.

Tłıchǫ Women and the Environmental Assessment of the NICO Project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited

I think it's more powerful that a woman speaks up [in an environmental assessment] because men are naturally known just to go out on the land and hunt, right? But once you get a female involved in discussions, it changes the tone. It's just not a hunting area, right? It's more of people living on the land that have lived there, experienced life there, and had that connection. So that changes the tone as just a hunting area or traveling area (Chief Clifford Daniels, personal communication, February 2016).

Chapter 1: Introduction

Resource extraction and development has had a significant presence in the Northwest Territories (NWT) since the late 1800s. By 1947, approximately 21 mines were operating in the region (Legat 2012:112). Aboriginal consultation and formalized environmental assessments, however, did not emerge in Canada until the late 1970s with the Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline inquiry in the NWT (Berger 1977). Today, major resource extraction projects are subject to an environmental assessment (EA) for approval – a process that is guided by the *Mackenzie Valley Resources and Management Act* (MVRMA) in the NWT. The MVRMA's meaningful incorporation of traditional knowledge and socio-economic impacts are considered to be legislative benchmarks for EA policy in Canada (Galbraith, Bradshaw and Rutherford 2007; Scott-Enns 2015).

Gender, however, remains absent from both federal and territorial EA legislation despite a broad body of evidence pointing to the unequal impacts of resource extraction for Indigenous women (Archibald and Crnkovich 1999; Gibson and Kemp 2008; Mills, Dowsley, and Cameron 2013; Mokami Status of Women Council 2011; Pauktuutit 2014; The Status of Women Council of NWT 1999). Correspondingly, there is even less evidence documenting Indigenous women's agency in these regulatory contexts (Hemer 2014; Lahiri-Dutt 2011; O'Faircheallaigh 2011,

2012). This thesis will examine the role that Tłıchǫ women played in the environmental assessment of the NICO project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited in 2012.

Evidence shows that Indigenous peoples are less likely to benefit from resource extraction projects than non-Indigenous peoples (Gibson and Klink 2005; O’Faircheallaigh, 2013). Inequalities spurred by major resource development are exacerbated for Indigenous women who experience higher levels of violence, fewer employment opportunities, housing inadequacies, increases in single-parent families, and increases in substance abuse (Gibson and Kemp 2008; Mills, Dowsley, and Cameron 2013; Mokami Status of Women Council 2011; Pauktuutit 2014; The Status of Women Council of NWT 1999). Policy experts anticipate these impacts and inequalities to persist until more robust and comprehensive legislation is developed to support gender analysis in EAs (Archibald & Crnkovich, 1999; Scott-Enns 2015).

While the gendered impacts of resource extraction projects are being increasingly reported on, the extent to which Indigenous women exercise agency within these contexts is less explored. Some scholars have noted that Indigenous women often play a crucial role in regulatory processes within their communities; however, their participation and influence may not be obvious to outside observers (Lahiri-Dutt 2011; O’Faircheallaigh 2012). Research suggests that although the gendered impacts of resource extraction are important issues that require attention, dwelling in a rhetoric of victimhood can overlook the subtle and discrete ways women exercise agency in their daily lives (Lahiri-Dutt 2011; O’Faircheallaigh 2011). Ciaran O’Faircheallaigh (2011; 2012) suggests a detailed and ethnographic analysis is necessary for understanding women’s role and influence in each scenario.

This thesis takes a qualitative ethnographic approach to examine the roles of Tłıchǫ women in the EA of the NICO project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited. Conducted in

2012, this EA involved substantive intersection between scientific data, western science, traditional knowledge (TK) and oral testimony. Although the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board (the Review Board) eventually approved the project for construction, the Tłıchǫ Government considered this a victorious and precedential regulatory achievement for TK engagement in an EA (Gibson MacDonald 2015). Grand Chief Edward Erasmus acknowledged the significance of this EA in his closing comments at the public hearings:

Yesterday we made history. For the first time, traditional knowledge was recognized and is being considered in this process. And we would like to thank the [Review] Board for that (Grand Chief Edward Erasmus, public hearings, October 11, 2012).

The terms “knowledge” and “traditional knowledge” are contextualized within Tłıchǫ cosmology as “having knowledge and being knowledgeable. This understanding is critical because it is directly tied to the landscape and the ability to experience and use Tłıchǫ lands” (Olson and Chocolate 2012:14). In Tłıchǫ, the term *dè* loosely translates as land, though it is more complex and encompassing than standard English definitions. *Dè* is understood through experience and travel on the land and is central to Tłıchǫ way of life. Alice Legat (2012:2) describes *dè* as a “living entity [...] in constant flux as a result of the lives and interactions of all beings.” This concept is crucial for contextualizing how Tłıchǫ peoples come to understand and predict potential project impacts on Tłıchǫ lands and their way of life.

The extent to which Tłıchǫ women were involved in the Fortune Minerals EA, or were able to influence change, is not obvious. Conducted in 2012, the public records from this EA highlight women’s participation in formal regulatory avenues, such as the public hearings and the traditional knowledge and use study conducted in response to the project. What the public records do not show is the other crucial and less formal ways Tłıchǫ women were involved in this EA, such as participating in community training sessions or providing administrative support

to leadership. A detailed review of both the publicly available documents and private ethnographic data leads me to conclude that Tłı̨chǫ women's stories and knowledge were indeed an influential component of the Fortune Minerals EA.

While I argue that women's contributions to this EA— through both formal and informal avenues of participation – were part of the final outcomes and the Tłı̨chǫ Government's achievements, this EA is also an example of a regulatory review that did not explicitly consider gender as a unit of analysis. Although a gender-based analysis was not undertaken for this particular regulatory review, I nonetheless conclude that Tłı̨chǫ women's participation and connection with *dè* (land) were integral to the Fortune Minerals EA.

1.1 Approach to Research

I had the opportunity to work with the Tłı̨chǫ Government in 2012 during the Fortune Minerals EA. At the time, I worked for the research firm hired to conduct the traditional knowledge and use study (herein referred to as the TK study) for this EA as a research assistant. The aim of the TK study was to document Tłı̨chǫ people's land use activities around the NICO mine site, in addition to their how the proposed mine may impact their use of the area. The TK study became a focal point of discussion throughout the EA. Although I did not participate in the TK study interviews or attend the public hearings, I was involved in the early project planning stages and provided logistical and research support to the two community coordinators and research staff. This was the first of many traditional knowledge projects I would eventually work on with other communities, in addition to being my first opportunity to visit the NWT.

Unknown to me at the time, working with the Tłı̨chǫ Government on the Fortune Minerals EA had an indelible influence on my future aspirations. My approach to this Master's project is built upon the valued relationships formed with the Tłı̨chǫ Government, my entrusted

colleagues (Dr. Rachel Olson and Dr. Ginger Gibson MacDonald) and myself. The aims and objectives of this current research were formulated through collaborative conversations with these colleagues and Tłıchq staff and are reflective of our collective interests and concerns regarding this topic. The analysis and interpretation of the research results are entirely my own.

In this regard, I see this research project as ethical in the sense that the research outcomes stand to contribute to the reinforcement of, and work in accord with, Tłıchq values². This research also abides by the University of Victoria's (2003) *Protocols and Principles for Conducting Research in an Indigenous Context*. The research was participatory by involving elders, youth and Tłıchq Government staff in the research, I worked closely with Tłıchq Government community researchers, I used appropriate community methodologies, I obtained ethics approval from the University of Victoria and the Aurora Research Institute (Appendix 2), and I had a Tłıchq community researcher review and provide feedback on this thesis prior to its publication. This research supports what Cree scholar Shawn Wilson refers to as “relational accountability”, wherein the research is mutually beneficial, respectful and inclusive of the community's values (2008:101).

1.2 Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured as follows: Chapter Two reviews the theoretical framework of stories for this thesis and their relevance to Tłıchq people when discussing EAs and environmental changes. In Chapter Three, I provide an overview of the approach and methods I used for this thesis. I provide a profile of the Tłıchq Nation in Chapter Four, which is followed by a literature review of EAs, particularly the analysis of gender and development in EAs, in Chapter Five. Subsequently, in Chapter Six, I provide an overview of the NICO project proposed by Fortune

² <http://www.research.tlicho.ca/about/our-research-agenda>

Minerals Limited. In Chapter Seven, I discuss women and *dè* (land) before turning to my analysis in Chapter Eight, which comprehensively examines the various formal and informal ways Tłchq women contributed to this EA. Lastly, I discuss the research results in Chapter Nine. A conclusion closes the thesis.

Chapter 2: Stories: A Theoretical Framework

...the land is not without its stories. The stories of how the lands were used, the genealogy of the people that were there, the stories of the trail and how we came to be where we are today ... it's a long history that goes back to our own beginning of time ... But the land is not without its stories. They come together; they can't be separated (John B Zoe, public hearings, August 27 2012).

For the purpose of reviewing the Fortune Minerals EA, stories (also referred to as oral narratives) provide a theoretical framework for understanding how Tłıchǫ peoples live their daily lives and make important decisions. When I started to review the materials for the Fortune Minerals EA (the public hearings and traditional knowledge study transcripts) and after speaking with Tłıchǫ elders, it became apparent that stories would be central to my analysis of this topic. Stories can explain complex cultural and environmental concepts discussed by Tłıchǫ women, which help to explain the importance of women's knowledge in the context of EAs. More pointedly, stories are crucial for explaining and understanding how Tłıchǫ women position themselves within their relationships with fellow human and non-human beings. Theoretically speaking, stories that were told in the public hearings, traditional knowledge study interviews and a focus group I conducted with four Tłıchǫ elders (described in Chapter Three) help to explain why women's knowledge and participation in the Fortune Minerals EA was important to its process and outcomes. Stories can also help clarify why women's knowledge should be considered in complex environmental processes.

Legat (2012:35) observes that, for Tłıchǫ people, stories are fundamental to learning “the right way”, solving problems and maintaining harmony in their daily lives. Grand Chief Edward Erasmus reflected on the relationship between stories and the land in his closing statements at the public hearings for the Fortune Minerals EA:

There are no stories without the lands. The land is the base for our identity, our culture, our language and way of life. The land is the story, and the people's activity on the land

reminds them of these stories. The land cannot be separated from language, culture and way of life (Grand Chief Edward Erasmus, public hearings, October 11, 2012).

Stories have been relied upon for centuries as strategic, communicative tools for learning.

Scholars Julie Cruikshank (1990; 1998), Margaret Blackman (1984), June Helm and Beryl Gillespie (1981), Antonia Mills (1994) and Allice Legat (2012) refer to stories as epistemological mediums of exchange for sharing knowledge about the landscape, family relations, history, culture, law and complex human-animal relationships. In this regard, stories remain as complex and diverse as their generating communities (Laforet & York 1998:199).

Stories, however, are not universally acknowledged as a “trustworthy” method of social science inquiry. Denzin (2011) observes that the global research standards of “transparency” and “warrantability”, set forth by the American Education Research Association, have problematized *certain* qualitative research methods as second-class to western science. Morse (2006) and Larner (2004) observe that this hierarchical classification is often determined by the powers in charge of defining evidence (such as a regulatory review boards), what is considered best-practice, and what criterion of standards are in place for considering qualitative evidence. The resulting standards can come into conflict with Indigenous communities who rely on their stories as evidence on which their actions and decisions are based.

Cruikshank (2001) provides an account of how stories and scientific knowledge collide when discussing climate change and glacier knowledge in Canada’s Pacific Northwest coast. She maintains that the stories of Tlingit elders not only fill in the information gaps of scientific data (which is relatively new when compared to the longevity of stories and oral history), they also link the global phenomenon of climate change to the social and local realities of Indigenous peoples. The intersections between “natural” and “social” knowledge, Cruikshank (2001:390)

argues, can provide a framework for broader understandings of environmental impacts and changes.

Many anthropologists argue that analyzing stories is a fundamental method for conducting social science inquiry, particularly since many Indigenous communities rely on stories for understanding and coping with change. Cruikshank (1998:26) and Martindale (2006:184) maintain that stories are critically important for not only understanding the past, but they are key for making sense of contemporary issues. Although stories may have deep ancestral roots, their meanings continue to influence people's lives in multiple, dynamic ways. Stories are frequently told in social settings, such as around a campfire or over tea, where the very *telling* of the story – the performance – is equally as important as the meaning, power and knowledge dynamic of the words being communicated (Cruikshank 1990:2, 1998:28; Vansina 1985:85; Wachowich et. al 1999:5). They are told with great intention so that they leave an impression on the listener.

Blackman (1984) and Cruikshank (1990; 1998) both emphasize the importance of Indigenous women's stories for understanding environmental change. They attest to women's stories being rich in cultural, historical and ecological information that would not necessarily be captured in men's stories. Cruikshank (1998) found that many women she worked with did not tell their stories in a particular chronology, nor were they likely to tell a story the same way twice. The free-flowing nature of stories can conflict with formalized EA processes, which are often reliant on contextually independent and technical evidence. Stories serve as an opportunity to think beyond our conceptual boundaries of time, chronology and what is classified as valid evidence when considering complex environmental issues.

Legat (2012:34) reiterates Blackman's (1984) and Cruikshank's (1990; 1998) point: the free-flow of temporality in stories is "an aspect of the places where events and therefore stories reside." Cruikshank asserts that this temporality is characteristic of women's experiences:

Women's autobiographies rarely present a coherent polished synthesis, and the form of presentation is frequently discontinuous, reflecting the nature of women's experiences. Other writers, analysing accounts by minority women, point out that their life stories are doubly marginalized – first by male-centred conventions defining what events are significant enough to describe in writing, and second by the position these women have as members of a minority culture (Cruikshank: 1990:3).

This statement makes an important observation about some women's stories being considered less "significant" than men's. Women's stories are particularly powerful for understanding their roles within their communities and their relationships with other community members. Nadasdy (2003:66) argues that favoured descriptions of rigid gender-normative roles in Indigenous communities, such as male hunters or female care takers, are more likely a result of an anthropologist's own assumptions and overlook the fluidity of roles between women and men. As a result of these assumptions, women can be excluded from various environmental processes, such as EAs and wildlife management. Nadasdy (2003) is suggesting that women's roles in their communities are not necessarily fixed, but are nonetheless important to the overall cohesiveness and function of the group. Laforet & York (1998:199), Massey (1994:178), and Tsosie (2010:32) concur that women's stories are a crucial means for understanding the social relationships between women and men in their communities.

The Tłıchq insist that the complementary relationship between women's and men's roles and *dè* (land) are inextricable from the Tłıchq way of life. Stories are considered to be the basis for understanding *dè* (land) and are used to navigate through disharmonious situations (Legat 2012:65), such as proposed resource extraction projects. Stories are integral to Tłıchq traditional knowledge. Since stories are deeply rooted in the *dè* and Tłıchq understandings of the land and

environment, sharing stories with non-Tłıchǫ “provides the newcomer with the perspective necessary to live and work with the Tłıchǫ in what the Tłıchǫ consider the right way” (Legat 2012:135).

Given this, stories became crucial to my analysis of Tłıchǫ women’s role and participation in the Fortune Minerals EA. Listening to the stories of elders and community members became a key part of my research methods, which helped me to better understand the relationship between women’s knowledge and environmental changes and impacts. In listening to their stories, I was provided with some crucial insights into the ways women position themselves on the land, within their community and within the scope of sharing traditional knowledge. The elders from the focus group I conducted felt it was important to share their stories – both with Tłıchǫ peoples and newcomers, like myself – so that younger generations will learn women’s knowledge and use it to protect the land.

Chapter 3: Objectives and Key Research Questions

The purpose of this research was to examine the participation of Tłıchq women in the EA of the NICO project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited, which took place in 2012. The research focused on this EA process, and also explores broader links between women and the environment to consider how women's participation in EAs can enhance outcomes and community objectives. The research was guided by the following questions:

- How was women's connection with *dè* (land) expressed in the environmental assessment of the NICO project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited?
- What stories and knowledge did Tłıchq women share in the context of the TK study, and how were they leveraged from the TK study into the public hearings?
- How did women's stories in the TK study and public hearings influence the outcomes of the environmental assessment?

3.1 Methods

This research was conducted using qualitative and ethnographic research methods (Hennink 2014; St. Pierre and Jackson 2014). These methods included thematic coding of several sources of transcripts, as well as conducting and coding semi-structured interviews and a focus group.

Six sources of data were consulted for this research:

- 1) A focus group I conducted with women elders on January 14th, 2016
- 2) Interviews I conducted with the authors of the TK Study between December 18th, 2015 and January 20th, 2016
- 3) Interviews I conducted with Tłıchq Government staff and representatives between January 15th and February 19th, 2016
- 4) Transcripts from the TK study interviews provided by the Tłıchq Government

- 5) Transcripts from the public hearings of the EA retrieved from the Review Board's online registry³, and
- 6) Report of Environmental Assessment and Reasons for Decision retrieved from the Review Board's online registry⁴

3.1.1 Focus Group

A focus group was held with four Tłıchq women elders. The purpose of this focus group was to identify:

- Why it is important to talk to women when discussing the environment?
- What do women know about the environment that is different from men's knowledge?
- What are women's roles in relation to the environment?
- What environmental changes are they seeing today?

In many cases, focus groups can be more culturally appropriate when discussing topics that are potentially less sensitive and not private. Focus groups are a social process where dialogue amongst participants enhances the research outcomes. Through careful facilitation, each participant is able to bring their own experiences and understandings forward, bringing forth a broad range of views on a specific topic (Hennink 2014). Because of the social nature of focus groups, this was an effective method for elders to share their stories with other people, such as myself, the community researcher and the other elders in the room.

The focus group questions were loosely structured in order to facilitate a discussion that allows for the participants to share their stories without interruption (Appendix 3). Legat (2012) notes that in Tłıchq and Dene cultures, learning is primarily facilitated through listening,

³ Available online at: http://reviewboard.ca/registry/project_detail.php?project_id=72&doc_stage=10

⁴ Available online at: http://reviewboard.ca/registry/project_detail.php?project_id=72&doc_stage=11

observation and storytelling. It was therefore important to have open-ended questions and minimal interruptions for the elders to share their stories. The questions that were posed to the group were questions that were not asked during the Fortune Minerals EA – either in the TK study interviews or during the public hearings.

The elders and staff at the Tłıchǫ Government felt that it was important to interview the women together. Interviewing the women together was viewed as a positive method for facilitating the sharing of their stories and knowledge with each other and the listeners. In many cases, their stories involved other women in the room. This would then inspire other women to think of their own stories and experiences. Sharing stories within a focus group also contributed to the enhancement of Tłıchǫ values by telling stories to other community members, and thus passing on their knowledge.

Several women – both elders and Tłıchǫ staff – acknowledged that if women elders are in mixed-gender meetings or interviews, they are less likely to speak and share their opinions. They elaborated by saying that some of the most important knowledge shared in meetings is the informal conversations occurring between the elderly women on the sides of the room. This information is rarely brought forward into broader discussions. It was therefore important that the women were interviewed together and with no men in the room. The elders spoke in Tłıchǫ throughout the focus group. Mary Siemens, a community member fluent in Tłıchǫ, transcribed the elders' stories and responses from the focus group discussions into English.

3.1.2 Individual Interviews

Where focus groups were not possible due to scheduling conflicts, individual interviews were sought. Individual interviews were held with persons working with the Tłıchǫ Government during the Fortune Minerals EA who were identified as vital to the research by Tłıchǫ

Government staff. Interviews were semi-structured, which allowed for the participant to elaborate on details that the interviewer may not have anticipated, but were nonetheless relevant and important to the topic. This method also facilitated an interview that felt conversational, which helped foster fruitful discussions and openness. Individual interviews established opportunities for participants to share information that may be considered private or sensitive, or information less likely to be shared in front of other people (Tłıchq Research and Training Institute 2016). Semi-structured interviews allowed for participants to openly share their thoughts and opinions, in addition to developing their own conclusions about the topic.

Questions for individual interviews were open-ended and semi-structured. As mentioned above, listening, observing and storytelling are important communicative and learning tools (Legat 2012). A series of questions was prepared for the interviews, however the structure of each individual interview was adapted to the characteristics of each individual person. This approach has potential to yield more insightful and personal answers than interrupting with a series of questions (Tłıchq Research and Training Institute, 2016).

One-on-one interviews were conducted in the communities of Behchokò and Yellowknife, NWT and in Vancouver, BC. Staff at the Tłıchq Government Culture and Lands Protection department in Behchokò assisted in developing interview questions. Interview participants who were involved in the Fortune Minerals EA were recruited through a combination of pre-existing relationships, the Tłıchq Government online directory and guidance from the Tłıchq Government staff. I ended up interviewing five individuals who were representatives and staff of the Tłıchq Government involved in the EA, four of whom are Tłıchq citizens, with one being a Tłıchq youth. Of these participants, three were women and two were men. Participants were asked about their perceptions and experiences of the EA process, how

they perceived women to contribute to the EA process, and how they believed the results of the TK study influenced the process and outcomes of the public hearings. These interviewees were involved in the early negotiations of the EA process and the subsequent negotiations. They were able to discuss issues pertaining to gender and the involvement of women. Interviews were recorded in English and transcribed verbatim by myself.

In addition to representatives and staff from the Tłıchq Government, I interviewed the two authors of the TK study, both of whom are women, one being a Tłıchq citizen. I asked them about the role of women in the process of collecting traditional knowledge and how they observed women to have contributed to the public hearings. During the semi-structured interviews, the authors were asked about the development of the research design and methodology for the TK study, how participants were selected for the TK study, and the role of the TK study in public hearings. Interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim.

3.1.3 Analysis of the Traditional Knowledge Study and Public Hearing Transcripts

I analyzed the transcripts of the interviews conducted in 2012 for the TK study. This was done by coding the transcripts thematically. Because I was not involved in conducting the original interviews of the TK study, I was unfamiliar with the contents of the transcripts. To my knowledge, the TK study transcripts had not been previously coded.

The Tłıchq Government provided access to the TK study interviews, as they maintain the rights to the TK study data. This data includes the interview transcripts of 31 Tłıchq citizens who participated in the TK study between the dates of June 1, 2012 and August 13, 2012. Spatial data from the TK study was also provided, which included the finalized map data used for making conclusions in the TK study. The spatial data was reviewed to see what types of data women

mapped as compared to men for the project, and to understand how the data collected for the TK study was represented within the final report.

The TK study results were originally presented over the course of six public hearings dates of the Fortune Minerals EA in August and October of 2012. Transcripts from the public hearings were accessed through the Review Board's public registry⁵. Because the public hearings were events open to the public, the transcription of the events is also publicly available, including people's names and affiliations. The transcripts were accessed and downloaded in September 2015.

Transcripts from the public hearings, TK study interviews, focus group and individual interviews were thematically coded to identify trends and themes in the responses and statements, such as birthplaces, stories, social concerns, and future generations. According to Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014), coding can derive fruitful explanations and allow researchers to move beyond initial conceptions of qualitative data. Typically, researchers code the transcripts of interviews they conducted and transcribed. Coding can function like a rhizome; it is a method that is open, experimental, detachable, and "susceptible to constant modification" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987 in St. Pierre and Jackson 2014:719). It is a continual process. To this end, coding is an effective way to filter out important sources of text from interviews and transcripts, while acknowledging that the data is complexly interwoven and cannot be compartmentalized within a linear space.

With these observations, I acknowledge that the TK study interviews and public hearings were conducted for a different purpose than my own. The information women shared in these transcripts were in response to the questions they were being asked at the time, which were not

⁵ <http://www.reviewboard.ca/registry/>

focused on the topic of women's stories and knowledge. With that in mind, coding the transcripts for my research allowed me to find important information pertaining to women's knowledge that helped to answer my own research questions, in addition to finding information that may not have been included in the final TK study report or focused on in the EA.

Codes were selected through the identification of repeating or emphasized ideas throughout the transcripts (Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña 2014). The selection of these terms and concepts was also determined deductively using my research questions. Keeping in mind that participant responses were a result of the question they were asked, there were some differences in coded data between the TK study transcripts, public hearings transcripts and my own interviews based on questions asked by others and myself. Memos were written to myself throughout the coding process, which helped to identify changes to the coding process or revisions to the codes themselves.

Although the codes are not specifically represented in my thesis, they helped to identify the topical themes women spoke about in the TK study interviews and public hearings. For the TK study, these themes include: the significance of K'eàgotì, food and water, familial relationships, and past development impacts. For the public hearings, these themes include: children and families, the importance of K'eàgotì, past development impacts and social concerns. Each of these themes are elaborated on in Chapter Eight.

3.1.4 Report of Environmental Assessment and Reasons for Decision

The Review Board issued the report of environmental assessment (REA) on January 25, 2013.⁶ This report outlined the Review Board's decision for its approval of the proposed project. The

⁶ Section 128 of the MVRMA indicates that the Review Board has nine months from the start of a project's EA to complete the process and issue an REA to the federal Minister, designated regulatory agencies and the

Review Board recommended that the project proceed to the regulatory phase for approval, conditional upon the implementation of 13 mitigation measures. I reviewed these mitigation measures and analysed them to understand how the knowledge shared by women in the TK study and public hearings was incorporated into the Review Board's final decision. Individual interviewees were also asked about how they felt women's stories, knowledge and concerns were reflected in the outcomes of the EA and its overall process.

3.2 Sewing Circles

That is how it is: we women do lots and lots of work. With much endurance and suffering the people help each other survive. The men go hunting and the women stay home while they are away. The women would go out for firewood, get fresh spruce boughs for the tent floor, haul water, and if the distance is not far they would check the fishnets too. After doing all that work and if there is some free time we would be sewing in the evenings (Melanie Weyallon, personal communication, January 2016).

I had the opportunity to spend four weeks in the NWT between January and February 2016. My first week was spent in Behchokò, where the head office for the Tłıchǫ Government is located. The Culture and Lands Protection department, the department I collaborated with throughout my research, is also located in Behchokò. For the remainder of my time I stayed in Yellowknife and would catch rides with other Tłıchǫ Government staff out to Behchokò for the day a few times per week. When in Yellowknife, I spent my time with staff and leadership at the Tłıchǫ Government's Yellowknife office or at Tides Canada – an office and workspace graciously offered to me by their staff.

Since my research methods were predominantly formal in nature, one of the more enlightening – and informal – aspects of my fieldwork was attending sewing circles in Behchokò. Sewing circles were held every Tuesday and Thursday evenings in the Culture and

Tłıchǫ Government (if the project is located wholly or partly on Tłıchǫ lands). This time limit is extended to 16 months if public hearings are to be held during the EA (MVRMA 2005)

Lands Protection office. Women would gather here to learn how to sew, bead, and embroider traditional clothing and crafts. These gatherings were not considered an explicit component of data collection, but were vital engagements for connecting with community members and supporting community programming and values.

A typical sewing circle involved 15-20 women gathering at the office while a video of an old drum dance played in the background. Sewing circle would typically start at 5:00 PM. Cecilia Zoe-Martin, the Coordinator for Community Based Research, organized the evenings, ensuring there was plenty of material and supplies available for everyone to create something unique and special to them. Several women were designated as instructors who provided guidance to the crafters. Many women would bring along their children who would make crafts on the floors while their moms would work on their projects.

Every corner of the working space was charged with the creative energy and camaraderie of the women, embraced in an environment of humour and shared learning. Supplies were cleaned up promptly at 8:00 PM and the women would retire home to their families. Several of us would make the hour-and-a-half commute back to Yellowknife together.

While the primary purpose of these circles is to learn how to sew, it was evident that the evenings also served as an important source of support for women in the community, connecting with one another through their traditions. As stated by many of the elders, knowledge is communicated through stories and learned in practice. Learning involves listening, watching and practicing, which is important to ensure the knowledge being shared is respected (Legat 2012; Elders focus group, January 2016).

Nobody learns to work only by watching people work. Only by doing the work can people learn the work. Even though at first we may not be good at it, once we start to do the work then we will start to learn how to do it (Melanie Weyallon, personal communication, January 2016).

As Melanie Weyallon stated above, people learn by “doing the work”, and learning by doing is how this knowledge is understood and passed on. Observing, learning and participating in the sewing circles was one of the ways I was able to pay my respects to the elders and community members who were so willing to share their knowledge and experiences with me. Listening, learning and practicing beading was one way for me to gain a deeper understanding of Tłchq women’s knowledge and traditions. Because participating in these activities is important to the elders, learning and “doing the work” of beading was one way I was able to build relationships and respect Tłchq values while in the community.

