Meaningful Consultation, Meaningful Participants and Meaning Making: Inuvialuit Perspectives on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and the Climate Crisis

by

Letitia Pokiak

BA Anthropology, from the University of Alberta, 2003

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We acknowledge with respect the Lekwungen peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

Supervisory Committee

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Dr. Brian Thom, Department of Anthropology

Supervisor

Dr. Robert Hancock, Department of Anthropology

Departmental Member

Abstract

This Inuvialuit 'story' revolves around the Inuvialuit uprising and resurgence against government and industrial encroachment, and the self determination efforts to regain sovereignty of traditional territories. This 'story' also discusses how meaningful consultation made the Inuvialuit Final Agreement a reality, through which Inuvialuit land rights and freedoms were formally acknowledged and entrenched in the Canadian Constitution. Through meaningful consultation, Inuvialuit have become 'meaningful participants' in sustainable and future-making decisions of Inuvialuit *nunangat* (Inuvialuit lands) and waters, with respect to the Inuvialuit People and natural beings that Inuvialuit depend upon and maintain relationship with. As 'meaningful participants', Inuvialuit have the sovereign rights to "make meaning" and carve out a future as a sovereign nation within the country of Canada. This Inuvialuit 'story' is told with an informal framework through which it decolonizes academia, while also highlighting Indigenous voice through an Indigenous lens and worldview. The government and industry are called upon to meaningfully consult with Indigenous Peoples who have not only inhabited Turtle Island for millennia, but who have inherent Indigenous rights and freedoms, as Indigenous embodiment and well-being, and temporality and future-making are entangled with homelands.

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I have to begin by saying *quyanainni* (thank you) to the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE) members, without whose dedication and sacrifice, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) would not be possible. The list is too long to go through here - 217 COPE members to be exact - so I have included an Appendix that list each of the members by community. Their efforts and resurgence ensure that Inuvialuit ways of knowing and being can continue despite pressures and influences.

I need to acknowledge the people who came forward and participated in the forming of my story as re-search and thesis. Their voices, stories and oral history guided me throughout my writing. As I wrote and shaped this story, I followed in their footsteps, through their words, wisdom and leadership.

My research and thesis would not be possible without the financial and in-kind support from a number of organizations; University of Victoria, Designated Amount Fund (IRC), Indigenous Skills and Employment Training Program (IRC), Inuit Post Secondary Education Strategy (IRC), Indspire, and the Stanton Group Ltd. I also have to express thanks to the staff at the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, the Tuktoyaktuk Community Corporation, the Inuvik Community Corporation and the Hunters and Trappers Committees for providing support, space and contacts for me to conduct my interviews.

Without the language and dialect support of Beverly Amos, my use of the Inuvialuktun terms would not be accurate. Our language, Inuvialuktun, is fading away, so I raise my hands up to Beverly, who tirelessly creates space, awareness and knowledge to keep our language going.

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Dedication

My re-search and 'story' is dedicated to my uncle Boogie (Randal Pokiak, *Pukiq*) who passed away a month before my thesis defence. Without his powerful words and oral history, his dedication as a COPE negotiator, and his political and cultural legacy, my thesis as story may not have been what it is. The wisdom of our Elders is precious. It is our responsibility to honour and respect it.

I dedicate my re-search and thesis to Emily (*Bushimiq*), Aleyna (*Tariuq*) and Dylan (*Angagaq*), who give me purpose and have moulded me as a mother.

This re-search and story is also dedicated to all Indigenous People, who continue to overcome adversity, rebuild their nations and thrive in ways that are meaningful to them.

Preface

As an Inuvialuit person, my re-search and writing derives from and draws upon my background as an Indigenous person. In this 'story' my self location and reflexivity may be evident throughout. My thesis is told in a story in a 'storywork framework' that aims to tell an Inuvialuit 'story' that centres around 'meaning'; 'meaningful consultation,' 'meaningful participants,' and "meaning making" (Absolon 2011, Archibald 2008). By 'meaningful,' I aim to evoke feelings of connectedness and purpose, with regard to Indigenous ways of knowing and being, while drawing upon the work of Kathleen E. Absolon (Minogiizhigokwe) and Jo-Ann Archibald (Q'um Q'um Xiiem). Having 'meaning' is central to my writing, as it is perceived and applied through an Inuvialuit lens and Indigenous worldview.

"Re-search", as termed by Absolon (Minogiizhigokwe), stems from one's location as an Indigenous person, using Indigenous ways of knowing and being, using processes of how we come to know, relative to Indigenous people's realities and experience (2011, 21). I use this term to refer to my own search, stemming from my own location as an Inuvialuit person. As Indigenous People, we are "re-searching" our connectedness and Indigenous theory, as we have done and continue to do since time immemorial. My re-search provides a platform for Indigenous voice to come to the forefront, something that is seldom done in the discourse of industrial and governmental development on Indigenous traditional homelands and territories.

This Inuvialuit 'story' is meant to flow, modelled after Indigenous oral history, of how 'story' through oral narratives engages and is a reflection of one's position in relation to our interconnectedness and worldview. Archibald (Q'um Q'um Xiiem) uses the "principles of respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy… [to] get to the 'core of making meaning with and through stories" (2008, 140), as theorized in Stó:lō and Coast Salish storywork (140). Though my Inuvialuit 'story' may use these principles as guidelines, my emphasis was more on "an intimate knowing that brings together heart, mind, body, and spirit" (140), and how they can be used to educate others of Inuvialuit epistemology. The story framework itself is how I envisioned this story can be told. It is not meant to simplify 'storywork' by respected Indigenous scholars cited in my thesis, such as Jo-ann Archibald (Q'um

Q'um Xiiem) and Robina Thomas (Qwul'sih'yah'maht). Rather, I aimed to tell this Inuvialuit story in a way that both decolonizes and Indigenizes academic research. My aim was to portray this thesis as circular and interconnected, with purpose and teachings, engaging and thought provoking. Inuvialuit 'storywork' would require re-search in and of itself, to focus on its own methodology, pedagogy and epistemology that was not necessarily the focus here. This thesis as story is a blend of my education, education from my traditional upbringing and from my formal studies in the mainstream school system, including post-secondary. I realize now that it was a bold undertaking. I did not intend to disrespect Indigenous cultures' methods of 'storywork'; instead my intent was to Indigenize academia through story as a form of Indigenous knowledge mobilization and teachings.

Just as oral traditions can be stories within stories, interconnected with other oral traditions, this story may seem abrupt at times, transitioning quickly to other elements of the story, leading the reader to engage with contributing elements that form part of the story. Notions of embodiment and well-being (Baines 2018), entanglement (Dussart and Poirier 2017), temporality and future-making (Weiss 2018), food sovereignty (Qikiqtani Inuit Association 2019), and sovereignty (Randal Boogie Pokiak 19-08-13) are discussed relative to Inuvialuit practices that persist and evolve in the midst of climate change and industrial encroachments through the exercise of Inuvialuit self-determination.

Embodiment, according to Baines, is a reflection of our health and wellness based on human experiences that occur temporally and spatially; the land and changing landscapes are vital to understanding being well, including traditional practices that occur in spaces significant to communities' (2018, 8, 9). Essentially, our wellness depends on the health of the land and the ability to continue practices that contribute to being well. As identified by Dussart and Poirier, "Indigenous knowledge and practice in land management are shaped by encounters with modernity, by neoliberalism, by reified oppositions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, and by proximity of other practices and engagements with customary lands" (2017, 4) that can be termed as "entangled territorialities and entangled places" (4). I use this definition of entanglement throughout my story. In my use of temporality and future-making, I reference Weiss. Inuvialuit people have a distinct relationship with time, where our lives are

driven by the seasons and movements of the animals, that are also driven by past cultural practices and present circumstances in order to carve a future for families, and for the community. As Inuvialuit People, we have and continue to retake control of our temporalities, our pasts, presents and futures by asserting authority to determine possible futures (2018, 14), "fundamentally inverting the order of colonial temporality" (14). Food sovereignty is fundamentally related to sovereignty. To Inuit it "means empowering Inuit to feed our communities" (Qikiqtani Inuit Association 2019, 4) with "nutritious locally-sourced food" (7). This means that "food sovereignty allows for a culturally and community-minded approach to food management. Food sovereignty incorporates Inuit knowledge, language, culture continuity and community self-sufficiency" (7). Access to animals is fundamental to food sovereignty and sovereignty in general, as they are inextricably linked. I engage with the concept of sovereignty as used by Randal Boogie Pokiak, who was a negotiator for the Committee for Original People's Entitlement. Randal describes it as being in control of our own homelands and its natural inhabitants; Inuvialuit sovereignty depends on the health of the land, the natural wildlife and environment. In more recent times, Randal also applies it to mean Inuvialuit sovereignty within the sovereign nation of Canada, through which Inuvialuit have the formal protection of Canada as well as Canada's commitment to engage and include Inuvialuit in matters that pertain to the Inuvialuit (19-08-13), primarily with regards to land and wildlife management.

The term sovereignty itself evokes territorial, political and governance constructs, which I do not engage with formally in my review of literature or scholarly notions of sovereignty and its various applications. Scholars such as Elizabeth Povinelli (2018), Audra Simpson (2011), and Anna Willow (2011) discuss sovereignty in the context of land seizure, government discourse, and as something practiced, respectively, each in the interest of colonial expansion. Their contributions are substantial and evocative. Sovereignty undoubtedly has heterogeneous connotations, but for the purpose of my story, I use it how it has been defined by Inuvialuit, who are the protagonists in this story.

My contributions and arguments provide context for the Western Arctic Region's political history, and the constructs that impact Indigenous communities, by exploring broader

frameworks of territorial and federal governmental processes. It also portrays the discourses of industrial development and entrenched marginalization of Indigenous groups that pervade resource development and land claims negotiations (Berger 1977; Duerden 1993; Haysom 1992; Westman 2013). I also discuss the anthropogenic climate crisis (Cons 2018; IRC 2018; Perumal 2018; Watt-Cloutier 2015) that is the result of excessive human exploitation of non-renewable resources, driven by capitalist forces rooted in European and neoliberal ideologies (Kingfisher and Maskovsky 2008).

While highlighting Inuvialuit voice and narrative, I draw upon Indigenous scholarship (Archibald 2008; Archibald, Lee-Morgan and De Santolo 2019; Hart 2010; Kovach 2009; Little Bear 2000; Simpson and Smith 2014; Starblanket 2017; Thomas 2005; Wilson 2008), Indigenous senses of place (Basso 1996; COPE 1976; Hart 2011; Perumal 2018; Rodman 1992), land claims and consultations (Duerden 1993; Haysom 1992; IFA 1984; IFA 2005; Imai 2008; Sanders 1996; Westman 2013; White 2002), and Indigenous political rights and freedoms (Asch 1989). Each of the reports, papers or archived testimonies convey not only the sense of place, diversity of knowledge and collective struggles that Indigenous peoples face and embody, but also the sustainability efforts and concerns, the challenges of the climate crisis, and the pressures of development and social impacts, where each body of work portrays the various aspects and challenges that colonialism imposes. They provide background and insight into the Inuvialuit narratives that encompass this story. My Inuvialuit 'story' as re-search "shed[s] light on the transdisciplinary nature of Indigenous research and the potential of relational collaboration by unpacking the importance of meaning-making and truth modalities as analytical elements of a decolonizing framework" (De Santolo 2019, 250).

For my use of Inuvialuktun terms, I have italicized them to highlight its use, including in the quotes that I have cited. With reference to Inuvialuktun language, I cite Beverly Amos as personal communication with the date of our interaction. Beverly has provided the proper spelling and translation of my Inuvialuktun terms.

It should also be noted that a few Indigenous scholars that I have cited have included their Indigenous name. I acknowledge these names, and have cited them how they have

referred to themselves in their acknowledgement or recognition as authors or editors, in both my writing and bibliography. After introducing them, I cite them by last name.

Lastly, here is a list of the Inuvialuit participants that I interviewed. The participants are identified by the name they have chosen. If they chose to remain anonymous, I have referred to them as Harvester or Elder from the community they are from. When citing them, I use their last name or pseudonym followed by the date of my interview. I introduce them then use their pseudonym, first and/or last name, or Inuvialuktun name to distinguish between them, as a few participants have the same last name.

Name or pseudonym	Community	Date(s) interviewed
Andy Avik	*Tuktuuyaqtuuq*	19-08-13
Annie C. Gordon	*Akłavik*	19-08-18
Danny C. Gordon	*Akłavik*	19-08-18
Elder from *Inuvik*	*Inuvik*	19-08-15
Elder from *Tuktuuyaqtuuq*	*Tuktuuyaqtuuq*	19-08-13
Hank *Angasuk*	*Inuvik*	19-08-19
Harvester from *Akłavik*	*Akłavik*	19-08-18
Harvester from *Paulatuuq*	*Paulatuuq*	19-12-13
James Pokiak	*Tuktuuyaqtuuq*	19-08-14
Jim Elias	*Tuktuuyaqtuuq*	19-08-14
Jimmy Kalinek	*Inuvik*	19-08-16
Lawrence Amos	*Ikaariaq*	19-12-13
Mary Avik	*Tuktuuyaqtuuq*	19-08-13
Nellie Cournoyea	*Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Inuvik*	19-08-14
Panigavluk	*Inuvik*	19-08-16
Randal Boogie Pokiak	*Tuktuuyaqtuuq*	19-08-13, 19-08-15
Robert	*Uluhaktok*	20-01-15
Vernon Amos	*Ikaariaq*	19-12-13

Table 1. Inuvialuit participants.

Influence and Context

Ingilraani – time immemorial

The following Inuvialuit oral history is told by my *ataatak*[1] *Angagaq*, Bertram Pokiak, as it was told to him by his *ataatak*, *Pukiq.*[2] Out of respect, the words and grammar are true to what *Angagaq* wrote in 1976 for the *Inuktitut Magazine* that was published by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in 1989; Inuvialuktun words, however, have been italicized and may actually be spelled differently today based on dialect.

> In the Tuktoyaktuk area people lived in sod houses in the winter, skin tents in the summer. Smoke houses with upright poles covered with skins were used to smoke meat and fish which was stored in sealskin containers (pokes) in whale oil or seal oil for winter use. Even though there is lots of driftwood on the mainland shore of the Beaufort Sea, the people used oil lamps for heating and cooking in the winter season. They had flint stones to start their fires.
>
> Where driftwood was available, sod houses were made. The sides were covered with mud and more logs were piled on top of the mud. The roof was then covered with sod. Each house had one window and it was made with the intestines of whales or bearded seals. They also used these intestines to make parka covers to use as raincoats. In places like Tuktoyaktuk, when ten or more families were living together, they also had one big sod house as a workshop and also as a gathering place when they had their holidays.
>
> Holidays started as soon as the sun disappeared over the horizon and lasted until the sun got back; that would be from mid-November til mid-January. No one worked during

[1] *Ataatak* is the *Inuvialuktun* word for grandfather in the *Siglitun* dialect, though we say *taatak* for short. To clarify, the language of *Inuvialuktun* derives from the Western Arctic, Canada, while the language of Inuktitut derives from Eastern Arctic, Canada. Essentially all Inuit languages are called Inuktun, as they are the same language with different dialects (personal communication with Beverly Amos 20-07-16).

[2] *Pukiq* was my great-great grandfather's traditional name. His name was Anglicized, and became Pokiak. Hence, our last name became Pokiak when missionaries, trading posts and government established themselves in the Western Arctic Region.

that time. Even the women were not allowed to touch a needle to mend any clothing. The men used the big house as a place to make their hunting implements and also for the med[i]cine men and women to cure a sick person, "praying to the devil" as my grandfather put it after he became a Christian.

Late in June people living along the coast moved to the mouth of the river in their skin boats. The women handled the boats with their children. The men took their *qajaks* and got ready for the whale hunt. When the whales arrived to breed at the mouth of the river the men went out in their *qajaks* and drove the whales into shallow water until they grounded and they would kill as many as they could tow ashore. They used spears to kill the whales. The hunters had a wooden tube to blow into the whales between the blubber and the meat to make them float. It made them easier to tow. The meat was dried and some of it was stored in sealskin containers with rendered whale oil, the same way that smoked fish was stored. All of the food they put up was winter food. The head and tail parts of the whale were stored in pits dug down into the permafrost and covered with logs and mud. When it was cold enough to freeze the people took all of the meat out of the pits and put it on stages built above the ground.

The fish nets they had were made with braided caribou sinews. They could not leave the nets too long in the water because they soaked up water too quickly, so they were never left in overnight. Some people who lived inland used fish traps made from willows. Some people lived year round near freshwater lakes and all the way along the shores of the Eskimo[3] Lakes. They also lived in sod houses. Further east of Tuktoyaktuk, along the coast where the water is deeper, people used skin boats to hunt bowhead and beluga whales. They used spears with barbs, long lines, and skin buoys (*avataks*). In about the centre of the line they used a disc about the size of a dinner plate to slow down the speared whale until it was too tired, then it was killed and towed ashore.

Nuvoguk (Atkinson Point) about 60 miles east of Tuktoyaktuk was the central place to hunt bowhead whales. The deep water there is right close to the shore. The skins of the

[3] Eskimo is not an Inuit term. Most Inuit prefer to be called Inuit which means 'the people'; the term Eskimo is loosely used by various Inuvialuit, and Inuit in general, that have adopted and coopted its use.

beluga whales were used for boot soles, skin for the boats, and also for dog harnesses and traces. All the lines they made out of the skins were in different sizes. They also used bearded seal skins for making lines, usually for finer lines. Caribou skins were also used for finer lines and as *qajak* skins coated with seal oil.

There is a difference between whale oil and seal oil. Whale oil does not dry up so people used it to soften skins. Seal oil dries and hardens so they used it for waterproofing *qajaks*, on the seams of the boats and also for boots and shoes.

After the whaling season people would have summer games including *qajak* races. A good hunter in those days would have two *qajaks*, one for chasing whales. This one was long and narrow and they used it for racing. The other was built bigger and they used it for hunting caribou because it could hold meat and caribou skins.

Caribou hunting was done from late August til late September. The thin haired skins were used for inner clothing, the longer haired skins for top clothing. They hunted caribou with bows and arrows when there was no suitable water to drive them into. When they could drive them into the water they used spears – the same ones they used for whaling. The skins and meat were dried, the marrow from the leg bone was stored in a sack made from the outer skin of the caribou heart. All the bones, including the leg joints, were pounded down into tallow. Nothing was wasted. The sinews from the caribou were used for almost anything. People never killed more than they needed and young hunters were taught never to kill more than they needed. Each tribe[4] in those days had a leader or chief, and what he said went. The caribou were so many in those days that when the hunting season was open hunters were told by the older hunters never to chase the main herd, only to get the ones that strayed away from the main herd. The reason was that when the main herd was chased they would move to another

[4] Tribe is a word that *Angagaq* used. Though it is used to explain a group of people in the oral history he shared, this term has since fallen out of favour in anthropology. As argued by Michael Kew, notions of 'acculturation,' 'savagery,' 'barbarism,' 'civilization,' 'band,' 'tribe,' 'chiefdom' and 'acculturation' are outdated as "an evolutionary model of societies ranged on a scale of degrees of complexity, as if the model could be a test of truth… These models are out of favour now, being rejected as oversimplified and mis-representative of differences between societies" (1993-94, 97).

place maybe fifty miles away and that was a long way if you had to walk that far on the tundra.

In mid-September the people moved back to their wintering quarters. They put up fish for their winter use. In the rivers they would get whitefish and con[ey]s. They used fish traps in the creeks. On the coast they got herrings – there is no char on the coast of the Beaufort Sea. All the fish they got in both places were pitted and hung on racks. Some of the herrings were smoked. We still do that nowadays for eating. Before the other fish were put into the pits, they were gutted and the slime wiped off on the grass. As soon as it was cold enough to freeze, all the fish were taken out of the pits to freeze.

Geese and ducks were taken in the spring. They got the geese with bows and arrows, and slings were made with bunches of small lines tied together at the base and weighted with stones. A goose was brought down when it got tangled in the lines. People living near the nesting places for geese had fresh eggs to eat and what eggs were left over from one feed were stored in sand to keep them cool until they were needed. When the geese were moulting the people only got enough for one good feed. A good chief in those days saw to it that everything they got was not wasted; that meant no overkilling of animals or birds. Further east, where fish-eating ducks were available, they stored them in sealskin containers so that no flies could get at them to lay their eggs. These containers were left in cool places.

The people also got ptarmigan in the spring and fall. Where there were patches of willow they used snares and where no willows were available they used fish nets. The way they used the fish net was to tie the bottoms down and use the narrow poles to hold the nets up. Long lines were tied to the tops of the poles and then the flocks of ptarmigan were driven toward the net. When the ptarmigan reached the net the hunters pulled on the long lines and pulled the net over the flock.

After freeze-up each settlement had jigging places in the bays for herrings and tom cod, and also for the big coneys. Also in the fall, women got all their winter clothing ready for use and the men built new sleds and repaired the old ones. In the Tuktoyaktuk area

> sleds were only about seven feet long. They had whale-bone runners from the jawbones of bowhead whales which were fastened with bone pegs to the wood runners. In winter they used moss instead of mud on the their runners.
>
> In mid-November, when the sun disappeared over the horizon, people got together and the big holiday started. Games of all kinds were played and there was feasting and story telling. No one worked during those holidays. When the sun reappeared over the horizon then all the houses were cleaned out to start a new year. Each moon (month) had a name: fawning season, geese season, whale season, and so on. As soon as the people had returned to their own places, the ones that could travel got ready to go to the Eskimo lakes. Until about mid-May they lived on lake trout jigged through the ice. Each family had one or two dogs only, so each family that went out borrowed dogs from their neighbours. The lakes are only about fifteen miles from the coast. After each family reached the lakes the men went back to get more families who wanted to go out. The sleds were short so they would tie two or three together, one behind the other. The older people were left behind at the settlements with food left over from the holidays. It did not take long for the people at the lakes to get fish so they would send the young hunters back with a load of fish for the older folks that stayed behind and also for their own use when they got back later in the spring. The older people in the evenings would make shavings out of wood, which they used for wiping their hands and also to start fires.
>
> When a person died all their equipment was put into their grave with them – boats, *qajaks*, everything the person owned. Right n[o]w there is nothing left from the old graves. Either the wood rotted away or they were cleaned out by souvenir collectors (Pokiak 1989, 36-44, emphasis added).

This oral history, as told by my ancestors, captures a time when Inuvialuit people lived in relative peace and self-sufficiency, an illustration of how the original peoples of the *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* area lived: mobile, autonomous, sustainable, respectful and in harmony. These memories and stories are similar to other Indigenous Peoples throughout Turtle Island. Just as

the Haida First Nation are an autonomous polity in pre- and post-contact, as argued by socio-cultural and political anthropologist Joseph Weiss (2018, 126), Inuvialuit too were the sole political entities in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR), autonomous with exclusive rights to certain territories and resources. These memories and stories illustrate an era of Inuvialuit life prior to significant change and transformation of the ISR, and the Western Arctic Region in general.

Angagaq was born on March 25, 1910, and was raised by his grandparents in the Mackenzie Delta, Northwest Territories. His *ataatak Pukiq* was one of the founders of the town of *Akłavik*, where Hudson's Bay Co. and Northern Traders Ltd. trading posts (Usher 1971, 89) were stationed. As a young boy, he attended the St. Peter's residential school in Hay River NWT, up until Grade 3. Despite these short, yet formative, years of his life, he was raised traditionally; his livelihood was for the most part, of the land and waters of the Western Arctic Region. From 1930-1934, he was a Special Constable for the RCMP, who had also established themselves in the Region. In this role, he was a guide and an interpreter, and he delivered mail to various posts; he travelled extensively throughout the area, most of which is now called the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR). During those days, the mode of travel was through dog team. From *Akłarvik* (Aklavik), he travelled to *Tapqaq* (Shingle Point), *Qikiqtaryuk* (Herschel Island), *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* (Tuktoyaktuk or Tuk for short), *Utqaluk* (Baillie Island), *Ikaariaq* (Sachs Harbour), *Qikuliurvik* (Stanton), *Paulatuuq* (Paulatuk), and Pearce Point. He would then travel back to *Akłavik*, as shown in the map provided (Figure 1). He buried his first wife at *Tapqaq*, with whom he had a daughter.

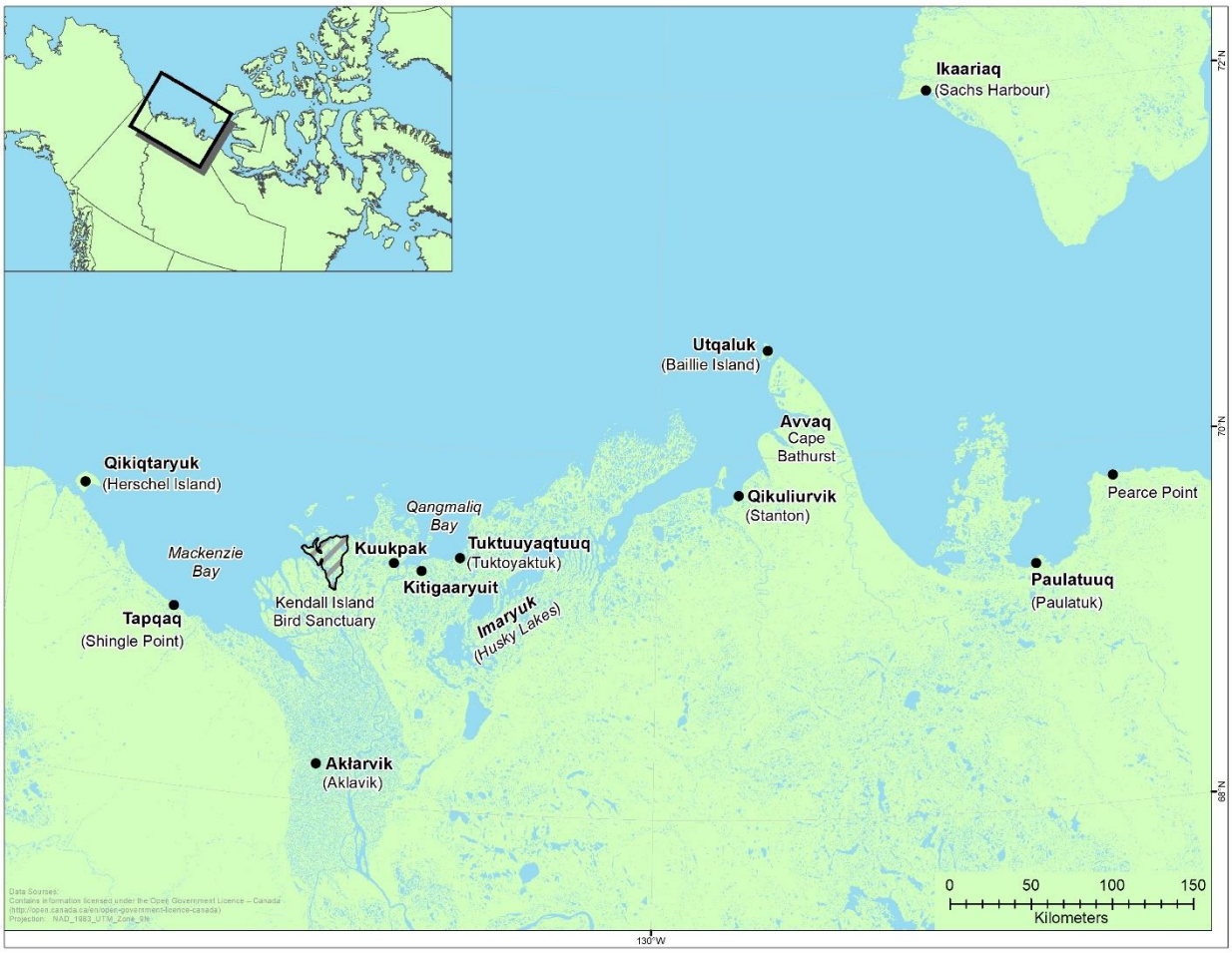

Figure 1. *Angagaq's* travels by dog team from 1930-34 as Special Constable for the RCMP. Also noted are the protected areas for wildlife that *Angagaq* referenced in a 1976 COPE document.
Map produced by Mike O'Rourke.

During his time at *Utqaluk*, where he eventually relocated to hunt and trap in this area, he met my *anaanak*[5] *Igaliq*, Lena Kikoak. *Angagaq* then resigned as Special Constable for the RCMP on September 5, 1934, and married *Igaliq*. Throughout their lives together, they continued to travel, hunt, trap and live off the land and waters they called home. Together they bore many children, spending time at *Utqaluk*, and *Ikaariaq* and eventually settling in *Tuktuuyaqtuuq*. Such was life back then, travelling and subsisting, from season to season. In

[5] *Anaanak* translates to grandmother, though we say *naanak* for short.

his later years, he noted that a harvester needs 400 miles in every direction to provide for a family. Inuvialuit semi-nomadic life was important, not only to follow the migrations of the wildlife, but to also give the animals a chance to sustain their populations. *Angagaq* was an experienced harvester and trapper, and he was known for his humble influence and *Inuvialuit Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq,*[6] or Traditional Knowledge.

Angagaq assisted with the regional land use and occupancy project[7] during his Elderly years in the 1970s, translating for and interviewing Inuvialuit regarding their traditional subsistence areas and homelands. Eventually he became a fieldworker[8] for the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE). In those days, the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), formerly Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), were required by the Comprehensive Claims policy of the federal government to conduct land use and occupancy studies for the whole Canadian Arctic, in efforts to prove title to land. Elder and former COPE negotiator Robert remembers *Angagaq*:

> I was involved in the Inuvialuit Final Agreement itself in the COPE days as one of the negotiators. And, COPE was introduced to me by Bertram Pokiak, who was the first fieldworker of the Committee for Original People Entitlement, which is COPE… Bertram Pokiak, *Angagaq* was the first fieldworker that I remember with COPE, and probably that was around 1970s, later '70s. And what he did, you know he gave out information about land claim… So that are the kind of things that we talk about and a lot of things that I didn't understand because I didn't know what was land claim. And so, these are the kind of things that he gave us information to be able to understand. And also on the

[6] *Inuvialuit Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* means Inuvialuit Traditional Knowledge. Moving forward, I will use *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* to refer to Traditional Knowledge.
[7] In 1973, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) proposed to the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs to undertake a comprehensive land use and occupancy study of Northern Canada (Freeman 2011, 21). This study lasted 3 years and consists of three volumes.
[8] A fieldworker was essentially a coordinator and translator for disseminating, relaying information to and recording information from the people regarding Committee of Original People's Entitlement activities and sovereignty efforts. This required travelling to each of the communities and consulting with every household.

> other side [of] that you know, Bertram Pokiak was the, probably one of the people that most travelled in Inuvialuit Settlement Region, he travelled to Banks Island and he do a lot of trapping. And, you know in those days… their living was trapping and hunting, and with his wife Lena and their children. And I remember him also too, that he knew about Traditional Knowledge, a lot of it about Inupiaq[9] and all that. So when he was in Tuk when I visit there, I remember him, seeing him, probably the only person that I saw in my lifetime that he was building a basket sled, which originated in Alaska. And so those are the kinds of things that I remember (20-01-15).

Angagaq was an avid reader and he was able to write; these skills learned at Residential School were a benefit to him. These skills were a benefit to the community as well, to translate for the Elders, and record community member's subsistence areas. Maps biographies were created, based on places people harvested, trapped and lived (Freeman 2011), giving harvesters voice and acknowledging their agency and way of life. *Angagaq* recognized the significance of, and was an advocate for recording Inuvialuit land use and occupancy, as he recognized the political struggle that the Inuvialuit would have to undertake to assert sovereignty and authority over Inuvialuit *nunangat.*[10]

Significance of the *nuna*[11]

Inuvialuit territoriality, personhood and livelihood stem from connection to the land and waters. Family practices are enacted at age old camping grounds, and livelihoods are made from the bounty of the land. In a similar vein, based on his research and work with the Western Apache, anthropologist Keith Basso notes that "places actively sensed amount to substantially more than points in physical space. As natural 'reflectors' that return awareness to the source

[9] Inupiaq refers to a group of Inuit people in Alaska.
[10] Inuvialuit *nunangat* translates to 'land of the Inuvialuit' (IRC 2009, 29).
[11] *Nuna* translates to land.

from which it springs, places also provide points from which to look out on life, to grasp one's position in the order of things, to contemplate events from somewhere in particular" (1996, 54). The Arctic can be a relentless force of nature that is respected and revered; Inuvialuit understand one's position in the web of life. The Western Arctic is also a unique area for its vast landscape with diverse ecosystems. For the Inuvialuit harvesters and Elders who participated in my re-search,[12] the Arctic has been referred to as a 'farm' that provides sustenance based on the availability of wildlife and other natural food sources; it has also been referred to as a 'church' where one grounds and reinvigorates themselves. Further still, it has been mentioned by harvesters and Elders that the land is where one gets their 'education.' *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* has been an invaluable resource that ensured the survival of Inuvialuit. As stated by Elder and COPE negotiator, who only wanted to be referenced as 'Elder,' "If you talk to our Elders today, they say 'Our land is our diploma.' Yeah, our knowledge, all the knowledge that we got is from the land" (Elder from *Inuvik* 19-08-15). Hank *Angasuk*, another Elder and respected harvester noted, "I enjoy it. I mean, it keep me busy. People always ask me, 'How come I always go out on the land?' I say, 'Well, that's my church out there.' I learn to renew myself out there. Bring the old, and come back with the new" (19-08-19). Robert also stated,

> if it wasn't for the land... animals, fish, the ocean mammals, the snow, the ice, we would never be around here. There would never be no Inuvialuit... You know, probably that's the reason why that you know, those people that long time ago, they came. And so

[12] Kathleen E. Absolon (Minogiizhigokwe) hyphenates re-search, to search from one's own location, with one's own ways as an Indigenous person, using processes of how we come to know, relative to Indigenous people's realities of history, politics, laws, economics, geography, culture, spirit, environment and experience (2011, 21). This defines how I use this term throughout this thesis when it applies to my search.

> that's the reason why that's very important for us in order to preserve what we have... the whole Arctic is our farm (20-01-15).

These statements demonstrate the significance of the land and waters and the value that people bestow upon it. These values go beyond food sovereignty; they provide sustenance for holistic Inuvialuit well-being. For a millennium,[13] Inuvialuit were born on the land, survived and thrived on the land, and returned to the source. Basso articulately emphasized, "places and their meanings are continually woven into the fabric of social life, anchoring it to features of the landscape and blanketing it with layers of significance that few can fail to appreciate" (1996, 55). Anthropologist Margaret Rodman (now Critchlow) stated that "[p]laces are not inert containers. They are politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions" (1992, 641). Places are socially constructed with multiple meanings, through physical, emotional, and phenomenological experiences of the people who occupy those spaces (641). Anthropologists Françoise Dussart and Sylvie Poirier also recognize the significance of place, arguing that "[t]he land – as living and interacting places, interactive spaces of living memory, dwelling places of the ancestors and deceased relatives, home to non-human entities – remains the important social, religious, and legal dimension for the (re)making of personhood" (2017, 19). I would add that ancestral and modern Inuvialuit economics also depend upon the resources that the land provides, none more so than the country food, the legal dimension for the making of personhood, as discussed in the following chapters.

[13] Archaeologists believe that modern day Inuvialuit moved into the Western Arctic area from Alaska around 1200 AD (Stephenson and Arnold 2011, 20). This is based upon artifacts that were dated, hence the actual date of moving into the area and first occupation is undoubtedly earlier than the date provided.

I demonstrate how Inuvialuit holistic wellness and its various aspects and entanglements need to be considered, which includes but is not limited to, nutrition, personhood, cultural practices, identity and relationships. I argue that land and waters are the basis of holistic wellness, as most of these social developments happen through experiences on the land and waters. Notions of embodiment and phenomenology, as utilized by socio-cultural anthropologist Kristina Baines, can be described as the focus of daily sensory experiences and practices on the body; phenomenological philosophies have shown that all human experience is "embodied" in space and time (2018, 8, 9). The land is vital in this, as Baines goes on to say: "[u]nderstanding space in terms of the landscape or the changing environment is fundamental, I argue, to understanding 'being well'… Time and space in which practice occurs are critical to the experience of the embodiment of wellness. These temporal and spatial dimensions are reflected in many communities' understanding of wellness" (8-9).

This is a helpful statement to think about our peoples' experience of the centrality of land to well-being. Baines argues that embodied wellness stems from 'experiences' at certain times and certain spaces, notably seasonally and/or during developmental stages, occurring at spaces or places where one practices culture thereby developing personhood; any 'changes' in the environment or land alter and affect the embodiment of wellness. Hence, Basso's, Rodman's, and Dussart and Poirier's sentiments of place, and Baines' notion of embodied wellness, speak to the heart of what Indigeneity is predicated upon: the entanglements of identity tied to the places, personhood to culture, wellness to country food and relationship to land. I will continue to hold as a theoretical position Baines' notion of embodiment, as it relates to aspects of Inuvialuit wellness and entanglements. The lands and waters, embodied through

experiences in certain places and at certain times, are inseparable from well-being; researcher and creative producer Jason De Santolo affirms this by saying, "our fates are intertwined with those of the water and our homelands" (2019, 242).

Food sovereignty and Inuvialuit *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq*[14]

Country food, *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq*, and ingenuity have allowed Inuit to survive and thrive in the unrelenting Arctic environment for a millennium. The Western Arctic is home to nutrient-rich land and an abundance of wildlife that migrates seasonally through the area, the bounty of which was expressed by *Angagaq*. *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* of these migration patterns, hunting grounds, harvesting practices and land marks are essential for survival. Inuvialuit continue to rely on traditional country foods, not only for their nutritional value, but also for the value that it brings as a source of spiritual sustenance. An Elder from *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* stated "we still depend on the native food, and we still spend a lot of time out there" (19-08-13). In the north, the cost of groceries is high, so traditional foods continue to be an important food source, in addition to their spiritual and cultural benefits. In *Food Sovereignty and Harvesting*, the Qikiqtani Inuit Association, a non-profit society established in Nunavut, states that "[c]ountry food is central to Inuit culture" (2019, 8). Country food reinvigorates the harvesting

[14] Inuit from Nunavut say *Qaujimajatuqangit*, an Inuktitut term that essentially translates to Traditional Knowledge. It is "what Inuit have known all along. In the most simple terms we could say it is wisdom gained from extensive experience, passed from generation to generation. Inuit *Qaujimajatuqangit* means knowing the land, names, locations and their history. It also means knowledge of the Arctic environment – of snow, ice, water, weather and the environment that we share. It encompasses being in harmony with people, land and living things – and respecting them. It implies life skills, alertness and the ability to train others for a strong healthy life. Knowledge of language, culture, traditional beliefs and worldview are essential. Inuit *Qaujimajatuqangit* is, for Inuit, the truth through which we live a good life in our world. It provides purpose and meaning for us and is a way of being in the world that our ancestors set down for us to ensure our survival and well-being" (Karetak, Tester and Tagalik 2017, 41). This articulates succinctly what Traditional Knowledge means to Inuvialuit as well. When referencing reports or articles based on Eastern Arctic traditional knowledge in Nunavut, *Qaujimajatuqangit* will be used.

economy; it empowers harvesters who locally source and process culturally nutritious food; it transmits Inuit *Qaujimajatuqangit* by promoting knowledge, skills and language transfer while safeguarding cultural traditions and values related to harvesting, food preparation and sharing; and it reinvigorates leadership in wildlife management (2018, 8). Traditional foods are a fundamental praxis for how Inuvialuit identify themselves, it is the very embodiment that the land and waters provide sustenance and well-being, and it shapes Inuvialuit personhood and culture. As noted by James Pokiak, a successful harvester and outfitter from *Tuktuuyaqtuuq*:

> I took advantage of an opportunity that was there, and I would say 60%, probably 80% now that Maureen is not working, 80% of our food comes from the land, from the water, and I've used what our land claim has put there for us. So I've made a future out of it. It might not be a degree of any kind, but I've made a future of living off the land, hunting, trapping fishing. I've made a future out of a very successful business in my guiding business and tourism operation (19-08-14).

The practices of hunting and harvesting, among many other traditions, are the makings of personhood and how Inuvialuit ontologically[15] relate to and identify with fellow Inuvialuit. Inuvialuit connections and ties to the land and waters go beyond where one lives; a relationship of respect and reciprocity are practiced through interacting with various agentive beings and experiencing life at the source. Poignantly, the land and waters have agency as well, as relationship and belonging are foundational to Inuvialuit way of life.

[15] Anthropologist Eduardo Kohn defines ontology to mean the reality that one encompasses; being and becoming through humanly constructed worlds, with the view of reality from historically contingent assumptions (2015, 312). For the purposes of this thesis, this definition of ontology will be used. Inuvialuit ontology develops through the reality of being in community and on traditional homelands, forming personhood through socially constructed worldviews based on familial and community values that have carried us through ancient times, through to current struggles and entanglements.

The importance of the land was expressed by many Inuvialuit, regardless of whether the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline development occurs or not. The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline was a major stimulus for the Inuvialuit uprising of COPE to establish formal claims to land. An Elder from *Inuvik*, who was also a COPE negotiator, noted that "Our land is not a playground. It's sacred, it's where our animals feed. That's where animals feed and we get our livelihood from the land" (19-08-15). Based on this statement, activities that happen on the land are to be respectful; it is not just the Inuvialuit who depend upon the land and waters, wildlife are also dependant upon them. Wildlife pass through and inhabit the region, it is their home as well. Further, the land is sacred in and of itself, for the spiritual sustenance that it provides and for burial grounds of ancestors that are scattered throughout the region. Another Elder and former COPE fieldworker, *Panigavluk*, stated that the land is

> [v]ery important for anybody. Like it's a healing. It's a healing and plus, going out on the land is a healing journey for the children. For the children to be out on the land is very important. Even if you brought them out for 10 days, and you showed them even one thing that's out on the land. You know, like to pick up a few little leaves and say, "These leaves, if we eat them, it's just like vegetables" (19-08-16).

Further to that, the land and waters have agency in that they do more than sustain us. The land and waters are held in relation to Inuit well-being, hence it must be treated with respect, "the same respect given to human beings. As life is treasured, so must the land be treasured. Just as family units knew and protected each other well, the land they occupied was as familiar as members of a family unit. The names of each lake, body of water, river, rapids and the sea were held in relationship" (Karetak, Tester and Tagalik 2017, 56). To the Elders, the

land means more than the natural environment. It includes the cultural values and history that are written on it, and which collectively create a rich Inuvialuit cultural landscape… The big pingo *Ibyuk*[16] serves as a landmark, which like an old friend helps to guide people safely home. Passing *Kitigaaryuit*[17] can instill a sense of pride in one's culture and history when recalling stories of the great whale hunts and gatherings that took place there. Then there is the sense of well-being and freedom along with the anticipation of delicious, healthy trout that one gets when travelling along the trail to *Imaryuk*[18] (Hart 2011, 167-168).

Figure 2. Pingos at *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* NWT, 2019.
Photographer: Letitia Pokiak.

Having access to the land and the water and their resources ensures the transfer of *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq*, culture and connection. Inuvialuit autonomy is predicated on our knowledge,

[16] *Ibyuk* is one of the largest pingos located near *Tuktuuyaqtuuq*. Pingos are land forms with an ice core that form naturally in areas of permafrost.
[17] There are various ways to spell *Kitigaryuit*, an ancient whaling village. Spelling of these place names and various terms depends on the source and the time of the writing.
[18] *Imaryuk* means "big water" and is also referred to as Husky Lakes or Eskimo Lakes. These are the water bodies that *Angagaq* was referring to in his oral history.

connection and access to homelands, culture, identity, community, independence and social order, where interactions on the land generate each of these social embodiments.

Umialiit,[19] Inuvialuit governance

Inuvialuit autonomy and sovereignty are founded on our inherent authority, rooted in our social order and exercised through our access to resources in our traditional territories. As mentioned by *Angagaq*, in each village there was a leader, a Chief or an *umialik*, who was the authority in maintaining order in the village, as well as traditional hunting practices. Inuvialuit leadership was based on skill, generosity, and connections; leadership tended to be hereditary (Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003, 21), but generally this position was held by those who led by example, for the good of the people. Although *umialiit* oversaw wealth and power, their influence or power did not extend into matters of theft or murder, as these were dealt with by those families involved (22).

Occasionally, since trading posts entered the scene, leaders from different regions would come into contact more frequently. As remembered by Elder Frank Cockney during the Berger Inquiry in the 1970s, whose statement was interpreted:

> At one time Eskimos used to get together in Aklavik after ratting and just before it was whaling season time… that was the first time he saw the Indians[20] there. And the Indians and the Inuit used to mix together… the Eskimo Chief was *Mangilaluk* and there

[19]*Umialiit* is plural for *umialik,* which means "rich person" according to the Siglitun Inuvialuit Eskimo Dictionary (2001, 165). "The literal meaning of *umialik* is '*umiaq* owner,' a reference to the large skin boat – the *umiaq* – needed to transport a wealthy household" (Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003, 21, emphasis added) and was typically used by women. According to Randal Boogie Pokiak, "*Umialik*, that means they had a boat… they were leaders of a camp. That's the first sodhouse you go to when you approach a camp long ago. Cause it's a sign of respect, you go to the leader… you're welcomed and you're treated with respect" (19-08-13). Essentially, this person was the respected leader of a village who oversaw the well-being of his people and maintained order and cohesion. Different sources spell it differently. Where it is spelled incorrectly, I have edited to '*umialik*.'

[20] I have kept the words in the quote true to what was spoken. However I would not use this term myself, as I would imagine it is not how our southern Indigenous Peoples identify themselves.

> was other people there that got together with the Indians, *[N]ul[i]gak* and *Kaglik*, that was the Eskimo leaders. He said the other Indian people he found out only later were Paul Koe and Jim Greenland and Chief Julius… they were making plans about their land… the older people always used to get together… They always planned how they would look after their land (Berger 1977, 98, emphasis added).

This anecdote speaks to a time when Inuvialuit and Gwich'in found relative peace. In the recent past there were intermittent times of conflict: "Oral histories often emphasize the darker side of this relationship, and tell of feuding and deaths on both sides. Gwich'in who guided Alexander Mackenzie through Inuvialuit territory in 1789 appear to have feared encounters with Inuvialuit, and avoided areas they frequented" (Stephenson and Arnold 2011, 58). Prior to formal constructs of boundaries, Inuvialuit and Gwich'in territories overlapped and contact became more frequent during the fur trade era: "In the 1850s, after Gwich'in had been weakened by foreign diseases, Inuvialuit began direct trade at Fort McPherson… as late as 1868 when Inuvialuit assembled for a drum dance during a visit to Fort McPherson Father Émile Petitot reported that one of the Gwich'in fearfully told him, 'This will turn out badly. They are going to dance for their dead'" (58). Over time, Gwich'in and Inuvialuit people began to work together, for the betterment of their people and the land.[21] The leadership amongst the group of Inuvialuit and Gwich'in men, as was described by Frank Cockney, exemplifies respect, communication and consultation.