Chapter 4: Tłıchǫ Nation

The Tłıchǫ are a Dene Nation residing in the North Slave region of the Northwest Territories. Their traditional territory spans between Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake, comprising nearly 295,000 square kilometers of land (Andrews 2011:27; Olson and Chocolate 2012:12). For more detailed accounts of Tłıchǫ ethnography and ethnohistory, see Helm (1994; 2000), Helm and Gillespie (1981), Andrews (2011), Andrews and Zoe (1997), Andrews, Zoe and Herter (1998) and Legat (2012).

On August 22, 1921, Chief Mǫwhì⁷ signed Treaty 11 at Fort Rae, NWT. This treaty was understood to represent a peace agreement between the Tłıchǫ and newcomers to the area; it was not understood as a surrender of Tłıchǫ lands (Legat 2012:110). Mǫwhì is remembered as a strong leader (Zoe 2006 in Gibson 2008). He was chosen by the elders to represent the Tłıchǫ people because of his outspokenness and knowledge of Tłıchǫ history. At the signing of the Treaty, Mǫwhì stated that “as long as the sun rises, the river flows, and the land does not move, that we would not be restricted from our way of life into the future” (*ibid*). The treaty area was subsequently named *Mǫwhì Gogha Dè Nı̀tlèè* after their leader.

⁷ There are several spellings for *Mǫwhì*. These include *Monphwi* and *Monfwi* when referring to the leader, and *Mǫwhì* when referring to the land boundary.

**MŌWHÌ GOGHA DÈ NĪTLÈÈ, WEK'ÈEZHÌ,
TĪCHŌ LANDS AND EZŌDZÌTÌ**

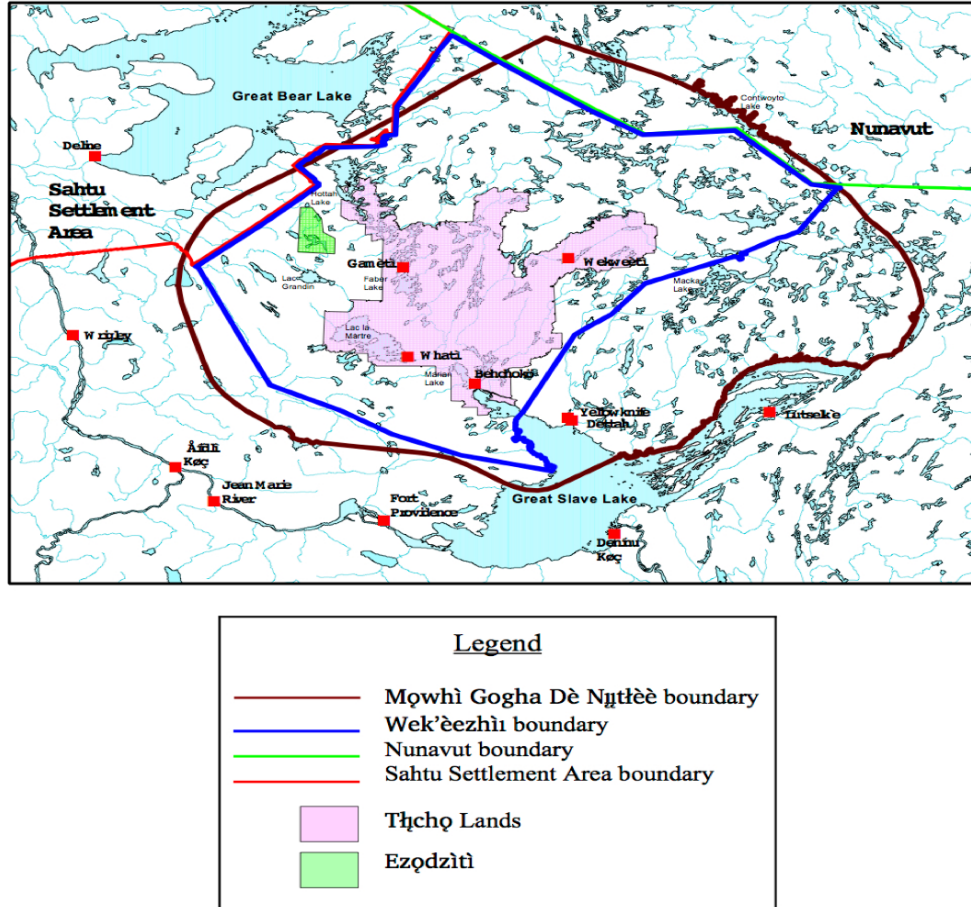


Figure 1: Tłı̨chǫ Boundaries (The Tłı̨chǫ Agreement, 2005)

Today, there are approximately 4,000 Tłı̨chǫ citizens who live primarily in the four Tłı̨chǫ communities of Behchokò, Gamètì, Wekweètì, and Whatì⁸, as well as in Yellowknife, the territory capital. Behchokò, which is the largest of the four Tłı̨chǫ communities, is located 100 kilometers Northwest of Yellowknife and is the only community that is accessible by road year-round (Olson and Chocolate 2012:12). The other three Tłı̨chǫ communities are smaller and more isolated. Gamètì, Wekweètì, and Whatì are accessible via commercial air service and the winter

⁸ <http://Tłı̨chǫ.ca/communities>

ice road network that connects across the frozen tundra for approximately one to three months of the year.

4.1 Tłıchǫ Agreement

The Tłıchǫ Government signed a modern land claim agreement on August 25th 2003, 82 years after the original signing of Treaty 11 by Chief Mǫwhì in Behchokǫ. This agreement was signed with representatives of the Dogrib Treaty 11 Council, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) and the Government of Canada. The agreement is known as The *Tłıchǫ Land Claims and Self-Government Agreement* (2005) and it affords the Tłıchǫ Government legal jurisdiction over 39,000 square kilometers of land within the Mǫwhì region. The agreement grants the Tłıchǫ self-governing powers and the ability to enact and enforce laws within Tłıchǫ territory. The powers of the Tłıchǫ Government include, but are not limited to:

- “The use, management, administration and protection of Tłıchǫ lands and renewable and non-renewable resources
- Land use planning for Tłıchǫ Lands
- Managing and harvesting of fish and wildlife on Tłıchǫ lands
- Creating new offices, entities and institutions, and
- The management of rights and benefits provided under the Tłıchǫ Agreement”⁹

The Tłıchǫ Agreement, as noted by John B Zoe (the Chief Negotiator for land claims and self-government agreement), is not the first of its kind in Tłıchǫ history, but is “an extension of earlier agreements” negotiated between Tłıchǫ peoples and the animals they were reliant on for coexistence and survival (Zoe in Gibson 2008). The Tłıchǫ cosmology of exchange and

⁹ <http://Tłıchǫ.ca/government>

reciprocity continues to guide the Tłıchǫ Government's approach to relationships today, old and new (Gibson MacDonald, Zoe, and Satterfield 2014:71).

The Tłıchǫ Agreement has been fundamental in restructuring the relationships between the Tłıchǫ Government and other regional authorities and developer proponents. Being the first land claim settled following the establishment of the MVRMA, the Agreement also established the Tłıchǫ Government as co-managers with the Review Board's EA process, and further established their authority pertaining to the co-management of resources on their lands (Gibson MacDonald 2015). This includes the NICO project location, which is in Wek'èezhìi, an area established by the Tłıchǫ Government and co-managed between them and the federal government¹⁰. The Agreement does not provide exclusive jurisdiction over any project outside of Tłıchǫ lands as defined by the land claim, even if it is an area that is heavily used and valued by the community (*ibid*).

4.2 Mining in Tłıchǫ Country

The Tłıchǫ have been engaged in a mixed economy of subsistence and commercial harvesting of natural resources since the arrival of European settlers to the region in the late 1700s. The fur trade became the primary market economy for the Tłıchǫ Nation, with the establishment of four primary trading posts over time: Fort Resolution (1786-1819), Fort Simpson (1803-1882), Fort Norman (1810-1851) and Old Fort Rae (1852) (Usher 1971; Gibson MacDonald, Zoe, Satterfield 2014:60).

¹⁰ Wek'èezhìi is the larger management area of the settled Tłıchǫ region. Upon the signing of the Tłıchǫ Agreement in 2005, the Wek'èezhìi Land and Water Board (WLWB) was created. It is guided by the Mackenzie Valley Land Use Regulations, the Tłıchǫ Agreement and the MVRMA. The WLWB is co-managed by the Tłıchǫ and federal Government and is responsible for the management of lands, water and resources in the Wek'èezhìi region. Its head office is located in Wekweètì, NWT.

Mineral exploration by settlers began in earnest in the early 1900s, shortly after the signings of Treaty 8 (1900) and Treaty 11 (1921). Gibson MacDonald, Zoe, and Satterfield (2014:58) report that between 1929 and 1930, 640 mineral claims being stakes on the south shore of Great Slave Lake at Pine Point¹¹; gold was first discovered in Yellowknife in 1933 (Fumoleau 2004 cited in Gibson MacDonald, Zoe, Satterfield 2014), sparking the gold rush in the NWT. Between 1941 and 1971, the NWT saw a 600% increase in migration into the territory. This was also the first time in history when gold revenue exceeded fur production (Helm 2000, Gibson 2008:54). Today, there are 44,253 people living in the NWT (NWT Bureau of Statistics 2016)¹².

During the gold rush period, two major gold mines were established outside of Yellowknife: Con mine (1938-2003) and Giant mine (1948-2008). These are in addition to the 20 gold, silver, uranium, copper, tungsten and tantalum mines which operated in the NWT between 1931 and 1947, and the five in operation between 1950 and 1982 (Legat 2007: 177). Rayrock Mine, a uranium venture that was in operation from the early 1950s to 1959, remains one of the most historically significant mines to the Tłı̨chǫ Nation. Located approximately 75 kilometers north of Behchokò, Rayrock Mine's radioactive tailings and closure process are seen by the Tłı̨chǫ people to be responsible for the abnormally high incidents of cancer and other unfamiliar illnesses within the community (Tłı̨chǫ Research and Training Institute 2015). The mine's history has marred many Tłı̨chǫ people's trust in mining projects to this day. Its legacy has heightened concerns for the Fortune Minerals project, which shares the same rock formation as the Rayrock site.

¹¹ Minerals claims are one of the primary reasons for sections of land being excluded from the Tłı̨chǫ Agreement (such as the NICO Project proposed by Fortune Minerals). Due to these claims being grandfathered into existing mineral exploration interests, they cannot be tabled in negotiations. This provision also protects these lands from new mineral claims being entered (Gibson 2008).

¹² <http://www.statsnwt.ca/>

In the 1990s, the Northern mining economy once again “boomed” following geologists’ discovery of diamonds. This discovery occurred on the heels of the imminent closure of the two regional gold mines (Con and Giant). It also marked a shift in the economy from smaller-scale Canadian-owned gold mines to large-scale, multi-national diamond giants entering the region. These include some of the biggest diamond companies in the world – BHP Billiton, De Beers and Rio Tinto (Gibson 2008; Gibson MacDonald, Zoe, Satterfield 2014:62). In 2014, the GDP of diamond mining in the NWT was valued at \$574.6 million. The GDP for all mining and oil and gas extraction was valued at \$933.9 million (NWT Bureau of Statistics 2015¹³). Today, the industry supplies approximately 1500 jobs territorially, the majority of which are held by non-Aboriginal men (NWT Bureau of Statistics, 2016¹⁴).

The impact and legacy of mining in the North is palpable. Of the five active mines in the North today, three are located within the M̄owhì region. Currently, there are seven projects in development in the T̄h̄ch̄q region, which includes the NICO project (Gibson MacDonald 2015). Although mining has typically been characterized by its negative impacts on Aboriginal communities, mining has become inseparable from T̄h̄ch̄q people’s contemporary lives. Many T̄h̄ch̄q families are actively engaged in the mixed economy of the North to support their families. This is often characterized by working rotational shifts in the mines and participating in traditional subsistence activities when off-duty (Gibson 2008).

Until the Berger inquiry took place in the Mackenzie Valley in 1974 (Berger 1977), acts of consultation, exchange and reciprocity between developers and Indigenous communities were infrequent, but nonetheless present. John B Zoe speaks of an early prospector who was found by a T̄h̄ch̄q family out on the land, starving and cold. The curiosity and friendliness of the family

¹³ <http://www.statsnwt.ca/economy/gdp/>

¹⁴ <http://www.statsnwt.ca/labour-income/labour-force-activity/>

led to him surviving and, in John B's humorous story, the family's first experience of a dry looking piece of wood - or toast (in Gibson MacDonald, Zoe, and Satterfield 2014). Although the historical relationships between the Tłıchǫ Government and developers are often characterized by tension and conflict, they are nonetheless inseparable from their present relationships. Gibson MacDonald (2015:8) maintains that every "relationship or new encounter generates the possibility of conflict, tension or friendship and requires the generations of codes, rules and agreements." These relationships and exchanges are embedded in Tłıchǫ cosmology, which are symbolic of the original agreements made between the Tłıchǫ peoples, the land and the animals. To the Tłıchǫ, these agreements symbolize the relationships of exchange and reciprocity required for survival (Gibson MacDonald, Zoe, and Satterfield 2014). Today, these agreements extend to the ones held between the Tłıchǫ Government and developers. The EA process in the NWT, which is described in detail in Chapter Five, has become a contemporary vehicle for exchange, reciprocity and agreement making between the Tłıchǫ Government and resource extraction companies.

4.3 Strong Like Two People

The expansion of mineral exploration in the NWT in the early-to-mid 1900s was an important transitional period for the Dene communities. The move from a land-based economy to a mixed economy has been characterized as a "period of darkness" in Tłıchǫ history due to the loss of control over their lands (Dogrib Divisional Board of Education 1991; Gibson 2008). This period shifted to one of greater autonomy when the Tłıchǫ Nation reclaimed the education of their youth from the state in 1990. In one of his last speeches in 1971, the highly respected Chief Jimmy Bruneau articulated his vision for his people to be "strong like two people" – which loosely translates as being knowledgeable in both the kwet'ı̀ (white person) and Tłıchǫ ways.

His words became the foundation of the Dogrib Divisional Board of Education (DDBE), which continue to influence how Tłıchǫ people live their everyday lives.

In 1991, a meeting was held between elders, leadership and community members to discuss the meaning of the old leader's words in the newly established DDBE. Elizabeth Mackenzie, one of the founding members of the Dogrib Divisional Board of Education, stated:

So if the children were taught in both cultures equally, they would be strong like two people. We are the Dene, it is a shame to have to teach our children our language but we have to. That's what I think. What the Old Chief talked about is for some good time in the future. Today he didn't talk about everything, but it is good to reflect upon what he did say. He spoke as though we are only one person, we can be two persons. He looked far ahead for us, and we gain from it." (DDBE 1991: 44)

Today, being "strong like two people" continues to apply the lives of the many Tłıchǫ peoples who are balancing life in the diamond mining economy and upholding their Tłıchǫ values and practices. Gibson (2008:231) notes how the "phrase is often used in the context of mining to suggest the Dene harvester/miner has to be strong at home, with their values and principles intact, as well as competent in the rules and values of the occupational site." The phrase speaks to the hard work and commitment required by Tłıchǫ people in the mining economy to remain "strong like two people."

Legat (2012:32) notes that when Tłıchǫ students started attending the DDBE established schools, the most senior elder at the time felt that women's knowledge was not being respected. When addressing a room of youth at the new school, elder Robert Mackenzie told a story of how his father had to deliver his wife's baby on the land because they were not near any midwives or other women.

Young men do not think they need women's stories or elders' stories, but you never know when you will need to think with them. My father not only had the narratives, he had women's knowledge. My daughter and wife may have died. We must tell our grandchildren so they can listen even if they think it isn't important – we should keep

giving them our stories and keep recording our narratives for the future (Robert Mackenzie in Legat 2012:32).

During the 1991 DDBE meeting, Lucy Lafferty commented on the need for more culturally appropriate education materials for the youth in the education system – materials that incorporate both Tł̥ch̥q̥ women's knowledge and kwet'ı̄ technology:

If you want the children to learn our culture you will have to tell them to make a television show of women who are able to work well on hides. Since you have the authority, you can talk to whoever works in Education about it. Tell them you want to teach our culture and put it on video for teaching in the schools (Lucy Lafferty, DDBE 1991:49).

Several other elders discussed the importance of women's work to Dene culture and education at the meeting:

Our mother is the one who teaches us if she is still with us. If our mother is not alive another lady who knows how to work well will teach if we ask her, if she pities others. That's how we learn. When I was ten my mother was in the hospital for two years. At that time there was no one to teach me and I didn't know how to cook or to housekeep. It was really hard on me, as I grew up like an orphan. There were other girls my age who showed me how to do things. That's how I really learned to do my work (Helen Tobie, DDBE 1991:27).

That's how we left for the caribou and slept many nights during our trip. We finally arrived at a place where they had made a high rack for the caribou meat. When we got there we pitched our tent, and then my grandmother and the other women took down the hide and thawed it out. They shaved it, scraped it and twisted it to make *babiche* [cord or lacing]. With that my grandfather made snares for caribou. That is how the Dene lived on earth during the time when times were hard (Alphonse Quitte, DDBE 1991:52).

When a woman or mother teaches us, it is skills they are teaching. It is that way. Back in Rae Lakes, two women finished tanning eleven hides in four days. Three were scraped already and some were raw hides. They tanned them in only four days. They are like cloth but not yet smoked. They are making a tent out of scraped hides. Even that is a big job. The older students in school can learn that and it will become important to them (Harry Simpson, DDBE 1991:55).

These statements represent a key theme in this thesis about the complementary knowledge among Tł̥ch̥q̥ women and men. The statements reveal the importance having women's knowledge and learning women's skills. Alphonse Quitte's description of women and men

working together on a caribou hunt illustrates the dynamic between women and men on the land; survival did not occur independently from one another. Elders today echo the sentiments of Robert Mackenzie. They worry that youth (girls and boys) are not learning women's knowledge as much as they should (Elders focus group, January 2016). Being knowledgeable involves respecting women's knowledge and sharing it with younger generations so they may have the necessary knowledge to survive. Having and respecting women's knowledge, I suggest, can support them in being "strong like two people."

The practice of being "strong like two people" and having to women's knowledge is important to consider within the EA process in the NWT. As discussed below in Chapter Five, EAs in Canada have historically been a male-dominated process wherein women are less likely to be consulted or have their particular knowledge and concerns validated within the process (Archibald and Crnkovich 1999; Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2014). Indigenous knowledge is frequently treated as a homogenous, ungendered unit of analysis. The distinctions between Indigenous women's and men's knowledge is rarely acknowledged within EAs.

The Tłı̨chǫ peoples with whom I worked recognize that women and men hold different – yet complementary – knowledge and both are crucial for understanding the Tłı̨chǫ way of life. Women's stories are essential for understanding environmental change and potential project impacts. If their stories are not listened to, the value of their knowledge has the potential to be diminished. The practice of "being strong like two people" – and respecting women's knowledge – points to the significance of women's knowledge for Tłı̨chǫ people's survival. This reaffirms the importance of listening to women's stories and voices within complex environmental processes, such as federal and territorial EAs.

Chapter 5: Literature Review

5.1 Environmental Assessment in Canada

The EA process in Canada has undergone considerable legislative changes since its inception in the late 1970s. This includes the establishment of separate NWT legislation, the *Mackenzie Valley Resources and Management Act* (MVRMA), from the federal process. While the MVRMA remains a national benchmark for Aboriginal consultation and engagement, the recent adoption of the Devolution Act in the NWT (2014) has the potential to narrow the scope of Indigenous communities' authority over their lands and waters. Evidence shows that strong legislation supported by policy is key to successful EAs and building positive relationships between Indigenous communities and other regulatory parties (Booth and Skelton 2011; Scott-Enns 2015). The literature review below provides an overview of the legislative context of EAs in Canada and the NWT.

5.1.1 Federal Environmental Assessment

The Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (CEAA) is the agency responsible for the federal environmental review process. Federal EAs emerged in the 1970s with the landmark Mackenzie Valley Pipeline review by Justice Berger (Berger 1977). The approach to EAs became more formalized throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Gibson MacDonald 2015) through the *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act* (S.C. 1992, c. 37). EAs continue to be the primary planning and decision-making tool used by government agencies for resource development in Canada (Galbraith 2016).¹⁵

¹⁵ <http://www.thefirelightgroup.com/firelight-presentation-Indigenous-led-environmental-assessment/>

The *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act* was formally established in 1992 following recommendations made to improve public consultation and environmental standards for major development projects in Canada. CEAA 1992 was considered a hopeful model for EA change (Doelle 2012; Gibson 2012), despite it being slow to develop over the 20-year existence of federal environmental review.

EA in Canada shifted in 2012 with the abrupt changes to CEAA's federal review process in favour of expediency and a higher degree of provincial/territorial coordination. Introduced as part of an omnibus bill, CEAA 2012 virtually eliminated all federal-level environmental assessments, deferring responsibility to provincial and territorial regulatory bodies (Gibson 2012). CEAA 2012 effectively reduced the majority of federal assessments/reviews to "lower-level assessments" and limited federal reviews to projects that are most likely to cause significant adverse effects. Doelle (2012) emphasizes that the narrowed scope of CEAA 2012 reverses its past improvements and runs counters to any recommendations made by academics and practitioners. Experts argue that narrow scoping leads to burdening certain populations that are more vulnerable to long-term and cumulative impacts. Particularly, this includes Northern Aboriginal peoples and communities (Galbraith, Bradshaw, and Rutherford 2007:32).

Booth and Skelton (2012:54) argue that poor interpersonal relationships between the government, industry proponents and Indigenous communities are at the heart of why EAs, in many cases, fail to benefit Indigenous groups. Further, they argue that it is the responsibility of the dominant, more powerful players – such as government and industry proponents – to initiate positive working relationships with Indigenous communities. Doelle (2012:13) maintains that CEAA 2012 limits opportunities for federal and provincial/territorial jurisdictions to work in harmony. Provincial/territorial regulatory bodies are therefore relied upon as the primary

regulatory bodies for EAs unless deemed otherwise. This places a significant burden on these regional bodies, whose responsibility includes EAs carried out under Aboriginal self-government agreements (2012:15). With added burdens, opportunities are limited for regional authorities to collaborate and develop effective relationships for successful EA processes.

5.1.2 Northwest Territories Environmental Assessment

5.1.2.1 Mackenzie Valley Environmental Resource and Management Act

The *Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act* (MVRMA) guides the EA process in the NWT. The purpose of this Act is to “provide for an integrated system of land and water management in the Mackenzie Valley” (MVRMA 1998:1). Guiding principles of the MVRMA outlined in section 115 are:

115 (1) The process established by this Part shall be carried out in a timely and expeditious manner and shall have regard to

- (a)** the protection of the environment from the significant adverse impacts of proposed developments;
- (b)** the protection of the social, cultural and economic well-being of residents and communities in the Mackenzie Valley; and
- (c)** the importance of conservation to the well-being and way of life of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada to whom section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* applies and who use an area of the Mackenzie Valley.¹⁶

The inclusion of social and cultural impacts in the legislation is considered a global benchmark for environmental policy. However, Scott-Enns notes that its “implementation requires more comprehensive policies to support the MVRMA” (2015:16) if this measure is to be strictly enforced. Scott-Enns (2015) also observes that industry efforts to meet this requirement remain largely voluntary and unmonitored.

¹⁶ <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/m-0.2/page-21.html#docCont>

The MVRMA has become a means for Northern Aboriginal peoples to gain control over Northern development. Regaining control was a critical focal point for Northern Dene communities on the heels of Justice Thomas Berger's Mackenzie Valley Pipeline inquiry. Mel Watkins (1977), who reviewed statements made before the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, agreed with this point. He went further by stating that major development must not be undertaken until the settlement of Indigenous land claims. Today, the MVRMA applies to the settled regions of the Tłıchǫ Government, the Sahtu, and the Gwich'in Tribal Council, in addition to the unsettled regions of the Akaitcho Treaty 8, Deh Cho and the Northwest Territory Métis Nation. While not all Aboriginal groups in the NWT have settled land claims, the MVRMA does attempt to provide added measures of protection for all Aboriginal communities in the Mackenzie Valley region.

Gibson MacDonald (2015) maintains that MVRMA is under similar "streamlining pressure" as the federal EA process in Canada. In 2014, the GNWT adopted the Devolution Act, which proposes to bring about major changes to the MVRMA. One of these changes includes compressing regional land and water boards into one "super board" for the NWT. This would lead to the disbanding of the Wek'èezhìi Land and Water Board in the Tłıchǫ region, along with the four other local land and water boards. If implemented, this would effectively curtail the Tłıchǫ Government's responsibility for the management and protection of lands in the Wek'èezhìi area, which is at the heart of Tłıchǫ country. In 2015, the Tłıchǫ Government filed a lawsuit following the proposed changes to MVRMA (Tłıchǫ Government v. Canada 2015). This created a critical injunction in the process, preventing the implementation of any amendments until the lawsuit has been settled.

5.1.2.2 The Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board

Following the enactment of the MVRMA in 1998, the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board (the Review Board) was established as the designated regulatory agency for environmental impact assessments in the Mackenzie Valley region of the NWT. The Review Board is an independent administrative tribunal comprised of nine elected members, resulting in a co-management panel of Aboriginal governments, federal and territorial governments.

There are three stages to an environmental impact assessment (EIA) under the MVRMA: 1) the preliminary screening; 2) the environmental assessment; and 3) the environmental impact review. In the second stage, the Review Board provides an assessment on the proposed project, and may recommend that it be approved or rejected. The second stage is also when the public hearings occur and when traditional knowledge is presented and considered by the Review Board in assessing the level of impact of the proposed project (MVRMA 1998).

Since the 1990s, the Tłı̨chǫ have participated in every major environmental review and assessment in the Mackenzie Valley (Gibson MacDonald 2015). The Tłı̨chǫ Government has negotiated agreements with the four diamond-mining companies in the region (Ekati mine by BHP Billiton, 1998; Diavik mine by Rio Tinto, 2001; Snap Lake mine by De Beers Canada, 2008; and Gahcho Kue mine by De Beers Canada, 2014). In December of 2015, De Beers announced that it would be shutting down its Snap Lake mining operations due to a downturn in the diamond economy and water licencing complications.

5.1.2.3 Traditional Knowledge in the Mackenzie Valley Regulatory Process

In 2005, the Review Board developed their *Guidelines for Incorporating Traditional Knowledge in Environmental Impact Assessment* (the Review Board 2005). These guidelines were intended to facilitate the meaningful incorporation and consideration of TK in environmental assessments.

Recognizing that TK must be considered in the context for which it was shared, the Review Board allows for TK holders to share their information through a variety of mechanisms, which include technical reports (such as TK studies), comment letters, verbal presentations and public hearings (2005:12). More broadly, the guidelines emphasize the importance of establishing effective relationships between the TK holders, the community and the developers so that the information shared is respected, collected and shared in accordance with community protocol, and understood as inalienable from a successful EIA.

TK studies are not conducted for every proposed development project. They are commonly conducted if a project proceeds to stage two (EA) of the regulatory process. Here, the Review Board considers TK as evidence when determining what is considered to be a “significant” impact on the environment or the valued components identified by the group of peoples. The Review Board requires that TK studies/reports/proposals be peer-reviewed and presented by the appropriate individuals/knowledge holders under review. The knowledge presented may be subject to verification by the community, the knowledge holders, or a group of experts. The Review Board may request further TK research if they feel there is not sufficient information, though the community has the right to decline.

Usher (2000:191) notes that many communities are reluctant to submit their TK to the process, or directly to the developers, for concern that it will be “taken away, removed, or separated from the cultural context in which it operates.” When TK is placed in the public arena, the knowledge becomes open to interpretation and misinterpretation. This has potential to dilute that value of TK as anecdotal, or for those who are not familiar with TK to discredit it entirely as unreliable (2000:189). Usher (2000) suggests that it is in the interest of all parties in an EA to

acknowledge the importance of TK in EAs and its significance in making environmental decisions before proceeding into regulatory processes.

Correspondingly, Nadasy (1999; 2005) argues that because TK is not straightforward or easily translated into western paradigms such as EAs; treating TK simply as another form of “data” does not stand to serve the interests of the TK holders. Treating TK as “data” can overlook how communities have been forced to conform their TK into western institutions instead of expressing TK through their own practices, customs and beliefs. Nadasy (2005:221) maintains that TK could serve a better purpose in environmental processes to “re-think unexamined assumptions” between Indigenous-state relationships, which could include EAs and regulatory bodies. In a similar vein,

5.1.3 Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the legislative context of EAs in Canada and the NWT, which include guidelines for incorporating TK. Booth and Skelton (2012:54) maintain that governments, review boards and developers need to prioritize positive relationship building with Indigenous communities in order for EAs to be successful, regardless if a project is approved or not. MVRMA remains a hopeful piece of legislation for guiding and facilitating the EA processes that are inclusive and respectful of Indigenous groups and TK. The newly proposed amendments have potential to upset the status quo. Indeed, strong EA legislation that is supported by Aboriginal self-government agreements is necessary for an effective EA.