As described in the local history *Taimani, At That Time*, "A leader who still lives in memory was *Mangilaluk*, who was born sometime in the last half of the 1800s and died in

[21] As shared through oral history, it is said that *Pukiq* qayaqed from *Akłavik* to Fort McPherson to make peace with the Gwich'in. He stated, "If we keep fighting each other, we will end up killing each other's people." The Gwich'in agreed. *Pukiq* is considered to be the peacemaker between the Gwich'in and the Inuvialuit.

1945. *Mangilaluk* started a permanent community at Tuktoyaktuk, and is generally regarded to have been the last traditional Inuvialuit *umiali[k]*" (Stephenson and Arnold 2011, 47). Elder Charlie Gruben remembers, "When we were young we had a Chief *Mangilaluk*. He tell us not to kill this and that. We don't do that because we want to listen to our Chief, so good, we don't overkill. It was better than game wardens we got today, I think. That's the way the people used to handle their game that time. We don't kill game just for the sport, we just kill what we need" (cited in Berger 1977, 98). Chief *Mangilaluk* was respected by the people, and in a sense, he was a visionary, as he understood the value of the natural resources that Inuvialuit depended upon. Reindeer herder and COPE negotiator Mark Noksana recalls when *Mangilaluk* made the bold decision to refuse a treaty with the federal government in return for monetary compensation:

> [*Mangilaluk*] heard of some reindeer in Alaska. There was no caribou at all here in Tuktoyaktuk. You have to go far down to Baillie Island to get your caribou. No caribou at all at that time... So the [C]hief asked the government if he could get the reindeer from Alaska for the Eskimos. See, they don't want no money. He says money is no good to him. That's what he told me. He said he'd rather get reindeer so that he can have meat all the time for the new generation coming... That's what happened... I'm glad about it because the reindeer this year has been a real help to the Delta people (99).

This refusal to enter into a treaty by *Mangilaluk* was a fundamental exercise of Inuvialuit authority and sovereignty over lands and resources. Despite periods of scarcity, historic treaty was not a viable option, it was neither economically feasible nor meaningful for Inuvialuit to enter into these early 20th century treaty processes. Money had no substantial value and was of no consequence to Inuvialuit life. Currency, so to speak, was in the form of tangible goods, namely furs, country food, dry goods and trade goods, while respect and reciprocity ensured

fair arrangements. "Trading provide[d] materials that are not available locally, and is also an important social activity that creates alliances between individuals and groups of people" (Stephenson and Arnold 2011, 56). Inuvialuit livelihood at that time was based on food security and natural resources harvested and traded between neighbouring families and groups. Matters such as the imposition of a treaty proposal were literally in the hands of the leaders, whose responsibility it is to look after the well-being of fellow Inuvialuit. Their authority, visions, concerns, words and actions were respected, as their knowledge, skill, service and sense of community are what made them leaders.

Mangilaluk's concern and vision for the future generations are poignant and meaningful as he ensured Inuvialuit survival, rights, freedoms and sovereignty during a time when changes in the Western Arctic were happening at a rapid pace, when life altering decisions were to be made. Food security, land sustainability and stewardship for future generations were important, and continue to be important aspects to maintain Inuvialuit livelihood and wellness. It is natural, moral, and, sensible that Inuvialuit people should defend Inuvialuit lands, for the sake of their rights, as exercised in the past and into the present, so these rights can be maintained into the future of "successive generations" (Weiss 2018, 160). *Mangilaluk's* decision was founded on the Inuvialuit values and needs of his generation and the generations to come. By establishing his authority and refusing to enter treaty with the federal government, his leadership, decision and legacy was trail breaking for the Inuvialuit, to continue to exercise authority and sovereignty over Inuvialuit territory. *Mangilaluk*'s example is a model of what Inuvialuit leadership was based upon; he asserted his role as caretaker for those who were dependent upon him. His decisions and actions in the various polities were

relational in nature: relational to his people, relational to the land and relational to the natural beings that Inuvialuit depend upon. As caretakers of the people, land and waters, this leadership and decision was "future-making"[22] (Weiss 2018, 57), a critical tool for *Mangilaluk* and Inuvialuit, in negotiating this entangled political landscape and in constituting authority and legitimacy, with both neighbouring villages and the foreign institution of government. Inuvialuit entanglements, then, of wellness, nutrition and land, have become entangled with foreign political powers that entered the landscape.

Foreign pressures, population decline and Inuvialuit *suannqak*[23]

After a brief but intense history of contact that began with explorers such as Sir John Franklin in 1826 (Stephenson and Arnold 2011, 52), missionaries such as Oblate Missionary Émile Petitot in the late 1800s, and anthropologist Vilhjalmur Stefansson in the early 1900s (59), perhaps none of these interactions had more impact than the fur trade that was introduced in the mid-1800s, and the whaling era that lasted from 1889 to 1909 (63). Though the Inuvialuit were conservative traders and knew how to barter, the price for various furs, white fox in particular, transformed the trade economy in the mid-1800s. White foxes were in

[22] Joseph Weiss argues that "Haida people are actively engaged in the process of imagining, negotiating, and constituting… possible futures, for themselves and for the larger social world(s) of settler Canada" (2018, 14). They consist of "the proliferating of possible futures – some aspirational, others critical, some hoped for, others dreaded… as a resource for the present, a field of potentialities to be selectively materialized or rejected by different Haida actors according to their own particular social and individual goals, ideals, anxieties and so on" (14). Haida, as with many Indigenous groups, are "actively retaking control of their own temporalities… they are asserting the capacity to determine possible futures for settler as well as Haida subjects, fundamentally inverting the order of colonial temporality" (14) by asserting "control over their pasts and their presents through the work of producing their futures" (14). Weiss' notion of future-making will be used for the purposes of arguing for Inuvialuit future-making efforts, politically through the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) and socially through familial and community engagement.

[23] *Suannqak* means "political power."

demand by the trade posts, and introduced trade goods were more in demand by the people. Inuvialuit way of life was irreversibly altered through this new economic practice.

Whaling on the other hand changed family and social life. One example of the immense impact felt during this time is noted in the following excerpt from *Taimani, At That Time*:

> During the winter of 1894-95 fifteen ships with about five hundred whalers winter at Herschel Island, and the following year that number grows to over one thousand whalers. In additions to men from the United States, crews for the whaling ships include Alaskan Inupiat, native Hawaiians, and others from as far away as Cape Verde near Africa. Many Inuvialuit travel to Herschel Island to trade with the whalers. Some find work on the whaling ships, and others are hired as hunters to provide meat to the crews of the whaling ships. The whalers bring alcohol and diseases. Some cohabitate with Inuvialuit women and abandon them and their offspring when they return south (Stephenson and Arnold 2011, 60).

As a result of this influx of people, both the caribou and bowhead whale populations were decimated due to overhunting. Further, with the arrival of the *tan'ngit*,[24] the Inuvialuit population was reduced to 259 in 1905,[25] due to the diseases brought by fur traders and whalers (81), and "[b]y 1910 the number was further reduced to 150" (Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003, 89). The Inuvialuit population was devastated by influenza, smallpox, and measles, as approximately 95 percent of the Inuvialuit population died (Bandringa 2010, 11). The *Kitigaaryungmiut*[26] at the village of *Kitigaaryuit* were all but decimated. In *Across Arctic America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, Knud Rasmussen notes, "At *Kitikarjuit*,

[24] *Tan'ngit* means 'white/European descent' (Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003, 55; Amos 2020).
[25] Population sizes vary based on the source. According to botanist Robert W. Bandringa, "The Inuvialuit were one of the largest groups of Inuit in the Arctic with estimates that in the year 1850 they numbered 2500" (2010, 10) with regards to the Mackenzie Delta groups (10), a subregion in the ISR.
[26] *Kitigaaryungmiut* translates to people of *Kitigaaryuit*.

formerly inhabited by some 800 Eskimos, and famous for white whale, we found no Eskimos at all, but only the manager of the Hudson's Bay Company's station, and an inspector" (Rasmussen 1999, 297, emphasis added). What was once a thriving village was now abandoned as survivors dispersed and formed settlements elsewhere. These were the types of issues that leaders like *Mangilaluk* inherited, in addition to the imposition and infringement by missionaries and government, and the impacts that they would bring as well.

This history of contact is reminiscent of the experiences of Indigenous groups and newcomers across Turtle Island, with regards to the introduction of trade goods, disease and death, extraction of resources, land seizure, social transformation and government effort to supersede Indigenous forms of governance. Indigenous peoples have occupied Turtle Island for millennia prior to contact, compared to the short history of cohabitation with foreigners and power inequities with the State and industry. Inuvialuit life was and is determined through multifaceted temporal forms, regulated by the seasons and the weather, geared towards the land and non-human beings, and responsive to the demands of social and familial life; Inuvialuit have come to function within the temporal constraints and pressures of colonialization, without being overdetermined by these foreign impositions (Weiss 2018, 58-59).

Inuvialuit future-making then, was and is based on the seasons, the movements of the animals, access to resources and ensuring that these resources will be available for generations to come. Sustainability was and is important. It is also important to prevent unnecessary disaster that would render the environment contaminated and no longer habitable. During the Berger Inquiry, *Angagaq* recalls the fur trade era and the bounty of diverse animals that people harvested and depended on in the coming years:

> In Aklavik a lot of fur them days, just like you white people working for wages and you have money in the bank, well my bank was here, all around with the fur. Whatever kind of food I wanted, if I wanted caribou I'd go up in the mountains; if I wanted coloured fox, I went up in the mountain; in the Delta I get mink, muskrat; but I never make a big trapper. I just get enough for my own use the coming year. Next year the animals are going to be there anyway, that's my bank. The same way all over where I travelled. Some people said to me, "Why you don't put the money in the bank and save it for future?" I should have told him that time, "The North is my bank" (Berger 1977, 94).

Security and sovereignty then, is entangled with the lands and waters, and what they have to offer. Just as the lands and waters have provided for millennia, so too shall it provide in the present and into the future, so long as they are fruitful. Present future-making is constructed on phenomenological experiences and perspectives; the Elders are concerned for the animals and the land, and present harvesters are familiar with how colonial and economic systems operate, and have learned to navigate these systems. For the former, they aimed to ensure Inuvialuit sovereignty and saw the value of a formal education. For the latter, there is much emphasis on leading a bicultural life, where Inuvialuit are capable of walking in two worlds, to be Inuvialuit, with the *suanngak* needed to hold the federal government accountable. Certain considerations of past Inuvialuit life are never far from this approach to future-making (Weiss 2018, 129), so long as Inuvialuit can live freely, to make our own choices, as distinct people in control of our own survival, culture and its endurance.

Angagaq was born during a time of intense transition, in a sense caught between the old world and the new one, when Inuvialuit life would forever change. His memories and stories of the distant past speak to how life was lived, with meaning and purpose, family and community oriented, capable and vast in territory, respectful and independent, and at times in

conflict. *Angagaq*'s story is one of many who thrived in the Arctic, survived the epidemics, and determined to regain *suanngak* and authority on homelands. His generation saw much change, and adapted with these changes, while holding onto traditions, culture and values of their forebears. It was for their children, their grandchildren and Inuvialuit perseverance in general that drove their dedication and tenacity in future-making efforts. This story revolves around the Inuvialuit uprising and resurgence against government and oil and gas encroachment and the self determinant efforts to regain sovereignty of traditional territories.

This story also discusses how meaningful consultation made the Inuvialuit Final Agreement a reality, through which Inuvialuit land rights and freedoms were formally acknowledged by the Canadian Constitution. Through meaningful consultation, Inuvialuit have become meaningful participants in sustainable and future-making decisions of Inuvialuit *nunangat* and waters, with respect to the Inuvialuit people and natural beings that Inuvialuit depend upon. As meaningful participants, Inuvialuit have the sovereign rights to "make meaning" (Absolon 2011) and carve out a future as a sovereign nation within the nation State of Canada. This Inuvialuit story is told in an informal framework through which it decolonizes academia, while also highlighting Indigenous voice through an Indigenous lens. The government and industry are called upon to meaningfully consult with Indigenous peoples who have not only inhabited Turtle Island for millennia, but who have inherent Indigenous rights and freedoms, as Indigenous entanglement, temporality and well-being are intertwined with homelands. Just as *Mangilaluk* lead his people and broke trail during challenging times, so too are all present and future leaders expected to continue this resolve of ensuring the well-being of the people, for future generations to come. With the lands, waters and resources, or 'the

North' as my *ataatak Angagaq* called it, Inuvialuit persistence is ensured by the reserves of what they provide, and the relationship maintained with various beings, both human and non-human. 'The North,' as Inuvialuit security, is a homeland and a way of life.

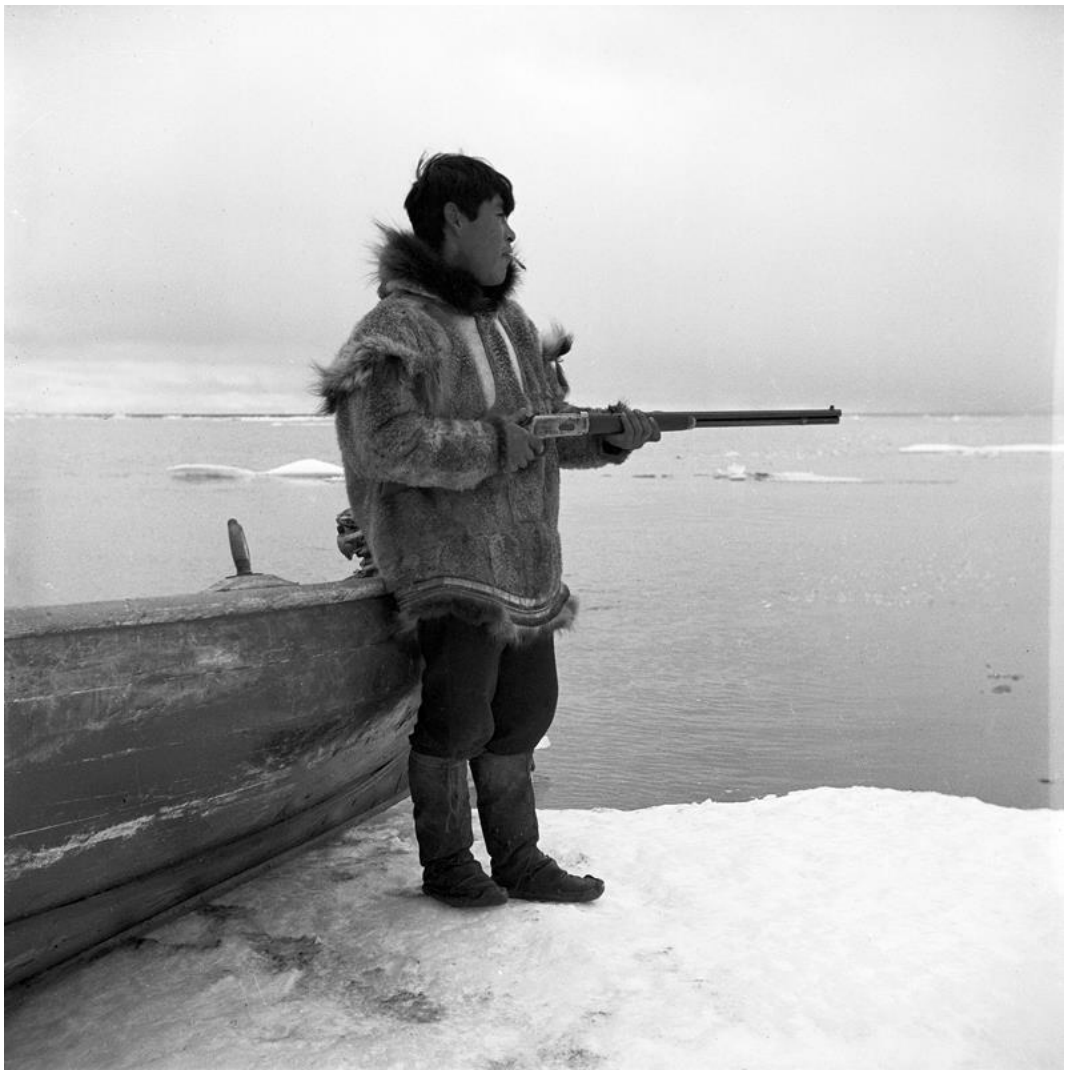

Figure 3. *Angagaq*, Bertram Pokiak, 1936, (HBCA 1987/271/NAC65).
Photographer: Richard N. Hourde.

The Search: Oral Traditions

My search, or re-search, begins and ends with 'story.' We all have a story; groups of people have a collective story, Indigenous peoples have a common story, Canada has its own (hi)story, all of which are often told from a colonial lens. This story that I aim to tell is one that begins with my *ataatak Angagaq* – his memories, his livelihood, his vision and his determination to ensure Inuvialuit sovereignty over traditional homelands. This story is an Inuvialuit one, of many in our short history of contact in the early 1800s (Alunik, Kolausuk and Morrison 2003, 58). It is a common story of contact, population decline, resilience, resurgence and future-making that other Indigenous People also experienced and continue to endure. This story will be told from an Inuvialuit perspective, with an Inuvialuit voice, and with as much truth that has shaped Inuvialuit life. This re-search will end with 'story' and with 'teachings,' as the purpose of story is to pass on knowledge. This story will be shown to be temporal, future oriented and cyclical, as the teachings return to the beginning and are the reason the story is told in the first place.

Kathleen E. Absolon (Minogiizhigokwe), who is an Anishinaabe social worker and Director of the Centre of Indigegogy at Wilfrid Laurier University, affirms that "traditionally, research has been conducted to seek, counsel and consult; to learn about medicines, plants and animals; to scout and scan the land; to educate and pass on knowledge; and to inquire into cosmology. The seeking of knowledge has been usually solution-focused and often has had an underlying purpose of survival" (2011, 24). In this notion, Indigenous people are re-searchers, specialists in their own right, and hold positions of counsel, medicine people, biologists,

geographers, teachers and spiritualists. Seeking answers and knowledge was, and continues to be, the key to survival. My re-search is an extension of this search for both knowledge and survival of Indigenous ways, particularly political will, power and agency.

Indigenous scholarship has come to the forefront as a means of navigating modern academic discourses, in a way that decolonizes and reconciles what have been predominantly European modes of thought. My contribution to this Indigenous scholarship is through the application and model of Indigenous relationality[27] and axiology,[28] blended with formal Western practices, such as the reliance on the ethnographic method of interviews and reflexive participant observation. Relationality and axiology are small gestures, laden with purpose and meaning. In the words of Cree/Saulteaux political scientist Gina Starblanket, a

> relational approach also has the potential to demonstrate that change is not limited to large-scale actions that occur within the realm of social justice organizing. Instead, it positions resurgence as a dynamic and ongoing process that is constantly changing and compromises a multiplicity of everyday relations. While resurgence certainly requires change to macro structures of power, it can be engaged in small but meaningful ways in various realms of life (2017, 30).

According to Starblanket, relationality is a form of resurgence, where small acts in various realms of life can be the stimulus of social change and social justice in everyday relations, as

[27] Relationality can defined as having a spiritual and reciprocal connections with both human and non-human beings, based on one's ontological position that acknowledges the agency and interconnectedness between all beings (Hart 2010, 7).

[28] As quoted by Educator Michelle Pidgeon, "Axiology is described as the ethics or morals that guide our search for knowledge" (2018, 15). Shawn Wilson, of Opaskwayak Cree descent and Director of Research at Gnibi College of Indigenous Australian Peoples at Southern Cross University, takes this further and states, axiology "judge[s] which information is worthy of searching for" (2008, 34). Though my re-search is a search of values and the nature of valuation, I weave the Inuvialuit story with the morals, values and teachings as they are shared with me. My judgement of what is worthy is not necessarily a factor, as Inuvialuit values naturally formed through the narrative.

well as in macro structures of power. Additionally, educator Dorothy Christian of Secwepemc and Syilx Nations descent argues that

> it is necessary to tease out the complexity of the relational qualities of Indigenous concepts when using the interrelatedness principle as a tool for methodological analysis and synthesis. What helps greatly is the opportunity to engage in storied experiences and write within an Indigenous research paradigm, which provides a theoretical framework where Indigenous methodologies are automatically applied (2019, 53-54).

My approach to my re-search is through small acts of relationality built through 'meaningful'[29] dialogue with participants, supplemented by literature review of 'meaningful consultation,' with the intention that relationality as an Indigenous method, as exemplified in my writing, has the potential to alter the course of governmental and industrial approaches of exploring for and the extraction of resources on traditional Indigenous territories. With 'meaningful' communication, engagement, consultation and holistic understanding that are the basis of relationality, those with *suanngak* are proven to alter their approaches, as well as their decisions that would affect the well-being of Indigenous groups.

I aim to apply an Indigenous method through the application of a storytelling framework with an Inuvialuit worldview and pedagogical approach. Additionally, my re-search paradigm is also a decolonizing approach that both reveals and unravels impacts of colonization; further,

[29] In Absolon's own re-search, she states that "[m]aking meaning implies the process of interpreting and finding meaning… It is also known in its western form as data analysis" (2011, 33). My use of the term 'meaningful' draws upon the process of interpreting and finding meaning in the various applications that I use, notably in 'meaningful dialogue,' 'meaningful engagement' and 'meaningful consultation.' To be 'meaningful,' is to have 'meaning' to the Indigenous groups who the dialogue, engagement and consultation refers and applies to, whereby 'meaningful' action stems from. Without it, the dialogue, engagement and consultation are meaningless, and efforts to include Indigenous groups are hollow, further entrenching lip service that pervades government and industrial discourse. Making meaning also applies to the Inuvialuit voice that encompass these pages, as I aim to draw meaning from the knowledge and perspectives that harvesters, Elders and COPE member and negotiators shared with me.

oral traditions, as told by our ancestors who live on in Inuvialuit narratives, provide a lens through which we view and witness the teachings that are applicable to various contexts; these oral traditions are imbued with knowledge that continues to exist, passed down by knowledge holders of Indigenous societies that philosophize and theorize of our world (Seed-Pahima 2019, 112). Decolonizing research creates space to incorporate but more importantly to highlight Indigenous voices and agency, where previously we were glossed over, and not taken seriously, and harm was brought to communities being researched. Offering an Inuvialuit lens on oral traditions and memories as told by Inuvialuit Elders and knowledge holders, offers insight into Indigenous worldviews and how we philosophize our life in relation to other beings, each of which are important and invaluable to repairing and reaffirming the relationship that we as humans have with Mother Earth and with each other. The theory behind my method stems from relationality, axiology (Pidgeon 2018; Wilson 2008) and praxis. As stated by anthropologists Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith, who are of Mohawk and Cherokee descent respectively, "[i]f we understand theory more simply as an overall rationale for why we engage in the practices we engage in, then obviously all practice is informed by a theoretical rationale" (2014, 8). The rationale behind my approach is to demonstrate the embodiment of my re-search, that relational and reciprocal practices with the land, and with community and our interconnectedness with kin and place are vital acts of sovereignty and future-making in the face of adversity.

I have chosen to use the Chapter headings of 'Influence and Context,' 'The Search: Oral traditions,' 'Significance of the Story,' 'Meaning Making: The Inuvialuit Final Agreement,' 'Meaning Making: Visions and Concerns,' and 'Morals, Teachings and Values,' in place of the

common Western chapter headings (Introduction, Rationale, Methods, Analysis and Conclusion/Discussion), to portray the cyclical nature of storytelling. Rather than create a linear narrative with a means to an end as the sole focus, my re-search paradigm is cyclical, just as storytelling can be. As illustrated below, my reflexivity is evident throughout my re-search and storytelling.

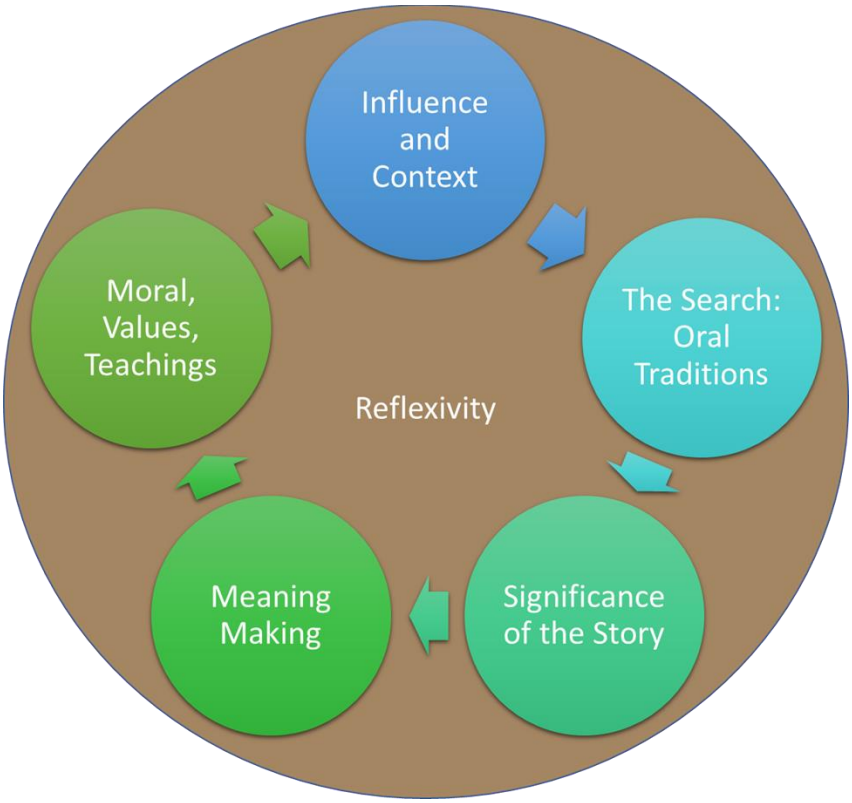

Figure 4. Storywork framework.

Educator Nerida Blair of the Kulin Nation in Australia articulates this further when she affirms, "[i]t is iterative rather than linear. The storys[30] are told in a circular or spiral theme,

[30] Blair uses storys, to distinguish between the "Indigenous Knowing" (2019, 212) and "Western Knowledge" (213); "[s]torys are the vehicles that transmit Indigenous Knowings" (212) whereas "Western Knowledge is focused around finding a right story in response to a question" (213).

with each thematic repetition or spiral adding a title" (2019, 213). Each chapter or title in this story is interconnected, and aimed to flow as fluidly as story does. My intent is to connect the 'Morals, Teachings and Values' to the 'Influence and Context,' to share how the 'teachings' offer meaning to, and are drawn forth from the 'influence,' all of which leads back to the origins of the story. Further, traditional oral narratives or storytelling ensure Indigenous endurance as a culture and as a people (Lee-Morgan 2019, 161), while also decolonizing and Indigenizing academic spaces.

Indigenous methodologies in research frameworks encompass a distinct epistemology (Kovach 2009, 56; Lavallee 2009, 36-37), "and they will (or ought to) be evident in such frameworks, revealing shared qualities that can be identified as belonging to an Indigenous paradigm" (Kovach 2009, 56). Each researcher brings with them worldviews, experiences and practices. As a re-searcher, having both an Indigenous and an insider perspective allows the re-search with Indigenous communities to occur organically, as the re-search originates from an Indigenous worldview, while drawing upon Indigenous ways of being and knowing, each of which contribute to Indigenous epistemology and re-search. Absolon affirms that "Indigenous methodologies are just as much about who is doing the searching as the how of the search" (2011, 50). With a sense of ontological familiarity, there is an established relationship of trust between myself and Inuvialuit participants; participants were comforted by the fact that one of their own was doing the re-search. Further, each of the six Inuvialuit communities are small, and family names are important, to determine kinship and to identify which community one is from. Hence, there was familiarity, and opportunities for meaningful conversations and communication. My relationality with my community and community members benefit my re-

search, as my relationship with participants is established through our mutual background and identity. Providing an Inuvialuit lens to the process has much to contribute to the way this re-search is conducted on Inuvialuit matters, ensuring that I conduct 'meaningful' re-search, with 'meaningful' questions, and 'meaningful' findings, since relationality, reflexivity and axiology afford such autonomy. To be autonomous in my re-search and with Inuvialuit knowledge holders who took the time to share with me their experiences, is to follow Inuvialuit ways of being and knowing, which are fundamental to my approaches of relationality, reflexivity and axiology.

Storytelling and oral traditions are so fundamental to how knowledge and teachings have long been passed down in Indigenous cultures. Traditional stories are meant to be shared, provided that it is done in a respectful way. Not only was story used as pedagogy, but it was also used as an epistemology in how Indigenous Peoples viewed their position and interconnectedness in the metaphysical world. Stories can be anecdotes or legends imbued with theory. Stories are valued as oral traditions that impart experience, knowledge and worldview. To tie story with framework, Plains Cree and Saulteaux educator Margaret Kovach and her colleagues affirm that "research is story. From an Indigenous approach, research begins with our own story, our own vulnerability. In the words of First Nation author Thomas King (2003), 'You can't understand the world without telling a story' (p. 32). And so we share our perspective on diverse identity positioning within Indigenous research through story" (2013, 492). These words of Kovach and colleagues and Thomas King not only inspire and support my re-search paradigm, but they also demonstrate that my positioning as an Inuvialuit will be demonstrated throughout, while drawing upon participant perspectives. As an Inuvialuit

person sharing one version of the Inuvialuit story, my identity positioning brings to focus an Inuvialuit worldview through reflexive story. These words also support the argument that Indigenous voice and narrative are imbued with story, knowledge, epistemology and identity positioning. My re-search methods then empirically draw upon Indigenous perspectives, narrating Inuvialuit voice, with the objective of illustrating the cyclical nature of story.

Traditionally, the way that Inuvialuit learn has been through listening to stories as told by Elders, as well as through observation and hands on experience. Storytelling is an important method for how *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* is passed onto the younger generations, whereas access to land ensures the ability to practice culture, whereby *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* is passed on for the benefit of the younger generations and the future of Inuvialuit. Experienced Elders and harvesters shared instances where they learned by sitting and listening to the stories of Elders:

> [L]ots of our Elders are gone, and lots of good knowledge is gone with them. I've always said that, you interview somebody that, you know, from older than me, like the older Inuvialuit, they have lots of knowledge, lots of knowledge. I sat with my dad and my uncle one time at Kendall Island. They were sitting on the beach telling stories and you know, to this day I can remember some of their stories. And it was all about whaling all the time. I took it in, I took it in, I just had to take it in, I learned as much as I could when I was young (Hank *Angasuk* 19-08-19);
>
> For me it was orally, as a kid, and later on, practical I guess, as a kid going out. Spring, summer and later on, going out year round. That's the way I was taught... that was the main way. You hear stories as a kid and you go out on the land, you experience what these stories were told to you (Lawrence Amos 19-12-13);
>
> I learned a lot through storytelling, but mainly just through observing and watching... Learned from watching somebody do something once, and they expect you to know how to do it. That's a very quick way to learn... [you c]an only tell so many stories, but

> you have to actually live it and watch it and learn it, and then practice it. Stories are forgotten very quickly if that's all you have (Vernon Amos 19-12-13).

These statements demonstrate a few things: that knowledge holders are passing on, and their knowledge ought to be shared before this happens to ensure that their knowledge continues; that stories coincide with memories, reminiscent of family members, practices and places, steeped with sentimental value; and that stories and teachings need to be put to practice. Further, the knowledge that is shared is important; there was a purpose to sharing stories and oral history, as they equipped people with knowledge needed to survive and ensure well-being. Just as this thesis is a 'story,' it needs to be put to praxis to appreciate the full learning experience. The theory of relationality and axiology then are only fully realized through praxis, where praxis means practicing the teachings, and the theory is realized.

The broad topic for my research framework and thesis is the 'meaning of good consultation with Indigenous communities,' through which I share consultation stories. More specifically, I weave narratives linked to how consultations about the potential development of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline[31] have been undertaken in the context of, and in comparison with, negotiations for the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) (1984). These matters of consultation, negotiation, compromise and subjectification have an important bearing on Inuvialuit livelihood and way of life, and are implicated by dialogues around self-governance and sovereignty, as well as by the modern impacts of climate change. I will draw on ideas of temporality and future-making, as discussed by Weiss (2018), undertaken by the Inuvialuit. I

[31] Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, the Mackenzie Gas Project or the Project will be used interchangeably throughout this paper as they refer to the same project.

will also draw on innumerable ways the Inuvialuit are entangled in neocolonial discourses of government and industry with regards to resources and land based practices, as well as complex coexistence with non-human entities, by incorporating writings of Poirier (2017). Each of these notions contain various forces that will be considered and discussed, as they have bearing on and shape present Inuvialuit discourse.

Inuvialuit Narratives

The search that I utilized for my re-search primarily involves interviews with 20 Inuvialuit harvesters and Elders from the six ISR communities[32] who have much to contribute with their knowledge, experiences and perspectives. It was important to me to include at least one participant from each community for consultative reasons. With limited funding and fieldwork time, I was not able to visit all the communities; however, I was able to interview at least one participant from each community to ensure that each community was represented. Six of these participants were directly involved as members of COPE, three of whom were involved in the land claim negotiations. My aim here is not to give a quantitative or statistical analysis of what the participants shared; rather this research is qualitative, in that meaning is garnered from the knowledge that they contribute. Each voice is as unique and vast as the landscape that they draw their personhood from. These contemporary Inuvialuit voices and narratives will act as the primary analysis for my re-search, focusing on Inuvialuit perspectives on the climate crisis, the Mackenzie Valley Gas Project, the implementation of the IFA, and individual visions and concerns for their future as well as the collective future of Inuvialuit and

[32] The six communities of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region include *Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Ikaariaq, Uluhaktok, Paulatuuq, Akłavik* and *Inuvik*.

Inuvialuit way of life. Each participant chose different pseudonyms; anonymous (Elder or harvester), full name, first name, Inuvialuit name or nickname. I have noted the date of the interviews, and where applicable, I have included their position or role in various past or present COPE or IRC affiliations.

Just as story is used as pedagogy, where teachings and morals are imbued throughout, my 'story' framework applies the elements of story in the form of *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* and values, garnered from Inuvialuit voice. As Nerida Blair states, "the process of storying, the expressions of storys, and how we as listeners engage with the storying process are important" (2019, 212). She further goes on to say that differences between Indigenous Knowings and Western Knowledge highlight a dichotomy between how these knowledges are formed, where looking and thinking through different philosophical lenses can lead to mis-reading and/or mis-communicating story, understandings (2019, 212) and knowledge. These differences are necessary to point out, in order to move beyond mis-reading and mis-communication, towards understanding and respect.

My story as framework starts with the 'Influence and Context,' where the inspiration gives reason for telling the story in the first place. My methodology, 'The Search: Oral Traditions,' is qualitative and empirically based, focused on relaying the knowledge, experiences and perspectives that harvesters, Elders and former COPE members shared with me. Their worldviews and perspectives are of interest, as each participant has witnessed much social and political change throughout their lifetime, as well as the changing conditions of the land and waters due to the climate crisis. Inuvialuit Elders are revered for the *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* they hold based on the experiences and life they lived. They are said to be the

counsellors, and long term thinkers and were the advisors to daily life (Randal Boogie Pokiak 19-08-15).

During the IFA negotiations, the Elders advised the fieldworkers and negotiators as to their vision for the future of Inuvialuit *nunangat*, waters and wildlife. Instrumental in supporting Inuvialuit achievement of the IFA with the Federal Government was that the Elders advised the negotiators to give the animals, environment, land and waters voices, as these entities too have agency and rights. One of the participants noted that "Elders are the keepers of our knowledge" (Elder from *Inuvik* 19-08-15). As noted by Hank, “our Elders before us were the trail breaker for all this. You know, they worked hard to make it easier for us to live” (19-08-19). In the words of Weiss, “the past is always manifested in and through actors in the present, by those who wield authority or symbolize it by their very nature as [E]lders and, even more significantly, by the rest of the social body, which recognizes the authority of these [E]lders” (2018, 159). Therefore, including current Elders’ voices is important, as they are the cultural experts and they have witnessed much change over the course of their lifetime. Further, Inuvialuit Elders intersected development and achieved formal land rights by forming COPE and negotiating the IFA. I am particularly interested in their thoughts, visions and concerns regarding the potential for pipeline development, as well as their perspectives on climate change impacts. As a measure of whether the IFA has been effective in addressing Inuvialuit concerns of sovereignty, it is useful to determine whether Elders and members of the COPE believe that the Agreement has been implemented according to their vision.

Inuvialuit harvesters too have witnessed much change, and are said to be the caretakers of the land, waters and animals. Their knowledge and experiences are just as important to

share, as their livelihood and personhood are based on their continued relationship with the land. Harvesters have much to contribute, as they continue to subsist off the land and bear witness to the changes and impacts that happen to the lands and animals on which they rely. Hank noted:

> [T]here's low water this Spring. Couldn't go to the lakes that we wanted to go to, there's no water in them. So, we didn't do too much muskrat hunting this spring. Sometime when it get like that, we just let it go and just say, "Well, we could wait 'til next year and… let them grow." You know. Sometime we just think about, we're farmers sometime and we make a choice to not hunt that area for a while. Let it go, come back, and that's what I do" (19-08-19).

Another participant noted, “every time they come up here and they study something, they should give all the studies that they made, give them to the hunters and trappers. The ones that look after the animals” (*Panigavluk* 19-08-16). These harvesters demonstrate how they monitor the productivity of wildlife; they care for the very beings that they depend upon, for it is not only their livelihood, it is their way of life. Their involvement with research and access to reports benefit both the researchers and the harvesters. A harvester’s role, then, is fairly important for the continued fertility and productivity of the lands and waters.

The context provides the bigger picture for the ‘Significance of the Story.’ Specifically, this story and the Inuvialuit narrative of connectedness, relationality, climate change, consultation, subjectification, resilience, resurgence, and the discussion and issues raised herein have applications beyond occupation in the ISR. This grassroots movement of COPE and the Berger Inquiry will provide a baseline I will draw upon to illustrate and provide context to Inuvialuit practices of self-determination and sovereignty over Inuvialuit territory. The Berger

Inquiry, the Mackenzie Gas Project and COPE have become entangled within the discourses of Indigenous rights and entitlement to land, development and sustainability. These discourses will inform how Inuvialuit have mobilized their rights, fought with self-determination and exerted sovereignty over land claims and degradation, including the climate crisis. Past and present Inuvialuit voices and experiences, knowledge, concerns and visions will lay the foundation for a practical approach to conducting good, 'meaningful consultation' with Indigenous communities. Writer, filmmaker, musician and consultant Victor Steffensen, of Tagalaka descent in Australia, affirms:

> The system of natural lore that shaped our ancestors' connection to the land is still relevant today. This lore comes from the land and unlike Western law it never changes. In fact, all of our environmental problems are caused by Western law overriding natural lore. This is why it is a real danger when law becomes more powerful than lore. It is also a clear sign that people are becoming disconnected from the land. 'Law is created by man. Lore is created by Mother Earth.' Reconnecting people to the system of lore is essential to the revival of cultural and environmental wellbeing (2019, 228-229).

Inuvialuit people are but one Indigenous group that have had and continue to have power struggles with government and industry. Sharing the Inuvialuit story speaks to the success, as well as the struggles, that Indigenous people face with regards to encroachment and paternalism. My re-search provides current voice to former COPE members, Elders and harvesters. Educator Jo-ann Archibald (Q'um Q'um Xiiem), who is of Stó:lō and St'at'imc First Nation descent, states that, "[i]t is through these types of written forums that First Nations discourses – ways of thinking, talking, and representing our knowledges and perspectives in a scholarly context – become evident" (Archibald 2008, 18). In giving Inuvialuit current voice, their ways of 'thinking, talking, and representing our knowledges and perspectives,' also

otherwise known as 'ways of knowing and being,' are brought the forefront and provide a distinct worldview in which positioning and identity are paramount. It is my hope that these discourses, as told through story, will not only be understood, but respected and acted upon with this understanding.

My approach to 'Meaning Making' (Absolon 2011) is to listen to the recorded interviews with an Inuvialuit perspective and prioritize their visions and concerns, while staying attuned to what the people are saying and implying. As Archibald puts it, "I had to read and hear the voices of First Nations/Indigenous peoples and find the theories embedded in their stories" (2008, 16). My self-location provides me a deeper contextual insight into the community, which allows me to develop re-search questions that challenge preconceived notions of the group and expand scholarly understanding of the subject matter (Innes 2009, 447), by providing insight into the real issues that community members identify and vocalize. Bringing anthropological and Inuvialuit lenses to this re-search allows me to consider the power and politics that shape the discourse of resource development on Indigenous homelands, as well as mitigation and protection measures against natural forces of the climate crisis. In this sense, it is not necessarily bias that informs my re-search and 'meaning making'; rather it is reflexivity that informs my insightful findings. 'Meaning making' then, becomes more meaningful when the story teller (re-searcher) is familiar and has a sound understanding of the story (thesis) to be told.

Perspectives grounded in distinctly Inuvialuit ontology shared over the course of interviews and conversations will inform the narratives I compile, and will produce a significant record of contemporary Inuvialuit knowledge in their own right. 'Morals, Values and Teachings'

are gleaned out of the narrative, Inuvialuit worldview and 'meaning making.' The teachings are based upon the knowledge that one holds, and the values and morals are a part of the metaphysical understanding of the way various realities are entangled, which are multidimensional and complex. Dussart and Poirier state that "studying the complexity of processes of entanglement illuminates how close or distant interactions between and among Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups, institutions, and organizations over the use and the management of the land retain an everlasting type of connectedness" (2017, 4). In other words, one's relationship and connectedness to land, and the influences and pressures of 'others,' influence management practices to that land. Further, entanglements can also reveal the similarities and differences between non-Indigenous and Indigenous worldviews, based on their relationship to land and how the land and waters are not only managed, but managed with respect and reverence. Dussart and Poirier go on to say, "[e]ach thread-entity-agent-world involved in the entanglement keeps its identity, relative autonomy, and potentiality, while the spatial and temporal interactions with the other components do bring transformations to each of them; it is an ongoing and somehow embodied process" (5-6). Spatial and temporal interactions, whether macro or micro, transform various aspects of embodiment, including physical land degradation or management, cultural integrity, metaphysical views, and political governance. Often differing views clash, and compromises are made, where people accept various influences. The entanglements highlighted in this story are multidimensional and require consideration in future-making decisions and efforts.

'Morals, Values and Teachings' then go back to the 'Influence and Context' for the story. *Ataatak Angagaq*, my grandfather, was a humble man who lived a full Inuvialuk life. His

teachings of the significance of the land and waters, and their importance for protection and sustainability goes to show the morals and values that he held as an Inuvialuk. His passion and determination are examples of what many Inuvialuit feel; his story is one of many that portray the connection to the land, waters and their non-human inhabitants, whereby Inuvialuit draw their identity from and personhood is established. It is this local Inuvialuit knowledge that effectively expresses the concerns and visions that matter to the Inuvialuit people, temporally and into the future. There is much that Indigenous people can teach us, if we just take the time to listen with our minds and our hearts, as "[w]e are once again looking into the branches of Indigenous knowledge to maintain vigilance in our role as eternal guardians of lands, waters, and stories" (Archibald, Lee-Morgan and De Santolo 2019, 11).

Significance of the Story

Life in Transition: Pressures of Capitalism, the State and the Climate Crisis

The Inuvialuit faced a crossroad in which to intersect their authority as the original inhabitants in the Western Arctic Region.

> Change became impossible to ignore by the 1960s. The Government of Canada, viewing Inuvialuit lands as crown lands, gave away permits for exploration without consulting the Inuvialuit. Hunters and trappers saw their way of life threatened. Seismic exploration disrupted wildlife migration, harvesting and trap lines. Neither Government nor Industry listened to their concerns (IRC 2009, 22-23).

Coinciding with the discovery of oil near *Tuktuuyaqtuuq*[33] in 1970, COPE was formed by a group of people who wanted to ensure Inuvialuit *nunangat* rights,[34] cultural survival, and sovereignty in response to these impositions of both industry and government. They wanted to ensure their active participation as determinants of their own future, as well as the future of Inuvialuit *nunangat* and wildlife that Inuvialuit depend upon and have maintained relationship with since time immemorial. And so began the Inuvialuit struggle for inherent land rights and sovereignty. The land claims process took 14 years, from the time that COPE mobilized to the signing of the IFA. During the exploration for resources, Inuvialuit were not consulted, nor did they provide social license or authorize access to land and resources.

Prior to settling in communities, "There was a chain of command and our people had, each camp had leaders we call *umialik*" (Randal Boogie Pokiak 19-08-13). This form of

[33] *Tuktuuyaqtuq* translates to 'resembling a caribou.' The more commonly known Anglicized spelling is Tuktoyaktuk.

[34] Randal states that "it was never a claim to us. It was a right, that's why we call it Inuvialuit land rights, not Inuvialuit land claim. Land claim is a government word" (19-08-15). Throughout this paper, 'land rights' will be used, except when referring to government and their terminology and reference to 'land claims.'

governance was effectively practiced by all Inuvialuit prior to contact and outside influences (Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003; Randal Boogie Pokiak 19-08-13; Stephenson and Arnold 2011). During the land claims negotiations, traditional Inuvialuit leadership of the *umialik* was not recognized and acknowledged by industry and the federal government as a sovereign people, people who's territory they were intersecting. This form of governance was disregarded and denied as a formal sovereign governance. Under Canada's Inherent Right to Self-Government policy, the State did not accept such a form of traditional leadership as one in which the Inuvialuit were to formerly govern themselves once the land claims agreement was signed. The Inuvialuit had proposed to use this age-old model to continue Inuvialuit governance and carry out the operations of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC), which was to be the formal organization through which the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) and the Inuvialuit were to be managed. The outcome of this act of denial by the federal negotiators was the imposition of the state's preferred form of authority and legitimacy over traditional Inuvialuit governance. After 14 years of fieldwork, consultation with Inuvialuit in the communities and negotiations with the federal government, Inuvialuit developed fatigue as the Agreement was nearing the final stages (Randal Boogie Pokiak 19-08-15; Annie C. Gordon 19-08-18). This last stalling tactic of denial by the government eventually led the Inuvialuit to agree to the subversion of their form of governance, comforted by the fact that this item could be amended at some later point in time.[35] The foundation then of the Inuvialuit form of

[35] An amendment would require further negotiations between Inuvialuit and the federal government, which take time, resources, capacity and political will of all parties.

governance was subjugated and undermined, and continues to be destabilized with each passing generation.