5.2 Gender and Environmental Assessment

Gender, according to Mills, Dowsley, and Cameron (2013:2), is an important measure of analysis in regulatory contexts. Gender, they suggest, can help us better understand relationships in Northern communities, the flow of wealth through families, power relations between women

and men, as well as social and cultural practices. Federal and provincial/territorial EA legislation, however, does not mandate gender as a unit of analysis in their assessments.

For the purposes of this research, gender is understood as a blend of public and private knowledge, sacred, secret and new perspectives (Gibson and Kemp 2008). Keenan and Kemp (2014:v) refer to gender as “the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men.” This relationship is often unbalanced and unequal, and is not fixed in nature (Ahmad and Lahiri-dutt 2006; Gibson and Kemp 2008).

While I acknowledge that the term ‘gender’ encompasses more than the female/male binary, the bulk of literature on gender in the North focuses on the relationships between Aboriginal women and men (Mills, Dowsley, Cameron 2013). This thesis’ scope of gender is therefore limited to the examination of Aboriginal women’s roles in relation to men’s, despite the cognizance that further research on gender relations, constructions and perspectives in the North are required for a more fulsome analysis.

5.2.1 Dual Narratives

There are two prevailing narratives in the literature on Indigenous women in EAs: the predominant narrative is that Indigenous women have been, and continue to be, disempowered within the EA process. Evidence suggests that women do not have equal access to participate in EAs, EAs are prioritizing biophysical environmental factors as opposed to the social impacts, and women stand to benefit substantially less from resource extraction than men (Archibald and Crnkovich 1999; Cox 2013; Mokami Status of Women Council 2011; National Aboriginal Health Organization 2008).

Concomitantly, the second narrative surrounding Indigenous women in EAs is that some Indigenous women exercise a great deal of agency within EAs; however, their participation and contributions are not always obvious to the outside observer. Each scenario requires a careful contextual analysis, which includes exploring both formal and informal processes through which women participate (Lahiri-Dutt 2011; O’Faircheallaigh 2011; 2012).

5.2.1.1 Narrative One: Disempowerment

Evidence suggests that resource extraction has contributed to the marginalization of Indigenous women and their systemic exclusion from the benefits of resource development. The Mokami Status of Women Council (2011), the National Aboriginal Health Organization (2008) and Scott-Enns (2015) review the impacts of development on Northern Aboriginal women, such as an increase of violence, fewer employment opportunities, and faltering community support mechanisms for women, which increase gender inequality. These negative consequences have potential to be exacerbated due to the lack of formal policy on including women and gender-specific issues in the EA process.

The outcomes of Indigenous women’s disempowerment and marginalization in EAs have had far-reaching consequences (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2014). Many concerns raised by women in the environmental assessments of the Voisey’s Bay mine, the Victor Diamond mine, and Diavik diamond project – such as lack of child care, increase of unhealthy behaviours, unequal access to employment – still persist today (Archibald and Crnkovich 1999; Mills, Dowsley, and Cameron 2013; Mokami Status of Women Council 2011; The Status of Women Council of NWT 1999). Although there may be many benefits that arise from development, such as improved infrastructure, transportation, water safety, health services – as seen at the Lihir mine in Papua New Guinea (PNG) (Hemer 2014) – women typically do not have equal

access to these benefits (Gibson and Kemp 2008). Gibson and Kemp (2008) affirm that there is little information available on program outcomes that target Indigenous women in Canada.

Mining has historically been characterised by its negative impacts on Indigenous communities and particularly on Indigenous women (Hemer 2014; O’Faircheallaigh 2013). Indigenous women face difficulties in securing employment in the mines, decreased family cohesion, and increased exposure to violence (Hemer 2014; National Aboriginal Health Organization 2008). These challenges are exacerbated when federal and regional regulatory bodies emphasize biophysical environmental impacts and not the social consequences of resource extraction¹⁷ (Cox 2013; Pauktuutit 2014). Following the EA of the Voisey’s Bay Nickel Project in 1999, Archibald and Crnkovich (1999) determined that women were not adequately consulted in the research for the technical reports or in the negotiations leading up to the EA. Furthermore, impacts from development that specifically affect women, such as increased violence and economic inequality, were overlooked in the process. Their recommendation that CEAA take measures to mandate gender-based analysis has yet to take place.

The degree to which Indigenous women are involved in the EA process remains voluntary, ad-hoc, and unmeasured. Gender is not considered a unit of measure in EA legislation, despite burgeoning literature suggesting that gender cannot be bracketed or addressed separately from the process (Lahiri-Dutt 2011; O’Faircheallaigh 2011; Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2014)¹⁸. The lack of policy support for addressing gender-specific consequences of resource extraction is a persistent shortcoming of EAs in Canada (Archibald and Crnkovich 1999;

¹⁷ MVRMA is unique in mandating socio-economic impact assessments (SEIA), which is not a part of federal legislation. Subsequent to an SEIA in the NWT, socio-economic agreements (SEA) are negotiated between the proponent and GNWT, however inadequate regulations prevent SEIA and SEA from being enforced (Scott-Enns 2015).

¹⁸ Gender and development (GAD) literature has been discussing gendered aspects of development on an international platform for over 40 years (Razavi and Miller 1995; Singh 2007; Visvanathan 2011). Its focus has typically concentrated on women on a broader scale and less so on Indigenous women, particularly Indigenous women in Canada’s North.

Mokami Status of Women Council 2011; Scott-Enns 2015). The culmination of exclusion, marginalization and disregard for gender-specific concerns in EAs is attributed to Indigenous women's disempowerment in the process. The following section explores the alternative narrative to disempowerment: Indigenous women's agency in EAs.

5.2.1.2 Narrative Two: Agency

Critiques of the dominant narrative of disempowerment suggest a deeper, more ethnographic analysis is required in each context when examining Indigenous women's participation in EAs. O'Faircheallaigh (2011; 2012) maintains that just because women may not be visible in EA processes does not mean they are excluded from it. Rather, O'Faircheallaigh insists that a case-by-case analysis of each scenario is important for understanding the cultural and political reasoning for women's participation (or not) in environmental processes.

Correspondingly, Lahiri-Duitt (2011) maintains that women must be recognized as key actors in mining and development, instead of dwelling in an academic rhetoric of victimhood. She suggests that if women's potentially complex and unique roles in their communities are not acknowledged, their influence in EAs – both internally and externally to the process – may be downplayed. Furthermore, this has the potential to undermine Indigenous women's empowerment and agency within their daily lives (O'Faircheallaigh 2012:1971). Instances such as conferences, storytelling and informal dialogues are active sites of resistance for Indigenous women, however they are frequently overlooked as such (Gibson and Kemp 2008; Keenan and Kemp 2014).

Hemer (2014) notes how women impacted by mining in Lihir, PNG continue to gain status in their communities as guardians of health, children and the future. Gender

mainstreaming¹⁹, she argues, is not effective for examining local and global level impacts of mining in communities. It has potential to undermine women's status. In Hemer's case study, two Lihir women's organizations, Tutorme and Petzorme, are described as successful initiatives in response to the Lihir Gold Mine, bringing forth important aspects of everyday life that are of great concern to women such as income generating opportunities, women's health and skills training. Tutorme provided sewing workshops for women and Petzorme called for further investigations into global gender relations, particularly on Lihir women's positions in their communities in relation to men's. Petzorme achieved this by discussing their experiences as women in the Lihir mining context through publications, interviews and attending international mining conferences. Although gender mainstreaming in PNG has potential to problematize how 'gender' might be shaped in response to development impacts, Tutorme and Petzorme are examples of women's agency in development that contributed positively to their standing in their communities.

O'Faircheallaigh (2011; 2012) urges critics to challenge the universal assumptions of Indigenous women's disempowerment in resource development. He provides an example of the traditional decision making roles of women on Bougainville Island in PNG, which is generally a private affair. Rarely do the women participate in public political or ceremonial life (Mirinka in O'Faircheallaigh 2012:1975), but that doesn't mean that they haven't had an impact on the decisions that are made in the public sphere. Paying attention to Indigenous women's involvement in specific cultural contexts, he argues, can "help achieve an understanding of how and why this comes about" (2012:1976).

¹⁹ Gender mainstreaming is a concept used to promote strategies of gender equality and fairness, while recognizing the diversity between women, men and all genders (Lahiri-Dutt and Burke 2011).

Archibald and Crnkovich (1999) suggest that the Voisey's Bay EA was an exclusionary process wherein the company failed to consider any gender analysis in their assessment, despite this being a part of the original MOU between the developer and the Labrador Inuit. On the other hand, Cox (2013) and O'Faircheallaigh (2012) depict Voisey's Bay as a progressive example of gender being a critical element to both process and outcomes. They note that women exercised power in both formal and informal ways through various consultation processes such as ad-hoc committees, public hearings, and advisory groups to the impact and benefit agreement (IBA), in addition to their chief negotiator being an Inuit woman. Three of the 107 panel recommendations from the EA were specifically targeted to women, and the IBA that followed included a women's employment plan instituted by the Voisey's Bay Nickel Company (Cox 2013:34). Had their voices not been presented in the EA, Cox (2013) concludes that these initiatives would likely have not been developed.

Lahiri-Dutt (2012) emphasizes that meaningfully incorporating women in EAs is not about simply adding them to the 'mix'; the 'add women and stir' approach (Lahiri-Dutt 2011:3) draws focus away from the specific disadvantages experienced by women, which is exacerbated by mainstreaming universalities of gender (Hemer 2014:3). This is echoed by the body of Indigenous feminism scholarship that investigates the intersections of colonialism, sexism and racism, exposing the "unpleasant synergy between these three violations of human rights" (Green 2007:56). These scholars stress that Indigenous women need to be seen in their full historical *and* contemporary contexts. Indigenous feminists demand critical attention be paid to the gendered power imbalances and the adopted sexism of the colonial manifest (Green 2007; Monture 2008; Smith 2005; Suzack et al. 2010).

Lahiri-Duitt (2011), Hemer (2014) and O’Faircheallaigh (2011) recognize that Indigenous women do not always have equal access to opportunities and benefits from resource development, nor is there consensus on how this balance ought to be achieved. They insist careful attention must be paid to the ways in which Indigenous women *are* participating in these contexts to avoid downplaying women’s influence and agency. They call for a deconstruction of essentialized assumptions that have historically characterized Indigenous women as homogenously disadvantaged and marginalized in resource extraction.

5.2.2 Summary

Narratives of disempowerment/exclusion and agency suggest that Indigenous women’s participation and valuation in EAs are not easily categorized into a binary of disempowerment/exclusion or agency. In many cases, it can be a complex combination of the two, such as in the Voisey’s Bay EA (Cox, 2013; O’Faircheallaigh 2012). EAs occur over an extended period of time and involve multiple points of engagement. Evidence points to the need to undertake an ethnographic case-by-case analysis of individual EAs, while acknowledging the dynamic and multiple ways Indigenous women are politically, culturally and socially engaged in the EA process.

Chapter 6: The NICO Project Proposed by Fortune Minerals

In 2009, Fortune Minerals Limited proposed to build a gold-cobalt-bismuth-copper mine approximately 50 kilometers north of Whati and 160 kilometres northwest of Yellowknife. The project is located within a culturally significant area known as *asì edets'eeda diìle*, translated as “the place we go where we can survive”. This is near the region known as *K'eàgotì, eka g'oti* and as *K'a goti*, or Hislop Lake (Olson and Chocolate 2012:17). Figure 2 below shows the project's proposed location and access road.

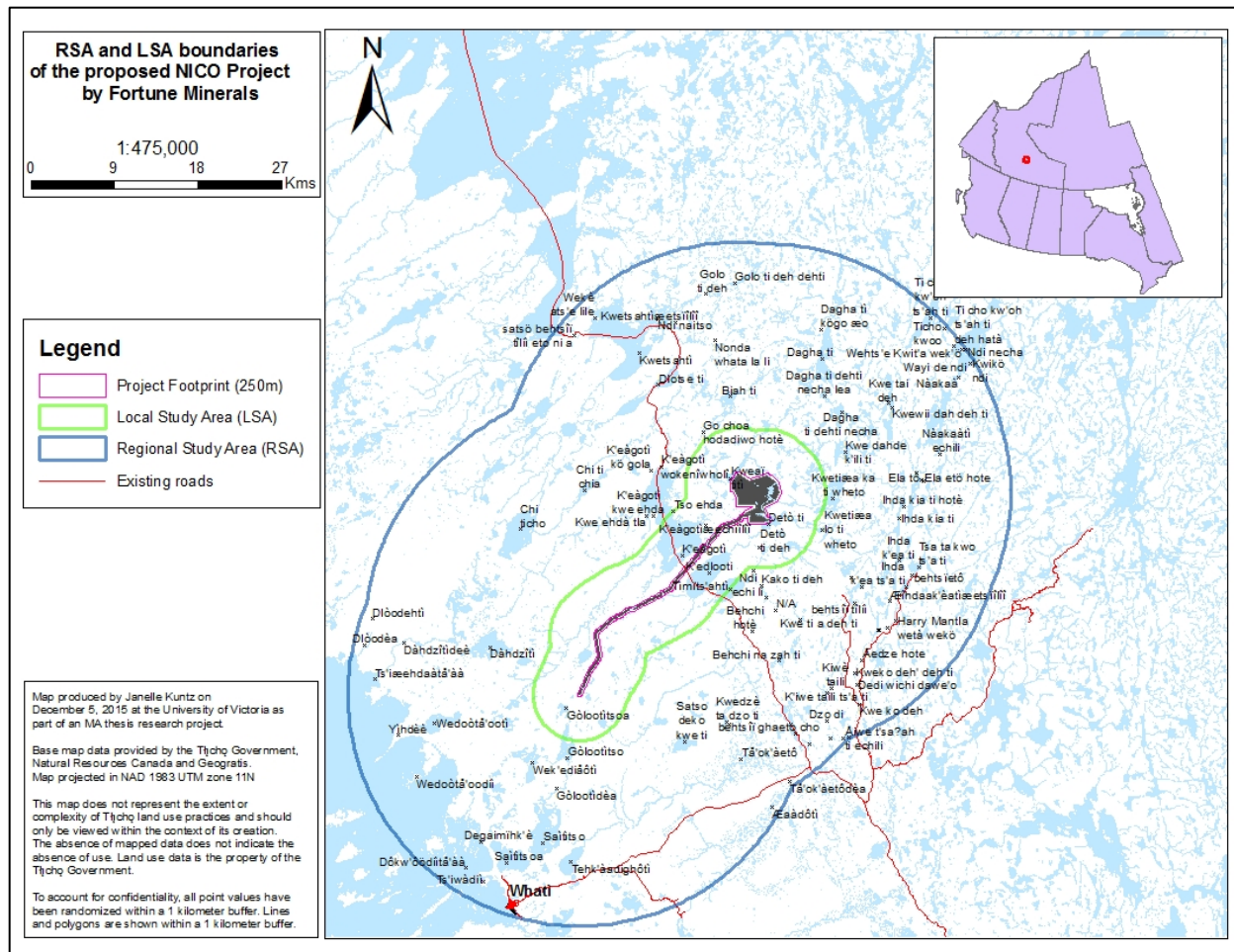


Figure 2: Location of the Proposed NICO Project by Fortune Minerals Limited

The NICO project is an underground and open pit mine that is anticipated to run for approximately 20 years. Construction for the project is anticipated to take a total of 12 to 18 months. The project is expected to provide up to 380 jobs over the course of its operation (Gibson MacDonald 2015; Olson and Chocolate 2012). Specific employment targets for Tłı̨chǫ peoples have yet to be determined.

The proposed development area contains 33 million tonnes of proven and probable mineral reserves. Upon operation, the mine estimates to mill 4,650 tonnes of ore per day²⁰. Once mined at the project site, the ore concentrate will be transported via truck to a processing facility in Saskatchewan for market distribution.

The NICO project proposes to introduce two key design aspects that have previously been untested in any mine in the North. The first is depositing the operation's waste rock and tailings in layers next to the mine in a co-disposal facility (CDF facility). The second is the treatment of water through industrial wetlands. Both of these approaches are considered technologically novel "because they were relatively unique in Northern climates and in engineering approaches" which "led to the substantive technical engagement and review throughout the EA process" (Gibson MacDonald 2015).

6.1 Historical Explorations at K'èàgotì

The discovery of gold at K'èàgotì predates the Fortune Minerals lease and explorations. During the October 11th public hearing, Madelaine Pasqueyak-Chocolate shared her story about her father, David Chocolate, who discovered a gold rock at K'èàgotì while hunting with Pierre Wedawin:

But there's only one other individual that knew about this rock, and that was the late Pierre [Wedawin]. He and dad had gone hunting that day, over in K'èàgotì, you know,

²⁰ <http://www.fortuneminerals.com/assets/nico/nico-resources-reserves/default.aspx>

where they stake a claim for gold, they went hunting in that area. And dad saw this unusual rock and he said to the elder, 'What do you suppose this might be? And he said, Gee, who knows, he said, you know, but why don't we take it with us and, you know, find out or see if there's anybody could tell us what this rock is. So that's what they did (Madelaine Pasqueyak -Chocolate, public hearings, October 11 2012).

Others had told Madelaine's father "this rock had value." He held onto the rock for many years before disclosing the location where it was found. Madelaine explained to the Review Board that her dad eventually told a friend, a non-Tł̓ch̓q man, where he had discovered the rock. This man was subsequently credited for discovering gold at K'eàgotì, not Madelaine's father.

He trusted that man. He lived among us ... You know, that I found, you know, so unfair, you know, that my dad, the late David Chocolate, was given no credit, you know, for having found this rock (Madelaine Pasqueyak -Chocolate, public hearings, October 11 2012).

This history has contributed to the distrust between several community members and prospectors in the area, including Fortune Minerals. Madelaine maintained that her father's discovery of gold, in addition to the Tł̓ch̓q people's relationship with K'eàgotì, needed to be acknowledged before Fortune Minerals proceeds with explorations:

It belongs to me, my family, my auntie, my uncles, my cousins. That's ours. It belongs to the Tł̓ch̓q people. Why should they take the gold from out of the ground, steal it from us, and take it down south and process it down there, and God knows what else they're going to do with it? You know, the mine will be gone from us. We will have gained nothing from it (Madelaine Pasqueyak-Chocolate, public hearings, October 11 2012).

The Tł̓ch̓q oral history of gold discovery at K'eàgotì is important for understanding the historical complexity of mining on Tł̓ch̓q lands. Madelaine Psaqueyak-Chocolate's story describes what Cruikshank (1992:22) refers to as "windows on the way the past is constructed and discussed in different contexts." It is possible that the written record does not account for the Tł̓ch̓q oral history of gold discovery at K'eàgotì; both oral and written historical records are important for understanding the "culturally distinctive networks of social relationships" that were

at play during this period of time (*ibid*). Notably, these historical interactions carry implications for the future relationships between Tłchq peoples and mining interests in the NWT.

6.2 Project Feasibility

The NICO mine site is wholly surrounded by Tłchq lands that are defined in the Tłchq Agreement, though it is not located directly on them. Its location lies in the heart of Tłchq country along the Įdaà trail, a vital transportation corridor that connects Great Slave Lake to Great Bear Lake²¹. The mine's isolated location is commonly referred to as the "donut hole" of the Tłchq Agreement due to Fortune Minerals having obtained a minerals exploration lease of the area in 1996, prior to the Tłcho Agreement's establishment.

During the public hearings, Georgina Chocolate described the significance of K'eàgotì, the project area:

The place where we can survive, a place where we can go to survive, our elders used to say that area. There are a lot of people that have survived in that area ... what it means is where we can survive, where people have survived. People that live in the three communities it is right in the heart of the three communities. That area is the heart of the Tłchq. A lot of our people had used that area.

... that river flows towards us, and it's still drinkable. We can still drink right from the lake, the river. And it's a very important traditional trail where people have gone back and forth. And also, it also has Įdaà trail, referring to the trails of our ancestors (Georgina Chocolate, public hearings, October 10 2012).

The feasibility of the NICO project rests on the construction of a new all-season road to the community of Whatì, which would then connect to the mine via an access road. This has proved challenging for the potential operation and utility of the project since the roads would be crossing

²¹ The Marian River and the Camsell River form the Įdaà Trail. The trail was used in post-contact times to access trading posts along Great Bear Lake, Great Slave Lake, the Mackenzie River and Bear River (Andrews and Zoe 1997). Today, the Įdaà trail is part of the Tłchq Government's annual "Trail of our Ancestors" canoe trip, where youth travel with elders to learn about the land, place names, harvesting and butchering, burial sites, setting net and how their people lived (Zoe in Gibson 2008:111).

Tłıchq lands (Gibson MacDonald 2015). Fortune Minerals pursued the EA process anticipating the GNWT would construct the new portion of highway to the community of Whatı.

The all-season road was a tense point of discussion throughout the EA. While Fortune Minerals had obtained the proper license from the Wek'èezhii Land and Water Board (WLWB) to pursue explorations at the project site, it did not have a license or application filed for constructing the access road required for operating the mine (Gibson MacDonald 2015). Despite this, the company included plans for an access road in their draft Terms of Reference. The Tłıchq Government filed a Request for Ruling with the Review Board, citing that the EA was premature given that all components of the project did not have proper licensing requirements. The Review Board denied the Tłıchq Government's Request for Ruling, recommending the EA to proceed.

In June of 2011, the Tłıchq Government filed a lawsuit challenging the Review Board's decision, citing that they these roads are "hypothetical" and their permission to cross their lands "has not yet been granted" (Tłıchq v. Mackenzie Valley Impact Review Board 2011). They also believed that the Review Board "exceeded its jurisdiction in refusing to postpone this EA" (*ibid*). Justice Charbonneau felt that the roads were not "hypothetical" since they were something necessary to be constructed if development is to occur, and therefore the Review Board was within its jurisdiction to proceed with the EA. In February of 2012, the Tłıchq Government withdrew their appeal.

The EA proceeded but the Review Board chose to treat the NICO project as a development site without access - which is, as previously stated, not feasible. Members from the community of Whatı raised their concerns about this decision and potential negative consequences of the proposed road in the public hearings of the EA, such as increases in unhealthy behaviours, out-migration of community members, road safety and others. In 2014

following the EA, the Tłıchǫ Government conducted a socio-economic scoping study (Tłıchǫ Research and Training Institute, 2014a) on the all-season road that elaborated on these very concerns raised by the community members.

6.3 Timelines and Scope of the Environmental Assessment

Although the NICO project was proposed in 2009, the EA review began in earnest in 2012 following the Tłıchǫ Government’s withdraw of its appeal. A timeline of important dates throughout the EA is listed in Table 1 below:

Date	Event
February 27, 2009	NICO Project referred to the Review Board for review
June 3, 2010	Tłıchǫ Government issues request for ruling on exclusion of all-season road from proposal
June 2, 2011	Supreme Court of NWT submits Reasons for Judgement
June 30, 2011	Tłıchǫ Government files for appeal
February 29, 2012	Tłıchǫ Government withdraws appeal
June 5 to August 6, 2012	TK Study interviews are conducted
August 27 – 31, 2012	Public hearings of the Review Board
September 15, 2012	TK Study submitted to the Review Board
October 11-12, 2012	Added public hearing dates
January 27, 2013	The Review Board releases its report of REA
July 17, 2013	Minister approves the EA

Table 1: Timeline of the NICO Project Environmental Assessment²²

A significant point of engagement for some Tłıchǫ women in the EA was the TK study. The TK study was followed by the public hearings, which were held over six days in August and October 2012. It is important to note that the TK study was conducted under very narrow timelines for the EA. Interviews for the TK study did not begin until June 2012, wherein results were expected for presentation at the postponed public hearings in late August 2012. The final report was due to The Review Board September 15, 2012 – after the public hearings. This initial timeframe limited

²² Adapted from the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board:
https://issuu.com/reviewboard/docs/mve_5128_nico_timeline?e=9139550/5161603

the opportunity for the Tłıchǫ Government to adequately analyse and report on the TK study findings in the public hearings.

The restrictive time frame of the TK study became a key leveraging point for the Tłıcho Government to extend the public hearing dates. The Review Board had denied initial extension requests for the public hearings made by the Tłıcho Government. The Tłıchǫ Government felt that the absence of TK study data would limit the extent to which the Review Board could conduct an “effective or complete impact assessment process”, or adequately understand the importance of the area to the Tłıcho peoples (Letter from Tłıchǫ Government to the Review Board, June 4, 2012; Gibson MacDonald 2015). During the initial hearing dates in August 2012, the Tłıchǫ Government persisted in arguing for the need to accommodate the inclusion of an adequately assessed TK study and granting TK equal weight to scientific knowledge in order to fully understand the meaning and use of the project area (Gibson MacDonald 2015).

The logistics of the hearings were problematic for several other reasons. On the public hearing date of August 29, 2012, the Tłıchǫ Government addressed the Review Board on several issues that limited Tłıchǫ citizen’s ability to participate:

- People were being made to wait too long, sometimes more than a day, for an opportunity to speak
- The hearings were being held during the daytime when people were at work
- Summer is a busy time when harvesters are out on the land
- The hearings were scheduled prior to the long weekend before school began, a time when many Tłıchǫ families travel to Grande Prairie and Edmonton to stock up on school supplies

- Not enough time was allotted for individuals to share their statements (the Review Board 2012b).

During the August 30th public hearings in Behchokò, the Tłıchǫ Government submitted a Request for Ruling with the Review Board for an additional hearing date. Later that day, the Review Board granted an additional two days of hearings in October 2012 to accommodate the Tłıchǫ citizens and the TK study. This decision was considered a triumph by the Tłıchǫ Government to have TK recognized as fundamental to informing the EA process, decision-making and outcomes (Grand Chief Edward Erasmus, public hearings, October 11, 2012). Additional research dates were not granted for the TK study. Although there were no further opportunities for Tłıchǫ citizens to participate in the TK Study, Tłıchǫ citizens were still able to participate in the EA process through the public hearings.

Chapter 7: T̄chq̄ Women And Dè

Yes the women did a lot of very important [work] because they have a very important job ... they prepare meals, and they do so much work. They go out in the bush to collect all the frozen spruce bows to bring it home. They collect diaper moss, they bring it home. And when the men's are gone trapping and hunting, the women's back home are collecting firewood ... Even women's themselves were like a doctor. They deliver a baby that were born on the land wherever they travel ... [women] are very important role models, I would say today. They're still doing sewing, they're still doing arts and crafts. They're still keeping their tradition ... Even young people are learning that today too, I'm so happy that they keeping that up. (Georgina Chocolate, personal communication, January 2016)

On January 14, 2016, I helped facilitate a focus group with four female elders to discuss why women's stories are important when talking about the environment and environmental changes. In response to this, the elders shared stories that described the important relationships between women, *dè* (land), and K'eàgotì (Hislop Lake, the proposed project area). Storytelling has a long history as a crucial means of communicating important cultural and ecological information to future generations (Cruikshank 1990; Legat 2012). As Legat (2012:37) points out, listening to these stories is a chance for listeners to gain new perspectives and better understand T̄chq̄ values, cosmology and way of life.

One of the primary purposes for sharing stories with younger generations and newcomers is so that the stories may be used to make informed decisions. Cruikshank (1998:26) and Martindale (2006:184) assert that oral narratives and stories are important for understanding the past, however they are increasingly important for making sense of contemporary situations. Because many stories are rich in historical and ecological information, they have the potential to broaden our perspectives and understandings of complex, environmental issues.

Stories are also important for understanding change. The story of Whanikw'o (see Legat 2012:52-53) details a significant period of change and transaction between T̄chq̄ and kwet'ij̄ (white person). Whanikw'o, a young T̄chq̄ woman, brought her people the skills and

technology of the kwet'ìì after having spent two years with a kwet'ìì trader and his wife. Whanikw'ò brought back guns, traps and matches to her people. This period of time is commonly characterised as chaotic in Tìchq history (*ibid*). Whanikw'ò helped her people transition through difficulty and hardship with the use of kwet'ìì technology. The story of Whanikw'ò was contextually important during the final developments of the Tìchq Agreement. Legat (2012) recounts how Louis Whane, an elder from Gamèti, expressed concern at a meeting in January 2002 that the young people were forgetting Whanikw'ò's story, and its importance in contextualizing the relationship between Tìchq and kwet'ìì knowledge.