Not only has the foundation of Inuvialuit governance been subverted in their efforts to achieve land rights as recognized by the State, but Inuvialuit way of life today is directly affected by climate change, with unpredictable weather, unseasonal temperatures, and changing conditions of the land and waters. Indirectly, Inuvialuit way of life is affected by the impacts of climate change on the wildlife that Inuvialuit continue to depend upon. People are having to travel further as migrations routes of certain species have been altered by previous resource exploration, and are now being altered due to climate change. Wildlife are also affected by these impacts. As noted by a harvester Vernon Amos, who was Inuvialuit Game Council Chair during the time of my interview, "having rain in December, January and February, and rain throughout the Fall after it starts snowing and freezing, is impacting. See caribou out there, looks like their wrists are all cut up from breaking through the ice. Hunting caribou… you see caribou that have bloody wrists, you're wondering what's going on with them" (19-12-13). This impact on land animals has also been witnessed by another harvester: "some years we're getting freezing rain in Wintertime, it makes it very tough on the animals… if you go after wolves, wolves especially, their shins got no more hair on them, when they're breaking through the snow" (Jimboy 19-08-14). Former IRC Chair, Nellie Cournoyea noted, "the movement of the water, the health of the environment, if those two things are out of sync, then the food source for the people who live up here become unstable" (19-08-14). These statements clearly point out the delicate balance between the health of the environment, its inhabitants, the climate crisis, sustainability and development.

Perhaps most significantly, though, is the transfer of *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* which has been impacted by previous boom and busts in the area with the move towards a wage economy. The transfer of knowledge is further compounded by the reduction of access to land and its resources that enable Inuvialuit to continue to practice traditions and culture. *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* is what has allowed Inuvialuit to survive and thrive in the harsh Arctic conditions. *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* and subsistence practices go hand in hand; it ensures the survival and well-being of what it is to be Inuvialuit. With climate change, people are having increasing challenges accessing their camps and hunting grounds; travel routes and seasonal hunting and camping times are altered due to these changing conditions, often times at the risk of those subsistence harvesters. *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq*, then, ensures the continued survival and well-being of harvesters, their families and communities. Based on their knowledge of the land, waters and conditions, and familiarity with certain areas, harvesters know which areas to avoid, what to do when they are caught in a blizzard and what areas to access for certain resources. Not only are Inuvialuit adapting to climate change, but their *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* is also adapting as well; both of these adaptations are necessary in times of change. As noted with concern by Elders and harvesters, hunting and camping are not happening as much these days, due to a number of reasons, some of which are described below and others which are beyond the scope of this story. Research on food insecurity, food sovereignty and colonization impacts by James D. Ford and Maude Beaumier (2011), Hilary Fergurson (2011), and Sam Grey and Raj Patel (2015) demonstrate how Inuit in Canada's Arctic, and Indigenous food practices more generally, have become affected by various factors, thereby affecting Indigenous subsistence, culture and traditions of camping and hunting. Each of these researchers have outlined

contributing factors that alter access to food systems, namely food practices, cost of living, food insecurity and dependence on store bought food. They also discuss food security through access to traditional country food, and how it relates to sovereignty over traditional homelands via food sovereignty.

In my interviews and conversations, each participant expressed concern regarding the impacts on the lands and waters. Erosion of land along the coast, mud slides in the Mackenzie Delta due to thawing permafrost, sandbars and shallow areas along travelling routes of the Mackenzie River and the loss of old ice (ice that lasts year round) are some of the major impacts witnessed and felt by Inuvialuit. Not only are the spring seasons happening earlier, the melt of the snow and ice happening faster, and the fall seasons are happening later with delayed freeze up, but the unpredictability of the weather and conditions have also made maintaining a subsistence way of life more dangerous. Less time is spent on the land, the game hunted and harvested occurs in less time due to the shorter spring season and Inuvialuit feel rushed to hunt what they can to last them through to the next harvesting season. The summers have been unseasonably rainy and windy over the past few years, making it challenging to hunt beluga whales, which is a staple in Inuvialuit diet. The winters are occasionally warmer, whereas it was previously frigid throughout; these changing seasons have come to be the norm in the Western Arctic. Each of these effects of climate change have made it challenging to access the land and waters, and to continue practices that are the embodiment of what it is to be Inuvialuit.

Rampant consumption of non-renewable fossil fuels in southern cities is responsible for the climate crisis felt throughout the north by people on the frontlines of the climate crisis. Sheila Watt-Cloutier, an Inuit activist and leader who was President of the Inuit Circumpolar

Council and International Chair to the same council, who was also nominated for the Nobel Peace prize in 2007, contends:

> Too many didn't realize that the cars they drove and the emissions they created by powering their cities were connected to the Inuk hunter falling through the thinning ice, and to the Pacific Islander defending his home along the sinking shore. For cities to reflect true ecological integrity, those who lived within them needed to look inward to realize the effects of their decisions on urban populations, but also outward to understand how their decisions affected the entire world. We believe that once city residents realized this profound interconnectedness, they would be able to relate to vulnerable communities around the world, as a shared humanity (2015, 221).

Interconnectedness and entanglements are demonstrated, where the north is affected by activities in the south, and coastal communities are affected by activities in larger municipalities. Northern communities are "watching their roads buckle, their airstrips heave and split, and their rail lines twist and sink. In 1994, in Usinsk, Russia, a ruptured pipe resulted in a huge oil spill, making the polluted land unusable. Shifting earth made the prospect of more cracked pipes likely" (191). Relatedly, in *Tuktuuyaqtuuq*, numerous homes are at risk of falling into the ocean, one of which is owned by a couple that I interviewed. The photo taken during my fieldwork in late summer 2019 captured the imminent threat of the elements (figure 5).

Figure 5. Homes in Tuk at risk due to erosion of the coastline, Aug. 2019.
These homes were moved inland in 2020. You can see one of the prominent pingos in the background.
Photographer: Letitia Pokiak.

Significance of the search

My re-search and thesis as story has three purposes. My re-search provides an opportunity for the Inuvialuit to voice their present concerns and visions for their future, while providing an example of decolonizing academia through centering on and highlighting our story. My re-search also provides a platform to portray the precarity that pervades Indigenous lives and natural inhabitants in any given area when subjected to governmental discourse and industrial practice. As a reaction to this precarity, I also aim to portray Inuvialuit resistance to power inequities through 'meaningful consultation,' and as a result, the achievement of the IFA and the implementation of important sections of the Agreement that are Inuvialuit driven. Inuvialuit have had to adapt to numerous outside influences as well as local environmental

changes that continue to bombard Inuit way of life. Primarily, the significance of the search[36] (Absolon 2011) is to illustrate and illuminate Inuvialuit principles of consultation, through traditional and contemporary Inuvialuit practice, as well as Inuvialuit agency that is exercised by practicing self-determination and sovereignty, as acknowledged and meaningfully engaged with and consulted by Justice Thomas Berger during the Berger Inquiry in the 1970s.

By providing Inuvialuit a voice, their concerns and visions for the future become part of the narrative as people on the frontlines of the climate crisis, and as people who are attempting to carve out their own destiny. This is a discourse that has seldom been afforded to Indigenous people, or people of colour. Additionally, Inuvialuit voice also provides an Indigenous perspective, as people confronted by and subjected to colonialism, capitalism and neoliberalism. Anthropologist Natasha Lyons quotes anthropologist Julie Cruikshank:

> outsiders' narratives 'became authorizing statements, the foundation on which policy decisions were made by colonial institutions — the Hudson's Bay Company, the church, and the government.' This process took the authority for self-governance, self-promotion, and self-representation out of the hands of local people and legitimated the role of outsiders in decision making from afar (2010, 23).

I aim to demonstrate that despite these tropes of paternalism and climate change that have and continue to alter the trajectory of Inuvialuit ways of life, Inuvialuit and Indigenous future-making depends on their ability to adapt to climate change and outside pressures, Western polities in particular. Inuvialuit capacity to exercise agency and self-determination is noted by

[36] Absolon argues that "Indigenous peoples have always had means of seeking and accessing knowledge. Yet, Indigenous searchers are usually caught in the context of colonial theories and methodologies. We tend to spend a lot of time there while compromising the development of our own knowledge" (2011, 23). My aim, my approach in my re-search is to put Indigenous methodologies, as well as Inuvialuit and other Indigenous knowledges (23), at the centre of my search.

the achievement of the IFA, in which the regulation and management of the wildlife, lands and waters in the ISR are led and co-managed by the Inuvialuit in various co-management bodies (IFA 1984, 28-30). Relatedly, and just as important if not moreso, Inuvialuit have the inherent right to be consulted and approve any potential development that occurs within the ISR through the Environmental Screening and Review Process (16-18). Should the Inuvialuit decide to go ahead with such development, they have the sovereign ability to benefit and apply specific terms and conditions on said development through Participation Agreements, all of which are recognized by the Constitution of Canada through the IFA (15-16). Inuvialuit culture and ways then should not be viewed as static and never changing, nor should it be seen as a vacuum in which our ways get sucked into dominant society, whereby we are absorbed and assimilated. Inuvialuit historicity continues to unfold in reaction to power struggles, and the climate crisis and as determinants in our own future-making.

In providing Inuvialuit a voice, I have set out to demonstrate the ways that we are reacting to the changing seasons and lands due to the climate crisis while continuing to practice age old customs that Inuvialuit live and identify by. It is this adaptability, self-determination and sovereignty that Inuvialuit embody which enables us to face challenges and practice future-making based on our experiences, needs, concerns and visions. By providing Inuvialuit this platform, I will show that the nation state of Canada does not have complete authority over Inuvialuit lands despite its asserted dominance in jurisdiction and control across this country. The duality of the precariousness and precarity (Cons 2018; Ford and Beaumier 2011; Perumal 2018) is demonstrated in the remoteness and wildness of the ISR, and the subjectification of Inuvialuit to Canadian colonial discourse. My re-search contextualizes the modern challenges

facing Inuvialuit today by narrating their current perspectives, along with past testimonies of the Berger Inquiry. My re-search highlights current action and mobilization of Inuvialuit approaches to these modern challenges. Additionally, though my re-search focuses on the Inuvialuit narrative of the climate crisis, subjectification and subversion, sovereignty and resilience, the discussion and issues raised herein have implications beyond human occupation in the ISR, particularly with regards to entanglements, consultation with Indigenous groups by government and industry, and Indigenous future-making efforts.

Food sovereignty, as sovereignty of the land and waters

The Qikiqtani Inuit Association in Nunavut determined that "[f]ood sovereignty for Inuit means the right to nutritious locally-sourced food… this translates to country food. Harvesters play an integral role in Inuit food sovereignty. They provide country food that feeds communities, reinvigorates Inuit cultural practices and stimulates local economies" (Qikiqtani Inuit Association 2019, 7). In this context, country food has multiple meanings and applications. One of these is that harvesters are knowledge holders of, and relationship holders with the land and the wildlife harvested. Essentially, this 'relational ontology' is maintained temporally and into the future, so long as these subsistence practices and respect for the land and its wildlife continue. Relational ontologies, as defined by Poirier, are

> the ontological boundaries between the human and the non-human (animals, plants, places, 'natural' elements, the spirits of ancestors and others, etc.) are permeable, and the relations between them are negotiable. Relational ontologies place relatedness/'relationality' as a paramount embodied value, perception, and experience, such that relations take on a reality of their own. Relational ontologies consider that the volition and agency of non-human others are facts of life… and that sociality and historicity are indisputably inclusive of non-human others (2017, 54).

By harvesting and utilizing the land, harvesters continue to practice the subsistence knowledge that was passed onto them. The harvesters' relationship to land, to wildlife, to family and community members are maintained while exercising sovereignty over traditional homelands. The relationship and rootedness between Inuvialuit and Inuvialuit *nunangat* challenge and enrich the broad issues that encompass 'food sovereignty,' and sovereignty in general, where this rootedness operates as a resistance to the colonization of Indigenous space and place (Grey and Patel 2015, 432-3). Thus traditional foods continues to be an important food source for a number of reasons, the least of which includes the cultural and nutritional value that expensive groceries in the north do not provide. Importantly, food sovereignty is fundamental to Inuvialuit exercising sovereignty over lands in the face of potential development. As Weiss argued of Haida sovereignty, environmental protection and sustainability are entangled with sovereignty, where they act as an exercise of Indigenous rights as well as Indigenous people's inherent existential assurance (2018, 160) and well-being by continuing to practice traditions and culture related to the land and waters. The ability to hunt and subsist without institutional and development barriers is key to practicing food sovereignty, another factor that comes into play in maintaining these relationships with and sovereignty of the land. This substantiates the fact that sustainability efforts of land and ecological management are that much more vital for the continued survival of the land and its non-human beings. It is also important for land rights that Inuvialuit have as caretakers of the land.

Resurgence of Inuvialuit and the beginnings of Committee of Original People's Entitlement (COPE)

Over the course of approximately 250 years, Inuvialuit ways of life became irreversibly altered. Major social transformation began approximately in the mid-1800s (Lyons 2010;

Stephenson and Arnold 2011) due to the whaling era and fur trade era, followed by a move from a semi-nomadic life to one of permanent residency in the settlement communities. The RCMP, missionaries and residential schools entered the area around the same time as Inuvialuit settled into permanent communities, followed by the encroachment of government and the construction of DEW-LINE sites dispersed across the Arctic coast (Lyons 2010). The imposition of industry in search of non-renewable resources eventually followed thereafter. The transition to a wage economy and adoption of formal polities became the Inuvialuit reality.

With this change to social life and the move to permanent settlements, Inuvialuit became subject to inequities on a scale they had not previously experienced. As noted in this excerpt from *COPE: An Original Voice for Inuvialuit Rights*:

> COPE fieldworker Lillian Elias remembers moving from a small Inuvialuit community in the Delta, to the town of *Inuvik*. While there were clear rules based on mutual respect and sharing in her village, *Inuvik* was a confusion of economic hierarchies and social problems. Lillian was then twelve years old. Her father, previously a self-sustaining harvester, had to take on a janitorial job in town. Aboriginal people worked as labourers to build the houses that rich southerners would live in, while they lived in 'tent towns' without sewage, electric heat or running water (IRC 2009, 21, emphasis added).

With all the changes that Inuvialuit experienced and witnessed in a short period of time, Inuvialuit became marginalized on their own lands as the settlements were being developed, essentially becoming subjects on their own territory. Inuvialuit were further subjected to oil and gas exploration in the 1960s, which was the stimulus for the creation of COPE[37] (Alunik

[37] In the beginning, membership of COPE included Inuit, Métis and Dene across the north; over time this changed as each Indigenous group had their own visions and communal needs; COPE eventually became the committee for the Inuvialuit (IRC 2009, 26).

1998, 17). COPE fieldworkers and negotiators were determined to reclaim Inuvialuit territory and exercise Inuvialuit rights and sovereignty over homelands.

Michael Asch reasons that Indigenous rights encompass economic, social, cultural and political rights, and the notion of a land base where Indigenous polity is paramount: "These rights, in this view, flow first of all from the fact that the aboriginal peoples were in sovereign occupation of Canada at the time of contact and second from the assertion that their legitimacy and continued existence have not been extinguished by the subsequent occupation of Canada" (1989, 124). Asch further goes on to say that "the meaning [A]boriginal [P]eoples attach to the notion of aboriginal rights is closely analogous to the idea of the right of colonial peoples to political self-determination. It is a right that is said to continue even when the [I]ndigenous nations come under the sovereignty of a new colonial regime" (Asch 1989, 128). In other words, Indigenous groups such as the Inuvialuit are exercising rights and freedoms that were not extinguished, and these rights and freedoms continue despite colonization. Inuvialuit essentially aimed to preserve and protect their unique way of life, rich in culture and tradition.

COPE, a grassroots movement, was a resurgence of the original peoples whose lands it aimed to regain control of, in order to protect Inuvialuit ways.

> Nineteen native people met together in a craft shop in *Inuvik* on the night of 28th January 1970, for two and a half hours. Victor Allen made a motion for an organization to be formed, to prevent further destruction of aboriginal rights. A lawyer, Brian Purdy, who was volunteering his services in secret, suggested that the organization be called COPE, Committee [for] Original People's Entitlement. Officers were then selected: Agnes Semmler, Victor Allen, Jim Koe, Bertha Allen and Jesse Amos (IRC 2009, 25-26 emphasis added).

Eventually fieldworkers and hired consultants travelled to each of the six settlement communities and visited each house, explaining the lands claims process and incorporating input from as many people as possible, with particular emphasis put towards Elders, as they were the traditional advisors. This meaningful consultation, as labourious and time consuming as it was and is, is an important communication measure used to ensure that, if anybody had something to say, they had the opportunity to do so; it also allowed people to more fully come to terms with the issues at hand.

Temporality of and connectedness to *nuna*: Inuvialuit *Nunangat*

Consultation does not equal consent regarding any and all encroachments on Indigenous lands and sacred Indigenous heritage sites. Communication and consultation are important elements to bridging knowledge gaps of understanding, breaking down barriers and moving forward in a cohesive way. Poirier states, "viable coexistence within the territory – and by extension a sustainable management of the land and its resources – is based primarily on good communication between the different groups of actors" (2013, 225), or in other words, decision makers. Social licence to explore, extract and develop is gained through 'meaningful consultation.' This is done well when it has elements of effective communication and constructive dialogue, not 'lip service' as is often the case with governmental consultation. As has been emphasized, the land provides healing, renewal, spiritual connection, epistemological and pedagogical practices, as well as sustenance, through which Inuvialuit identify, thus illustrating why 'meaningful consultation' and effective communication is imperative.

The land, waters, seasons and weather patterns, and migration of wildlife are how Inuvialuit consider their future-making, based on conditions of the land on which they travel

and live. Hence, not only is future-making seasonal and temporal, but it is also dependent on the natural flow of non-human agents that Inuvialuit depend upon, agents that they aim to protect. Country food, and the resources that the game provides, has allowed Inuvialuit to survive and thrive in the unrelenting Arctic environment for countless generations. Inuvialuit continue to rely on traditional foods, not only for their nutritional value, but also for the value that they bring as a source of spiritual sustenance. It is simply a part of who we are as Inuvialuit people; access to traditional foods is a fundamental praxis for how Inuvialuit identify themselves, it is the very embodiment that the land and waters provides for Inuvialuit well-being. As poignantly pointed out by Lawrence Amos,

> our forefathers lived that way, for however long. That's the reason the land claim was created, to preserve our culture. And our culture is harvesters, we're harvesters. And the Government of Canada, and the Inuvialuit signed an Agreement for that. So, the government [is] obligated to follow that claim... Cause we still want to practice our culture. It's important to us. It's who we are. It's who we are! We're not white people (19-12-13).

Justice Thomas Berger's *Northern Frontier Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry; Volume One* (1977) provides a holistic overview of the Western Arctic and Subarctic and its people, as well as the background of the oil and gas explorations, plans for a gas pipeline from the shores of the Beaufort Sea to Alberta, and the impacts that this development would bring. The Berger Inquiry was conducted from 1975 to 1977; he provided extensive consultation, not only with each of the six Inuvialuit communities, but also 29 other NWT communities (35 total) that are along the proposed pipeline corridor, thereby acknowledging northern voice and agency. Berger was commissioned by the federal

government to determine whether the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline would be feasible, not only for the sustainability of the environment, but also for the socio-economic and cultural impacts that the people, who's regions the pipeline would be intersecting. Based on his findings, he recommended to the federal government that a 10 year moratorium be put on the Mackenzie Gas Project, in order for these remote northern communities to be prepared, educated and trained for the jobs that the Project would bring, but also to ensure that land claims by Indigenous groups were completed. As reflected by Elder and COPE negotiator Randal Boogie Pokiak, Justice Berger

> came when the government were wanting to steamroll the Mackenzie Valley pipeline into the area. Nobody had any claims… how did Berger know? "I'll make a recommendation. There will be a 10 year moratorium on the pipeline so the native sector of the NWT will have a chance to settle a claim." He knew that because of what we were doing. We were the trailblazers here for negotiation. And our people told Berger, "We just need some time." (19-08-13).

What is significant is that the federal government agreed to this recommendation and stalled the construction of the pipeline.

The Inuvialuit Final Agreement, a constitutional right

With the moratorium in place, COPE was able to continue land claim negotiations and eventually achieved the IFA in 1984. Present Inuvialuit *nunangat* rights are based on the information collected by the land use and occupancy that *Angagaq* assisted in gathering during the land use and occupancy project, as land claim negotiations started after the project was complete. If it were not for this moratorium recommendation by Justice Berger, the power inequity between the State, industry and the Inuvialuit may have been too much for the

Inuvialuit to continue to practice sovereignty over Inuvialuit *nunangat* and to pursue land rights. This acknowledgement of sovereign Inuvialuit *nunangat* was a fundamental step towards Inuvialuit land claims and the Agreement, a social solution between the Inuvialuit, the State and hence industry. Prior to the final land claims agreement, industry had governmental permits to explore for non-renewable resources, but they did not have the social licence from Inuvialuit to do so, let alone to extract those resources. Essentially, recognition of Inuvialuit *nunangat* and cultural rights provided a path towards unquestionable Inuvialuit sovereignty through the IFA.

It is not just for humans' sake, though, that social solutions are needed, as Julie Cruikshank notes:

> where animals and humans are understood to share common states of being that include family relationships, intelligence, and common responsibility for maintenance of a shared world, the rights and obligations obtaining to relationships among people also extend to the natural world. Interaction with the physical world then, is a social relationship, and consequently it is rarely straightforward (1998, 60).

The natural inhabitants of the land and waters also have agency, and rely upon the same land and waters that Inuvialuit depend upon. The relationship that Inuvialuit have with the land and its inhabitants is one of reciprocity; the Inuvialuit depend on these animals, and these same animals depend upon the Inuvialuit to protect them from preventable impacts. The entanglement between humans and non-humans, and between the north and the south, are just as significant, politically and for relative autonomy.

Inuvialuit have given voice to the wildlife, to the land and waters, whose importance is significant not just for northerners, but for all neighbouring regions and territories. During my

interview with Randal Boogie Pokiak, he shared what the Elders advised, as was envisioned by the prophet *Isaliq* whose memory and wisdom lives on in the Elders:

> "Get your sovereignty back, get it back. Don't let nobody else control you in your own homeland." And so that was the priorities, to get that sovereignty. And he said, "You're going to have to fight for it." *Isaliq*… said, "These *qablunaaq*[38], in that war of words, won't listen to you as Inuvialuit. They won't." He said, "Okay, you switch now. You speak, give voice to the wildlife, give voice to the environment, give voice to the Ocean, to the land… Become the voice of these, that you… you know so well. Become the voice of the land and the wildlife and environment. Because… the wildlife is not only going to sustain you for food, they're going to help you get sovereignty." And we achieved that through the IFA. We got sovereignty and control of whatever goes on (19-08-13).

As expressed here, we can see struggle that Inuvialuit would face with recognition of Inuvialuit voice and sovereignty. *Isaliq*'s vision and counsel prepared Inuvialuit for what was to come. The importance and agency of the wildlife, lands and waters helped Inuvialuit achieve what they set out to do. In achieving the IFA, the Inuvialuit have also ensured relative autonomy of the animals, the land, the waters and the environment. This relationship of reciprocity and entanglement are central to Inuvialuit rootedness to their homeland. Were it not for the moratorium enacted by Berger, the Inuvialuit *nunangat* rights may not have been realized, and the ecosystem may not have been protected against the construction of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. What happens to the lands through development, or climate change, also affects the wildlife, and what happens to the wildlife affects Inuvialuit cultural autonomy and personhood.

[38] *Qablunaaq* loosely translates to 'heavy eyebrows.' *Qablunaat* is plural. *Tan'ngit* is also commonly used in place of *qablunaaq* (Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003, 55).

Inuvialuit sovereignty, food security and culture, then, not only depend upon land rights, but they also depend on wildlife and environmental autonomy.

This is particularly significant for industry and government regarding consultative efforts with Indigenous groups who are continually confronted with the exploitation of resources on their traditional territories. Consideration for the environment and its non-human counterparts, and effective and meaningful collaboration and consultation (Perumal 2018), depends on the building of human-to-human relationships that work to mitigate hegemonic power relations and on facilitating relationships that do not further marginalize and entrench Indigenous rights and title, as is so often the case in colonized countries. This becomes important not only for improving the social and cultural impacts of development on Indigenous People's land but also for mitigation against the climate crisis and protection of the environment that all humans depend upon.

Entanglements

The Arctic is vast and diverse. Each of the communities in the ISR is settled in their own ecological niche. In 2015 and 2016, the IRC held workshops, conducted interviews and held information gathering sessions in each of the ISR communities, where people were able to share what they have witnessed and their experiences with regards to climate change. In the spring of 2016 the IRC held Regional Climate Change Strategy Meetings and in 2018 it published a report, *Inuvialuit on the Frontline of Climate Change: Development of a Regional Climate Change Adaptation Strategy*, highlighting findings brought forward by each of the communities. To provide some context, the

> ISR communities vary in population (from under 150 to nearly 3,500), ethnic diversity (from almost exclusively Inuvialuit to a mixture of Inuvialuit, Gwich'in and non-Indigenous residents), geographic setting (from inland to coastal) and ecozone (from boreal to High Arctic). It is thus not surprising that Aklavik would be concerned about riverbank erosion and beaver overpopulation while Sachs Harbour would focus more on marine shipping and dwindling muskoxen herds. Indeed, these divergent views would seem to underscore the fact that climate-change-adaptation in the ISR will require flexibility rather than a one-size-fits-all approach (IRC 2018, 6).

Additionally, development concerns and measures in communities were also identified, demonstrating the need for meaningful consultation with each community on the frontlines of the climate crisis. These first steps are critical to identifying impacts and capacity required to mitigate further effects.

During my fieldwork, harvesters, Elders and COPE negotiators noted that the north is affected by what happens in the south. For instance, construction of dams built in the south in the 1970s affected the flow of the Mackenzie and Peel Rivers. Recently, it was observed that the forest fires that happened in northern AB and southern NWT coincided with the warming temperatures, and have pushed wildlife and insects further north, to areas not typically inhabited (Jimboy 19-08-14). Insects, birds and fur bearing animals, such as beaver, otter and moose, are moving into areas that Inuvialuit have never seen them occupy before (Elder from *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* 19-08-13; Harvester from *Paulatuuq* 19-12-13; Harvester from *Akłavik* 19-08-18; Robert 20-01-15).

More to the point of how Inuvialuit way of life is affected, though, is the carbon footprint of major cities and industrial activity that has fueled climate change (Watt-Cloutier 2015). Inuvialuit and other Inuit across the Arctic are increasingly impacted by the eroding

lands and changing rivers and Arctic Ocean waters. Fundamentally, as citizens of Canada, the inhabitants of the Arctic are subject to southern industrial and political discourse, as well as action and inaction by the State to address or mitigate impacts. Former COPE fieldworker, negotiator and Chair of IRC, Nellie Cournoyea states,

> the government is really supposed to be the leader in looking forward and planning. But a lot of times the people here know more about, you know, giving caution. But they're not really often listened to… [or] maybe they're listened to, but the government's not hearing, and they have so many priorities. And since they don't live here, day to day, it's not very high on their agenda. See the only time that it becomes high on their agenda, [is] when it becomes terribly political. And then it gets becoming an extreme situation (19-08-14).

Whether the deteriorating Arctic lands and rising waters are seen as 'extreme' is a matter of perspective. Clearly, it is those that are on the front lines who are living the day to day challenges and reality of the climate crisis. These matters of the climate crisis, politics and potential development would require meaningful dialogue and action in order to carve a path forward, for the benefit of the people and natural inhabitants whose lands and waters are in question. Incorporating the voices of affected communities into mitigation and policy development offers more nuanced, effective and responsible approaches (Perumal 2018, 46), which are identified during 'meaningful consultation' that the IRC has done with the ISR communities.

The entanglement of these disparate regions of the north and south, as well as the entanglement between human and wildlife, are manifested in numerous ways. Poirier notes that "entanglement stresses the politics of coexistence and difference and provides a window

into social change. Encounters and coexistence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous worlds and actors, on and in the land, are always a matter of politics" (2017, 216). The entanglements between Inuvialuit and the land and animals are what allowed Inuvialuit *nunangat* rights and the IFA to become part of the Canadian Constitution. Randal emphasized, "It's our land rights and… we've got harvester's rights to go with it, because land and wildlife, critical habitats go hand in hand" (19-08-15). Because Inuvialuit, and other Inuit and Indigenous people, rely on and maintain a coexistence relationship with non-human entities, Indigenous peoples' roles as caretakers, the politics of sustainability and the stringent regulation of development are key to ensuring the health and longevity of both humans and non-human counterparts. Inuvialuit ways and stances on development and preservation should not be considered in isolation; rather, they are a snapshot of the bigger picture of Indigenous and Canadian politics, and entanglements of coexistence and ontological diversity, within and across the region and country.

Climate crisis and development in the Western Arctic

The climate crisis is a global, anthropogenic problem, driven by human consumption and rampant exploitation of resources, which requires meaningful consultation (Cons 2018; Perumal 2018) and social solutions (ITK 2019) between stakeholders, government and First Peoples whose lands the exploration, development and encroachment occurs. The delicate interplay between climate change and the pressing drive for resource extraction and exploitation demands attention to prevent unnecessary environmental disaster and conflict on already deteriorating environments. The precarity that affects natural ecosystems also affects Indigeneity with regards to maintaining cultural practices and relationships with the land.

To some, the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline development can be envisioned as an economic stimulus.[39] With the move to a wage economy, Inuvialuit have become dependant on employment, Employment Insurance, welfare, annual Inuvialuit beneficiary cheques and the Inuvialuit Harvesters Assistance Program to support their families and their subsistence way of life. Elders and harvesters alike were concerned for the youth and up and coming generations who are not able to and may never be able to fully rely on a subsistence livelihood. As pointed out by harvester Jimboy, "everything is dollars now… our way of life is really going away from the younger generations, cause them they'd rather work... It's work and that, and it's going to benefit them, the younger generation, cause it's their way of life" (19-08-14). To others, it represents a risky gamble with the delicate, natural, sacred and invaluable environment that people still depend upon: "I totally disagree with the development of pipeline… I don't think it's possible. I think it's just a dream… I think it's gonna be pretty hard… Like, how do you sustain the animals and the land. Like you can't say, "Hey, hold on, don't come til we're done." You know?! [laughs]" (Elder from *Inuvik* 19-08-15). Moreover, there a few Inuvialuit who believe that development is possible, without having too much impact on the environment, wildlife and people, as long as development is stringently controlled. Robert, former COPE negotiator states, "I would be in favour of it in terms of following the Final Agreement itself… Other than that, I don't think it should go [ahead]" (20-01-15).

Regardless of whether Elders, harvesters and former COPE Members were pro- or anti-development, each stressed the need to ensure that the environment and its wildlife are

[39] This applies to any fossil fuel pipeline development, and any other resource extraction, where economic benefits outweigh costs to the environment.

healthy and sustainable for future generations, so that Inuvialuit can continue traditional and cultural practices. Additionally, regardless of position, the impacts of climate change need to be considered regarding any development that occurs in the ISR, and anywhere else that is impacted by rising temperatures, rising waters and erosion of lands. More to the point, though, the people who are directly affected by any type of development need to be consulted to mitigate and minimize impacts as much as possible, not just for people but for all agentive inhabitants and natural ecosystems of the area.

Sustainability efforts and development in the face of the climate crisis in the ISR will be challenging and multifaceted, and would require the input from those whose livelihood depends on the land, as they are the knowledge and relationship holders who practice political will in the ISR. The insight that they can provide will be invaluable as they are most familiar with the land, waters and potential impact on the environment. Indigenous caretakers entangle political and ethical discourses, where Indigenous rights, polities and existence are connected to the ecological health of the lands and waters (Weiss 2018, 160). Not only are Inuvialuit people confronted by climate change and subjected to governmental discourses as citizens of Canada, but the potential for resource development puts them in a precarious position, where environmental, social and cultural risks are weighed against short term economic benefits.

Meaning Making: The Inuvialuit Final Agreement

"Whaling rituals were very important to the Inuit of the western Arctic. The people from Baillie Island used to chant this song whenever they harpooned a whale.

A Whale Chant

You that we are towing along
Ah, ya ah e ya
Big whale, big whale,
Stir up the sea with your tail
E ya ah e ya
Give us fair weather today
So we arrive safe and sound on shore
E ya ah e ya
Tug – tug along hard
E ya ah e ya
Row – Row!" (Petrone 1988, 39).

Knowledge is powerful; it is memories, experience and worldview, founded on phenomenological interactions with the world around us, each as diverse and similar to those we socialize and come into contact with. Smells, sights, emotions, and experiences in general trigger memories, reminding us of moments in time and place that imprint onto our being. Knowledge gained from these experiences personify how we respond and react to situations. *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* is shaped by connection to land where epistemology becomes relevant with the lived experiences of Indigenous people. *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* has ensured Inuvialuit survival in the Arctic since time immemorial. Absolon states that "[m]aking meaning is what we do with knowledge" (2011, 22). My approach to meaning making is to actively listen, to stay attuned to what the people are saying literally and metaphorically, and to translate or make meaning of the knowledge shared in the context of the morals, values and teachings that form

this story as re-search, while staying as true to their words as possible. My position as an Inuvialuit person provides me with an in depth contextual insight into the matters raised; this insight allows me to develop re-search questions that challenge preconceived notions and expand scholarly understanding of the subject (Innes 2009, 447). This approach works to provide insight into issues raised by community.

What is important in my meaning making in an anthropology of consultation, given histories of colonial denigration and appropriation faced by Inuvialuit, is to ensure that no harm is imposed with respect to how we write about and make meaning of Indigenous knowledge systems (Absolon 2011; Kovach *et al* 2013, 492). Keeping the narrative as true to what was spoken would provide the re-search and story more life, as the purpose of this re-search is to give Inuvialuit a voice and agency, given the realities of life in the ISR today. The words and statements made by participants are knowledge-rich, true accounts of the life they lived and continue to live. The knowledge shared is theirs; they share it with me so that I can deepen my understanding, thereby enabling me to work towards enlightening 'others.' With an anthropological lens, I aim to provide a means of de-coding[40] recurring dialogues of concern, visions, knowledge and epistemology that speak to climate change, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement and its implementation. Additionally, this re-search also aims to contribute to disciplinary dialogues regarding consultation processes, Indigenous methodologies, resource development and extraction, and sustainability in the face of the climate crisis, as well as the resilience and resurgence of Inuvialuit people.

[40] Whereas 'coding' was used as a method to come up with the themes that form this thesis, 'de-coding' is utilized as a tool to elaborate on the messages and meanings behind the various themes.

As mentioned previously, Inuvialuit traditionally learned through listening to stories as told by Elders, as well as through observation and hands on experience. Inuvialuit shared instances where they learned by sitting and listening to the stories that Elders told. Experiencing the stories on the land first hand not only taps into the knowledge that is shared by Elders, kin or community members, but also creates connections for how we view and experience our world. Story telling was and is an important factor in how *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* is transferred to the younger generations. Access to land and having the ability to practice traditions ensures that this *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* is passed on for the benefit of the future generations of Inuvialuit. Just as this thesis aims to tell the Inuvialuit 'story,' it needs to be put in to practice to appreciate the full learning experience; this story and its teachings of 'meaningful consultation' need to be put in to motion, in order to begin to bridge the gap of "jagged worldviews" (Little Bear 2000, 85), to come to a deeper understanding and full acknowledgement of all the issues at stake. In the words of Educator Leroy Little Bear who is of Blackfoot descent, "[w]hen jagged worldviews collide, objectivity is an illusion. The only things I know for sure are the things I experience, see, feel, and so on. The rest of it is presumption and persuasion" (Little Bear 2000, 85). Referring back to the Inuvialuit pedagogy, speaks to the necessity for oral stories, observations and hands-on experience, in order to establish Inuvialuit worldview and relationality. It follows, then, that Inuvialuit, or Indigenous and non-Indigenous people have differing worldviews that collide, causing misunderstanding and miscommunication. To bridge the gap of this misunderstanding and miscommunication, time, patience and meaningful engagement are required.

Current Inuvialuit voice as story can portray how the land, among many things, has been impacted through climate change, how Inuvialuit way of life is affected as a result, and how disruptive a pipeline may be, should one eventually be developed. Inuvialuit voice as story can also portray how the IFA and its implementation both subvert and benefit Inuvialuit governance and way of life.

The mobilization of COPE

Non-renewable resource exploration disrupted migration of animals through areas Inuvialuit typically travelled through. Offshore exploration affected beluga hunting (Randal Boogie Pokiak 19-08-13), a vital food staple that Inuvialuit depend upon. The regulations during the 1960s were lacking, and did not consider the impacts of developments on the natural wildlife that dwelled in and around these lands. Further, the settler government, which had entrenched themselves in the Western Arctic, handed out exploration permits with no regard for the 'original peoples,' as though these lands were empty and unoccupied. These lands are vast, immense, diverse and untouched and provide for the wildlife that Inuvialuit weave into the fabric of traditional and contemporary life. Inuvialuit *nunangat* are spaces filled with meaning and belonging, places where personhood is initiated and carved into being. This phenomenology of 'spending time' on the land is what moulds people, where one draws an identity from. When the land and wildlife are affected, Inuvialuit are also affected. Essentially, the wildlife needed a voice, and Inuvialuit sought to protect them, as the government of the day failed to account for these important relations.

With all the outside interests in the natural resources in the area and outside influences and pressures that are brought with newcomers, the Inuvialuit formed COPE. In the 1970s and

80s, there was extensive consultation by COPE fieldworkers and negotiators with each of the Inuvialuit communities. As expressed in 2009 in a publication by IRC for the 25th Anniversary of the IFA,

> COPE rallied at the grassroots level, galvanizing many to become fieldworkers. The fieldworker approach was intensive. Visits were made to every household in the communities to ensure that people understood what COPE stood for, and that they supported the idea of a land claim. 24,000 interviews were conducted where COPE fieldworkers and translators sought the views and knowledge of the people it wanted to represent (IRC 2009, 28).

Occasionally, people were at their bush camp where fieldworkers would travel to, in order to reach as many people as possible (Annie C. Gordon 19-08-18), putting into practice good consultation, where individual agency and input were key to the unified front that drove the grassroot movement. Hired consultants brought knowledge of their respective disciplines, as well as strategies to negotiate with the government (Randal Boogie Pokiak 19-08-15; Nellie Cournoyea 19-08-14). Robert Delury was a biologist who was involved with COPE since the beginning and saw the land claims process through to the end with the signing of the IFA. It was important that hired consultants such as Delury, who became the chief negotiator on behalf of Inuvialuit, were immersed in the daily life and had a sound understanding of the struggles, vision and concerns of the people. COPE was provided counsel by Elders, as the Elders were the advisors; their voice and vision became the foundation of Inuvialuit sovereignty. Randal remembers:

> The [E]lders, the trappers, they were the backbone of the IFA. They selflessly dedicated themselves for the future generations. The [E]lders were harnessing young people like myself. "We were like a dog team." They put us where we were supposed to be, and

> they were the drivers, they loaded up the sled, and the Final Agreement was their destination. They were the ones commanding us to the destination (cited in IRC 2009, 39-40).

The dedication and selflessness of the Elders, fieldworkers and negotiators are demonstrated in their actions and in the achievements of the IFA. Fieldworkers provided rides for people to vote when the time came to accept or reject the negotiated IFA, to ensure voter turnout was high. This consistent mobilization and meaningful consultation were important in ensuring that each Inuvialuit was aware of the significance of this movement, a moment when Inuvialuit had to prove to the government their rootedness and connectedness to the lands and waters they called home for countless generations.

Implications and necessities of oil and gas industry

Sensitive habitats and inhabitants could potentially be affected, not only during construction phases, but also from an oil or gas spill, thereby affecting Inuvialuit subsistence. An experienced harvester notes, "it is gonna affect hunting and trapping and that, and animals gonna have to... they'll probably change their routes" (Jimboy 19-08-14). Another harvester articulates this further: "animals are going to be affected and in turn, we're going to be affected... And it would take out our main principle of the claim of preserving our environment, land and animals, our culture" (Lawrence Amos 19-12-13). This insight of preserving environment, thereby protecting culture, both of which are embedded in the IFA, demonstrates the importance and priorities of sustainability. Additionally, Dussart and Poirier state that when “the resources are depleted, the actors of extractive economies usually abandon the places of their fate, while Indigenous people continue to claim ancestral ties and responsibilities towards their metamorphosed territories” (2017, 20). Encroachment due to non-renewable

resource extraction on Inuvialuit lands creates a conflict of interest where Inuvialuit subsistence and sovereignty are in jeopardy, in terms of preservation of lands, animals and culture. The construction of a pipeline, just as the whaling and trapping that occurred nearly a century ago, would cause disruptions as well as providing short-lived economic benefits that are undoubtedly needed.

With the construction of a pipeline, Inuvialuit that I spoke with have envisioned that social problems, such as increased consumption of alcohol and drugs, would increase (Elder from *Inuvik* 19-08-15; Danny C. Gordon 19-08-18; *Panigavluk* 19-08-16), causing discord in the family and community (Hank *Angasuk* 19-08-19), and children would spend less time with their families (Elder from *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* 19-08-13). However, as stated below, the local economy will be stimulated with the influx of money, whereby many jobs would be created during the construction of the pipeline, jobs that Inuvialuit have come to be dependent upon. Elders and harvesters have stated that choosing pipeline development is a hard but necessary choice to be made:

> There's a good and bad to it I guess. But you know, right now there's no jobs around town. I mean our people are trying to work, but [there's] no work here. They have to go elsewhere to work… if the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline starts, I think it'll create some jobs here. Make a little better way, better to live around here (Hank *Angasuk* 19-08-19).

The trade off in this economic development is that at least people would have jobs to monetarily provide for their families and traditional livelihood while living in their community. Living a life that has essentially become bicultural, Inuvialuit are holding onto traditions and culture in the face of a changing society, one in which employment and income are a necessity:

> I think our younger generation are more into the new ways with work wise and that, whereas when you're older… we had to chop our own wood, get our own water… But now everything is... delivered now. And so everything is dollars now… our way of life is really going away from the younger generations, cause them, they'd rather work... it's going to benefit them, the younger generation, cause it's their way of life. And I think to us or to me as a harvester, it's like a dying tradition now... You know, whether it's because there's hardly [any]more hunters or not, because of climate change, eventually you're gonna can't go anyway... And so we have to lean more on the white man ways now, where we have to work, work to get what you want (Jimboy 19-08-14).

While some things are out of individual people's hands in shaping their future, to do 'what you want' requires choices. Not only is the wage economy necessary, but it is also a means to fund the practice of going out on the land, a practice that has become costly to maintain. It is the way of the new generations: their reality is to find their way and their livelihood. Inuvialuit life continues to change and adapt to the changing demands and priorities.

Inuvialuit have adopted and become dependent on goods and services that were introduced during the earlier trade networks and expanded upon by capitalism. Of these goods and services, non-renewable resources such as oil, propane and gas are required to heat homes and to travel to camps and traditional hunting grounds. Wood is still used to heat homes and cabins when possible, but predominantly homes and buildings are heated by non-renewable sources, whereas previously they were heated by whale and seal oil. There are instances of solar panels to reduce costs and effects, however, there is currently no substantial alternative to these non-renewable resources. Hence non-renewable resources continue to be a necessity. Furthermore, very few people maintain a dog team, which requires feeding, care taking and training; snow mobiles, quads and boats are now used when venturing out to camps and

hunting grounds. The irony is that though the Arctic is on the frontlines of the impacts of carbon induced climate change, Inuvialuit as well as other Inuit across the Arctic are dependent on these non-renewable carbon sources, with limited alternatives to replace fossil fuels.

Meaningful consultation

Meaningful consultation creates an opportunity for Indigenous ways of knowing and being to come to the forefront. Additionally, it also challenges the dominant colonial ways of consultative practice. I purposely chose the term "meaningful consultation" here, rather than just "consultation," to signal a high standard of engagement, dialogue and communicating action. "Meaningful" relates to the earlier theory of "meaning making" by Absolon, as a critical exercise that engages with Indigenous knowledges and practice in their own terms that is embedded in memory, experience and worldview. Through "meaningful" consultation, I seek to transcend the critique that "consultation" merely furthers the subjugation of Indigenous peoples to the State. Through my interviews and conversations, Inuvialuit knowledge and worldview, acquired through connection to land and occupied places, are portrayed and speak to the stewardship and reciprocal relationship that Inuvialuit maintain. The value of this stewardship and relationship is exemplified in the holistic view of the health of the ecosystem, the animals that people depend upon and monitor, and the conditions that are currently shifting.

Inuvialuit, as well as other Indigenous groups, hold the environment as an invaluable resource that is respected and revered. Among the Apache, Basso stated:

> Surrounded by places, and always in one place or another, men and women talk about them constantly, and it is from listening in on such exchanges and then trying to ascertain what has been said that interested outsiders can begin to appreciate what the

> encompassing landscape is really all about… the outsider must attempt to come to grips with the indigenous cultural forms with which the landscape is experienced, the shared symbolic vehicles that give shape to geographical experience and facilitate its communication – its re-creation and re-presentation – in interpersonal settings. For it is simply not the case… that relationships to places are lived exclusively or predominantly in contemplative moments of social isolation (1996, 56).

Therefore, the dialogue created and narratives drawn upon can and should be seen as legitimate, intricate, and valuable. Inuvialuit knowledge and connection to places must be considered and incorporated into policies, regulations and planning regarding land management, sustainability and development. In the context of "meaningful consultation," we can read Basso's statement, as pointing out that 'the outsider' (government and industrial representatives for argument's sake), must attempt to comprehend the landscape as experienced Indigenous cultural forms that are interwoven into ones Indigeneity. That is, for there to be "meaningful consultation" it is essential that 'the outsider' experience the landscape, as essential in beginning to understand Indigenous connection to and reverence for invaluable spaces and places. The cultural landscape as experienced Indigenous cultural systems, draw and mould ones worldview.

A key challenge for "meaningful consultation" is the positioning and perspectives of non-Indigenous alterity which can prevent outsiders from comprehending the relationship and reciprocity that Indigenous people have to homelands. Moreover, the loss of connection and appreciation of the land and waters that is typical of life ways bound and tied to the neo-liberal perspectives prevents them from fully appreciating and respecting its value. Though efforts are made today by industry, as mandated by government, to consult with Indigenous groups with

regard to social and environmental impact assessments (SIA and EIA respectively), "meaningful consultation" is often subverted by unwavering attention to the priorities of capital gain. Clinton Westman (2013) argues that environmental and social impact assessments actually prescribe future impacts imposed by the developmental projects. The discourse of assessments, as argued by Westman, has become technical, as opposed to a social or environmental concern: "One result of SIA and EIA processes is that consultants and their writings on the future assume an authority which takes discussion of the future out of the political arena and places it solidly in the technical arena, rendering debates open to technical interventions, but not to political, legal, or popular challenge" (2013, 114).