He emphasized that to survive, all people should be open to learning and that women's knowledge is important as well. He had expressed this same concern to other elders in Whatì in 2000. In Whatì, he used the story to emphasize that young people were not respecting women and their knowledge. In 2002, however, he pointed to a public-relations poster associated with the land claim. He was very concerned about how Tìchq history was being portrayed and how it was used to tell the stories. Louis felt that the picture showed that only men were important. He pointed out that all people have knowledge – including women – and that Whanikw'ò had done 'something big for the people' (Legat 2012:54).

Similar to the statements made by Tìchq citizens during the 1991 DDBE meetings about being “strong like two people”, the story of Whanikw'ò reiterates the importance of women's knowledge when negotiating relationships between Tìchq and kwet'ìì. The same principles can be applied to an EA, a setting where Tìchq and kwet'ìì perspectives interact and require careful mediation, protocols and respect. The story of Whanikw'ò also reveals that the earliest relationships negotiated between the Tìchq and kwet'ìì was facilitated through a Tìchq woman. Her story, as noted above by elder Louis Whane, represents the importance of learning from both women and men in order to survive.

Gathering with women for the focus group served as opportunity for the elders to communicate the importance of women's stories, knowledge and relationship with *dè*. Their

stories are reflective of their life on the land, their familial relationships, as well as the significance of knowing and sharing Tł̓chq̓ women's knowledge.

7.1 Women's Stories

The elders and I gathered together in the boardroom of the Culture and Land Protection Department in Behchok̓. Georgina Chocolate helped to facilitate the focus group and provided interpretation. At the outset of the focus group, the elders were asked why it is important to listen to women's stories when talking about the environment, or *dè*. Melanie Weyallon responded by saying that it is because women had different roles than men, and that the importance of these roles are communicated through their words and stories:

Well there would be no men without the women ... I am now 85 years old. Our children are going to outlive us. My married children themselves have many married children. Some of them are ready to have their own children too. Their children's children are going to live by this information and our words. The stories we are telling you now as a young woman yourself, if perhaps you were to live in the future, you will say, 'Our people have said this to us'. Do a good job of the work you are doing on behalf of the land and tell them not to let anything that would cause any harm to the environment be on the land. So now at this time we are putting all our words in your ears (Melanie Weyallon, personal communication, 2016).

As I listened to Melanie Weyallon tell me this, I recognized that what she was sharing with me was very intentional. Her telling me the stories in this room – her performance – became equally important as the words she was sharing. Stories are often told with the intention of leaving an impression on the listener (Cruikshank 1990:2, 1998:28; Vansina 1985:85; Wachowich et. al 1999:5), which the elders certainly did. Melanie used her stories to facilitate a relationship between Tł̓chq̓ and kwet'ìì knowledge, teaching me – the newcomer – what it means to live “the right way.” My role as a kwet'ìì (white) listener became part of this knowledge exchange taking place. This exchange, Melanie stated, came with the responsibility of sharing the elder's stories and ensuring their words are used to reinforce Tł̓chq̓ values. I am humbled to have been a part of

this exchange, and in turn, to share the stories of Melanie Weyallon, Melanie Lafferty, Monique Mackenzie and Mary Adele Tlokka in this thesis.

Melanie Weyallon's statement about the importance of listening to women's stories is analogous with the body of scholarship concerning the significance of women's roles in their communities (Cruikshank 1998; Blackman 1982; Edmunds, Thomas-Slayter, and Rocheleau 1995; Wilson 2006). Women's roles are often related to, but certainly not limited to, the creation of life, raising children, cultural continuity, ceremony and food procurement. Melanie Weyallon's story suggests that women's knowledge is not exclusive of men, but is complementary to their knowledge and particular responsibilities. It is important not only to listen to women's stories, but also to live by their words.

The elders in the focus group were notably eager to share their stories. During our time together, the elders commented that they have not had the opportunity to record these stories before. These comments are consistent with the body of scholarship concerned with women's knowledge remaining on the peripheries of traditional knowledge and community-based research (Altamirano-Jiminez 2009; Mills, Dowsley, Cameron 2013; Ohmagari and Berkes 1997; Pauktuutit 2014; Wilson 2006). The elders are acutely aware of the differences between the upbringing of the youth today and their own experiences, and the potential fractures of knowledge between the generations. They routinely referred back to the importance of their stories for knowing "the right way", and how their stories can guide the younger generations into the future.

7.1.1 The Importance of K'ègoti

When I explained to the elders that I wanted to understand the role of Ṭḥcḥo women in the Fortune Minerals EA, their conversation naturally evolved into discussing the importance of K'ègoti. Melanie Weyallon began by stating:

We will talk about the men who spoke before. I want to speak about them that is why I came here, otherwise I would not have come here. I considered letting someone else come to take my place. Men from Whatì have spoken and men from Gamèti and Behchokò have spoken. We never saw them coming into k'ègoti themselves, none of them at all, but we were all raised there and many people know that (Melanie Weyallon, personal communication, 2016).

This statement refers to the speaking from experience, or *dii* – a time of one's own memories²³. She and the other women in the room were raised at K'ègoti and maintain an important connection to the area. Melanie's statement is reflective of the women "being knowledgeable" about K'ègoti and the importance of their stories when talking about the place. She was also aware that men tend to be consulted about environmental impacts more frequently than women. This, she points to, should not be the case when discussing k'ègoti since many of the women in the community were raised there and know the land from first-hand experience.

Since elders are generally considered to be the most knowledgeable community members, their words are considered to be the "truth." Their words can help guide people's behaviours and make important decisions.

In the past when the elders spoke, their words were considered to be very true, that they didn't speak falsely at all, they spoke only the truth. Now even at this time in our lives we still live according to their words (Monique Mackenzie, personal communication, 2016).

²³ For Ṭḥcḥo, knowing where a story originated from and when it originated are important aspects for being considered "knowledgeable" (Legat 2012:38). Legat (2012) discusses four time periods when stories are told: *gowoo*: when all beings were the same; *whaèhdòq*: the time of Yamooq̣zaa, all was in harmony, places were named for peoples safe travels; *Gotsò* the time during the elder's predecessors; and *dii*: the time from one's own memories.

Throughout the focus group, the elders continued to share stories about K'eàgotì. Although many Tìchq̄ people continue to use and access K'eàgotì throughout the year, the elders I spoke with are some of the few living Tìchq̄ citizens who were born and raised in the area. Melanie Lafferty, Melanie Weyallon and Monique Mackenzie described the cultural and ecological significance of K'eàgotì:

It is right what they say about Hislop Lake. Our family lived there only once. I was a young girl of fourteen or fifteen when we left Behchok̄ in September to go there by boat with many other people. We all went because Melanie's father, Zoò, was going back there by boat. We traveled to Hislop Lake with many people like Sam Football, Gotsèneèkoa, my father and Harry. We spent the winter at Hislop Lake. I remember we lived on a very pleasant land that I had never been to before. The fishing was good, there were moose, the caribou migrated there; that is why our father wanted to spend one winter there with Zoò's family. So we traveled by boat there to Hislop Lake (Melanie Lafferty, personal communication, 2016).

Father used to go trapping there [K'eàgotì] ... When we came back by boat to the place we call K'eàgotì (Hislop Lake) there would be lots of fish. I'm not kidding when I say lots. The people would collect fish to feed the dogs and to make dry fish with them. All the people living there with us would do the same.

When the lake started to freeze the women used to go down to where the river is open, by boat to collect cranberries. They used to collect a great many cranberries. And the land had good firewood on it so we lived there all winter. We lived there until Father would take us trapping (Melanie Weyallon, personal communication, 2016).

We cannot claim Hislop Lake as our country alone. When we used to travel that way all of our relatives would stop there because it was along the way to where we were going. There are many portages and rivers as we travel in that direction by canoe, as we travel to our country. Our mother and father used to travel there with us by canoe. That was when all our grandparents were still alive. We were on our way North so we would stop at Hislop Lake and at another lake next to it called Tìmì. We used to camp there because people say there was good fish in that lake and we had our dogs with us to feed.

So the people that are making speeches about the lake, the white people and Whatì people, they didn't work for their livelihood on that lake and they don't know the area. Only our family clans and our elders traveled North through that area. People made frequent stops there because it was known that Hislop Lake had good fish. The white people who come to that area today think it's easy to get there because they have lots of equipment. We do not think like that. They have a strong desire to possess things so they keep saying 'Hislop Lake, Hislop Lake'. We don't think that way. We were all raised there so that country is like our very own land. It belongs to all of us and to all our

ancestors who lived there (Monique Mackenzie, personal communication, 2016).

The elders' emphases on their experiences at K'eàgotì, in the era of *dii* (one's own time), are crucial. Knowledge, as suggested by Monique Mackenzie, is not acquired through technology or passing through an area but through experience and time spent on the land with their family and elders. In this case, the women in the focus group are some of the remaining elder's alive today who have this historical knowledge. As Cruikshank (1990) suggests, the stories of the elders' past are important for understanding the context and history of present situations. Melanie Weyallon described the significance of K'eàgotì for subsistence harvesting, in addition to some of the roles women and men have in these activities. Monique Mackenzie recounted the reciprocal relationship between Tłchq families and the land. These stories suggest that women's stories are rich in detail about the cultural and ecological history of K'eàgotì.

7.1.2 Puberty

During the conversation, the elders began to discuss the particularities and essences of being a Tłchq woman. This included two very important experiences for Tłchq women: puberty and giving birth, both of which are enveloped in the power of creation. When talking about the seclusion that women experienced at the time of puberty, the elders noted that this was a crucially transformative event in their youth. It also establishes a deep connection between a woman and a place, rooted in spiritual and experiential knowledge. Today, the elders recognize that very few youth are participating in this tradition. Elder Melanie Lafferty shared her story of seclusion as a young girl:

It is said that when a girl goes through puberty the parents seem to have made her suffer a lot. I became a woman in the same area as Melanie [Weyallon] near Hislop Lake on top of the plateau. I lived alone away from my parents' tent for seven weeks on a hill close to them.

I can't say it was without hardship. There was a small stove in my hut. My father made a lean-to out of cut dried poles. I lived under that. When my mother came to visit me she said, 'Daughter, the spruce floor by the stove is messy, clean around the stove and keep your house tidy.' When our mother said that we took it to heart, we had confidence in her and in her words. So I would collect spruce boughs by the armful and pack bundles of it to my hut. I would weave a spruce bough floor in my hut even though no one would be coming to visit me. Because we were newcomers they used to call us *ts'aht'yi* (girl at her first menstruation).

When I became a woman for the first time I kept yelling, 'Mother, Mother' because I didn't know what was happening to me. Mother came out to me and said to me, 'Daughter you have become a woman, when you become a woman you can't go back into our tent.' It was a difficult emotional experience. She took me out in the bush away from the camp and I spent two nights in a spruce hut with a fire in the center. The hut was so smoky and I was so miserable. The one thing I didn't do was cry. Because I was so scared, I just sat up the whole time.

After two nights my parents made a lean-to called a *daètqkò* for me, out of split wood. I lived in that. There were two openings, one just for myself to go in and out of and one opening for my mother and any older women who visited me. I thought it was strange how they told me just to collect spruce boughs. I am telling you only the truth, and not lying: my mother said, 'You will collect only spruce boughs and do nothing else. My daughter, we did not do any other chores for your older sister, so she didn't live long. So for firewood your father and Edward Camille will bring you wood.' I never had to carry wood on my shoulder during the time I was there (Melanie Lafferty, personal communication, 2016).

Although few youth today participate in puberty seclusion, some younger women continue its practice. Today, this usually involves adapting the elders' traditions to the youth's contemporary social setting, such as school obligations and modern technological influences. On January 15, 2016, Janelle Nitsiza, a young Tł̓chq̓ woman, recounted her puberty ceremony and experience at her house in Whati:

Because when you become a woman for the first time, you're not supposed to look a man in the eye. You're not supposed to be outside, you're not supposed to leave your room. A long time ago you were isolated and put in a hut, or something. But what my grandma did for me is she put me in a room. And she wrapped my fingers with caribou hide, all the way around on both sides. And she said 'Your hands will be like this.' Like, together. And she's like 'When you work, you are going to work hard.' And she's like 'that's why I'm putting your hands together. When it's spread apart, they are not working together. So you have to bring them together so that you will be like that.' She was like 'look at it

like this. When you are sewing, your hands are together. When you're cutting bannock, dry meat or dry fish your hands are together. You need to, you know, be strong like that.'

...I wasn't supposed to touch water so I couldn't go swimming for a year. I couldn't go to a drum dance or a dance. So many restrictions because I have the power of creation. And that's the way she told it to me is that you have the ability to create a child. God gave you that gift and you can't abuse that gift ... I even had my own door, I had to use the back door. I couldn't use the main entrance because the main entrance is where you get the meat from, it's where the meat comes in. I'm not allowed to step over blood, I'm not allowed to sit on the couch, I'm not allowed to eat certain things because my grandmother was raised that way. My mother went through the same things. She had her own hut, she was – the only person that could see her was her grandmother. So when I became a woman the only person who could see me was my grandmother ... At the time I did not appreciate it at all. But after, I was like oh my god, thank you. Thank you, grandma. Not very many girls can tell this story (Janelle Nitsiza, personal communication, 2016).

These recounted moments of separation are symbolic of Tł̥ch̥q understandings of bodily experiences that establish connections between a person and place (Trudelle Schwarz 1997:47). Helm (2000:276-277) describes how some consider women's menstrual blood to be "dangerous" and it must therefore be handled with the utmost care. The concept of danger gives rise to the restrictions placed upon women during their menarche. If proper protocols are not followed – such as women breaking their own trails and not stepping over hunting equipment or making contact with animal blood – bad luck can come to her husband and family.

These restrictions, or "dangers" are not about devaluing women's reproduction. Menarche restrictions are symbolic of the power of creation that lies within women's bodies and protecting its sacredness. The women's stories illustrate a fierce connection between women and the land. Their experiences are inalienable from the physical landscape, where the land is very much a part of their bodily experience during important transitions. Importantly, these exchanges also point to the significance and relevance of the elder's puberty rites stories to young women today. The elders and youth I spoke with verify that these stories are important for sharing with younger generations in order to remain strong in their traditions and as Tł̥ch̥q peoples.

7.1.3 Birthplaces

In addition to puberty rites, the elders also discussed the importance of birthplaces for Tłıchǫ women. Prior to the advent of hospital births²⁴, Tłıchǫ women gave birth on the land (or “in the bush”). Since Tłıchǫ peoples lived a historically nomadic lifestyle with their families, women would give birth where they were at the time. Delivering a baby required an intimate knowledge of women’s health, plants and medicines – a role frequently held by community midwives. There were some occasions, however, when the husband was the only adult person present during a birth. For men, having this intimate knowledge was critical to the mother’s and baby’s survival. Monique Mackenzie shared her story of her mother giving birth to her younger brother on the land:

I am going to talk about the time when my younger brother Edward Wetrade was born on the snow. In February my mother went into labour. At that time I had become a young woman so I was living in a puberty hut. It was a spruce hut with a fire pit in the center with the two entrances. In those days there were no napkins for our menstrual period, there was nothing like that. I often think, what did we use?

We were out of meat and the caribou were far away. So my father said we should leave because my mother was pregnant. So we left in February for the barrenland following many lakes. As for myself I was not allowed to travel on the trail: that was the way our parents were, they were very strict. Because my mother was pregnant we came and stopped somewhere over the portage to Great Bear Lake. Then the men left us to go on ahead. Grandfather Wetàhdè, ʔaìgoǫ and uncle Zòò who were travelling with us left us. My mother said, ‘I can’t travel another day, my tummy is really hurting.’ So we spent another night there. My sisters Celine and Bella and my younger brother, the three of them came and I sat in the tent too, since I entered it. My mother had packed a bag of moss, a pair of scissors and a thread wrapped in a bundle.

With those things my father drove Mother by dogteam way out onto the great lake and traveled on and on until they reached a long peninsula. She said they made a fire there because Mother was in so much pain. At the very end of the lake they came to the empty camp of the men who had gone ahead and they decided to spend the night there.

They found some drying poles there. Mother said my father had a rosary wrapped on his wrist as he made a fire. She said she could not sit any longer in the sled because the child

²⁴ The Stanton Hospital was the first hospital built in Yellowknife in 1937. A hospital was also built in Behchokǫ (Fort Rae) in 1936.

was about to be born. So with only a fire burning Father drove a post into the snow and tied a stick to it like this. He turned the sled onto its side and pulled out the caribou fur hide with Mother on it from the sled. He laid the Hudson's Bay blanket beside her and said that was all he could do and started to put more wood on the fire. He kept saying, 'My God protect me from danger' as he was building a big fire. It was very dark at that time because it was February.

He chopped lots of wood so there was a huge bonfire burning among the birch wood and the flames were going way up into the air. At this moment she was about to give birth so he lay the blanket on her. He kept on burning a fire so huge that water was dripping from the trees and he was also praying and talking about God out loud. Then [Father] kept watching over me because the child had been born. He had a flashlight and he had checked the child. He said, 'Madeline, it is my boy, what should I do with it?' They said he said that! He took off an old fur shirt that he was wearing. He warmed it up and wrapped the baby in it. Mother was also carrying some moss. He cut off the baby's umbilical cord and tied it. She said Father did that.

It was about this time of the year in the winter, out in the snow, when he cut off the baby's umbilical cord and wrapped the baby in the warmed shirt, warmed from the big bonfire that was so big the water was dripping from the trees. Mother said her knees were cold from the birth fluid so he cut off the edge of the fur mat she was kneeling on and used it to pull her closer to the fire. Mother said that was how Father hurried about doing everything he could do. When a child is born they say its afterbirth comes out too; well it came out right after the baby. Father had to push that and the blood aside and he pulled Mother closer to the fire on the fur mat she was on. He took down a blanket from a tent pole and he covered her.

I guess the fluid from the baby's mouth hadn't come out so he heated some water in a kettle and gave a hot cup of tea to mother. He said, 'Madeline, they say there is a God on earth, that there really is a God on earth. I would be so thankful to Him if I get through this' he said, as he held on to the rosary on his wrist. Father had spent the whole night keeping the fire burning for her but without any food. Then from the distance we saw the dog team coming toward us. We were waiting for them, father driving our mother back to our camp. He drove the dogteam straight to the entrance of our tent. Then mother said, 'Daughter, I may catch a cold, so quickly take out the ashes from the hot stove and pour it on a bed of spruce boughs. Put some clothing on top of it and lay me on it,' she said. So we poured the ashes among the spruce boughs to make it warm and we laid her on it and baby Ediwà too. The child was suffocating because the fluid had not come out of his mouth. That was also the problem. In those days there was no medicine but Mother had some beaver grease (castor oil), which she put in his mouth. Whatever she did, the stuff was coming out of his mouth. She was really was doing all she could for that child in that one tent we were living in, and she was also worried about getting sick with pneumonia. In those days long ago we didn't have pads for blood, we had only moss. I kept putting hot moss underneath her clothing like she told me to. That is what I did for her.

Father said he had to go to check the fishnets that he had set before so that he could feed the dogs. After he said that he made a herbal drink for Mother. He made the tea from boiled chopped white spruce boughs with the stems. He said to her, ‘Madeline drink it while it is still hot.’ So she did. White spruce bough tea is said to be a good medicine. Mother said she drank and drank that herbal drink all night and survived the night feeling better. The birth fluid from the child’s mouth seemed to be coming out. The beaver grease may have caused it to keep coming out. It was the end of February. We still lived there in that one tent for a long time. Father killed a moose and later they brought my grandmother, who has since passed away, to live with us there.

So my mother had many children but not one of them was born in the hospital, they were all born in the bush. Some have died; I think she said she lost three children. With my younger brother who froze to death that would make four deaths in the family. Today I don’t know how many of us are still alive. We were raised mainly in the Northwest for many years. From my father’s family, the Wetrades, now only my uncle Romie Wetrade from Gamètì is still alive, along with his children and grandchildren. The people who lived in the barrenland, in the Gots’òkaàtì (Mesa Lake) area like ʔòdoògqà’s father, none of them are alive, they have all passed away (Monique Mackenzie, personal communication, 2016).

Mary Adele Tlokka also shared her story of her brother’s birth:

My younger brother Ted Nitsiza was born in the same way. We were living at the end of the lake and we were traveling. Yabè and I, the two of us walked. My father was driving the dogteam with others in the sled when she went into labour. My father stopped the sled and while Mother was still in the blankets, my little brother was born. My father didn’t get ready for her because they were unprepared for an unexpected delivery. My father cut off his moccasin tie up lace and tied off the baby’s umbilical cord. He took the big knife from the backpack to cut the cord and the amniotic bag fell off. That was how my brother Ted Nitsiza was born.

My father pitched the tent right away and made a big campfire and chopped lots of spruce boughs and laid down all our blankets for my mother and the baby. That was how he was born. Now he is an important person. Sometimes I tease him about being born in a sled: If he had caught the cold he would not have an important job now in Whatì. (Mary Adele Tlokka, personal communication, 2016)

The stories shared by Monique Mackenzie and Mary Adele Tlokka represent significant connections between women, women’s bodies and *dè* (land). These connections represent what Glaskin (2012:301) calls “an ontology of embodied relatedness” – an idea that seeks to explain the relationship between kinship, exchange and cosmology that can dwell in a particular place.

This connection can also resonate within the bodies of those present at an event, just as it did with the elders who were with their mothers during their brother's birth.

The women's stories also reveal their knowledge and uses of plants and natural resources, such as moss, spruce boughs and beaver oils that were relied on during these events. Monique Mackenzie and Mary Adele's stories describe the connection between women and the land, in addition to the crucial relationship and reciprocity required between women and men during these events. The connections between the women, men, baby and land are what Navajo scholar Maureen Trudelle Schwarz (1997:44) describes as a "vital connection between an individual and parts of his or her body." Similar to Glaskin's (2012:301) point on embodied relatedness, important moments in one's life such as birth "anchor" an individual to a particular place, connecting individuals to places through the bodies of their mothers.

7.2 Summary

The interactions between women, ceremony, birthplaces and the land help to articulate Tłı̨chǫ women's connection with *dè* (land), which Legat (2012:2) maintains is dependent on the "interplay between knowledge, storytelling and place." It is a connection that is in flux and embedded in exchanges between other people and living things. The elders' stories share a similar narrative with Legat's (2012) description of Louis Whane and the story of Whanikw'o; knowing women's knowledge, knowing both ways, is necessary to survive. These accounts address two key themes in the research:

- 1) Women have unique experiences and perspectives about the environment, which are rich with ecological and cultural information.
- 2) Knowing and respecting women's knowledge is important for surviving on the land.

The stories shared by the elders articulate their connection to the land and environment. While the women share similarities in their stories and knowledge, their particular experiences remain distinct and personal. Additionally, their stories and relationship with K'ègoti illuminate the importance of women's stories in the context of examining the Fortune Minerals EA. The following chapter will explore how women were involved in particular EA processes, what stories and knowledge women shared in the context of this EA, and how women's knowledge and participation affected the outcomes of the entire process.

Chapter 8: Tłchq Women in the Fortune Minerals EA: an Analysis

I think [the Tłchq peoples] have shown that we are not going to be used. And we will not be used as a stepping-stone. We will not be used as an asset to increase [Fortune Minerals'] ability to be acquisitioned. That we will do as much as we can to protect our lands and waters and environment – lands and culture, language and culture. That this process, if anything, has awakened us to the fact that these things has to be treated seriously from now on. That we are also not going to be labeled as unreasonable, but informed (John B Zoe, personal communication, 2016).

The Fortune Minerals EA was an important and precedential process wherein TK was engaged substantively alongside western scientific evidence. Although regulatory proceedings for the project began in 2009, the review began in earnest in 2012. The TK study, which commenced in May of 2012, and the public hearings held in August and October 2012 were the crowning moments of the entire process. Approaching this particular EA was significant to the Tłchq Government for several reasons:

- The location of the project is in an important cultural and ecological area;
- This was the first weighty EA on Tłchq lands since the signing of the Tłchq Agreement; and
- The proponent was a junior mining company with less financial support, less experience in Northern regulatory contexts and no pre-existing relationship with the Tłchq Government.

Tłchq women were engaged throughout the entire process of the EA. This is not to say, however, that their participation or contributions are easily discernable. Table 2 below outlines the formal and informal mechanisms by which Tłchq women engaged in the EA. Each point of engagement is described in detail in the following sections.

Mechanism		Date
Formal	TK study	May through August 2012
	Public hearings	August 27 th – 3 ^{1st} 2012 October 10 th -11 th 2012
Informal	Mock hearing training	Summer 2012
	Administrative support	Ongoing

Table 2: T̄chq̄ Women's Participation in the Fortune Minerals Environmental Assessment

8.1 The Traditional Knowledge Study

In June of 2012, The T̄chq̄ Government began interviews for a project-specific traditional use study (TUS) in response to the proposed Fortune Minerals project. This study was titled *Asi Edee T'seda Dile: T̄chq̄ Nation Traditional Knowledge and Use Study* (herein referred to as the TK study). The TK study was a project-specific TUS designed to describe the knowledge, interests and use of the community in relation to the project area and assess the potential project impacts (Olson and Chocolate 2012:7). The majority of the 31 interview participants were elders, which included women and men. Interview and mapping protocols were based on and adapted from standard TUS documentation techniques developed by Terry Tobias (2000; 2009). The three primary goals of the TK study, as noted by Gibson MacDonald (2015:13), were to:

- Document historical, current and future use of the area by T̄chq̄ Citizens
- Document existing areas of lost use due to impacts from past development projects
- Document how the project is likely to impact or influence T̄chq̄ knowledge and use of the area (includes Aboriginal and treaty rights)

TUS projects commonly focus on extensive areas or broader territories instead of intensely used places. Land use and occupancy/TUS specialist Terry Tobias (2009) recommends interviewing male land users on the premise that men are more active, *extensive* land users than women.²⁵ The

²⁵ Terry Tobias (2009:174-175) states that women less likely to be represented in land use and occupancy studies than men because “it is the males who are out on the land; it is the men who hunt, trap and fish to bring home commodities to sell and meat to eat. It has been this way for decades, and especially since the Second World War when schools and other amenities were built and women started to spend more time in

Tłchq Government's TK study differs from common TUS studies in that it was a *project-specific* TUS. The objective of the TK study was to document individuals' – women's and men's – use and experiences as close to the project area as possible instead of reporting on the Tłchq people's use of a wider territory. TK study author Rachel Olson explained to me that in order to accomplish this, documenting the current and historical use of K'eàgotì was crucial:

You know we were doing a project-specific TUS, and to my knowledge Tłchq hadn't done a project-specific study before ... and so we really wanted to get at where the mine site was going to be, how people were going to experience that, what they were worried about, and also get an understanding of current use of the area but also historical use. Because people really communicated how important that place was, but it wouldn't show up if you just did a current use map (Rachel Olson, personal communication, 2015).

The TK study went on to be a key component of the Tłchq Government's strategy for demonstrating their use and occupancy and asserting their rights to the proposed mine area throughout the EA. The final report released by the Tłchq Government on September 15, 2012 concluded that the mine would result in significant adverse impacts to the Tłchq people's ability to continue to use and access the project area (Olson and Chocolate 2012:54). This includes impacts on traditional knowledge, transportation, water quality, subsistence resources and the ability to pass on culturally important knowledge to future generations (Gibson MacDonald 2015).

8.1.1 Tłchq Women in the Traditional Knowledge Study

The TK study involved individual land use mapping interviews with 31 Tłcho citizens. Of the interviewees, 11 were women and 20 were men. Majority of the participants were elders as per community protocols. There was little opportunity to map with younger land users. This, Olson and Chocolate (2012:24) noted, limited their ability to capture more present uses of the area,

communities taking care of children than going out on the land ... When 'giving women a voice' is piggybacked onto the primary objective of demonstrating the extent of use and occupancy, projects lose focus."

though they were made aware in the interviews that younger community members currently use the area.

It is important to note that the two community coordinators responsible for organizing the TK study and providing administrative support were Ṭ̣cho women. The two primary researchers/report authors were also women, one of whom is Ṭ̣cḥ̣. The TK study researchers stated that it was important to achieve as close to a gender balance as possible when conducting the interviews (personal communication, December 18, 2015). The final reporting of the TK study does not distinguish between women's and men's reported data.