Despite concerns and evidence produced by environmentalists and Indigenous groups that are caught up and entangled in this process, Indigenous traditional occupation and land use, spiritual, cultural, cosmological, ontological and subsistence rights have failed to meet the communicative opportunities of "meaningful consultation" and thus are often dismissed in assessment processes. "It is this spiritual component, as well the power differential, that consultants fail to represent in their scenarios of the future, based on the resource imaginations of the present" (Westman 2013, 118-9). Compounded with the lack of "meaningful consultation," Indigenous groups typically lack the political and legal agency to alter the course of development on their homelands. Westman argues that, rather than protecting Indigenous rights and environments from destruction, these impact assessments engineer the future through the power imbalance and lack of agency afforded Indigenous groups involved. Industry and government have the influence and power to make decisions,

while Indigenous groups are subjected to such power inequities. Again, here I argue for an empowered "meaningful consultation" as a key element to resolving these issues.

Ontological difference both benefits and situates Indigenous People in precarious situations when faced with having to choose between sustainability and development. The northern economy is dependent on resources and income through employment, while many still rely on their homelands. This makes it all the more important to get at the heart of the issues through meaningful consultation. Industry and government's approach to consultative efforts with Indigenous groups, who are continually confronted with the exploitation of their traditional territories by outside forces, are in need of intersecting, with a positive spirit of intent that goes beyond lip service and handouts. When government and industry actually take the time to listen and engage with the intention of acting in good faith, only then can Indigenous concerns and visions be acted upon meaningfully.

This brings me back to the insights of previous work and consultation conducted by Justice Thomas Berger, who spent much time visiting communities and gaining a sound understanding of the context and issues raised by Indigenous peoples in the north while he was commissioner for the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline from 1974-77. *The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry: Volume One* (1977) by Berger is particularly relevant for its thorough representation of the Indigenous groups that he met with, as well as the environmental and social context that the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline would impact. As stated by Berger:

> In the course of this Inquiry, I have travelled throughout this region. I have learned how remarkably different the land is in winter and in summer. I have seen the great

> differences between the forest and the tundra. I have admired the vastness of the land, its variety, its beauty, and the abundance of its wildlife.
>
> I have travelled throughout the Mackenzie Valley, and I have seen the great river in its varied moods. I have crossed the swampy and forested plains and the "great" lakes that extend eastward from the Valley to the edge of the Canadian Shield. I have seen the myriad lakes and ponds and the complex of river channels that form the Mackenzie Delta. I have flown over the Beaufort Sea in winter covered by ice and snow, in summer by fields of ice floating in the blue water. I have seen the beaches, bars and islands of the Arctic coast, the pingos and lakes around Tuktoyaktuk, the rocky hills at Holman, and the clear rivers of the Yukon Coastal Plain.
>
> On the Old Crow Flats, in the Mackenzie Delta, and along the Beaufort Sea coast I have seen the immense flocks of birds that migrate in their thousands to this [A]rctic area each summer. I have seen the white whales swimming in the shallow coastal waters of the Beaufort Sea around the Mackenzie Delta. I have seen the Porcupine caribou herd in early summer at its calving grounds in the Northern Yukon, and the Bathurst herd at its wintering grounds north of Great Slave Lake. And in every native village I have seen the meat and fish, the fur and hides that the people have harvested from the land and water (2).

The manner in which he consulted with Indigenous communities along the pipeline corridor was rigorous and genuine, engaging with the memories, experiences and worldviews through land based experiences of the vast beauty and delicate countryside. Through this immersion into the north and his "meaningful consultation," Berger gleaned Indigenous dependence upon and relationship with the land for subsistence and worldview: "The native people's relationship to the land is so different from that of the dominant culture that only through their own words can we comprehend it. The native people, whose testimony appears throughout this chapter – and indeed throughout this report – are people of all ages, from teenagers to the very old" (93-

94). In true manner of "meaningful consultation," he considered all voices and perspectives for the findings in his report.

The manner in which Berger practiced consultation during this inquiry exemplifies how consultation with Indigenous groups is done in a good way. While illustrating the pipeline proposals and routes, he portrayed the socioeconomics, health and well-being of all of the inhabitants of the Western Arctic and Inuvialuit in the context of their connection to land. Berger's report demonstrates the overall effects that the pipeline may have, not only during the construction of the pipeline and potential spill and contamination of the land, but also on the social fabric and culture that will be felt by Indigenous groups along the pipeline corridor. Inuvialuit may be most affected, as the oil and gas deposits are directly located within the ISR. Further, Berger considered and discussed Indigenous land claims, that were in its early stages during this inquiry, answering Westman's challenge of not disentangling the political and legal issues from technical assessments.

"Meaningful consultation" by Berger and the prevailing self-determination, sovereignty efforts and opposition brought forward by Inuvialuit and other Indigenous groups along the pipeline corridor facilitated his recommendation to put a 10 year moratorium on the development of the Mackenzie Valley Gas Project. The successful grassroots movement of community leaders, fieldworkers and negotiators, as well as the consideration and advocacy of Berger's recommendation of a moratorium, paved the way for Inuvialuit to continue negotiations with the federal government while pipeline development was put on hold. Negotiations with the federal government would last approximately another 7 years after Berger's Report was released in 1977.

Power struggles and the road to the IFA

Notions of treaty federalism,[41] as argued by political scientist Graham White (2002), are predominantly rooted in EuroCanadian political and legal orders with regard to land, and relationships of power and hegemony. It is a way in which the federal government entrenches Indigenous and Crown relations in terms of colonialism, by establishing formal constructs and institutions that establish terms of authority, that in turn form land claims processes that Indigenous people are subjected to. According to White, "treaty federalism stands for 'Indian consensus' and 'Indian consent' in regard to the manner and form of our co-existence with the Queen's white children under the Canadian Constitutional framework" (2002, 91). However, it is not just 'Indians,' or rather First Nations people, that this applies to, it is also Inuit groups across Turtle Island that have gone through the motions of formal land claims. Though I agree with the 'manner and form of co-existence with the Queen's white children,' I do not necessarily agree with 'consensus' or 'consent' as stated; it is the power disparity between Indigenous people and the Crown, the invasion of industry, and economic necessity that has forced Indigenous Peoples to enter into negotiations. Further, though Indigenous Peoples have entered into these processes, they have mastered the discourse of land claims, so to speak, with the assistance and allyship of notable 'children of the Queen.'

Though the government agreed to the moratorium, federal negotiators attempted to stall negotiations as long as they could, for purposes that would benefit both government and

[41] According to Graham White, "treaty federalism, as realized in claims-mandated co-management and regulatory boards, is about relationships, about sharing of jurisdiction and authority, about multi-level governance capable of melding very different cultural perspectives and socio-political priorities, and about practical accommodation of Aboriginal and EuroCanadian needs and traditions" (2002, 114). I use this notion to demonstrate the relationship that Inuvialuit have with the State with regards to the IFA.

industry. As shared by Randal, Inuvialuit pushed to settle, and dragged federal negotiators along throughout negotiations, as the oil and gas industries “were bed partners with federal government under the PIP grants, Petroleum Incentive Programme. And this is why there was so much money spent on oil exploration, because government had this agreement with the oil companies" (19-08-13). He goes on to say that,

> Canadians was paying 90 cents of tax dollars for exploration. Oil companies put up the other 10%... all the discoveries made whether it's oil or natural gas, out of that reservoir, the Canadian government [would] own 25% of any oil and gas discovered while that PIP grant is in place... And so it was in the best interest for the government to drag their heels, because every time that they had a discovery, and in the negotiations, while we were negotiating, I think they said, "Anywhere there's a discovery, you guys won't select that land. That land is out of bounds to you. It's alienated to you." So government had a conflict of interest, and here we thought our Canadian government was supposed to protect Canadians. And us, as Inuvialuit Canadians. And they were not there. They were not there for Inuvialuit, they were not there for the environment, they were not there for the wildlife habitats, they were not there for the Ocean. Their eyes was tunnel vision with that money from the oil companies. Not only from that 25% of rights to those discoveries, but they had royalties. They're going to collect land fees to access land, to the reservoirs, project to create a pipeline. Government could make all kind of money (19-08-13).

This stall tactic, made possible by the inherent power imbalance, was one of reasons that negotiations took longer than needed. Negotiations would take approximately 10 years, with significant federal negotiator and government staff turnover, and new governing parties entering office after national elections. The delays gave space to set in motion the obstinate mechanics of oil and gas exploration, sidelining the issues of the environment, wildlife and well-being of Inuvialuit Peoples.

The extended period of time that it took to complete the Inuvialuit land claim was due to the turnover of federal government negotiators, which required the Inuvialuit to re-educate the new incoming government staff. Further, these lengthy negotiations required the COPE negotiators to travel to Ottawa and stay for weeks on end, away from home and family. A COPE negotiator recalls:

> We were in Ottawa to ratify the Agreement-in-Principle (AiP). It was suggested that we go to a government interdepartmental meeting in Ottawa the next day, to give these departments a preview of the Agreement-in-Principal. We had to put on a 'dog and pony show' to these departments, to get them to support our claim. We went through each section of the proposed agreement, and then we opened for questions. Finally one of the government officials said, "Why do you want the claim? The government could look after you." That was how he started off. There was a big audience there. They told us we didn't need the claim. ["]The government will look after you,["] they said. One of them went as far as saying, ["Y]ou don't know how to handle money, if you were given compensation, you will drink it up, you will buy chocolates, you will buy chips and pop, you are just going to blow it. And then you are going to cause the government more problems, because you will be in a worse state than when you started.["] That made us really mad, really upset… All this time, they did not get our message. The negotiators all got up at the same time and Sam [Raddi] said, "We'll see you in court. I don't think you are negotiating in good faith." So we walked out (cited in IRC 2009, 30).

This paternalistic reception reinforces the challenge of "meaningful consultation" and negotiations. With such prejudice and hostility, the insincere dialogue of 'a dog and pony show' precludes the possibilities of the shared meaning-making needed for determining a good future. It was only after the threat of litigation that the federal government took negotiations seriously. After years of fieldwork, consultations by both COPE with its own members and by

Justice Berger with Indigenous groups in the Western Arctic, and extensive negotiations between COPE and government representatives, the Inuvialuit were eventually successful in establishing land rights. Despite all the challenges and adversities along the way, the IFA, a unique living document, was achieved by the Inuvialuit. Without the dedication and determination of these fieldworkers, negotiators and allies, the achievement of the IFA would not be possible. Together, they worked to embody principles of good consultation and in doing so, positively reshaped the future of Inuvialuit communities.

It should be noted that the land claims process is largely predicated on the legal orders of European common law, rather than Inuvialuit law, yet it was seen as necessary in order for the Inuvialuit to be equal in the eyes of the law, a norm that has become the reality of Indigenous Peoples. Simpson and Smith state:

> Native peoples who historically collaborated in treaty making or other governmental processes did so within conditions that were not entirely of their making… As such, their signatures, on treaties for example, were not an assent of sorts and should not be read retroactively as treachery or a commitment to assimilation. Under the conditions Native peoples faced, they made the best choices available in order to preserve the well-being of Native peoples in the future (Simpson and Smith 2014, 15).

The COPE leaders that politically paved the way for Inuvialuit people did so under environmental and political stresses that Inuvialuit urgently wanted to have addressed, in order for the Inuvialuit to continue to live in a good way. Ultimately, the IFA would be a moment in Inuvialuit and Canadian history that acknowledged the original people, the Inuvialuit, as having formal land rights, political and legal agency, and voice in matters that are at the heart of Inuvialuit well-being.

Meaningful Participation, uniqueness of the IFA

COPE negotiators learned from and built off of previous land claims cases, including the Alaska Native Claim Settlement and the Calder case in B.C., where the lawyer for the plaintiffs, Thomas Berger, was asked by Nisga'a Chief Frank Calder to represent the Nisga'a Tribal Council in their case against the provincial government over Aboriginal title to Nisga'a lands. The Nisga'a land claims case was the first heard by the Supreme Court of Canada in which Aboriginal title to land was argued and that Crown title was challenged as an encroachment onto unceded Nisga'a territory. The Calder decision became the first in Canada to make a finding by a split panel of judges on the continued existence of Aboriginal rights and title (Cruikshank 2017).

The IFA was signed on June 5, 1984 in *Tuktuuyaqtuuq*, just 11 years after the Calder decision (a short time in Canadian land claims terms). In the summer of 2019, the summer that I conducted my fieldwork visiting communities interviewing Inuvialuit, the IRC celebrated the 35th Anniversary of the IFA. My grandfather *Angagaq*, who passed away on December 3, 1980, would have loved to see Inuvialuit land rights come to fruition, along with measures with which Inuvialuit culture, nationhood, land and economics are to be protected. All his time and effort interviewing and consulting with Inuvialuit regarding their land use and occupancy are what the land claims itself is based upon, which are the traditional territories and camping areas of Inuvialuit families that he facilitated and assisted to compile. The map biographies (Freeman 2011; Tobias 2009) are spaces and places of Inuvialuit nationhood, spaces and places where people were born, raised, form an identity and belonging, based on generations of ancestors' resilience and self-sufficiency.

The signing was a momentous occasion that marked a time in Canadian history that an Indigenous group and their well-being became entrenched into the Canadian Constitution of Canada, thereby altering the trajectory of industrial development that the government had a hand in financing and permitting. The construction of a pipeline would alter the Western Arctic landscape over time, thrusting against the traditional values and morals of a group of people – a nation – who have occupied and thrived in the area for millennia. Essentially, as expressed by Randal, this Agreement brought Inuvialuit nationhood into terms with the notion of a modern sovereignty: "The sovereignty [is] a domestic sovereignty, not between countries. It was within Canada. And this is our homeland. So here now… I call it a 'sovereignty within a sovereignty.' So we've got protection from Canada, from outside invaders, like Russia and that. United States, and other countr[ies]. And we also got sovereignty within our own nation, Canada" (19-08-13). Randal's vision of sovereignty here is in line with a commitment between Indigenous Peoples and settlers, rather than a separation. Inuvialuit did not separate from Canada, rather we have become empowered to protect ourselves in the face of infringements. Inuvialuit rights and freedoms became entrenched within the Canadian Constitution, with specified measures and protection of Inuvialuit nationhood.

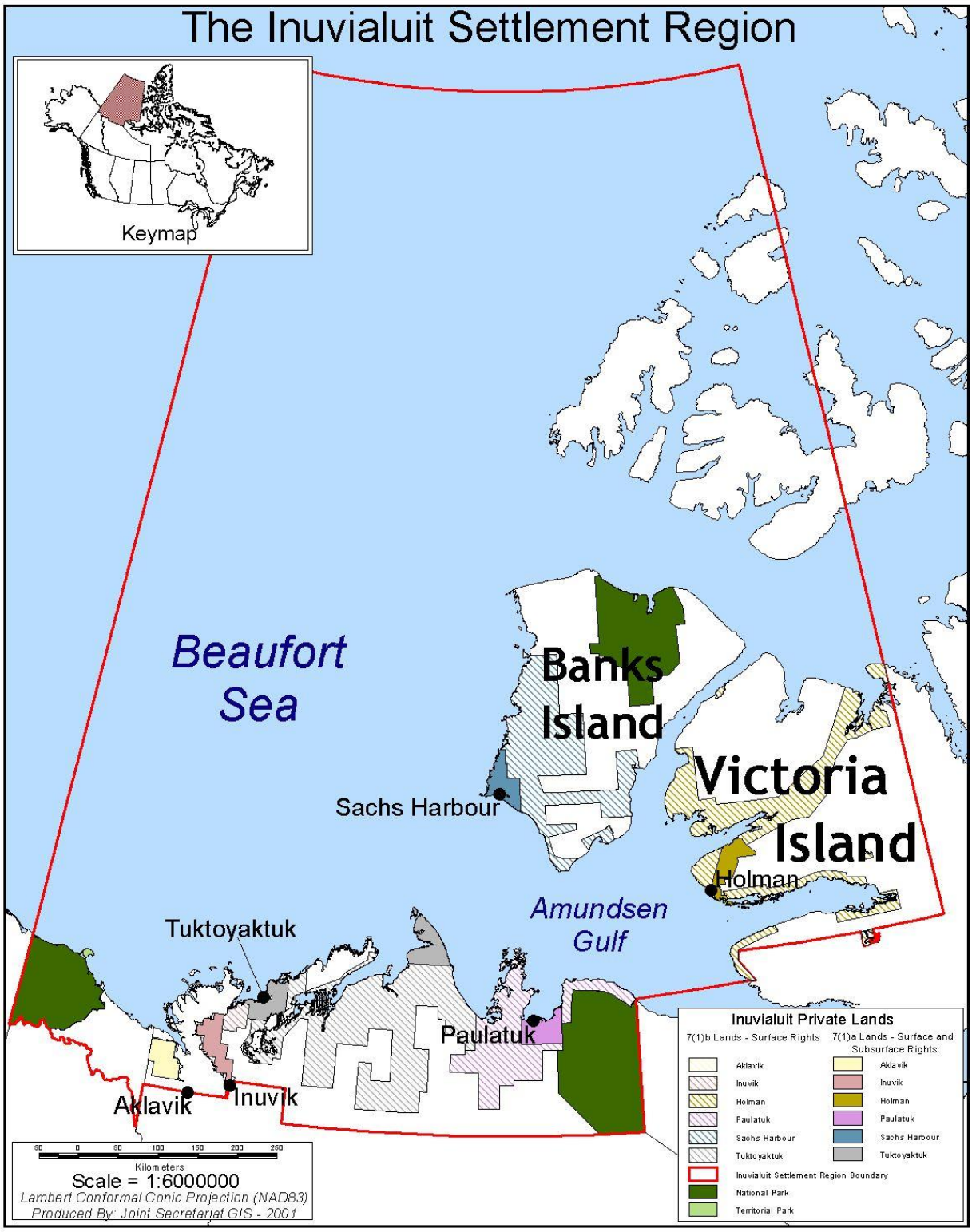

Figure 6. The Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR), with communities and private lands. Map produced by the Joint Secretariat.

The Agreement lays out important Principles underscoring the intent and purpose of the relationship between the Government of Canada and the Inuvialuit:

> The basic goals expressed by the Inuvialuit and recognized by Canada in concluding this agreement are: (a) to preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society; (b) to enable Inuvialuit to be equal and *meaningful participants* in the northern and national economy and society; and (c) to protect and preserve the Arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity (IFA 2005, 1, emphasis added).

The IFA is now part of the fabric of the Constitution of Canada, which acknowledges Inuvialuit rights that were never extinguished and are now protected. As noted by Hank, the oil and gas industries affected a lot of people through the traplines being disrupted; now the land claim agreement ensures that the hunters and trappers have more say over activities that occur (19-08-19). Paraphrasing further what Hank noted, before land claims were finalized, industry went wherever they wanted to go, thinking that they knew better than the local people; even when local people shared their knowledge of the conditions of the land and waters, they would not listen; it was the industry's way, or no way (19-08-19). Hank speaks to the hardships, resilience and perseverance of Inuvialuit, as experienced by past Inuvialuit Elders:

> [W]e adapted to our changing times. Before land claims was hard because when you try to work out in the oil fields and all that, it was always lots of prejudice people out there. You have to try to work through it. Sometime you get pushed, and sometime you get pushed too hard, you do something bad and then they let you go. So, it was hard back then. Now that we have land claims we can tell them what we want to do. You know, we're not gonna get pushed around no more. Our leaders made it better for us to work in that kinda industry, cause we have eyes and ears all over the place. We have to start adapting to what we, how we want them to work. This is our land and we want to keep

> it as pristine as we seen it. I think our Elders before us were the trail breaker for all this. They worked hard to make it easier for us to live (19-08-19).

Mechanisms of the IFA empower Inuvialuit; as stewards of the land, it is necessary to 'have eyes and ears' with regards to industrial or development activities in the ISR. Inuvialuit agency, authority and "meaningful participation" was acknowledged on Inuvialuit terms, with regards to activities that occur on Inuvialuit lands. The Elders, negotiators and leaders ensured that Inuvialuit would have the authority to screen development, be included in decision making[42] and are in control of any development on Inuvialuit *nunangat*, as well as in receipt of any benefits[43] from activities approved by the Inuvialuit. Not only did COPE have a hand in stopping the development of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, but Inuvialuit would became equal partners in development should they decide that sustainable development is feasible.

That is to say, the requirements for large scale development, such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, were negotiated into the IFA. As referenced by Robert, IFA signatory:

> [I]n the Final Agreement itself… we're prepared for that, because our Final Agreement was negotiated in terms of facing development in those days. Such as Canmar and Gulf and all the big oil companies… the pipeline inquiries as well… so we are fully well prepared for it in the Final Agreement itself. So that's the reason why too that we have negotiated compensation that has no ceiling on it. And I don't know if the other

[42] According to section "11. (3) Each development subject to screening shall be dealt with in accordance with the procedures, principles, criteria and provisions applicable under this Agreement… 11. (16) The proponents of a development required to be screened shall submit a project description to the Screening Committee during the preliminary planning stage containing the following information: (a) purpose of the project; (b) the nature and extent of the proposed development; the rationale for the site selection: and (d) information and technical data in sufficient detail to permit an adequate preliminary assessment of the project and its environmental impact" (IFA 2005, 28-29).

[43] Paragraph 6(4)(a) states "Any profits derived from any development of Inuvialuit lands and distributed through the Inuvialuit Trust shall be shared equally by all enrolled Inuvialuit, but each community corporation shall have control over any development activity approved by the Inuvialuit Land Administration of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation in respect to the block of land selected near that community" (IFA 2005, 9).

> claimants such as Nunavut and other areas negotiated the same thing… so for itself, that you know, we think that if it's a controlled development, it could be done (20-01-15).

'Compensation that has no ceiling on it' and 'controlled development' are fundamental concepts that Inuvialuit leadership have imposed on the Crown and industry, on behalf of Inuvialuit communities. These are examples of victories in the IFA that are important to Inuvialuit, proving self-determination and sovereignty. This preparedness that Robert speaks of are the regulatory and co-management bodies that consists of the Environmental Impact Screening Committee, the Environmental Impact Review Board, the Wildlife Management Advisory Council (North Slope), the Wildlife Management Advisory Council (NWT), Fisheries Joint Management Committee and the Inuvialuit Game Council. The Participation Agreement ensures Inuvialuit consent in which conditions need to be met before exploration and development can occur (IFA 2005). The regulatory bodies determine whether development activities are impactful to the environment and wildlife where applicable, as each has their own mandate. In terms of the 'commitment' metaphor, co-management boards are structured to reflect a political compromise (White 2002, 97) between the Inuvialuit and the government for how proposed development will be reviewed.

According to White, this compromise is based on the boards being hierarchical, bureaucratic structures, non-Indigenous institutions that are process-oriented. While this appears on the surface as antithetical to tenets of traditional Indigenous worldviews and cultures, Indigenous values, approaches and experiences are infused into these modern institutions (White 2002, 111) and in decision making processes. Though these bodies are formulated on non-Indigenous structures, they add rigour, transparency and accountability to

neoliberal notions of development. Without them, Inuvialuit may not maintain some sense of control of any development that occurs on Inuvialuit *nunangat*. Furthermore, what is important and should be noted is that this IFA ensures that Inuvialuit, should they decide to develop a pipeline, have the rights and freedoms to do so through their own authority and self-determination.