Achieving the objectives of the TK study involved documenting and mapping important land use activities. Mapping was considered to be a critical component of the TK study in order to visualize complex land use practices. The interview transcripts revealed that several women elders had difficulty reading maps and therefore did not map many data points. Only six of the eleven women interviewed recorded spatial data. In total, Ṭ̣cḥ̣ women mapped a total of 35 sites, whereas Ṭ̣cḥ̣ men mapped a total of 352 sites. Due to the narrow timelines of the TK study and community protocol to speak with elders first, there was limited opportunity to map with younger women who are active on the land and more comfortable with mapping.

The majority of the sites mapped by women were habitation (camp) sites, culturally important areas and sites of subsistence activities. Notably, some land use activities typically associated with women such as birthplaces, puberty ceremony or raising children, were not mapped. This is not entirely surprising given that predominant TUS methods typically focus on male-dominated land use activities, such as big-game hunting and extensive travelling (Tobias 2009). While some practitioners have made note of the gender imbalance in TUS research methods (Tobias 2009:409-434), an overarching shift in TUS research methods that validates

Indigenous women as full interlocutors has yet to occur. TK study author Rachel Olson recognizes this oversight. She also acknowledges several ways in which Indigenous women's knowledge can be respectfully incorporated into TUS research:

I feel like when we are doing traditional knowledge, traditional land use studies, you can be respectful [of women's knowledge] in a number of ways. One is just to be able to listen and take in the information [women] are sharing with you. [The second is] being thankful for that and reciprocating in the way that people do in that community ... And the third one is about data collection and just recording information that [women] are sharing in a way that they feel that they're being valued and being heard ... I feel we have come a long ways in TUS in making sure that happens, but that's not happening across the board and I don't quite get why (Rachel Olson, personal communication, 2015).

“Why” this isn't happening has been explained in part by feminist scholars who critique the gender imbalance in TUS research. Goeman (2013) takes issue with how land and space are represented in mapped form and their particular effect on perceptions of Aboriginal women's presence in the landscape. Focusing on extensive boundaries may overlook critically important areas that are closer to home and used intensely by women. As well, the crucial relationships between people, resources and places have the potential to be distilled, erasing women's place and space in land use maps (Goeman 2013:35; Rocheleau 1995:463). The omission of relationships from maps, Morphy & Morphy (2006:82) note, has the potential to deemphasize interactions between people instead of recognizing social relationships as critical to understanding the history and use of the landscape. For example, the elder's stories from Chapter Seven demonstrate how Tłı̨cẖ women often accompanied men on the land and carried out important tasks such as meat processing, preparing hides, picking berries, fishing and cooking. If women's land use activities such as these are excluded from maps, there are potential lasting consequences of eliminating important sources of ecological and cultural information (Goeman 2013:36; Edmunds, Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleau 1995).

During the TK study interviews, the elders relied on their stories as a means of communicating their knowledge about K'eàgotì. Stories, as noted by Helm (2000), Andrews (2011) and Legat (2012), are integral to T̄ichq peoples' understanding of the landscapes, which are not easily represented in a spatial form of points, lines or polygons. Stories became crucially important for broadening the contextual knowledge of the landscape of the project area, which was not easily represented by a series of points on a map (Rocheleau 1995:463). Women's stories were also essential for understanding the importance of social relationships required for survival at K'eàgotì. The two TK study authors I spoke with affirmed that stories were a necessary medium for T̄ichq people to communicate their knowledge of the area and its significance in their lives while predicting potential negative project impacts, such as water contamination.

As stated by the elders in the focus group I conducted, it was important for the people who were raised at K'eàgotì to be interviewed because those stories are within their living memory. Since many of the surviving elders who were raised at K'eàgotì are women, it can be deduced that their stories and knowledge supported the TK study's objectives. One of the TK study authors reflected on an interview with a woman elder, and how she tried to connect her story about the importance of K'eàgotì to T̄ichq people:

And I remember one woman in particular talking about how that place is so filled with memories and so filled with ... her family that's passed on, that it's really hard for her to go there because of the spirits or the beings that are there. And so I think what we were trying to look at is trying to connect both how people are currently there, how people historically are there, but what it means to people (Rachel Olson, personal communication, 2015).

Her statement reflects the importance of representing ontologically significant places in a map-based TUS project. As previously reflected on by Usher (2000) and Nadasdy (1995; 2005), it can be difficult to respectfully incorporate TK into a regulatory process without losing its significance

or meaning to the knowledge holder. This has potential to problematize the way that TK is represented in a final report, particularly when trying to spatially represent an intangible cultural connection that may also contain sensitive information. This is where sharing people's stories can become just as important to a TUS study as spatial data.

For Georgina Chocolate, TK study author and Ṭḥcḥ community researcher, it is essential that the elders' stories and knowledge of places be communicated with younger generations. As she states below, passing on the elders' stories is an importance part of the TK research process:

To me, I thought this traditional knowledge that I work with the elders, the elders have told me with this knowledge that we give you. We want you to teach it to the younger people. And the younger people will learn where us elders have come from in the past of our ancestors. So they will learn where our ancestors have walked the land and feed the fire and all. You've got to learn lots. That's what my – myself looking at traditional knowledge is to carry it from generation to generation to generation. And after I pass on to the youth, the youth will use it and they will pass it to their children. And that's how I looked at it and that's how the elders wanted it

... There is tonnes of storytellings in that information of all our elders that have been interviewed. And they wanted things to be done with it ... So it would carry that on into [the next] generation and get a place where they can... gather instead of just doing individual [interviews], instead of going from one place to another person ... That's not what TK research is about (Georgina Chocolate, personal communication, 2016).

Georgina Chocolate affirms that storytelling is critical to the transmission of knowledge, which was a primary purpose of the TK study – to share and communicate elder's knowledge of K'eàgoti. She reiterates that TK research is not about individualistic and isolated data collection, but the social relationships and continuation of exchanging knowledge with younger generations. These are key observations to note when considering the social and cultural implications of knowledge shared in TK and TUS projects.

Recognizing the importance of stories to the TK study and that Ṭḥcḥ women have stories and knowledge about K'eàgoti supports the idea that women's participation in the TK

study was an active site of agency, even though their specific contributions and mapped data were not made to be obvious in the final report. This is vital to recognize given that their participation occurred within a typically male-dominated and male-oriented research process. Where typical TUS projects may focus on documenting the extensity of a broader area's use, which Tobias (2009) argues is why men are ideal TUS interview candidates, the project-specific TK study aimed to highlight the intensity of use at K'eàgoti. The women's mapped sites and stories about habitation areas, subsistence activities and the cultural significance of the area helped to achieve that objective. Their interview data also confirms their presence and occupancy out on the land – both in the past and present use. Lastly, these findings validate the understanding that women's stories shared in the TK study interviews were as important to the research objectives as were the mapping of community member's land use activities.

8.1.2 Key Themes Noted by Women in the Traditional Knowledge Study

The women's stories helped to achieve the TK study's objectives. Although mapping was not an entirely effective method for capturing land use data with the women elders, their stories helped to communicate critical information about the importance of K'eàgoti. Their stories aided in articulating important social relationships that mapped data cannot easily represent, such the reliance on partnerships for a successful hunt, making dry meat and making dry fish.

An analysis of the women's TK study interviews reveals four key themes as determined by the methods outlined in Chapter 3.2:

- The significance of K'eàgoti
- Food and water
- Familial relationships
- Impacts of past development

It is important to note that these themes are inextricably linked as people are often speaking to more than one topic at a time. The following are excerpts of stories shared by the women in their TK study interviews. While these stories were not specifically mentioned in the TK study final report, the TK study authors relied on them to build a broader understanding of the importance of K'eàgoti, what kinds of land use activities were commonly practiced at K'eàgoti, and potential project impacts.

8.1.2.1 Significance of K'eàgoti

As noted by the elders who participated in the focus group that I facilitated and discussed in Chapter Seven, K'eàgoti is a culturally and ecologically significant area to the Tłchq Nation. Although there are no longer permanent residences in the area, it is located along the İdaà trail, a major transportation corridor relied on by Tłchq peoples to access the wider Tłchq territory. K'eàgoti remains a popular seasonal camp area where families gather, hunt, fish and trap. There are also several stories about burial places of Tłchq peoples in the area, dating far back in Tłchq oral history.

There's a little point, and they call it the point, and that's where there used to be – people used to live there. And out there, there's a lot of burial grounds up there. And sometimes, when we go for fishing, or berry picking, we would go right across. We would camp right across there. So from there, we would pick berries ... you would see the burial grounds there. Now, maybe all the fences, the burial site, maybe all the locks are broken now. And right across there, the river, there's two old people there that's buried in the ground there. And there's a couple burial grounds there where there's two old folks (Liza Mantla, TK study, June 5, 2012).

Yeah, we used to live on [K'eàgoti] area where we had cabins there one time. Some of them, people that lived in the cabins, some people lived in tent. Some people lived in the teepee. Yes, back then I guess we don't have any luxury like we do have today ... Yes, back them days I guess we sort of had to live off the land I guess. Just about every day our fathers used to have to go out on land fishing or hunting, just enough to go around. So it's hard to survive but that's how we survived (Annie Black, TK study, July 25 2012).

When I do visit these areas, it reminds me of what my husband used to tell me, his stories that he shared with me. Hislop Lake, there's some islands in this area. It's a very good site

for caribou, according to what my husband has said, it's a very good place. Islands are good place for caribou. When you do hunt there, you will not be without any, you'll be fortunate if you kill something there. So one of the things that they do is when they cross the Hislop Lake, they will go to the gravesite to pray over the grave and ask for you know things that they might need. It's a sacred place (Sophie Williah, TK study, June 7 2012).

Years, I guess now, we stayed in one area, on one lake. This is where we were hunting for caribou. We would make some dried meat in the springtime after the spring hunt ... A lot of times we go back there and then you have to freeze up you know, what you had from the spring hunt, when the ice goes away. A lot of times I guess around the perimeter, it would take us not only down the Hislop Lake area to go trapping. On the way, the caribou migrate inland, you'd see a lot of caribou in the area. I think more or less we'd go hunting every year, every season. A lot of times I guess, although we spent a lot of time at Hislop Lake because I guess, for the people that scattered all over that part of the region ... There were two tents that we took out there, although it's a tent, we consider it as a home (Melanie Weyallon, TK study, August 1 2012).

The women's statements about the importance and significance of K'eàgotì indicate that it is an area used continuously as a site for harvesting. K'eàgotì remains a significant cultural value as an area for setting up camp and as a burial site of their ancestors. Their stories about caribou hunting also revealed that women hold important ecological knowledge about seasonal changes and migration patterns. The vast range of activities women participated in at K'eàgotì points to its significance as an area of abundance, survival and continuous use. This theme was threaded into the women's stories throughout their TK study interviews.

8.1.2.2 Food and Water

K'eàgotì is an area used intensely by T̥hçq peoples, both in the past and in the present. As previously stated, this is a place where many families would gather during their seasonal rounds. According to the TK study report (Olson and Chocolate 2012), the area is well-known for its abundance of large game and fur bearing animals. Many T̥hçq citizens regard the lake and Marian River as an important source for fish and drinking water. K'eàgotì is an area that not only holds a social and cultural significance, but it is an area where the women use the land actively, both in the past and present. The women's stories indicate that they lived on the land and

therefore participated in various land use activities such as hunting, fishing, and gathering. All of these activities were said to be important to both Tłı̄chǫ women and men.

If the Fortune Mines open, how will that area ever be ... in K'eàgotì what about the fish? My husband and I haven't set the net but we were only there for caribou ... My husband used to spring hunting and trapping in that area. That fish, the only transportation they had was dog team. They used to take fish in the wintertime, they would to feed their dogs. And the food for their dogs and also the beaver lodge, the beaver lodge on some of these lakes and also even the beaver lodge a bunch of times they would set their trap right by the beaver lodge. My husband used to share stories with me (Sophie Williah, TK study, June 7 2012).

People will take the pelt in to trap out to the freeze-up. Some men do trapping without a dog. And people have struggled and worked very hard. K'eàgotì, is there moose there? There is moose in K'eàgotì, there. There's moose, bear, lynx, wolverine, fox, otter, mink, marten, all kinds of fur-bearing animals around that area ... Once that Fortune Minerals mine opens, and we may not see any of these fur-bearing animals (Liza Mantla, TK study, June 5 2012).

We love our land. We care for our land. The animals that we have survived on, we love our animals, like the water, the rabbit, the muskrat. We eat every one of these wildlife. We can't even eat without water. It's really good water in our area. It's good fish, good water (Liza Mantla, June 5 2012).

So we drink water, we make tea with water. So all the water, all the lake, even the lake where the little river that joins ... And it's all just like one like one big lake that drains together (Rosa Pea'a, TK study, July 12 2012).

But we need to look more deeply into where the river flows. That's my concern. And all the dust flying in the area is another concern from underground ... I'm afraid for the animals and the people; so if they want to open the mine, it's really good to look at both sides. The land and the water is my big concern, because people live on the land (Madeline Judas, TK study, July 12 2012).

We have lots of fish all the time and it's always frozen fish outside in our little wood house there. And he [my husband] goes like snaring for rabbit and when people come and we like give them fish and prepare fish for them and rabbits. Sometimes there's a caribou. And there's always food there for people when they stop there ... And when people come visit and they give fish to the dogs, too, to eat. So it's always like that (Mary Jane Daniels, TK study, August 13 2012).

Water, as noted by the women, is inextricably linked to the health of the land, the wildlife and their ability to survive. They believe K'eàgotì to be a clean and important source of water, which

has potential to be spoiled – impacting the surrounding land and wildlife – if a mine is built nearby. The women’s stories also revealed that they were involved in harvesting wild game and foods and had knowledge about where some men would go hunting. Most women spoke about their role in preparing an animal’s meat for food and their hides for clothing. The women’s stories about food and water point to their knowledge of these resources, in addition to the network of relationships with other community members in order to survive on the land.

8.1.2.3 Familial Relationships

K’èàgoti was, and continues to be, a popular seasonal camp for many families. Camps are important areas to T̥ch̥q̥ peoples as they indicate the continuous use of an area. The women occupy important roles in their camps that are crucial to their survival. Processing meat, raising children, fishing, collecting berries and skinning hides are just a few of the activities women participate in. At the same time, their stories also indicate that they participated in many activities commonly associated with men, such as hunting and travelling. Although some stories may suggest a gendered division of labor in their camps, conversations with community members indicate that these divisions are fluid and unfixed as both women and men participated in all aspect of their traditions. Similar to Nadasdy’s (2003) observations about misinformed anthropological assumptions of rigid gendered roles, many women participate in hunting and men process wild meat and tan hides. The women’s stories are important for understanding how working together and in partnerships is essential for a prosperous life on the land.

Our husbands would hunt towards this area. At that time my children were quite young, so I wasn't able to travel with my husband. So my husband did hunt alone. He shot so many caribou ... It must have been about three weeks that we had stayed there. While we were living there the children were quite young, so my husband was the only one actually doing all the work. Only we were, when we have small children we as a woman, mother, were able to do other work. We lived there for a certain period of time. After this we came home (Dora Nitsiza, TK study, June 7 2012).

Because years ago when my late husband was still ok, we went to Gamèti. We spent the spring in Gamèti ... They told my uncle, “So, how many caribou do you want us to shoot for you?” ... they had killed over twenty caribou for us, and they hauled every one of them just below our camp ... Then my late husband and I both was skinning the caribou. It was really hot, warm day. All the caribou was skinned and butchered with a lot of meat (Dora Nitsiza, TK study, June 7 2012).

My husband was shooting caribou at the Hislop Lake, laid a campfire and I put the spruce down, got some firewood. He was hunting the caribou with the snowmobile to one area. My husband, I was helping my husband skinning the caribou and I was helping my husband butcher the caribou. We clean all of the caribou and I was putting the meat that was butchered into the sled in the evening and we came back here. We came back very late that evening. While my husband was with me, I did very well with him out in the land. (Sophie Williah, TK study, June 7 2012).

We traveled there [K’èagoti] ... We kept doing that, going to areas to hunt. It fed us well. The land fed us well, so we did go back to areas where there was plenty of caribou. Even when my husband was passed away, I did continue to make use of the land. I carried on with the role of my husband, what he had done on the land. I did not want to do away with my traditional role in life. I wanted to continue on and be strong in my traditional life (Dora Nitsiza, TK study, June 7 2012).

These statements make crucial observations about the necessary relationships required to survive on the land. It was rare for women to talk about land use activities without mentioning the involvement of family members. Many of the women’s activities were carried out in partnership with their husbands or other relatives, speaking to the complementary relationships between women’s and men’s knowledge. Harvesting a caribou, for example, was not an independent task. Women and men relied on one another to hunt, skin and tan the hide and process the animal’s meat. The women’s stories illuminate the importance of social relationships and partnerships required to harvest wild game and survive at K’èagoti.

8.1.2.4 Past Developments Impacts

As I described in Chapter Four, the history of the Rayrock Mine is poignant for many Tł̥ch̥q elders. Rayrock’s legacy of contaminants, its poor closure process and linkages to illness in the community and wildlife affected many Tł̥ch̥q peoples’ ability to trust new mining ventures. In

their TK study interviews, the women noted several concerns about a new mine being constructed so close to the old Rayrock mine site:

Now that the mine has contaminated it, so there are hardly any caribou around that area, now that the land and the lake. Right now, you can't even eat the fish around Rayrock area, not even the ducks (Liza Mantla, TK study, June 5 2012).

When they took that minerals out of the ground, how destroyed most of the things that, destroyed the fish that it was the plants, fish, it really destroyed a lot of the plants and fish and even if you hunt in that area, it's very difficult for the people. They feel they're hesitant to go trap, hunting in that area. So people start believing that any minerals that they take out of the land, it was a gold. But that gold maybe destroyed the land, that's how they feel (Sophie Williah, TK study, June 7 2012).

If we're talking about mines, the Rayrock Mine is dug up, and the river and flows, and it has polluted the ground and the water ... So if we're looking at another dig-up right now where they're talking about having that mine again, it's going to be more like Rayrock two, because of all the chemicals and everything. It's like digging out something, and then there's that hole that expands out of the ground, and it dust goes on the land ... To me it's like there's a lot of elders that have been living at that site and has worked at the Rayrock and all that, right? So those elders have all passed away, and they have got all kinds of sickness, that are gone (Madeline Judas, TK study, July 12 2012).

Rayrock Mine, today I guess it's an abandoned mine now, now let's clean up out there. Prior to mining there, set up on Hislop, on the Rayrock site, there used to be a trail, a dog team trail, the only route that we used to go in and out to the area, but right now it's not used intensively because of the possibility of contaminated water (Melanie Weyallon, TK study, August 1 2012).

Negative memories about past development impacts were salient in many of the women's TK study interview transcripts. Because many of the women have firsthand experience from the past impacts from Rayrock Mine, they were sensitive to a new mine proposed to be built in a nearby area. These statements reveal that the women interviewed for the TK study not only experienced impacts from a mine in the past, but they have knowledge of potential negative consequences that can arise from resource extraction projects. In this regard, their stories become relied upon sources of evidence for making informed decisions about the potential impacts of the proposed NICO mine.

8.1.3 Summary

The TK study was an important body of research that became a fundamental component of the Ṭḥcḥ Government's approach to the Fortune Minerals EA. The findings of the TK study articulated the historical use and occupancy of the project area, which included mapped data and oral histories in and around K'eàgotì. Although gender balance in data collection was a consideration of the TK study, an analysis of the research methods and data show gender imbalances in the mapped data, with men mapping a considerable amount more than women. This could be partly attributed to the fact that several of the women who participated in the TK study stated that mapping was not an easy task for them. Gendered land use activities, such as birthplaces, raising children and ceremony, were not represented in the maps or reports. As a result, these topics and issues were not a part of the women's stories collected during the TK study interviews. Their stories did speak to their involvement in other important land use activities, such as camping, hunting, travelling, processing meat, preparing hides, fishing and gathering plants and berries.

While the stories highlighted above were not specifically mentioned within the TK study final report, it is evident that they did aid in achieving the project's objectives: understanding the significance and history of K'eàgotì, understanding potential project impacts to Ṭḥcḥ traditional use and knowledge, and understanding how the project is likely to impact future use of the area. Additionally, it is important to recognize that this project was conducted under the authorship and leadership of two women, one being Ṭḥcḥ, in addition to the community coordinators being Ṭḥcḥ women. Not only were women's stories an important part of the TK study, but the study itself was led and facilitated by both Ṭḥcḥ and non-Ṭḥcḥ women. Women were participating

in, leading and authoring a TUS project, which is important to note given that TUS studies have historically been male-dominated and male-informed research processes.

The TK study became a significant political tool within the EA process that led to important interactions between elders, the Review Board and technical experts in the public hearings. The Tłıchq Government relied on the TK study to strategically engage the right community members so that they had the necessary information to understand the context of the project area. According to one of the technical coordinators for the Tłıchq Government, some of the value components identified by the TK study participants, such as camps, water, caribou and cultural values, were used to build the necessary mitigations required for protecting the area (Ginger Gibson MacDonald, personal communication, 2016).

Simultaneously, the TK study was used as leverage for adding more public hearing dates in October. Rachel Olson, an author of the TK study, notes the centrality of the TK study in the timing and scheduling of the EA:

The TK study became a focal point and getting really a leverage point in order to force the Review Board and Fortune Minerals to hold a whole ‘nother session, a whole ‘nother day on the TK study. So I think at the beginning of the process it was just one piece of it, and then as it went through it became a political tool to push Tłıchq’s interests forward within the review process (Rachel Olson, personal communication, 2015).

Several Tłıchq Government staff and representatives viewed the TK study as an influential body of research within the regulatory process, particularly since it helped to establish additional public hearing dates in order to include the final report of the TK study (John B Zoe, Ginger Gibson MacDonald, personal communication, 2016). It was also one of the earlier points of engagement for Tłıchq women within the EA process – both formally, through interviews and authorship, and informally through the administrative coordination of the project. The public hearings that followed the TK study interviews engaged substantively with the report’s findings.

The following section will explore the involvement and participation of Tłıchǫ women in the public hearings.

8.2 Tłıchǫ Women in the Public Hearings

So the knowledge that the only asset that we know that we've always had is the ability to survive in an area from hunting, fishing and trapping. And a lot of history related to that. The benefit from the mine is very minimal and it's short term, but the lasting effects can be for a long time. So that it was better for us to express as much as we can on record what our traditional assets are ... And we know that the best forum that's available to us was in those hearings (John B Zoe, personal communication, 2016).

The public hearings were a significant event in the EA process. Importantly, the hearings were one of the few opportunities community members had to engage directly with the developer and the Review Board and share their thoughts on the proposed project. Gibson MacDonald (2015) explains that the public hearings were a unique opportunity for traditional knowledge holders and scientists to interact, wherein elders were able to influence changes in suggestions previously made by other regional authorities, such as levels of water quality protection.

The Fortune Minerals EA was the first major EA the Tłıchǫ Government had participated in since the signing of the Tłıchǫ Agreement. This was also the first major interaction between the Tłıchǫ Government and a Canadian junior mining company. The proponent had less experience working with an autonomous Indigenous Government and had fewer capital resources than the mining giants in the region, such as De Beers and Rio Tinto. This required the Tłıchǫ Government to build new relationships with Fortune Minerals in a very short period of time and work alongside a mining company that had little experience in the NWT's regulatory context. Several Tłıchǫ Government staff I spoke with noted that these elements added to the complexity of the EA, which was already under significant time constraints.

With the Tłıchǫ Agreement being signed in 2005, some of the respondents I interviewed still consider the NWT EA process to be in its infancy. This new guiding piece of legislation has

been met with uncertainty as to how to incorporate it into the existing EA process. John B Zoe, the Chief Negotiator for the Tḥchq Government, recognized that they had to strategically engage in this EA in order to set precedence for community engagement. This involved establishing “triggers” – such as allotted windows of time – for people to come forward and speak, which he believed to be vital for achieving the high level of community participation in the public hearings. When asked if it was important to establish triggers for Tḥchq women to participate in this particular EA, he described how their voices are important to the process because the impacts from development, in many ways, rests upon the women in the family:

There’s a lot more widows than there are men in that area. So a lot of the people that spoke were descendants of people from that area ... their information is a lot more because if there’s any impact, it’s the impact on how the family were taken care of. In the traditional sense, it’s about the processing and keeping the clothing for everybody processed all the time. And their lodgings, and the processing of game. All that was impacted. So if there’s any knowledge of impact to the dynamics of family and the people, it really rests with the women (John B Zoe, personal communication, 2016).

Georgina Chocolate, TK study author and community researcher, also recognizes the need to establish some form of triggers so that women will be encouraged to come forward and speak in future public hearings:

Yes, those women should come more ... instead of just sitting home. Right now they’re grandparents, all the kids are grown up, they’re all having to move out and have their own families. You know, somewhere else. And these ladies are just home all by themselves. They’ve done a lot of great works and a lot of knowledge in them. They should bring them here and sit with us (Georgina Chocolate, personal communication, 2016).

Many people I spoke with agreed that women’s knowledge needs to be heard in public hearings, and current methods for participation may not be as effective as they should be. Nearly every person I spoke with believes it is necessary for women to be given an opportunity to speak and share their knowledge in public hearings.

8.2.1 The Hearings

A total of six public hearing dates were held between August 27th, 2012 and October 11th, 2012.

Table 3 lists the dates, locations, agenda items and Tłıchǰ speakers at the public hearings:

Date	Location	Agenda Items ²⁶	Total Tłıchǰ Speakers	Tłıchǰ Women Speakers ²⁷
August 27 th 2012	Whatì	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fortune Minerals Ltd. presentation: project description, water quality and closure, caribou and socio-economic • Questions from community 	30	9
August 29 th 2012	Yellowknife	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water quality operations and closure • Air quality 	3	0
August 30 th 2012	Behchokǰ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TK Study presentation • Caribou and Wildlife Effects Monitoring Plan 	6	1
August 31 st 2012	Behchokǰ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NICO project access road • Socio-economic • Questions from the community 	6	1
October 10 th 2012	Behchokǰ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NICO project access road • TK Study presentation 	7	1
October 11 th 2012	Behchokǰ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community statements • Statements from women and youth 	49	17

Table 3: Public Hearing Dates, Agenda Items and Speakers

The majority of the speakers at the public hearings were men, which several respondents noted is common practice in public and community meetings. On the last public hearing date of October 11th, a two-hour window was allotted for only women and youth to speak. This measure was lobbied for heavily by the Tłıchǰ Government to ensure that all community members had an opportunity to share their concerns. Of the 25 different women who spoke over the course of the six public hearing dates, 17 of them spoke during this particular timeslot.

²⁶ http://reviewboard.ca/registry/project_detail.php?project_id=72&doc_stage=10

²⁷ Some individuals spoke at several of the hearing dates, and are therefore counted twice in the table. A total of 74 different Tłıchǰ citizens spoke over the course of the public hearings, including 25 different Tłıchǰ women. On October 11th, 17 different Tłıchǰ women spoke at the hearings.

Providing a window of time for only women and youth to speak was an important aspect of the hearings. Some respondents noted that if this window of time had not been created to encourage women to speak, it is unlikely that many would have participated.

Because male elders really speak, like a lot. And when male elders speak, no one else thinks they can say anything else. So that's why we created that window and we argued heavily for that window ... And we argued heavily for that so that women and children, youth, would think they had a place where they could really speak out and male elders wouldn't hold the play, wouldn't be the only ones talking. They wouldn't be allowed to talk because they knew it was for women and youth (Ginger Gibson MacDonald, personal communication, 2016).

Another respondent commented on the importance of creating these windows so that women's knowledge and stories are heard. Janelle Nitsiza, a Tłı̨ch̨o youth, stated that women elders are often vocal amongst themselves, but it can be difficult for them to share their concerns with a larger audience.

Because as soon as you say 'open mic' at a public meeting, you'll get 20 guys. And then the women will patiently wait their turn, if they're given a turn, sometimes the meeting's already over ... it's better to have a mic sitting with the old ladies hearing their little chit-chat rather than what they have to say publicly. Because amongst themselves they'll be very brutally honest about what they think [about] things. But when they go up there, they are very humble ... Grandmas are so smart. They just don't always talk about it (Janelle Nitsiza, personal communication, 2016).

Another person I interviewed also discussed the importance of listening to women's informal conversations. Itoah Scott-Enns, who worked for the Tłı̨ch̨o Government during the Fortune Minerals EA, also observed that the large forums that are often the setting for public hearings have the potential to discourage women's participation. She suggests smaller, more intimate spaces may be more appropriate to encourage women to speak in these types of hearings:

A lot of the consultative processes for something like an environmental assessment happens in a big group setting, usually in a community hall for instance, where one person speaks at a time. And there is a limited time frame for community members to be able to provide input. And so, if you're already not comfortable getting up and speaking in front of a crowd and you're already questioning the value of what you have to say, then, I mean, chances are you might not actually get up and share the knowledge that you have. So, I think the value

of giving the smaller space, and a space where women can feel really comfortable in sharing their stories and their knowledge can be really useful (Itoah Scott-Enns, personal communication, January 2016).

These observations are important to consider in a regulatory process that does not typically consider gendered inequalities in its process, let alone in its legislation. The very setting of the room, participants noted, has the ability to impact people's likelihood of participating. The window of time created for just women and youth was effective for triggering them to speak without interruption. Not only was the window of time allotted for women and youth an effective means of encouraging women to speak at the hearing, the suggestions noted above call for creative and alternative ways in which women can be engaged in future EA processes.

8.2.2 What Women Said in the Hearings

So when we speak at public hearings like this, we are not speaking for ourselves, but every Tł̓ch̓q in the region. What we want is what is best for our kids, their future. We want us also to have a healthy lifestyle, and that's why we talk about these areas with passion (Georgina Chocolate, public hearings, August 30 2012).

Tł̓ch̓q women who participated in the hearings include both Tł̓ch̓q Government staff and Tł̓ch̓q citizens. An analysis of the public hearing transcripts revealed several themes discussed by women:

- Children and families
- The importance of K'eàgoti
- Past development impacts
- Social concerns

Similar to the themes identified in the TK study interviews, the themes noted above are inextricably linked for many Tł̓ch̓q women and they often will speak to more than one theme at a time. Below are excerpts from women's statements during the public hearings.

8.2.2.1 Children and Families

It was common throughout the hearings for women to speak about families and children when discussing their concerns about development impacts. For many women, their culture and relationship with the land are inextricably linked to the future generation's ability to carry on the Tłchq way of life.

The words of wisdom is very strong. It's just like they call it the bones of the beaver. The beaver bones is very hard to break. This is the same way ... I have lots of grandchildren, children. We think we're speaking for them. Today, the same way for you. When you're talking about money, you're talking about dollars, you're talking about your family, you're talking for your family. Every human being have to have their loved ones, have relatives, have brothers and sisters or fathers and somebody with him which you had to talk for. So today, when we were talking about Hislop Lake, it is true. So many elders have survived. Some of them have brought us today to raise our family, to be where we are today. Some of their stories we're sharing with you (Melanie Weyallon, public hearings, August 27 2012).

How are we, the young people, supposed to make our own memories and learn about this area if we won't be able to see it? It'll be gone. How are we supposed to preserve it for our children and their children? There's lots of culture that we can learn from this area (Janelle Nitsiza, public hearings, August 27 2012).

My main concern is for my grandchildren. I want to see my grandchildren. I want them to know the knowledge that was passed on by our ancestors. In the area that was located for Fortune Minerals, that's one of the locations, if that comes into an effect, how am I supposed to teach my children that area? It's probably one of the most beautiful area in our Tłchq lands (April Alexis, public hearings, August 27 2012).

The ability for Tłchq peoples to maintain future use was an important theme discussed by women in the hearings. It was common for women to speak about the use and maintenance of K'èàgoti across several generations – from their ancestors through to their future generations. These observations suggest that women's knowledge are important to consider when assessing potential future development impacts beyond the life of a mine.

8.2.2.2 *The Importance of K'eàgoti*

Similar to the stories shared by women in the TK study, the importance of K'eàgoti was highlighted by the women in the public hearings. K'eàgoti is an area known for its ecological and cultural importance, particularly for camping²⁸, subsistence harvesting and travel. Again, women's stories about K'eàgoti focused on families and children.

And around that area, Hislop Lake, my dad he used to go hunting until the late '80s with my brother. They go beaver hunting, muskrat hunting, duck hunting, and even to this day they're still using that area for camping. We still go through there. This is where my heart is. This is where the heart of the people is, and I'm going to be giving all that up if they put up the mine (Mary Adele Wetrade, public hearings, August 27 2012).

Hislop. We will still be using it in the future. Our grandchildren will be using it after we're gone. Our ancestors have used that area so there is a history to it. And that is the reason why when we talk about Hislop, it's a major waterways for us, and when we interviewed the elders, that's what they talk about the most (Georgina Chocolate, public hearings, August 30 2012).

The Fortune Mineral Mine, K'eàgoti, Hislop Lake, we were raised in that area by our parents. There were small girls in our family. So they sent us out to school. And my sisters taught us how to work on the land ... Sometimes you're sent to school this is how you come back, you kind of lose your language. But every year my older sisters will go back to Hislop Lake. And we don't have parents. We have to share our knowledge with other people. So our oldest sister teach us on the land, to make dry meat and to know our traditional way of life (Mary Zoe-Chocolate, public hearings, October 11 2012).

And also the cabin, what my mom has said. When I was born, that's when they completed the cabin. Until today, I still continue to use the cabin with - I have five children. Along with my husband, we go in that area and on March break, people go down south. Me and my family and my children where my grandparents, that's where and I walk in their footprint (Mary Jane Daniels, public hearings, October 11 2012).

And we'll go back to our camping area again. Then we will stay there. And that area, Hislop Lake, in the fall time it's good for harvest berries. And they would collect moss for the -- for the babies to use for -- as a pampers. And they would get all the moss for a year, for the winters. A lot of people will come and camp with us for the -- for that winter. There was no way of anything. We never talk about any sickness. We never thought

²⁸ The use of the term camping, camps or campsites indicates people's continued and ongoing use of an area, Also known as village sites (Tłıchǫ Research and Training Institute 2014b:19), camps are culturally important areas that are rich in ecological resources. They continue to be relied upon by Tłıchǫ people for traveling and surviving on the land (Legat 2007).

today people working with rocks, blasting (Melanie Weyallon, public hearings, October 11 2012).

The stories and statements about the importance of K'eàgoti are similar to what women shared in the TK study interviews. Women also spoke about the importance of K'eàgoti when talking about the past and for future generations. They spoke about the area as being an important place for harvesting foods and wild game, various uses for plants and their connections to their ancestors. It was also made evident through statements from non-elder women that this area continues to be used by younger generations, such as Mary-Jane Daniels and her five children who visit K'eàgoti every year. The women reiterated the importance of being able to access K'eàgoti - both today and in the future – to carry on their traditions as Tł̥ch̥ peoples.

8.2.2.3 Past Development Impacts

Another similarity between the TK study and the public hearings was mentioning Rayrock Mine as an example of past development impacts that have affected the community. The social and health consequences of the 1950s mine are in many of the women's living memories. Its history has carried forward into their present-day lives and is inseparable from their fears about resource extraction in K'eàgoti area.

And there's another thing is cancer. The stuff. If we drink the water that's contaminated people can get cancer, and [gòò t̥àda], that's what we call cancer. And because there's been so many mining, like Rayrock, and all our fathers, grandfathers, uncles, brothers, before like they worked out there. My dad worked out in the Rayrock ... they trusted the companies, you know, for their well-being to dig out that uranium, and then now they're passed away (Alice Zoe Chocolate, public hearings, October 11 2012).

And also as of today, the Rayrock, the water has been contaminate[d], and there's a lot of people that passed away from that because of the illness it created. And it's true when they say that ... when we take water from the Rayrock area, would you drink it today? Its people are fearful of drinking water from the shore (Mary Jane Daniels, public hearings, October 11 2012).

Everybody talked about Rayrock Mine. This is something that's very emotional for me too, and I'm sure a lot of people in the Tł̥ch̥ region. A lot of our family has passed on.

And my dad and my grandpa were some of those people who were affected because they worked at that mine. And I hope that there will be no contamination from Fortune Minerals (Camilla Zoe Chocolate, public hearings, October 11 2012).

These statements echo the stories shared by Tłıchǫ women in the TK study interviews. The history of Rayrock Mine has caused many Tłıchǫ women to have feelings of distrust towards development in the area, particularly since they experienced negative impacts from the mine firsthand. Their stories reveal that many women not only experienced developmental impacts, but they have knowledge about possible negative outcomes from a newly proposed mine. In this case, many women were reliant on their stories about the past to make informed decisions and opinions about the future.

8.2.2.4 Social Concerns

Community members are keenly aware of the project's feasibility being dependent on the construction of an all-season road to the community of Whatı. This has heightened concerns for many of the women in the community who worry about the links between road accessibility and unhealthy behaviours.

The land is all we have. I never been there. I may have like passed by but never been there. I'd like to go there some day and for my children as well ... it's going to be corruption for my community. I'm sure there's going to be like more substance abuse, more violence, and many accidents with this all-season road. It's all just because of money. This is for money (Elizabeth Romie, public hearings, August 27 2012).

Being a young adult myself I know the things that go on in my community when it comes to drugs and alcohol. We're already getting them in through airplanes and motorboats. Imagine what will happen and how much easier it will be to sneak it in when the road goes ahead. There will be young people skipping school to feed their addictions ... they don't have time to live the best of both worlds, meaning culturally and educationally. I know this for a fact because I've seen it happen to some of my friends and peers (Janelle Nitsiza, public hearings, August 31 2012).

There's already three mines in the area. And everybody says, Yes, mine is good in a way for employment, for Tłıchǫ government, like, you know, they will be getting funds. However, in the social area in our community, will there be work done? Will there be something in place for social programs to help? Like there's a lot of drinking. There's a

lot of social issues we have right now, and it's still going on. I don't see like any improvement with these three mines in place, and then we're going to have a fourth one right in the Tłıchq lands (Barbara Zoe, public hearings, October 11 2012).

The public hearings were an important venue for Tłıchq women to share their concerns about potential social impacts from the proposed mine, such as unhealthy behaviours, violence and decreased social cohesion in the communities. Many women spoke about these concerns from personal experience, closely associating the proposed mine with potential negative social consequences. Because the women have knowledge and familiarity with these possible outcomes, the women could be valuable sources for identifying and mitigating potential future development impacts.

8.2.3 Hearing Summary

The public hearings were a pivotal opportunity for women of all ages to participate in the Fortune Minerals EA, particularly since the majority of the women interviewed for the TK study were elders. Georgina Chocolate, one of the TK study authors, said she was satisfied with how the public hearings played out because it was an opportunity for her to share the stories of the elders who have passed away:

For that Fortune hearing, I felt good. I felt happy to be there and to take all those knowledge from our elders and just put it on the table. And just put on the table and just talk about how you feel and what you know that the elders have talked about, all those interviews that put together. Some didn't have to say this but I know from my experience from work in the past with some other elders that were in interviews but are not here today that passed on, with their stories I said a few things on behalf of it cause I carry that with me as a researcher (Georgina Chocolate, personal communication, 2016).

It is important to note that the stories shared by women in the TK study was reflected in the women's statements during the public hearing. Families, food and water, the importance of K'eàgoti and their dependence on healthy social relationships were central to their stories in both contexts. Social concerns were a central focus of women's stories and statements in the public

hearings, which were not a focal point of women's stories in the TK study interviews. Through their stories, women made poignant connections between the proposed project, the land and its ability to impact their everyday lives.

The public hearings were a crucial opportunity for women to communicate their relationship with *dè* (land). Twenty-five women and youth expressed their concerns about the proposed mine and the importance of K'eàgoti to their lives and livelihoods, weaving together their knowledge of the land, past impacts, water, and potential project impacts. The women's stories were key mechanisms for communicating their knowledge to the Review Board and expressing their concerns.

8.3 Informal Methods of Participation

Ṭḥcḥq̣ women's participation and contribution to the Fortune Minerals EA was not limited to the TK Study and public hearings. As O'Faircheallaigh (2011; 2012) suggests, a deeper analysis is required to fully understand the formal and *informal* ways in which women contribute to these environmental processes. In the Fortune Minerals case, this included community training held prior to the hearings and the ongoing administrative support of the Ṭḥcḥq̣ Government employees. While it is not possible to determine the amount of influence each informal method had on the EA overall, Ṭḥcḥq̣ Government representatives believe these two methods of participation were influential to the EA process and outcomes. Ṭḥcḥq̣ women were involved in both the mock hearing training and provided administrative support during this EA.

8.3.1 Mock Hearing Training

Prior to the official hearings in August, mock hearings sessions were held in each of the four Ṭḥcḥq̣ communities. These mock hearings were designed to communicate project information to the community before the public hearings. This was so that community members would be fully

prepared for the official proceedings, in addition to having the necessary information to make their statements. Training sessions were held for the general public, and a special session was held specifically for youth. Women, men, girls and boys all participated in these sessions. One of the session facilitators described these training sessions as “absolutely essential” to the community and Tłıchq Government’s preparedness for the official hearings.

8.3.2 Administrative support

The majority of Tłıchq Government staff, including senior management, are Tłıchq women (over 80%)²⁹. This is remarkable compared to other regional governments, such as the GNWT, wherein Indigenous women represent only 20% of its workforce (Larsson 2015). Working for the Tłıchq Government has the potential to provide its employees with intimate knowledge about the workings of the community and the activities of its members. For the Fortune Minerals EA, Tłıchq staff were often tasked with organizing and coordinating the events around the EA, such as the mock hearing trainings, organization of the TK study interviews, travel and meeting logistics, and keeping the technical working group “on task” during an incredibly busy period.

Administrative support was particularly crucial to the Tłıchq Government during the EA for the “organization of things, in the keeping things together” (Ginger Gibson MacDonald, personal communication, 2016). Although administrative staff may not have been brought in on every issue for the EA, they were described as being “very influential” to the process (*ibid*). This was achieved through their ongoing support provided to leadership and to the team of negotiators throughout the entirety of the Fortune Minerals EA.

²⁹ <http://www.tlicho.ca/government/directory>

8.4 Environmental Assessment Outcomes

What was unique about this hearing is I think it's the first time, the first process, that we were ever involved. First time our voices are heard. And I think it was important for [women] to speak, you know, from the heart. And what type of effects, what was the fear? What is so dear to you that it's affecting you that you have to say something? And that was shared (Chief Clifford Daniels, personal communication, 2016).

On January 25 2013, the Review Board released its Report of Environmental Assessment and Reason for Decision (REA), recommending that the project be approved (the Review Board 2013). The approval was contingent upon Fortune Minerals' compliance with 13 mitigation measures outlined in the REA (see Appendix 1 for a list of the mitigation measures). The Review Board concluded that without the 13 mitigation measures being adhered to, "significant adverse impacts are likely to occur" (2013:v) from the proposed mine. The Tł̨chq̨ Government eventually accepted and approved the 13 mitigation measures.

While the mitigations measures were not formulated on the basis of women's stories alone, the links between the mitigation measures and women's stories are evident. Women's stories touched on a variety of potential project concerns, such as water contamination, impacts to wildlife, the cultural significance of K'eàgoti and possible social issues that may arise if the project is constructed. Of the 13 mitigation measures outlined in the REA, seven focused on water protection measures, four addressed wildlife management plans, one focused on the protection of traditional use of K'eàgoti, and one addressed the need to formalize a socio-economic agreement between the Tł̨chq̨ Government and the GNWT. Additionally, the mitigation measures addressed concerns and possible impacts both during and after the closure of the mine. This could possibly be linked to the stories and concerns shared by Tł̨chq̨ women (and men) in the TK study and public hearings about the importance for future generations to use the project area.

Correspondingly, the proponent undertook one commitment to address Aboriginal and Tłı̨chǫ women's access to employment. Fortune Minerals committed to develop a shorter work rotation strategy to mitigate conflict between women's familial responsibilities and their ability to participate in the NICO project (the Review Board 2013:143). The proponent did not specify exact targets for Aboriginal women hires. Specific hiring targets and working conditions are typically negotiated in the subsequent impact benefit agreement (IBA) between the proponent and the Tłı̨chǫ Government, a confidential document and process with no public input.³⁰

IBA negotiations routinely follow an EA when a project has been approved for construction. These negotiations are typically relied upon to refine the proponent's commitments, such as training and hiring requirements for Aboriginal women, in addition to addressing concerns that were not picked up by the Review Board in the REA. IBA's, as noted by Galbraith, Bradshaw, and Rutherford (2007) and O'Faircheallaigh (2007; 2010), have become an increasingly relied upon tool to compensate for the deficiencies of the EA process when projects are approved. Some scholars (Galbraith, Bradshaw, and Rutherford 2007; Gibson and O'Faircheallaigh 2015; O'Faircheallaigh 2010) recognize that if particular issues are not addressed early on in the EA process, they are less likely to be a priority in subsequent IBA negotiations. It is therefore crucially important that gender-specific concerns are encapsulated in the early stages of EAs so they also carry weight in post-EA processes.

Gibson MacDonald (2015) notes that the Tłı̨chǫ Government was satisfied with the EA process, engagement and outcomes of the Fortune Minerals EA. In some respects, this EA was considered to be a victorious achievement by the Tłı̨chǫ Government due to the extent that

³⁰ The IBA negotiations between the Tłı̨chǫ Government and Fortune Minerals are currently on hold due to complications with the licensing for the all-season road among Fortune Minerals, the GNWT and the Tłı̨chǫ Government (Gibson MacDonald 2015).

traditional knowledge was included in the review process. In an interview with the technical coordinator for the Tłıchq Government, Ginger Gibson MacDonald reflected on this victory:

We were empowered, we made our own decisions, the Tłıchq made the first time ever decision that a project could go ahead in their country. We changed the face of traditional knowledge research in the NWT. We had the bilateral relationships, government to government ... we had power. It was absolutely, fundamentally different than anything had ever been before (Ginger Gibson MacDonald, personal communication, 2016).

The Tłıchq Government lobbied heavily for change within the review process, such as changing and extending hearing dates, and for the recognition of traditional knowledge as paramount to the EA process. They also argued for the recognition of the elders' stories and histories of K'eàgoti as inextricable from their understanding of perceived developmental impacts. As noted by Chief Clifford Daniels' quote at the beginning of this thesis, this EA was important because K'eàgoti is not just a hunting area; it is an area where Tłıchq people have gathered and lived for generations and where they maintain a strong connection to the land. In the end, the Review Board acknowledged the Tłıchq Government's requests and integrated these changes into both the review process and mitigation measures.

Inseparable from these achievements were Tłıchq women's stories. Their knowledge of K'eàgoti and their connection with *dè* were a part of the larger body of traditional knowledge that partly influenced the Review Board's decisions, which is evident in the mitigation measures outlined in the REA. Women were able to demonstrate that they had knowledge of both K'eàgoti and potential project impacts, which resulted in the Review Board's decision to recommend such measures that will minimize impacts on the cultural environment and Tłıchq peoples' way of life.

Chapter 9: Discussion

We are the people raised on the land by our parents. We are now elderly women, we don't know if we will live another two years. Our children will use the land when we are gone and buried in the ground ... I will never throw our land away, that decision will always be in my head. (Mary Adele Tlokka, personal communication, January 2016)

The aim of this thesis was threefold. This research sought to understand how women's connection with *dè* (land) was expressed in the EA of the NICO project proposed by Fortune Minerals; what knowledge and information T̄hch̄q women shared in the context of the TK study and the public hearings; and how T̄hch̄q women's participation in the TK study and public hearings influenced the outcomes of the EA.

In regard to the first objective, this research demonstrates the importance of women's stories for expressing their connection with *dè* in the context of this EA. The stories shared by many of the women in the TK study and public hearings connect to the elders' stories shared in the focus group. Women's connection with *dè* (land) was expressed through stories about birthplaces, puberty, families, food procurement and travelling – stories which demonstrated that T̄hch̄q women are knowledgeable about K'eàgotì because of their own experiences and time spent on the land. Their stories reaffirmed that women's knowledge and relationship with *dè* are a part of the T̄hch̄q way of life, which is understood through experience and travel on the land. Women and men's experiences on the land are often relational, which have important consequences for how EAs should consider their inputs in the overall process. Stories in T̄hch̄q, Legat (2012:36) maintains, are fundamental for making informed decisions and doing things “the right way”. The women's stories indicate that both women's and men's knowledge is crucial for understanding changes to the landscape due to the different roles and responsibilities each have in their communities. Women, however, may not always be given the same opportunities to

speaking as men, or be given the right kinds of opportunities to speak where their knowledge can be heard, valued and incorporated into EA processes.

Considering objective two, the analysis reveals how the stories shared in the TK study were used by the Tłıchq Government to communicate the importance of K'eàgotì to the Review Board in the public hearings. The stories shared by Tłıchq women in the TK study, such as the importance of K'eàgotì, past project impacts and their concerns about impacts on food and water, were also discussed by women in the public hearings. Additionally, women emphasized their concerns about potential social consequences as a result of the mine. Social concerns were reflected on minimally in the TK study, which aimed to document current and historical land use activities. The Review Board did address social concerns in the REA, citing that a socio-economic agreement between the Tłıchq Government and GNWT is to be formalized at a later date.

In both the TK study interviews and public hearings, the women's stories revealed that they had practiced various land use activities at K'eàgotì, both in the past and present. Many of these activities involved men and other family members. Additionally, their stories highlighted the importance of preserving K'eàgotì for future generations' continuity of use and access in the area. Where a mining company may typically only view their project within a 20-30 year window, the women's stories empathised the need to think of how this potential project will affect the land for several generations to come. Their stories point to the need to preserve the land so that the Tłıchq way of life can be carried forward by Tłıchq youth. This was also touched on in the mitigation measures of the REA by addressing environmental concerns and remediation both during and after the mine's operations.

In response to objective three, the outcomes of the EA – there is an evident connection

between the 13 mitigation measures outlined by the Review Board in the REA and some of the stories shared by women. Although the mitigations measure cannot be solely attributed to women's stories – other speakers at the public hearings also spoke about social and environmental concerns – there are connections between women's stories and the Review Board's conclusions. For example, mitigation measure number 12, which aims to protect the traditional use and transmission of cultural values at K'eàgoti, states that Fortune Minerals is to support an on-the-land culture camp in the area. The culture camp is intended to facilitate “traditional knowledge research, education, and traditional land use activities” (the Review Board 2013:119). Many Ṭḥcḥq̣ women's stories in the TK study interviews and public hearings spoke about the importance of preserving K'eàgoti for present and future traditional land use activities. While I cannot determine how much weight the Review Board gave to Ṭḥcḥq̣ women's stories specifically, it is possible that Ṭḥcḥq̣ women's stories were, to some degree, influential upon the Review Board's understanding of the project area. Similar relationships can be drawn between Ṭḥcḥq̣ women's stories and the other 12 mitigation measures, all of which address the topics of water, wildlife, and potential social impacts. It is therefore possible that women's stories were influential upon the Review Board's conclusions in the REA.

9.1 Connection to Literature

9.1.1 Stories

Legat (2012) describes how being knowledgeable in both women's and men's knowledge is required for survival. The elders' stories from the focus group and the stories shared by the women in the TK study and public hearings about hunting, camping, trapping and families, highlight the relevance of women's knowledge for surviving on the land. Furthermore, their stories underscore the importance of respecting women's knowledge by sharing it with younger

generations. One woman I interviewed told me about the importance of recognizing women's unique perspectives of the land and environment:

The women have a much different knowledge of the land than men because of the role, traditionally, that they played on the land ... we were out on the barren lands and you would look out on the barren lands and the men are looking out telling stories about caribou and their hunting and trapping lines, and the women are looking down at the ground telling stories about berry picking and the plants. So I think there is a really unique wealth of knowledge that women hold that maybe men don't hold. That's important and should not be forgotten or excluded because it's all important and directly related to the impacts on the land that a project may have. (Itoah Scott-Enns, personal communication, 2016)

Scott-Enns statement recalls Blackman's (1984) and Cruikshank's (1990; 1998) statements about women's stories being rich in cultural and ecological information. This information, they maintain, is not always represented in men's narratives. For this reason, several of the respondents noted that women's stories and knowledge are crucial for understanding environmental changes. Stories are considered to be the basis for understanding *dè* (land), in addition to being fundamental for making sense of complex environmental concepts (Legat 2012:65; Cruikshank 1998:26; Martindale 2006:184). These connections were made explicit when the women spoke about potential developmental impacts. The stories women shared about the history of gold explorations and impacts from Rayrock Mine – stories about trust, water contamination, health and social behaviours – legitimize the incorporation of their stories into discussions about potential environmental impacts. In this regard, women's stories are as important to understanding the past as they are for making sense of dilemmas in the present. This research has shown that Tłıchǫ people continue to rely on the stories of their ancestors to make informed decisions today, and to learn “the right way” (Legat 2012:35).

Cruikshank (2001) discusses how stories can help to build intersections between Indigenous and western knowledge. Stories, she maintains, can help listeners acquire a broader

understanding of environmental impacts and changes. Women's stories about camps at K'eàgoti speak to this point and reveal the intense and continuous use of K'eàgoti in the past and present. Camps are storied environments that require interactions and exchanges between people, facilitating the sharing and transmission of knowledge between elders, adults and youth. Camps are also indicative of many other traditional activities connected to their camps, such as hunting, fishing, collecting plants, birthplaces and puberty sites (Tłıchq Research and Training Institute 2014b). If their camps were to be impacted, it is then possible that the activities associated with their camps – and the ability to pass on this knowledge to future generations – would also be impacted.

Women's stories, in this regard, can aid in understanding the cumulative impacts of a proposed mine. To bolster Cruikshank's (2001) point, Tłıchq women's stories about camps at K'eàgoti helped to build linkages between Indigenous knowledge and western scientific perspectives on possible cultural and environmental impacts and changes. Their stories may have been responsible in part for the Review Board's decision to include the mitigation measure to host a culture camp at the project site, facilitating the continuous and storied use of K'eàgoti for future generations beyond the life of the mine. It is therefore likely that Tłıchq women's stories about camps helped to broaden the scope of the EA so that it considered these culturally specific implications of the proposed project.

9.1.2 Gender and Environmental Assessment

My thesis conclusions are consistent with O'Faircheallaigh (2011; 2012), Hemer (2014) and Lahiri-Dutt (2011), who suggest that women's participation and influence in regulatory processes are not always obvious, but are nonetheless influential. The TK study report and public hearing transcripts were publicly available; however, the substantial role of Tłıchq women in the

mock hearing training or influence as Tł̥chq̓ staff were not documented in public records. Furthermore, the importance of Tł̥chq̓ women's stories and knowledge in the TK study and public hearings, as noted by the TK study authors and several other people I interviewed, would not have been known without speaking to the authors and staff directly or reviewing the confidential TK study interview transcripts.

The women's stories that were recorded for the TK study are not publically available and would not have been accessible to me without the permission of the community. Reviewing the TK study transcripts revealed that Tł̥chq̓ women have stories and knowledge of K'eàgotì and land use activities practiced by women and men. While women's stories were not specifically highlighted within the report itself, a review of the TK study interview transcripts revealed that their stories and mapped data helped to formulate the reports findings and conclusions. Furthermore, interviewing the two TK study authors revealed that the women's stories helped to achieve the report's objectives, which was to understand the significance and history of K'eàgotì. Another revelation from the TK study authors was that the research team was comprised mostly of Tł̥chq̓ women. This included the two TK study authors and researchers, one who is Tł̥chq̓, and the two community coordinators who are Tł̥chq̓ women. This shows that Tł̥chq̓ women participated in, led and coordinated the TK study, which is significant given that many TUS projects have been male-lead and male-informed. Having women in these strong roles and positions challenges ideas that women do not have agency or voices in these contexts. In this case, women made distinct and critical formulations in an often male-centred discourse. This finding is also important to note given that the TK study was viewed by one of the authors as an important tool to leverage the Tł̥chq̓ Government's interests forward in the public hearings.

Similar conclusions about the importance of Tłıchq women's stories can be made about women's knowledge from the public hearing transcripts. In addition to sharing their stories and knowledge of the land and K'eàgotì, women also spoke about potential project impacts and social concerns that they are familiar with as a result of their experiences with previous resource extraction projects. While these transcripts were publicly available, speaking to members of the Tłıchq Government provided a deeper understanding for why the hearings were an important platform for Tłıchq citizens and women to voice their concerns. This was partly because many women who spoke at the hearings did not have a chance to share their stories and concerns with the Review Board or Fortune Minerals elsewhere. Speaking with Tłıchq Government representatives also revealed the significance of creating a window of time for just women and youth to speak at the hearings, which helped to encourage 17 women to share their stories and concerns with the review panel.

Lastly, it is possible that the relationship between Tłıchq women's stories and the mitigation measures outlined in the REA would not have been made obvious if interviews with the TK study authors, Tłıchq Government representatives and transcript analysis of the TK Study interviews and public hearings had not taken place. The REA is a public document; however the degree to which women's stories were influential to the outcomes was not discernable from the report alone. Although the mitigation measures do not specifically mention women, they nonetheless address important and potential project impacts that Tłıchq women spoke about in the TK study and public hearings. This includes water contamination, impacts to wildlife, the cultural significance of K'eàgotì and possible social issues that arise from resource extraction. All of these concerns were addressed in the Review Board's mitigation measures. Although the

degree to which Tłchq women's stories influenced the mitigation measures cannot be determined, it is nonetheless possible that their participation made a difference.

Women's informal means of participation, the mock hearing session and administrative support, also supports the scholarship that argues for a careful case-by-case examination of women's participation in regulatory review processes (Hemer 2014; O'Faircheallaigh 2012). Because the mock hearing training sessions and role of administrative staff are not on public records, Tłchq women's participation in these contexts would not have been known by me to have taken place or to have had a possible influence upon the EA without speaking with Tłchq Government representatives. Both the formal and informal means of participation were seen by the people I spoke to as vital to the empowerment of the Tłchq Government throughout the EA.

9.1.3 Legislation

My findings also support the body of literature that calls for strong legislation to support positive outcomes in EAs for Indigenous communities (Booth and Skelton, 2012; Gibson, 2002; 2012). From a legislative perspective, the Tłchq Government relied heavily on the MVRMA and Tłchq Agreement, both for procedural guidance and for holding the Review Board and proponent accountable to their community consultation obligations. These two pieces of legislation were seen as critical by Tłchq Government staff for mandating the inclusion of the TK study as part of the EA. The legislative requirements for adequate community consultation and the inclusion of TK in an EA aided in establishing the crucial windows of time for Tłchq citizens to comment on the proposed project.

The legislative requirements to consider TK in an EA supported the Tłchq Government throughout the process. These requirements aided them in achieving procedural changes throughout the hearings, changes that were weighed intensely by Tłchq Government staff. The

physical space of the room, for example, was given a structure so that people could share their stories in an appropriate manner. People were able to voluntarily sign themselves up to speak and could share their stories without interruption. Creating the windows of time for just women and youth to speak – something that had not been done previously – made the space inclusive for all Tłchq peoples to participate. The broader legislative requirements to include TK into EAs were essential to the Tłchq Government’s achievements in procedural and structural changes – changes that facilitated the appropriate and respectful inclusion of Tłchq women’s, men’s and youth’s narratives.

Gibson MacDonald (2015) states that the Tłchq Government strategically engaged in the Fortune Minerals EA, “utilizing every point of the process” to inform The Board of every possible impact. In the end, the Tłchq Government were able to determine if the REA was sufficient, ultimately exercising their free, prior and informed consent to the project (*ibid*). This supports Robert Gibson’s (2002) point that strong legislation is key to an effective EA. Several respondents I interviewed concurred that the legislative backing of the Tłchq Agreement and MVRMA were crucial to the Tłchq Government’s successes in mandating the inclusion of the TK study and community member’s statements in the Fortune Minerals EA.

This EA was considered successful by several Tłchq Government staff and leaders. The reason they thought this was largely because they felt they had been successful in getting the Review Board to make some significant changes in the EA review process, including changing the hearing dates and meaningfully incorporating TK into their final decision (Grand Chief Edward Erasmus, public hearings, October 11, 2012; Gibson Macdonald 2015). Although the mine was approved to be constructed – which many Tłchq citizens argued against in their TK study interviews and statements made in the public hearings –it is possible to view the EA

process as successful because of its inclusion of TK and community member statements. This is not the same as saying that the Tłıchǫ Government staff and leadership consider the results of the EA to be a success – or if the mitigation measures will be fully implemented as required and whether they will be successful in mitigating the potential negative consequences of the mine once they are implemented. Some of these issues will not be known until the mine is constructed and operational or until much later in the life of the mine or even after it is closed down. The perceived measure of success may also depend on the outcomes of the currently stalled IBA negotiations between the Tłıchǫ Government and Fortune Minerals, and stalled SEIA negotiations between the Tłıchǫ Government and the GNWT.

While these two pieces of legislation supported the Tłıchǫ Government in the Fortune Minerals EA, neither the MVRMA nor the Tłıchǫ Agreement includes provisions related to gender or women. This is a noted shortcoming of regulatory policy, wherein the gendered consequences of resource extraction are often peripheral to the Canadian EA process (Archibald and Crnkovich 1999; Mokami Status of Women Council 2011; Scott-Enns 2015). In the Tłıchǫ case some measures were taken in the formal methods of participation to directly engage women, such as seeking a gender balance in the TK study and establishing a window of time for women and youth to speak in the public hearings. These measures established opportunities for women to participate in the process and share their stories and concerns. The Review Board, however, did not identify gender-specific concerns in the REA. Although some Tłıchǫ Government representatives viewed the legislative context as being crucial to the EA outcomes, further policy support is required if gender is to be an explicit and measurable component of all EAs.

The social and economic concerns that women brought forward in the public hearings support the larger body of scholarship addressing women's social and economic disadvantages

from resource development (Mokami Status of Women Council, 2011; the National Aboriginal Health Organization, 2008; Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2014). For many Tłı̨chǫ women, inequalities in wealth distribution, land alienation and increases in substance use and/or violence are existing realities that have potential to worsen with the construction of the NICO project. The Review Board did not address these concerns directly in the REA. Socio-economic impacts were instead deferred to future socio-economic impact agreement (SEIA) negotiations between the Tłı̨chǫ Government and the GNWT, as well as IBA negotiations between the Tłı̨chǫ Government and Fortune Minerals. At the time of writing this thesis, negotiations for both of these agreements are on hold due to complication in the licensing for the all-season road and a downturn in the mining economy.

9.2 Significance of Results

This thesis argues that Tłı̨chǫ women participated in, and shared stories and knowledge relevant to the EA of the NICO project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited. Their stories helped to support the Tłı̨chǫ Government's strategy for influencing the outcomes of the EA, in addition to their crucial behind-the-scenes roles as administrative staff. The inclusion of Tłı̨chǫ women's stories and their participation are especially important to note within a regulatory process that does not consider gender as a unit of analysis.

While it is evident that Tłı̨chǫ women did contribute to the Fortune Minerals EA through their stories – and were a possible influencing factor in the Review Board's 13 mitigation measures listed in the REA – the EA overall did not take a gendered approach. Evidence suggests that adopting a critical gendered approach to research can offer important insights into the unequal gendered benefits of the Northern mining economy and better articulate the complex intersections of gender, culture and social economics (Archibald and Crnkovich 1999; Mills,

Dowsley, and Cameron 2013). Although the mining company did commit to developing a hiring strategy for T̄h̄ch̄ women, it is unlikely that this one commitment would compensate for the other possible gendered impacts borne from large-scale mining projects. The complexity of gender in resource extraction projects, as the above authors note, extends beyond employment opportunities.

Archibald and Crnkovich (1999) maintain that a gender-based analysis should be integral to EA evaluations in order to understand how gender intersects with culture, race, sexuality, and class. Accordingly, they affirm that a gender-based analysis in EAs could aid in understanding how particular groups of women are affected by resource extraction projects. This type of analysis, Archibald and Crnkovich (1999) argue, would require the development of gender-equality indicators to understand the limitations for certain groups of women to participate in and benefit from these projects. None of these measures or recommendations were incorporated into the Fortune Minerals EA.

These oversights of the EA process are important to note as they provide valuable learning opportunities for future EAs. In addition to legislative reform and the suggestions put forth by Archibald and Crnkovich (1999), the persons I interviewed for this study, which included T̄h̄ch̄ women, non-T̄h̄ch̄ women and T̄h̄ch̄ men, suggested additional ways in which a gender-based analysis could be incorporated into future EA processes:

- From the outset, all regulatory parties must acknowledge that women experience impacts from resource extraction differently, and therefore having gender as a unit of analysis is required to fully explore project impacts
- Hosting meetings and/or information sessions with women only, prior to the public hearings, and bringing those findings to the technical steering committee and leadership

- Improving/building on existing TK/TUS methodology so as to appropriately capture women's land use activities and experiences, such as documenting birthplaces, homes, puberty ceremonies, food gathering and processing sites, sewing and craft activities, and seeking a gender balance in final reporting.

While the lack of a gender-based analysis in the Fortune Minerals EA is acknowledged, it should not take away from T̄h̄ch̄q women's participation and influence in the Fortune Minerals EA. The formal and informal avenues of participation for T̄h̄ch̄q women within this particular EA can be considered active sites of agency and likely contributed to the positive outcomes achieved by the T̄h̄ch̄q Government. In addition to the suggested engagement improvements noted above, T̄h̄ch̄q women's contributions to the EA via the TK study interviews, public hearings, mock hearing training and administrative support can be viewed as learning opportunities for ways in which women's stories and knowledge can be incorporated into future EAs.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

In this thesis, I have explored the participation of Ṭḥcḥ Women in the EA of the NICO project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited. I conclude that a gender-based approach was not taken in this EA, however women's stories and knowledge of K'eàgoti, the proposed project area, were included in several stages of the EA process, both prior to and during the public hearings.

Based on my reading of the materials, I conclude that it is quite possible that Ṭḥcḥ women's stories and connection with *dè* (land) influenced the EA process and outcomes. Their history and stories of K'eàgoti, in addition to their concerns brought forward in the hearings, may have aided the Review Board to understand the significance of the place and potential project impacts. Although it is not possible to determine the degree to which Ṭḥcḥ women's stories influenced the Ṭḥcḥ Government's approach to the EA or the Review Board's final decision, it is nonetheless likely that women's stories were a factor in their decision making processes. Ṭḥcḥ women's stories revealed their knowledge of the project area, in addition to having knowledge of potential project impacts and the various roles of women and men on the land. These findings can serve to validate the inclusion of Indigenous women in environmental assessments. Their knowledge, experience and stories can be seen as important and relevant to the assessment of potential social and ecological impacts from resource extraction projects.

Lastly, the findings underscore the need to contextually examine Indigenous women's roles in regulatory processes, recognizing their multiple and complex sites of agentive action within an unequal terrain of development. While there are notable gaps in how regulatory processes address inequalities experienced by Indigenous women, we can look to these moments of agency for useful insights on how to redress possible shortcomings in future EAs and other similar processes.

Bibliography

- Ahmad, N., and K. Lahiri-dutt. 2006. "Engendering Mining Communities: Examining the Missing Gender Concerns in Coal Mining Displacement and Rehabilitation in India." *Gender, Technology and Development* 10 (3): 313–39.
- Altamirano-Jiminez, Isabel. 2009. "Nunavut: Whose Homeland, Whose Voices?" In *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, edited by Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire, 143–53. Toronto: Inanna Publications and Education Inc.
- Andrews, Thomas D. 2011. "There Will Be Many Stories': Museum Anthropology, Collaboration, and the Tłı̨chǫ." Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, University of Dundee.
- Andrews, Thomas D., and John B. Zoe. 1997. "The Idaa Trail: Archaeology and the Dogrib Cultural Landscape, Northwest Territories, Canada (with John B. Zoe)." In *At a Crossroads: Archaeology and the First Peoples in Canada*, edited by George P. Nicholas and Thomas D. Andrews, 160–77. Canada: Archaeology Press.
- Andrews, Thomas D., John B. Zoe, and Aaron Herter. 1998. "On Yamòzhah's Trail: Dogrib Sacred Sites and the Anthropology of Travel." In *Sacred Lands: Aboriginal World Views, Claims, and Conflicts*, edited by Jill Oakes, Rick Riewe, Kathi Kinew, and Elaine Maloney, 305–20. Edmonton, AB:
- Archibald, Linda, and Mary Crnkovich. 1999. *If Gender Mattered: A Case Study of Inuit Women, Land Claims and the Voisey's Bay Nickel Project*. Ottawa, ON: Status of Women Canada.
- Berger, Thomas R. 1977. *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry*. Supply and Services, Ottawa, ON.
- Blackman, Margaret B. 1982. *During My Time: Florence Edenshaw Davidson, a Haida Woman*. Seattle; Vancouver: University of Washington Press.
- Booth, Annie L., and Norman W. Skelton. 2011. "Improving First Nations' Participation in Environmental Assessment Processes: Recommendations from the Field." *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal* 29 (1): 49–58.
- Canada, 2012. Canadian Environmental Assessment Act 2012. Available from: <http://www.ceaa.gc.ca/default.asp?lang+En&n=9EC7CAD2-0>
- Canada, 1998. Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act. Available from: <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/m-0.2/>
- Cox, David J. 2013. "Environmental Impact Assessments and Impact Benefits Agreements: The Participation of Aboriginal Women At Voisey's Bay Mine." Master of Arts thesis,

McMaster University.

Cruikshank, Julie. 1990. *Life Lived like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

———. 1992. Images of Society in Klondike Gold Rush Narratives: Skookum Jim and the Discovery of Gold. *Ethnohistory*, 39(1), 20-41.

———. 1998. *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

———. 2001. “Glaciers and Climate Change: Perspectives from Oral Tradition.” *Arctic* 54 (4). The Arctic Institute of North America: 377–93.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987). *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia* (B. Massumi, Trans.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. (Original work published 1980)

Denzin, Norman K. 2011. “The Elephant in the Living Room, or Extending the Conversation About the Politics of Evidence.” In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.

Doelle, M. 2012. CEAA 2012: The End of Federal EA as We Know It? *Journal of Environmental Law and Practice* 24 (1): 1-18.

Dogrib Divisional Board of Education. 1991. *Strong Like Two People: The Development of a Mission Statement for the Dogrib Schools*. Behchokò: DDBE.

Edmunds, David, Barbara Thomas-Slayter, and Dianne Rocheleau. 1995. “Gendered Resource Mapping: Focusing on Women’s Spaces in the Landscape.” *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 18 (4): 62.

University of Victoria. 2003. *Protocols & Principles for Conducting Research in an Indigenous Context*. Faculty of Human and Social Development. Available online at: <http://web.uvic.ca/igov/uploads/pdf/protocol.pdf>

Fumoleau, Rene. 1973. *As long as this land shall last: A history of treaty 8 and treaty 11, 1870-1939*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Galbraith, Lindsay. 2016. Firelight Presentation: Indigenous-led Environmental Assessment. Available online at: <http://www.thefirelightgroup.com/2016/02/17/firelight-presentation-indigenous-led-environmental-assessment/>.

Galbraith, Lindsay, Ben Bradshaw, and Murray B. Rutherford. 2007. “Towards a New Supreregulatory Approach to Environmental Assessment in Northern Canada.” *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal* 25 (1): 27–41.

- Gibson, Ginger and Deanna Kemp. 2008. "Corporate Engagement with Indigenous Women in the Minerals Industry: Making Space for Theory." In *Earth Matters: Indigenous Peoples, the Extractive Industries and Corporate Social Responsibility*, edited by Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh and Saleem H. Ali, 104–22. Sheffield: Greenleaf Publishing.
- Gibson, Ginger and Jason Klinck. 2005. "Canada's Resilient North: The Impact of Mining on Aboriginal Communities." *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 3 (1): 115–39.
- Gibson, Robert B. 2002. From Wreck Cove to Voisey's Bay: The Evolution of Federal Environmental Assessment in Canada. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal* 20 (3): 151.
- . 2012. In full retreat: The Canadian Government's new Environmental Assessment Law Undoes Decades of Progress. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal* 30 (3): 179.
- Gibson, Virginia Valerie. 2008. "Negotiated Spaces: Work, Home and Relationships in the Dene Diamond Economy." Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, University of British Columbia.
- Gibson MacDonald, Ginger. 2015. *Indigenous Decisions in EA: A Case of Free, Prior, and Informed Consent in the NWT, Canada*. Publication forthcoming.
- Gibson MacDonald, Ginger and Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh. 2015. *IBA Community Toolkit*. The Gordon Foundation, Toronto, ON.
- Gibson MacDonald, Ginger, John B. Zoe, and Terre Satterfield. 2014. "Reciprocity in the Canadian Dene Diamond Mining Economy." In *Natural Resource Extraction and Indigenous Livelihoods: Development Challenges in an Era of Globalisation*, edited by Emma Gilberthorpe and Gavin M Hilson, 57–74. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.
- Glaskin, Katie. 2012. "Anatomies of Relatedness: Considering Personhood in Aboriginal Australia." *American Anthropologist* 114 (2): 297–308.
- Goeman, Mishuana. 2013. *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Green, Joyce A. 2007. "Balancing Strategies: Aboriginal Women and Constitutional Rights in Canada." In *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*, edited by Joyce A Green, 140–59. Canada: Fernwood Publishing Inc.
- Helm, June. 1994. *Prophecy and Power among the Dogrib Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- . 2000. *People of Denendeh: Ethnohistory of the Indians of Canada's Northwest Territories*. McGill-Queen's University Press.

- Helm, June and Beryl C. Gillespie. 1981. "Dogrib Oral Tradition as History: War and Peace in the 1820s." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 37 (1). University of New Mexico: 8–27.
- Hemer, Susan R. 2014. "Gender & Mining: Strategies for Governing the Development of Women in Lihir, PNG." Working paper, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, SA, AU.
- Hennink, Monique M. 2014. *Focus Group Discussions*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Keenan, J. C., and D. L. Kemp. 2014. *Mining and Local-Level Development: Examining the Gender Dimensions of Agreements between Companies and Communities*. Brisbane, AU: Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining, The University of Queensland.
- Laforet, Andrea, and Annie York. 1998. *Spuzzum: Fraser Canyon Histories, 1808-1939*. UBC Press.
- Lahiri-Dutt, Kuntala. 2011. *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*. Edited by Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt. Canberra ACT: The Australian National University.
- Lahiri-Dutt, Kuntala and Gill Burke. 2011. *Gender Mainstreaming in Asian Mining: A Development Perspective*. In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*. Edited by Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt. Canberra ACT: The Australian National University.
- Larner, Glen. 2004. Family therapy and the politics of evidence. *Journal of Family Therapy*, 26(1): 17-39.
- Larsson, Nina. 2015. "Mind the Gender Gap." The Gordon Foundation: Yellowknife, NT.
- Legat, Aalice. 2007. *Walking the Land, Feeding the Fire: a Tł̨chq̨ ethnography on becoming knowledgeable*. Doctor of Philosophy disseration, Univeraity of Aberdeen, Scotland.
- . 2012. *Walking the Land, Feeding the Fire: Knowledge and Stewardship among the Tł̨chq̨ Dene / Aalice Legat ; Foreword by Joanne Barnaby*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board. 2005. *Guidelines for Incorporating Traditional Knowledge in Environmental Impact Assessment*. Yellowknife, NWT.
- . 2012a. Public hearing, August 27, 2012. NICO Project – EA 0809-004, Fortune Minerals Ltd. Whatì, NT. Available online at: http://reviewboard.ca/registry/project_detail.php?project_id=72&doc_stage=10

- . 2012b. Public hearing, August 29, 2012. NICO Project – EA 0809-004, Fortune Minerals Ltd. Yellowknife, NT. Available online at:
http://reviewboard.ca/registry/project_detail.php?project_id=72&doc_stage=10
- . 2012c. Public hearing, August 30, 2012. NICO Project – EA 0809-004, Fortune Minerals Ltd. Behchokò, NT. Available online at:
http://reviewboard.ca/registry/project_detail.php?project_id=72&doc_stage=10
- . 2012d. Public hearing, August 31, 2012. NICO Project – EA 0809-004, Fortune Minerals Ltd. Behchokò, NT. Available online at:
http://reviewboard.ca/registry/project_detail.php?project_id=72&doc_stage=10
- . 2012e. Public hearing, October 10, 2012. NICO Project – EA 0809-004, Fortune Minerals Ltd. Behchokò, NT. Available online at:
http://reviewboard.ca/registry/project_detail.php?project_id=72&doc_stage=10
- . 2012f. Public hearing, October 11, 2012. NICO Project – EA 0809-004, Fortune Minerals Ltd. Yellowknife, NT. Available online at:
http://reviewboard.ca/registry/project_detail.php?project_id=72&doc_stage=10
- . 2013. Report of Environmental Assessment and Reasons for Decision. EA0809-004: Fortune Minerals Ltd., NICO Project. Available from:
http://www.reviewboard.ca/upload/project_document/EA0809-004_NICO_Report_of_EA_and_Reasons_for_Ddecision__corrected_.PDF

Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act (S.C. 1998, c. 25)

Martindale, Andrew. 2006. “Methodological Issues in the Use of Tsimshian Oral Traditions (Adawx) in Archaeology.” *Canadian Journal of Archaeology / Journal Canadien d’Archéologie* 30 (2): 158–92.

Massey, Doreen B. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Miles, Matthew, A. Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña. 2014. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, California : SAGE Publications, Inc .

Mills, Antonia. 1994. *Eagle Down Is Our Law: Witsuwit’en Law, Feasts, and Land Claims*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Mills, Suzanne, Martha Dowsley, and Emilie Cameron. 2013. “Gender in Research on Northern Resource Development.” *Resources and Sustainable Development in the Arctic*. Yukon Research Centre, Yukon College.

Mokami Status of Women Council. 2011. “Out of the Rhetoric and Into the Reality of Local Women’s Lives.” *Review Literature And Arts Of The Americas*, 1–10.

- Monture, Patricia A. 2008. "Women's Words: Power, Identity, and Indigenous Sovereignty." *Canadian Woman Studies* 26 (3-4): 154.
- Morphy, Howard, and Frances Morphy. 2006. "Tasting the Waters: Discriminating Identities in the Waters of Blue Mud Bay." *Journal of Material Culture* 11 (1-2):67–85.
- Morse, Janice. 2006. The Politics of Evidence. *Qualitative Health Research*. 16(3): 395-404.
- Nadasdy, Paul. 1999. "The Politics of TEK: Power and the "Integration" of Knowledge." *Arctic Anthropology*, 36 (1/2): 1-18.
- . 2003. "It's Not Really Knowledge at All, It's More a Way of Life." In *Hunters and Bureaucrats : Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon*, 60–113. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- . 2005. "The Anti-Politics of TEK: The Institutionalization of Co-Management Discourse and Practice." *Anthropologica*, 47(2), 215-232.
- National Aboriginal Health Organization. 2008. "Resource Extraction in Aboriginal Communities in Northern Communities: Gender Considerations." Ottawa, ON.
- Northwest Territories Devolution Act (S.C. 2014, c. 2).
- O'Faircheallaigh, Ciaran. 2007. "Environmental Agreements, EIA Follow-up and Aboriginal Participation in Environmental Management: The Canadian Experience." *Environmental Impact Assessment Review* 27 (4): 319–42.
- . 2010. "Aboriginal-Mining Company Contractual Agreements in Australia and Canada : Implications for Political Autonomy and Community Development." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 30 (1): 69–86.
- . 2011. "Indigenous Women and Mining Agreement Negotiations: Australia and Canada." In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*, 87–109. Canberra ACT: The Australian National University.
- . 2012. "Women's Absence, Women's Power: Indigenous Women and Negotiations with Mining Companies in Australia and Canada." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (11): 1789.
- . 2013. "Extractive Industries and Indigenous Peoples: A Changing Dynamic?" *Journal of Rural Studies* 30: 20–30.
- Ohmagari, Kayo, and Fikret Berkes. 1997. "Transmission of Indigenous Knowledge and Bush Skills among the Western James Bay Cree Women of Subarctic Canada." *Human Ecology* 25 (2): 197–222.

- Olson, Rachel and Georgina Chocolate. 2012. Tłıchǫ Nation Traditional Knowledge and Use Study. Tłıchǫ Research and Training Institute: Tłıchǫ Government.
- Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada. 2014. "The Impact of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory: A Qualitative Assessment." Report for the Canadian Women's Foundation, University of British Columbia.
- Razavi, Shahrashoub and Miller, Carol. 1995. "From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse". United Nations Research Institute Occasional Paper series (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development) 1:2. Retrieved June 6, 2016.
- Rocheleau, Dianne. 1995. "Maps Numbers Text and Context Mixing Methods in Feminist Political Ecology." *The Professional Geographer* 47 (4): 458–66.
- Scott-Enns, Itoah. 2015. "Elexeta Edets'eeda: Strengthening Support for Tłıchǫ Mining Families." The Gordon Foundation: Yellowknife, NT.
- Singh, Shweta. 2007. "Deconstructing 'Gender and Development' for 'Identities of Women.'" *International Journal of Social Welfare* 16 (2). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd: 100–109.
- Smith, Andrea. 2005. "Native American Feminism, Sovereignty, and Social Change." *Feminist Studies* 31 (1): 116–32.
- St. Pierre, Elizabeth A, and Alecia Y Jackson. 2014. "Qualitative Data Analysis After Coding." *Qualitative Inquiry* 20 (6). Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications: 715–19.
- Suzack, Cheryl, Shari M Huhndorf, Jeanne Perreault, and Jean Barman. 2010. *Indigenous Women and Feminism: Politics, Activism, Culture*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- The Status of Women Council of NWT. 1999. "Review of Diavik Diamonds Project Socioeconomic Environmental Effects Report: Impact on Women and Families" Report, 1–20. Available online at: http://www.statusofwomen.nt.ca/download/review_diavik.pdf
- Tłıchǫ Government. 2012. Letter to the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board, June 11, 2012, RE: NICO Project – EA 0809-004. Available online at: http://www.reviewboard.ca/upload/project_document/EA0809-004_TG_letter_regarding_hearings.PDF
- Tłıchǫ Government v. Canada (Attorney General), 2015 NWTSC 9.
- Tłıchǫ v. Mackenzie Valley Impact Review Board. 2011 NWTSC 31.
- Tłıchǫ Community Services Agency. 2006. Tłıchǫ Yatı̀ Multimedia Dictionary. Based on the Tłıchǫ Yatı̀ Enı̀htł'è / Dogrib Dictionary published in 1996 by the Dogrib Divisional Board

of Education. Available online at: <http://tlicholinguistics.uvic.ca/default.aspx>

Tłı̨chǫ Government and the Government of the Northwest Territories and the Government of Canada. 2005. Tłı̨chǫ Land Claims and Self Government Agreement. Available online at: https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/texte-text/ccl_fagr_nwts_tliagr_tliagr_1302089608774_eng.pdf

Tłı̨chǫ Research and Training Institute. 2014a. K'ą̀gòò tlı̨ Deè: Traditional Knowledge Study for the Proposed All-Season Road to Whatı̨. Tlı̨chǫ Government.

———. 2014b. *Habitat of Dogrib Traditional Territory: Place Names as Indicators of Biogeographical Knowledge*. Submitted by Whàehdo ò, Nàowo Kò Dogrib Treaty 11 Council to the West Kitikmeot Slave Study. Originally published in March 2001.

———. 2015. *The Trees All Changed to Wood: Remembering Rayrock Uranium Mine*. Report prepared by Dogrib Renewable Resources Committee, Dogrib Treaty 11 Council For the Arctic Environmental Strategy, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Originally published in March 1997.

———. 2016. *Ekwò Zò Gha Dzò Nats'édè - "We Live Here For Caribou": Cumulative Impacts Study on the Bathurst Caribou*. NWT: Tłı̨chǫ Government.

Tobias, Terry. 2000. *Chief Kerry's Moose: A Guidebook to Land Use and Occupancy Mapping, Research Design and Data Collection*. Vancouver: Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs.

———. 2009. *Living Proof: The Essential Data-Collection Guide for Indigenous Use-and-Occupancy Map Surveys*. Vancouver, BC: Ecotrust Canada.

Trudelle Schwarz, Maureen. 1997. "Unraveling the Anchoring Cord: Navajo Relocation, 1974 to 1996." *American Anthropologist* 99 (1): 43–55.

Tsosie, Rebecca. 2010. "Native Women and Leadership: An Ethics of Culture and Relationship." In *Indigenous Women and Feminism: Politics, Activism and Culture*, edited by Cheryl Suzack, Shari M Hunhndorf, Jeanne Perreault, and Jean Barman, 29–42. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Usher, Peter J. 1971. *Fur Trade Posts of the Northwest Territories, 1870-1970*. Vol. 71-4. Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

———. 2000. "Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Environmental Assessment and Management." *Arctic* 53 (2): 183–93.

Vansina, Jan. 1985. *Oral Tradition As History*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Visvanathan, Nalini. 2011. *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*. Vol. 2nd. Halifax;London;New York; Fernwood Pub.
- Wachowich, Nancy, Apphia Agalakti Awa, Rhoda Kaukjak Katsak, and Sandra Pikujak Katsak. 1999. *Saqiyuq: Stories from the Lives of Three Inuit Women*. Vol. 19. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Watkins, Mel, and University League for Social Reform. 1977. *Dene Nation, the Colony Within*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Wilson, Emily K. 2006. "Gendered Geographies and Participatory Processes – Mapping Natural Resource Use with Wapichan Women in Southern Guyana." Master of Arts thesis, Carleton University.
- Wilson, Shawn. 2008. *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Black Point, N.S.: Fernwood Publishing.

Interview and focus group participants

- Chocolate, Georgina. 2016. Individual interview, January 20, 2016. Behchokò, NT.
- Daniels, Chief Clifford. 2016. Individual interview, February 5, 2016. Yellowknife, NT.
- Gibson MacDonald, Ginger. 2016. Individual interview, February 19, 2016. Via telephone.
- Lafferty, Melanie. 2016. Elders focus group. January 15, 2016. Behchokò, NT.
- Mackenzie, Monique. 2016. Elders focus group. January 15, 2016. Behchokò, NT.
- Nitsiza, Janelle. 2016. Individual interview, January 15, 2016. Behchokò, NT.
- Olson, Rachel. 2015. Individual interview, December 18, 2015. Vancouver, BC.
- Scott-Enns, Itoah. 2016. Individual interview, January 18th, 2016. Yellowknife, NT.
- Tlokka, Mary Adele. 2016. Elders focus group. January 15, 2016. Behchokò, NT.
- Weyallon, Melanie. 2016. Elders focus group. January 15, 2016. Behchokò, NT.
- Zoe, John B. 2016. Individual interview, January 15, 2016. Behchokò, NT.

**Appendix 1: Summary of Mitigation Measures from the Report of
Environmental Assessment and Reason for Decision in the Fortune
Minerals Environmental Assessment (EA0809-004)**

Measure		Impact
1	<p>The NICO Project will be designed and operated by Fortune Minerals throughout all Project stages (construction, operation, active closure, post closure), so that the Tłı̨chų people's traditional water uses, now and into the future, are not adversely affected by mining activities. These uses include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • use of traditional drinking water sources; and • use of traditional areas for fishing; 	Impacts to Water Quality
2	<p>The NICO Project will be designed and operated by Fortune Minerals throughout all Project stages (construction, operation, active closure, post closure), so that the following water quality objectives are met in any area downstream from Peanut Lake, including all of Burke Lake (<i>Datoti</i>):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • water quality changes due to mining activities will not substantially alter benthic invertebrate and plankton abundance, taxonomic richness or diversity; • water quality changes due to mining activities will not substantially alter fish health, abundance or diversity or impact the ability of traditional users to harvest or consume fish; • water changes due to mining activities will allow for safe use of water by wildlife and waterfowl; and • water quality, quantity and rate of flow in the Marian River is to remain substantially unaltered. 	Impacts to Water Quality
3	<p>In order to reduce significant adverse impacts from contaminant loading in receiving waters during construction and mine operations, Fortune Minerals will prepare a dust mitigation and monitoring plan. This plan will incorporate Fortune Minerals' commitments for fugitive dust suppression and dust suppression techniques and apply lessons learned about dust suppression from other Northwest Territories mine sites.</p> <p>This plan will be developed in collaboration with aboriginal users of the area and will be incorporated in the NICO water license issued by the Wek'èezhii Land and Water Board.</p>	Impacts to Water Quality
4	<p>In order to mitigate significant adverse impacts to water quality and the environment downstream of the project site, the developer will fund an expert peer review panel for the co-disposal facility. This panel of three people is to be established under the water license in consultation with Fortune Minerals and the Tłı̨chų Government and consist of one appointee from each party and the Wek'èezhii Land and Water Board.</p> <p>The peer review panel will be established prior to the start of mine operations and will be in place for the operational life of the mine. It will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • consist of technically qualified individuals capable of reviewing the design and performance of the co-disposal facility • assess Fortune Minerals' Co-disposal Facility Monitoring and Management Plan; • provide recommendations intended to reduce adverse impacts and improve the operations and effectiveness of the co-disposal facility to the Wek'èezhii Land and Water Board, Fortune Minerals, and the Tłı̨chų Government; and • address questions from any of the three parties in relation to its assessments and recommendations. 	Impacts to the environment at closure
5	<p>In order to reduce significant adverse impacts and the risk and uncertainties of a long-term post-closure timeframe, the developer will actively fill the open pit within an 8-14 year time range after mine operations. The developer will do this in a way that does not, in the view of regulators, result in adverse impacts to the Marian River or the downstream watershed.</p>	Impacts to the environment at closure

6	<p>In order to mitigate significant adverse impacts to water quality and the environment downstream of the project site, the developer will fund an expert peer review panel to review and advise on the design and construction for the proposed constructed wetlands. This panel of three people is to be established under the water license in consultation with Fortune Minerals and the Tłchq Government and consist of one appointee from each party and the Wek'èezhii Land and Water Board.</p> <p>The peer review committee will be established at the start of mine operations and will be in place for the operational life of the mine. It will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • consist of technically qualified individuals capable of reviewing the design and performance of constructed wetlands; • assess Fortune Minerals' constructed wetlands pilot and field scale wetlands trials; • provide recommendations intended to reduce adverse impacts from and improve the operation and effectiveness of the constructed wetlands to the Wek'èezhii Land and Water Board, Fortune Minerals, and the Tłchq Government • address questions from any of the three parties in relation to its assessments and recommendations 	Impacts to the environment at closure
7	<p>In order to mitigate significant adverse impact to water quality to local receiving water bodies during the closure and post-closure phase of the NICO Project, the developer will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • demonstrate, using a pilot study, that the wetland will work as predicted; • construct wetlands early during operations and test them during the first half of mine life to determine effectiveness in treating seepage from the co-disposal facility; • demonstrate the ability of wetlands to work for both the co-disposal facility and the pit overflow to the satisfaction of regulators before the developer is released from its mine closure and reclamation requirements. 	Impacts to the environment at closure
8	<p>To mitigate significant adverse cumulative impacts to barren ground caribou, the Government of the Northwest Territories and Tłchq Government will establish and co- chair at their own expense an expert working group to develop a response framework for managing cumulative impacts. This response framework will inform the Bathurst Caribou Management Plan and the Government of the Northwest Territories Barren ground Caribou Management Strategy and provide direction for Fortune Minerals to manage its project related to cumulative effects on caribou. Participants in this working group should include the Wek'èezhii Renewable Resource Board, Fortune Minerals, Yellowknives Dene and North Slave Metis Alliance. The working group will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • include persons holding traditional knowledge and persons with scientific knowledge • design a response framework to ensure that proposed cumulative effects monitoring is adaptively linked to mitigation for cumulative impacts • a report on the response framework will be completed by the Government of the Northwest Territories and Tłchq Government within 6 months of the federal Minister's approval of this Report of EA • recommend ways to incorporate the response framework into regional caribou management strategies or plans <p>The response framework will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • demonstrate the linkage between project-specific mitigation and monitoring and cumulative impacts monitoring and mitigation. • demonstrate how cumulative effects mitigation and monitoring will be integrated with comprehensive herd management planning. 	Impacts on Caribou
9	<p>To reduce or prevent significant adverse impacts on caribou and caribou habitat from project activities, and, to inform adaptive management through active monitoring that will further prevent significant impacts from the mine and NICO Project access road, the Board requires the timely and collaborative development of a Wildlife and Wildlife Habitat Protection Plan by the developer.</p>	Impacts on Caribou

	<p>At a minimum, this plan is to include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • both traditional and scientific knowledge; • an adaptive management approach designed to assess how well mitigation measures perform and support the adoption of new mitigation, if necessary; • best practices for mitigation and monitoring; • the development of clear protocols and standard operating procedures for Project employees and contractors to ensure the implementation of site-specific mitigation; and • instructions and training to mine staff to reduce the potential for interactions between people and wildlife. 	
10	<p>To reduce or prevent significant adverse impacts on caribou and caribou habitat from project activities and to inform adaptive management of mitigation that will further prevent significant impacts, the Board requires the timely and collaborative development of a Wildlife Effects Monitoring Program by the developer. Before starting construction, Fortune Minerals will collaborate with others including the Tłıchǫ Government, the North Slave Métis Alliance, the YKDFN, the GNWT, and the Wek'èezhii Renewable Resources Board to complete and implement a Wildlife Effects Monitoring Program.</p> <p>At a minimum, this program is to include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • both traditional and scientific knowledge; • an adaptive management approach designed to use monitoring to test impact predictions, assess how well mitigation measures perform, and support the adoption of new approaches, if necessary; • best practices for monitoring and mitigation; • monitoring to test effect predictions and effectiveness of mitigation related to sensory disturbances, energy costs, the estimated zone of influence, and caribou and harvester use of the road through all mine phases; • monitoring that involves people in Tłıchǫ communities; • monitoring that can be readily integrated into regional cumulative effects programs; and • a communications component to ensure Wildlife Effects Monitoring Program results are being reported back to community members and the Tłıchǫ Government on at least an annual basis. 	Impacts on Caribou
11	<p>In order to mitigate significant adverse impacts from the project on caribou, the Tłıchǫ Government and Fortune Minerals will collaborate in ensuring that harvesting of caribou along the NICO Project Access Road does not occur.</p>	Impacts on Caribou
12	<p>In order to mitigate significant adverse impacts of the NICO Project on traditional use and transmission of cultural values, Fortune will support, during the construction and operations phases of the mine, an on-the-land culture camp in the Hislop Lake area, (<i>K'eàgoti</i>). The culture camp will be used by harvesters, families, and the Tłıchǫ Government for ongoing traditional knowledge research, education, and traditional land use activities.</p> <p>The Tłıchǫ Government will share traditional knowledge information gathered at the culture camp with Fortune Minerals and make recommendations to the developer in order to improve mine management and mitigate impacts to cultural values from the mine.</p>	Cultural Values
13	<p>In order to mitigate significant adverse social and economic impacts from the development, Fortune Minerals shall formalize a socio-economic agreement with the Government of the Northwest Territories as a follow-up program. The socio-economic agreement will include monitoring and public reporting of results each year, with the results distributed to the Tłıchǫ Government and all communities in the local study area.</p>	Cultural Values

Appendix 2: Ethics Approval Certificates

Licence No. 15764
File No. 12 410 1040
October 09, 2015

2016

Northwest Territories Scientific Research Licence

Issued by: **Aurora Research Institute – Aurora College**
Inuvik, Northwest Territories

Issued to: Ms. Janelle Kuntz
University of Victoria
1311 Slater Street
Victoria, BC
V8X 2P8 Canada
Phone: (250) 589-6242
Email: janellek@uvic.ca

Affiliation: University of Victoria

Funding:

Team Members:

Title: **Tlicho Women and Traditional Knowledge in the Environmental Assessment of the NICO Project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited**

Objectives: To explore the value of Tlicho women's traditional knowledge in the environmental assessment of the NICO project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited.

Dates of data collection: January 1, 2016 to December 31, 2016.

Location: Behchoko, NWT.

Licence No.15764 expires on December 31, 2016
Issued in the Town of Inuvik on October 09, 2015

*** original signed ***

Pippa Seccombe-Hett
Director, Aurora Research Institute



Certificate of Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Janelle Kuntz UVic STATUS: Master's Student UVic DEPARTMENT: ANTH SUPERVISOR: Dr. Margo Matwychuk	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER</td> <td style="text-align: left;">15-282</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">Minimal Risk Review - Delegated</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE:</td> <td style="text-align: left;">08-Sep-15</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">APPROVED ON:</td> <td style="text-align: left;">08-Sep-15</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE:</td> <td style="text-align: left;">07-Sep-16</td> </tr> </table>	ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER	15-282	Minimal Risk Review - Delegated		ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE:	08-Sep-15	APPROVED ON:	08-Sep-15	APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE:	07-Sep-16
ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER	15-282										
Minimal Risk Review - Delegated											
ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE:	08-Sep-15										
APPROVED ON:	08-Sep-15										
APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE:	07-Sep-16										
PROJECT TITLE: Tłjchq Women's Traditional Knowledge and the Environmental Assessment of the proposed NICO project by Fortune Minerals Limited RESEARCH TEAM MEMBER: None DECLARED PROJECT FUNDING: Canadian Federation for University Women (pending)											
CONDITIONS OF APPROVAL											
<p>This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol.</p> <p>Modifications To make any changes to the approved research procedures in your study, please submit a "Request for Modification" form. You must receive ethics approval before proceeding with your modified protocol.</p> <p>Renewals Your ethics approval must be current for the period during which you are recruiting participants or collecting data. To renew your protocol, please submit a "Request for Renewal" form before the expiry date on your certificate. You will be sent an emailed reminder prompting you to renew your protocol about six weeks before your expiry date.</p> <p>Project Closures When you have completed all data collection activities and will have no further contact with participants, please notify the Human Research Ethics Board by submitting a "Notice of Project Completion" form.</p>											
Certification											
<p>This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Board has examined this research protocol and concluded that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria Research Regulations Involving Human Participants.</p> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 20px;"> <hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/> <p>Dr. Rachael Scarth Acting Associate Vice-President, Research</p> </div>											



Certificate Issued On: 09-Sep-15

Appendix 3: Focus Group and Individual Interview Questions

Key questions for individual interviews with Tłıchǫ Government staff and representatives:

1. What was Tłıchǫ Government's objective in regards to the EA for the proposed NICO project?
2. Were Tłıchǫ women involved in developing or planning your strategy for the hearings?
3. What challenges were you/the Tłıchǫ Government facing when approaching this EA?
4. What was your strategy for ensuring that traditional knowledge was meaningfully incorporated into the EA process?
5. What was the significance of having public hearings for community members to speak?
6. What was the significance of having the additional two days of public hearings added for the TK study?
7. Women and youth were given a 2-hour window to speak during the October 11th public hearings. Why was this important?
8. Were women encouraged to participate in the public hearings during other times?
9. How did this impact the tone of the hearings or outcomes?
10. Were there any barriers that prevented some women from participating?
11. What issues/concerns did women bring forward in the public hearings?
12. Did women contribute to the process in ways that other community members did not?
13. Do you think women's concerns were reflected in the panel's decision?
14. Do you think the panel understood the issues women's were raising?
15. Do you think women's involvement in the TK study had any influence on the outcomes?
16. How could this be improved for future EA's or public hearings?
17. Do you think it is important for women to be participating in these regulatory contexts? Why or why not?
18. What lessons can be learned from having women participate in these processes?

Additional questions for individual interviews with the TK study authors:

1. Were you involved in the research design and methodology for the TK study?
2. How did you select participants for the TK study? Was gender a consideration?
3. How did you determine what questions to ask the participants in the interviews?
4. Was it important to interview women for this project? Why or why not?
5. Did you sense any notable difference between what the men and women were sharing? Or the way they were sharing it?
6. In regards to traditional knowledge, what was important to map for this project?
7. Was the extent of use important to capture for this project, as some methods suggests? Why or why not?
8. Were relationships important to be captured in the maps or were points more effective?
9. How did you decide what knowledge was mappable?
10. What were the consequences of not mapping knowledge? Was this highlighted or represented in another way?
11. How does mapping show Tł̓ch̓q women's connection with *dé*?
12. Were there any limitations to mapping women's traditional knowledge for this project?
13. Were the maps considered to be important elements in the environmental assessment?
14. How could women's participation in mapping be improved?

Key questions for the elder's focus group:

1. Why is it important to talk about the environment?
2. What is important for you to share when talking about the environment?
3. Why are some places sacred?
4. Why is it important to talk about sacred places when talking about the environment? What is their connection?
5. What changes are you seeing in the environment today?

6. What are women's roles when talking about the environment?
7. Do you feel these roles are valued when talking about the environment? Why or why not?
8. Is it important to consider the relationships between women and men when talking about the environment? Why or why not?

Appendix 4: Consent Forms

Consent Form

Individual Interview: Representative for the Tł̓ch̓q Government during the environmental assessment of the NICO Project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited (EA0809-004)

Project Title: Tł̓ch̓q Women and Traditional Knowledge in the Environmental Assessment of the NICO Project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited

Researcher: Janelle Kuntz, Graduate student, Department of Anthropology, University of Victoria

Supervisor: Dr. Margo Matwychuk, Department of Anthropology

Purpose and Objective of the Research:

- The purpose and objective of this project is to explore the value of Indigenous women's participation in environmental assessments. This will be done by through a retroactive analysis of the environmental assessment of the NICO Project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited (EA0809-004).

Importance of Research:

- This project has the potential to contribute to a growing body of research on the value of Indigenous women's participation in Environmental Assessments. The research has potential to illuminate the value of Indigenous women's knowledge, and how their contributions in land use and occupancy (LUO) studies are mobilized in regulatory contexts.

Participation:

- You have been asked to participate because you represented the Tł̓ch̓q Government during the environmental assessment for the NICO Project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited (EA0809-004).
- Participation in this project is completely voluntary and is not a requirement of your job or authorship of the report. You may refuse to answer any question, and may end the interview at any time.
- Whether you choose to participate or not will have no effect on your how you will be treated by me in any other context.

Procedures:

- You are taking part a one-on-one interview on _____. I will ask a few background questions to facilitate discussion. Your responses will be audiotaped and I will take written notes in my notebook. Audio recordings will be transcribed. The researcher may follow up with you at a later date to clarify your responses and allow you to view a transcript of the interview.
- Duration: 1-1.5 hours Location: in person

Compensation:

- You will receive a small gift as a token of appreciation for your participation.
- It is unethical to provide undue compensation or inducements to research participants. If you would normally not participate if compensation were not offered, then you should decline.

Benefits:

- The findings are anticipated to demonstrate the value of Indigenous women's participation in environmental assessments. This project also has potential to improve research methods aimed at collecting traditional knowledge for environmental assessments.

Risks:

- It is possible that you may experience embarrassment, stigma, sadness or anger during an interview. The information I seek is how those events have affected you, or your participation in environmental assessments.
- If emotions become heightened, the researcher will offer to pause the interview. You will have the pause the interview or end at this time. We may reschedule to continue at a later date. The researcher will also provide telephone numbers for local counselling services, and offer to call a friend or family member to come meet you.

Researcher's Relationship with Participants:

- The researcher worked for the Firelight Group Research Cooperative in 2012 and was involved in the preliminary stages of the *Asi Edee T'seda Dile: Tłıchǫ Nation Traditional Knowledge and Use study*. The researcher worked with the Tłıchǫ Government and both authors of the report. No aspect of the interviews will be published or discussed outside of the interview without your permission.
- To help prevent this relationship from influencing your decision to participate, the following steps will be taken: 1) The researcher cannot divulge your participation/non-participation in this project to other person without your permission and 2) The researcher will treat you with the same manner and respect as all other persons.

Withdrawal of Participation:

- You may withdraw from this research project at any time without explanation.
- Should you choose to withdraw, I ask that I be allowed to use any data collected up to the withdrawal date for the research. You have the right to withdraw all data.
- You may rescind consent at any time in the future should you choose to do so.

Continued or On-going Consent:

- Your on-going consent will be documented by date in my notebook if a follow-up interview occurs or is required.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

- It is requested that your name be used and published in the final results. You will be asked to indicate below your consent. If you do not wish to have your name published, ideas can be addressed in a general overview of the topic. Naming individuals in the final results will limit the anonymity and confidentiality of the results.
- Due to the nature of the environmental assessment documents being publicly available, other people may be aware of who is and who is not participating in the research. It will be difficult to conceal anonymity. Additionally, certain aspects of knowledge may be publically known and associated with certain individuals, which may limit anonymity.
- The researcher will know the identity of all participants of the study.
- You will be offered an opportunity to see such information as it will appear in the thesis prior to submission of study results. The researcher will make every effort to achieve a mutually satisfying resolution to any of your concerns. Should no such resolution be attainable, the information/text will be removed from the final report.

- Electronic data will be stored on a password-protected computer and secured hard drive that is kept in a locked cabinet. All notebooks will also be kept and stored in a locked cabinet.
- Once the final thesis is published, your interview data will be transferred to you and considered your property. The researcher will no longer have control over access to the data. It is requested that the researcher be able to retain a backup of this data for up to a period of five years.

Publication of Results:

- A thesis will be written, presented at scholarly and community meetings, used for publishing articles, and will be available through the University database.
- A copy of the final thesis will be forwarded to the Community and to each participant if they wish to receive a copy.

Questions or Concerns

- Contact the researcher using the information noted on page 1
- Contact the Research Ethics Office, University of Victoria, (250) 472-4545
- Contact the Aurora College Research Ethics Committee (867) 777-3298

Consent:

- Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researcher, and that you agree to participate in this research project.

<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
----------------------------	------------------	-------------

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Waiving Anonymity and Confidentiality:

I agree to have my responses attributed to me by name in the results. _____ (Participant to provide initials)

Use of Data:

I agree to the researcher obtaining a backup of this data for a period of five years after the final theses is published:

_____ (Participant to provide initials)

Consent Form: Focus Group

Project Title: Tłıchǫ Women and Traditional Knowledge in the Environmental Assessment of the NICO Project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited

Researcher: Janelle Kuntz, Graduate student, Department of Anthropology, University of Victoria

Supervisor: Dr. Margo Matwychuk, Department of Anthropology

Purpose and Objective of the Research:

- The purpose and objective of this project is to explore the value of Indigenous women's participation in environmental assessments. This will be done by through a retroactive analysis of the environmental assessment of the NICO Project proposed by Fortune Minerals Limited (EA0809-004).

Importance of Research:

- This project has the potential to contribute to a growing body of research on the value of Indigenous women's participation in Environmental Assessments. The research has potential to illuminate the value of Indigenous women's knowledge, and how their contributions in land use and occupancy (LUO) studies are mobilized in regulatory contexts.

Participation:

- You have been asked to participate because you are a Tłıchǫ citizen
- Participation in this project is completely voluntary and is not a requirement of your citizenship. You may refuse to answer any question, and may end the interview at any time.
- Whether you choose to participate or not will have no effect on your how you will be treated by me in any other context.

Procedures:

- You are taking part a one-on-one interview on _____. I will ask a few background questions to facilitate discussion. Your responses will be audiotaped and I will take written notes in my notebook. Audio recordings will be transcribed. The researcher may follow up with you at a later date to clarify your responses and allow you to view a transcript of the interview.
- Duration: 1-1.5 hours Location: in person.

Compensation:

- You will receive an honorarium for your participation.
- It is unethical to provide undue compensation or inducements to research participants. If you would normally not participate if compensation were not offered, then you should decline.

Benefits:

- The findings are anticipated to demonstrate the value of Indigenous women's participation in environmental assessments. This project also has potential to improve research methods aimed at collecting traditional knowledge for environmental assessments.

Risks:

- It is possible that you may experience embarrassment, stigma, sadness or anger during an interview. The information I seek is how those events have affected you, or your participation in environmental assessments.

- If emotions become heightened, the researcher will offer to pause the interview. You will have the pause the interview or end at this time. We may reschedule to continue at a later date. The researcher will also provide telephone numbers for local counselling services, and offer to call a friend or family member to come meet you.

Researcher’s Relationship with Participants:

- The researcher worked for the Firelight Group Research Cooperative in 2012 and was involved in the preliminary stages of the *Asi Edee T’seda Dile: Tłıchq Nation Traditional Knowledge and Use study*. The researcher worked with the Tłıchq Government and both authors of the report. No aspect of this interview will be published or discussed outside of the interview without your permission.
- To help prevent this relationship from influencing your decision to participate, the following steps will be taken: 1) The researcher cannot divulge your participation/non-participation in this project to other person without your permission and 2) The researcher will treat you with the same manner and respect as all other persons.

Withdrawal of Participation:

- You may withdraw from this research project at any time without explanation.
- Should you choose to withdraw, I ask that I be allowed to use any data collected up to the withdrawal date for the research. You have the right to withdraw all data.
- You may rescind consent at any time in the future should you choose to do so.

Continued or On-going Consent:

- Your on-going consent will be documented by date in my notebook if a follow-up interview occurs or is required.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

- It is requested that your name be used and published in the final results. You will be asked below to indicate your consent. If you do not wish to have your name published, ideas can be addressed in a general overview of the topic. Naming individuals in the final results will limit the anonymity and confidentiality of the results.
- Due to the nature of the report being a public document, other people may be aware of who is and who is not participating in the research. It will be difficult to conceal anonymity. Additionally, certain aspects of knowledge may be publically known and associated with certain individuals, which may limit anonymity.
- The researcher will know the identity of all participants of the study.
- You will be offered an opportunity to see such information as it will appear in the thesis prior to submission of study results. The researcher will make every effort to achieve a mutually satisfying resolution to any of your concerns. Should no such resolution be attainable, the information/text will be removed from the final report.
- Electronic data will be stored on a password-protected computer and secured hard drive that is kept in a locked cabinet. All notebooks will also be kept and stored in a locked cabinet.
- Once the final thesis is published, your interview data will be transferred to the Tłıchq Government. The researcher will no longer have control over access to the data. It is requested that the researcher be able to retain a backup of this data for up to a period of five years.

Publication of Results:

- A thesis will be written, presented at scholarly and community meetings, used for publishing articles, and will be available through the University database.

- A copy of the final thesis will be forwarded to the Community and to each participant if they wish to receive a copy.

Questions or Concerns

- Contact the researcher using the information noted on page 1
- Contact the Research Ethics Office, University of Victoria, (250) 472-4545
- Contact the Aurora College Research Ethics Committee (867) 777-3298

Consent:

- Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researcher, and that you agree to participate in this research project.

<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
----------------------------	------------------	-------------

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Waiving Anonymity and Confidentiality:

I agree to have my responses attributed to me by name in the results. _____ (Participant to provide initials)

Where I do not wish to have comments attributed to me, I will indicate so by initialling beside such statements on the transcript of the interview. _____ (Participant to provide initials).

Use of Data:

I agree to the use of my data should I withdraw from the research: _____ (Participant to provide initials)

I agree to the researcher obtaining a backup of this data for a period of five years after the final theses is published:

_____ (Participant to provide initials)

Appendix 5: Research Proposal submitted to the Tłchq Government

July 31st, 2015

Jim Martin, Senior Policies Advisor, Priorities and Planning
Wendy Mantla, Manager of Research and Operations Training
Tłchq Government
Culture and Lands Protection Department
Behchokq, NT, X0E 0Y0

Dear Jim Martin and Wendy Mantla,

I am a graduate student at the University of Victoria in the Anthropology department and am interested in conducting my Master's project with the Tłchq Government. Specifically, I am interested in exploring the value of Aboriginal women's knowledge in environmental assessments. To do so, I am proposing to retroactively analyze the environmental assessment of the NICO project proposed by Fortune Minerals. This includes an analysis of the public hearing records and data collected for the *Asi Edee T'seda Dile: Tłchq Nation Traditional Knowledge and Use study* (TK study). I was involved in the preliminary stages of the TK study with the Firelight Group Research Cooperative and closely followed the outcomes of the study in the public hearings. I would like to look at this data again regarding this particular issue.

That being said, I am open to work on projects that would meet your needs. I am eager to understand if there is an approach I can be directed in to best tailor this research to the community's objectives. Ginger informed me of a meeting set for August 10th at 10AM. I am looking forward to discussing possibilities with you then.

Below is a summary of the proposed research objective, research questions and methodology.

Research objective: The objective of this research is to explore the value of Aboriginal women's traditional knowledge in environmental assessments. This can be done through a retroactive analysis of the environmental assessment of the NICO Project proposed by Fortune Minerals.

Primary research questions: What types of traditional knowledge were Tłchq women sharing in these contexts? How was it that people gained the authority to provide their specific knowledge? How was Tłchq women's knowledge mobilized from the TK study into the regulatory context? How was Tłchq women's connection with *dè* expressed in the environmental assessment?

Proposed Methodology: This research proposes to:

- 1) Analyze the transcripts of the public hearing records;
- 2) Analyze the transcripts of the TK study interviews; and
- 3) Conduct interviews with the two primary authors of TK study: Rachel Olson of the Firelight Group and Georgina Chocolate of the Tłchq Government.

It is understood that the data collected for the TK study is property of the Tłchq Government. I am seeking your permission and guidance to access this data, which would be used for analysis and final reporting in an MA thesis. I understand that Ginger Gibson MacDonald, whom I have been in contact with, will guide me in understanding the process for requesting to work with the Tłchq Government.

Sincerely,

Janelle Kuntz