The Participation Agreement, on the other hand, ensures that Inuvialuit moderate potential impacts, receive appropriate benefits from development, and, where impacts or environmental damage occur, are guaranteed compensation. Section 10.(2) of the IFA states: "Except as otherwise agreed by the Inuvialuit Land Administration, before exercising his guaranteed right of access, a developer must have concluded a valid Participation Agreement with the Inuvialuit Land Administration setting out the rights and obligations of the parties respecting the activity for which the access i[s] being granted" (IFA 2005, 26). The 'guarantee' is subject to Inuvialuit authority. Section 10.(3) elaborates this further, and states:

> The Inuvialuit Land Administration shall have the right to negotiate with the developer/applicant an appropriate land rent (not to include royalty revenues) and a Participation Agreement that may include specific terms and conditions respecting the nature and magnitude of the land use for which the access is being sought. Without limiting their generality, the terms and conditions may also include: … (a) costs associated with any Inuvialuit Land Administration inspection of the development work sites and the nature and scope of such inspection; (b) wildlife compensation, restoration and mitigation; (c) employment, service and supply contracts; (d) education and training; and equity participation or other similar types of participatory benefits (IFA 2005, 26).

The Inuvialuit Land Administration (ILA) has the constitutional right to 'negotiate' land rent and a Participation Agreement, which empowers Inuvialuit to establish key terms, in the framework of a 'guarantee' set by other governments, yet controls those 'guaranteed' arrangements. It gives constitutional life to be 'equal and meaningful participants' that form the preamble in the Principles, and empower Inuvialuit to ensure their values, priorities, protections and benefits are fundamental to any development in the ISR. Each of these regulatory bodies and conditions ensure the protection of Inuvialuit territory and involvement in all matters, notably in decision making processes and reviews of proposed development projects. Mitigation, compensation, employment and education and training ensure that Inuvialuit rights, freedoms and to be "meaningful participants" are put to practice. The IFA provides legislative powers needed to make a case in negotiations and implementation of a Participation Agreement, where conservation interests are paramount in protected areas.

Implementation challenges of the IFA

Though COPE negotiators and the Inuvialuit took comfort in the entrenchment of their rights and freedoms that was written into the Canadian Constitution, the implementation of the IFA itself would take more time. Implementation of land claims is another lengthy process that requires funding and face to face meetings between Inuvialuit leaders and federal representatives at the negotiating table. As stated by the former Chair of the IRC, Nellie Cournoyea, "this is not just an Inuvialuit land claim, it's an Agreement between the Government of Canada and Inuvialuit. The Government of Canada has just as much responsibility and maybe more so than we do because they are part of it… that land claim is not finished yet… we have yet to implement the provisions of it" (19-08-14). This highlights the

ongoing obligations of the government. The land claim is not “settled”; rather it is a roadmap for how governments must behave. Nellie further states that this Agreement gives Inuvialuit the voice they want, the voice they need to implement the IFA (19-08-14), as full implementation of all the sections and programs of the Agreement have yet to be realized. This is significant, as it gives a sense of the magnitude of what was achieved in the Agreement, that 35 years later, efforts continue to implement the Agreement.

Having rights, however, in the careful implementation of various sections of the Agreement, and exercising those rights are two separate matters. Often what happens, is that the north gets painted with the same brush as the rest of Canada. Vernon Amos noted:

> [A]lmost every section of the land claim is being implemented, but it's being implemented in a really piecemeal fashion. They're not funding things they way they need to be funded. They're trying to look at our needs the same way they would any average Canadian in the south. Those are two different realities, and two different things. They'll work with you 100% if you want to work with them on their terms. If you want to try and push anything and push things to be implemented… take[s] a very, very long time... You could almost take every aspect of it; housing, health care, wildlife management, environmental management. It's all [set] up to favour the government (19-12-13).

This poses the question, how does ‘piecemeal’ implementation of various sections measure up to the intent or Principles of the Agreement, particularly with regards to being ‘equal and meaningful participants in a northern and national economy and society’? After years of negotiation, the struggle for resources to implement the Agreement is a reality. Furthermore, each party at the negotiating table has their own perspectives, agendas, visions and realities when it comes to implementing various sections of the Agreement. As recently as 2015,

approximately 31 years after the signing of the IFA, the self governance agreement-in-principle was signed between the Inuvialuit, the territorial and the federal governments. The time it has taken is an example of the slow process of implementation, with numerous meetings, negotiations and resources that implementation requires. Negotiation, as with consultation, requires time, resources, commitment and engagement.[44] Whereas negotiating mandates need to be deeply informed by community visions of their future – of how they see the new political and economic circumstances being shaped by their social and cultural priorities and values – consultation, when done well, improves the conditions for Indigenous peoples and the environment that are continuously marginalized in the face of extractive development, as well as in the establishment of essential services. They are similar yet different, where consultation efforts are made in light of potential impacts and improvements that would effect communities, and negotiations are more politically and economically based and are driven by political and legal forces.

Negotiation ensures "meaning making." This mandate then needs to be expressed at the table, and conditions for open listening needs to be present. Differing objectives of negotiating parties are undoubtedly at the heart of major issues that each do not agree upon, and power disparities makes resolutions challenging. There is a push and pull relationship between the government and Indigenous groups. Inuvialuit were working to establish and exercise their rights and freedoms in the context of massive changes, while government was working to facilitate certainty with respect to economic development and its own jurisdiction.

[44] An Elder and former COPE fieldworker mentioned that IRC has been consulting with each of the communities recently during recent self-government negotiations (Elder from *Inuvik* 19-08-15), exemplifying continued efforts to consult with Inuvialuit.

According to section “3.(6) Nothing in this Agreement or in the Settlement Legislation shall remove from the Inuvialuit their identity as an [A]boriginal [P]eople of Canada nor prejudice their ability to participate in or benefit from any future constitutional rights for [A]boriginal [P]eople that may be applicable to them” (IFA 2005, 5), of which I would imagine that housing and health care, basic social rights, would be included. If the Inuvialuit believe that the government is not acting in good faith and are dragging their heels in the implementation of the IFA, court action is an option, as the Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) have done with regards to their Nunavut Agreement. As noted by Nellie:

> You can’t implement it yourself. So you've spent a lot of time re-educating government, looking at new people, trying to make them understand, “Look, this is not [you], and we don't want to get into a court action.” That goes on and on and on. Some people have done that, and maybe at some point we might have to. But say, for example, at the time we settle[d] a claim, the government did not have in their mandate to do government programmes. So within the claim, there's an identification that this is going to be done. But, if we had waited and said, “Oh, we'll get this sometimes,” you know, it was hard enough getting the claim as it was. And so, we have a commitment that they will… it's really the will of the people, right?” (19-08-14).

IFA implementation then reflects the commitment and engagement of the government, the ‘will of the people’ and the knowledge of the IFA. It is up to the original peoples to hold the government accountable, and pressure the government to act in good faith in the implementation of various sections of the IFA that still require implementation. These tensions suggest questions for investigation, including how committed the government is to implementing the IFA. The IFA as envisioned, mobilized and implemented by Inuvialuit leaders, works to curtail this subjectification through the legal and political rights as laid out in the

Agreement. By subjectification, I mean how Inuvialuit have become subject to State discourse. Further, because the IFA is constitutionally entrenched, legislation that involves Inuvialuit *nunangat* and resources are responsive to the land claim Agreement.

As argued, parties to the IFA each have their own agenda, as their approaches regarding the IFA implementation and appropriate resourcing for carrying out its implementation is questionable. White notes:

> Although the principle that treaties are integral components of the Canadian Constitution is fundamental… government is ultimately about more practical matters: specific policies, the manner and effectiveness with which services are delivered, the processes by which government frame policy issues and [m]ake decisions on them, the means and efficacy of citizen involvement in decision making, accountability for policy decisions and administrative processes, and government finance (2002, 90).

These administrative processes take time and resources in and of themselves, causing implementation efforts to be stalled unnecessarily. For many issues related to resource development, the government prefers to be in control, and deploys its institutional powers to its advantage. While the Inuvialuit push to implement the IFA, using relational strategies like re-education of government staff, government offers different commitments and formal processes that are proven to be obstacles. Litigation then that the NTI launched against Canada not only provides necessary pressure, but it also provides a framework for how to deal with the government, to take the implementation of land claim agreements seriously, and as a tool to interpret resourcing obligations. As argued by Weiss with regards to the Haida Nation, Indigenous future-making is founded on "their right to exist and to negotiate the complexities of an ongoing Indigenous life in settler society in the terms they choose, even if those terms are

not always necessarily of their own making" (2018, 59). In this situation, Inuvialuit efforts are made to negotiate complexities to continue Inuvialuit legacy of ancestral traditions, values, well-being and sovereignty. To date, it is the co-management regulatory boards, as well as the Participation Agreement, that represent important instruments through which Inuvialuit, and Indigenous People in general, can participate meaningfully in decisions regarding land, wildlife, and natural resources (White 2002, 110) on territories that pertain to settled land claims.

From meaningful consultation to meaningful participants and making meaning

In spite of negotiation and implementation challenges, the IFA allows Inuvialuit to carve a future with authority and determination. Vernon Amos stated:

> [P]eople came together and then put a stop to the oil companies that were moving in. They put a stop to that. If they didn't get together and put a stop to it when they did, it would have destroyed our land. They would have contaminated and polluted our land, sucked all our resources out and we would've got nothing out of it really. They gave us a tool to combat the government for our rights. The part I'm thankful for is the whole IFA, that's really open to interpretation, really. If you're dealing with the government and you make a compelling enough case in your own interpretation of it, they'll back off. They'll let you win. That could go both ways too, because it's so non-descriptive. But for the most part, it's worked to our benefit (19-12-13).

The fact that dedicated Inuvialuit and the grassroot movement of COPE put a stop to industry from polluting and destroying the land is important to highlight, as Inuvialuit would not be where we are today without their sacrifices. They ensured that Inuvialuit ways of knowing and being and the right to be a sovereign people were carried forward. Inuvialuit also gave the natural entities of wildlife, land and waters a voice, giving them agency and importance in an otherwise commodified reality of southern society. Additionally, the statement that the 'IFA is

open to interpretation' is a critical statement; it allows for "meaning making," a powerful tool Inuvialuit have to leverage their "meanings" into the world, particularly with regards to future-making efforts. Considering that these land claims and governing processes are the embodiment of alterity, hierarchical and foreign approaches to how Inuvialuit have governed themselves pre-contact, Inuvialuit used these processes to their advantage, by appropriating these foreign ways that have been imposed upon the Inuvialuit.

Inuvialuit governance and sovereignty necessitated the adoption of these foreign constructs to successfully achieve formal land rights. Despite the neoliberal and capitalist struggles during the oil and gas exploration, as well as treaty federalist struggles and challenges faced during negotiations, Inuvialuit essentially carved a path forward, towards continued sovereignty over traditional homelands. As a bicultural people, Inuvialuit have choices and opportunities to be "meaningful participants" in society, whether it is continuing age old practices and traditions or whether it is pursuing a formal education. And whether development of a pipeline occurs, as well as any other means of development, Inuvialuit involvement and decision making is paramount, due to the "meaningful consultation" efforts by both the Inuvialuit and by Justice Berger that were critical during negotiations and land claims processes. Without the practice of "meaningful consultation," Inuvialuit would not have the land rights, nor would we have the opportunities to be "meaningful participants" that we have today. It is up to the people themselves to ensure that they are ready, not only for any development or training opportunities, but to ensure that they are prepared for social impacts that may follow. Lastly, what is essential in this path towards full implementation of the IFA

and self-governance are “meaningful” communication, engagement, commitment, knowledge of the IFA and mutual respect at all levels of government.

Meaning Making: Visions and Concerns of Inuvialuit

This Inuvialuit story would not be complete without current Inuvialuit voices. During the course of my interviews, visions[45] and concerns were shared with me, each as diverse and similar as the people. Their visions and concerns based on their knowledge and experiences, perspectives, and *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* are important to tap into, to determine what they envision to be the course of Inuvialuit priorities. Concerns and visions Inuvialuit raised include but are not limited to the climate crisis, politics and social issues, and have been identified as: an accelerated rate of climate change; hunters' lives being at more risk due to the compounded impacts of climate change; cabins and homes being at risk due to coastal erosion, melting permafrost and slumping land; increased marine traffic; *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* of the *nuna* and knowledge of the IFA is being lost on the younger generation; socio-cultural practices of unity and sharing are thought to be diminishing; and the current structure of Inuvialuit leadership and governance. Though each of these matters are important, only those that are the focus of this re-search will be touched upon. Other concerns include the lack of quality education for Youth, the dying language of Inuvialuktun, lack of employment and the impacts and benefits of a pipeline that are not discussed here, but are important to mention. What was also shared, and is evident in the communities, is that adaptation, knowledge and preparedness continue to guide Inuvialuit in times of unpredictability, as well as in the face of adversity. Weiss articulates

[45] Visions occasionally were referred to 'predictions participants believe will happen.' Visions were also referred to 'what participants would like to see happen.' Participants shared their predictions or wishes based on their perception of 'visions,' each of which are true to their experiences and knowledge.

this in his reference to the Haida, the political challenges they face in settler society, the encroachment on Haida lands and resources, and future-making:

> [C]omplex temporality, showing how a foundation in precarity presents a figure of authority that draws simultaneously from the past and the potential future in order to continue to authorize politics in the present… the anticipation of a nightmare future retroactively authorizes certain action and entities in the present. Equally, the ways in which this form of future-making invokes and reiterates a particular reading of the Haida past offers a striking example of how different modes of future-making function as lenses through which the past can be read, interpreted, and taken up in the present and for the future (2018, 158).

This notion of a 'complex temporality' is relevant here, with the Inuvialuit being in the midst of a 'nightmare future' of climate change, where future-making necessitates drawing upon Inuvialuit ontological and phenomenological past as a lens, while drawing upon *suanngak* of the present, in which decisions are made for the future of Inuvialuit. This complex temporality also applies to potential development. Development would further impact Inuvialuit way of life, where decisions necessitate multi-faceted approaches, including ecosystem sustainability, participation agreements, training, environmental and wildlife monitoring, and impact and social assessments and benefits.

The following visions and concerns do not include all those shared with me, nor are they in any particular order. Collectively, they speak to this complex temporality. Just as concerns of intrusion, access to wildlife, social problems and dependency on the State were raised in past consultations with Inuvialuit, those same concerns were shared during my visits to the communities. They are important to include, as not only do they highlight current Inuvialuit

voice, but they also speak to the importance of those issues that span across time and generations.

Impacts of the anthropogenic climate crisis

Unsurprisingly, every participant that I spoke with has witnessed the impacts of climate change. The most pressing concerns centre on the lands and waters; the unfortunate reality is that due to homelands eroding and the waters rising, Inuvialuit way of life and economy is affected, and will continue to be affected into the future. In particular, erosion of land along the coast, mud slides due to thawing permafrost, sandbars and shallow areas appearing along travelling routes of the Mackenzie River, creeks and lakes have changed, and the weather has become extremely unpredictable. These matters make it challenging for people to travel and spend time on the land. Powerlessness to the elements and a vital need for adaptation to the changes are exemplified, respectively, by Hank *Angasuk* and Danny C. Gordon who stated, "some of the stuff that happened in our lands is things that we can't control sometime. We have to try to adapt to it ah. I mean, we can't control the weather. Weather is gonna come anytime it wants" (Hank *Angasuk* 19-08-19); "We have to take what comes. You know, every year is a bit different... We take it as it comes. We can't help it" (Danny C. Gordon 19-08-18). Over the course of a few decades, old ice (also called multi-year ice or land fast ice) has melted substantially, allowing previously blocked waterways to open up, creating routes and travelling corridors accessible to marine traffic.

With the receding ice, and open waterways throughout the Arctic, marine traffic has increased, as witnessed by participants (Danny C. Gordon 19-08-18; Harvester from *Paulatuuq* 19-12-13; Robert 20-01-15). They are concerned that increased traffic would have significant

negative effects on Arctic waters, thereby affecting Inuvialuit subsistence way of life, particularly with regard to hunting beluga whales in the summer. Several people also shared concerns that with the increased traffic and changing waters, salmon and whales are travelling to areas not witnessed before (Elder from *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* 19-08-13; Hank *Angasuk* 19-08-19; Harvester from *Akłavik* 19-08-18; Harvester from *Paulatuuq* 19-12-13; Robert 20-01-15; Vernon Amos 19-12-13). The Arctic then is in a state of flux and transformation, requiring further adaption of Inuvialuit to these ongoing changes.

Where previously the impacts of fur traders and whalers were for the most part social, the threat today is the loss of homeland due to global warming driven by the burning of fossil fuels, a direct result of capitalism and neoliberal forces. The course of Inuvialuit way of life has changed from one of precariousness to precarity: the former circumstances were characterized by access to food, resources, sharing and unity, while the latter is based on being subject to foreign institutional and industrial discourses, and climate change effects are a direct result of anthropogenic extraction and consumption of non-renewable resources. This precarity is further rooted in Inuvialuit autonomy being eroded by federal policies, processes and regulations, or the lack thereof, with regards to capitalism and rampant exploitation of resources.

Given the imbalance in power relations inherent among governmental, industrial and Indigenous agency, Indigenous sovereignty to homelands and future prospects are caught up in these power struggles and neoliberal notions. As noted by anthropologists Catherine Kingfisher and Jeff Maskovsky:

> In recent decades, neoliberalism's global prominence can be attributed to the actions of a shifting and sometimes unwitting conglomeration of large corporations, right-wing ideologues, centrist politicians and liberal policy experts who pushed government to first rollback key regulatory mechanisms, social welfare policies and public funding streams, and then to devise a technocratic, marketized, audit-oriented mode of governance more suitable to the economic imperatives of capitalist globalization in its current form (2008, 116).

This statement portrays how government and industry operate, and subjectify all peoples, particularly First Peoples who have become socially and economically marginalized and disenfranchised across Turtle Island.

Accelerated climate change impacts: the risks of camping, hunting and knowledge transfer

As noted by Lawrence Amos, "climate change is happening so fast. Like science can't even keep up… It's changing from year to year, like every season" (19-12-13). He goes on to say:

> My concern is, science and the government are probably, will probably not keep up to it, cause your permafrost is melting. It's happening from… underground and from on top. We've got severe rains in summer now. Permafrost is melting, a lot of the land is slumping. I think it's gonna accelerate. That's my belief. Once it starts thawing out more, it's gonna probably go that much faster. Cause we're floating on ice up here. Once they start melting, you can't stop it. And there's a lot of methane locked in our ice too (19-12-13).

These statements speak to the accelerated, irreversible impacts of the changes that are happening to the land. It also speaks to the severity of the situation, where both 'government and science' cannot keep up with the changes, let alone the research needed to document such

changes. These changes compound the impacts on northern peoples, particularly for the harvesters.

Panigavluk expressed, "what I'm concerned about is the hunters" (19-08-16). Another Elder and harvester noted,

> The thing that really bothers me, is that long ago we used to be travelling for a long time. But I worry about the younger kids, they're not travelling as much. They don't pick up you know, like, just to go with your dad. They don't really know what's safe anymore, what's dangerous anymore. Like we try to tell them about *Ikilinik*, like you know, that kind of stuff. But… they don't travel like long ago, because our life is changing (Elder from *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* 19-08-13).

The experience of travelling on the land, of being and learning on land is diminishing. Travelling and being on the land is critical, not only for survival, but also to transfer knowledge and culture onto the younger generations. Climate change has eroded the conditions of the land and waters, making travelling that much more dangerous. As noted by Robert:

> [W]hen we first start to notice the climate change itself, that Inuvialuit themselves are hunters who do a lot of hunting, they go out and then on the way home where they usually go, because the ice melt and break away, they have no road to come home. And then so they would go up inland and go by where there's little bit of snow that they could find. So those are the kind of major change that we see… at one time when we used to do a lot of polar bear hunting by dog team, we used to go even right close to mainland, towards *Paulatuuq*. We would get close to it and there's no open water, no cracks, nothing. But now you can't even do that anymore. You know, because it just keep opening up and so we can't travel (20-01-15).

Noted here are the witnessed changes and increased dangers of travelling on the ice in the middle of winter, as well as closed opportunities to pursue polar bears and other resources,

which are a substantial supplement to a hunter's income, livelihood and well-being. Not only are experienced hunters at risk due to the unpredictable weather and conditions, but the youth are also at risk if knowledge of the land and conditions are not passed down. During the course of my interviews, experienced hunters noted falling through the ice, narrowly escaping with their lives.

Additionally, cabins on the land and homes in the communities are literally being washed away by increased ocean waters and receding coastlines, with no known prospects for compensation, making Inuvialuit life that much more precarious. An Elder from *Inuvik* noted, "My uncle's cabin out at our whale camp, like it's family whale camp right? So there's my dad's cabin, and my uncle's cabin and then my aunt's cabin quite a few ways down. The ground under my uncle's cabin is all falling. So basically his cabin is falling in the ocean" (19-08-15). A Harvester from *Akłavik* also shared that their cabins were lost to the elements: "We had two houses that were placed by the beach, harbour area there and when we went down to Shingle Point the following year, we noticed that they were gone. So something big must have had happened then, where the wind destroyed one of the houses and one of the other houses were in the harbour area, in the waters" (19-08-18). Hank stated, "There's a few camps, one camp in the Mackenzie [Delta] that must be, pull up their house must be 10 times since it really started" (19-08-19). *Panigavluk* also noted, "What happened to our camp was, it washed away our house right from our place… before that though, there was Emma Dick['s cabin at] Gary Island. It washed everything away, all her belongings and everything" (19-08-16). She further stated, "They could help the Inuvialuit, like when we lost our house, they could look into it right away. Those are the things that I would love them to do… ask me if I needed help… You know because

we had to try to start it ourselves. Try to start it on our own. And it was hard. It's still hard today" (19-08-16). Costs of building a cabin are high, and rebuilding demoralizing. The reference to 'no help' highlights that there are no outlets or avenues through which people can go to ask for assistance to rebuild, or be compensated for their losses. These camps are laden with meaning. Not only do they provide shelter, but they also provide opportunities to maintain knowledge, traditions, culture, food sovereignty and spiritual sustenance.

These statements illustrate the impacts and pressures that Inuvialuit face today due to climate crisis and the changes that it thrusts upon northern peoples. They also pose the question as to who is responsible for addressing these impacts. How does this form of loss differ from the loss of wildlife that Inuvialuit are to be compensated for, when loss of access to wildlife is experienced? To whom do they look to for compensation, when climate change is anthropogenically caused? Dialogue and solutions would require regional, territorial and national attention, and multi-faceted approaches to begin to identify and mobilize strategies.[46] Inuvialuit, and more broadly, Inuit agency

> is grounded in land claims agreements that provide the foundation for self-determined climate decision-making where Inuit lead and develop partnerships for outcomes that address Inuit priorities. Inuit must be *meaningful partners* in the development of the climate change policies that affect us. The recognition of the inherent rights of Inuit self-determination detailed in constitutionally-protected land claims agreements, and

[46] The ITK published *Inuit Priorities for Canada's Climate Strategy: A Canadian Inuit Vision for Our Common Future in Our Homelands* in 2016, and *National Inuit Climate Change Strategy* in 2019, in both of which the Inuvialuit and Inuvialuit leadership through IRC participate and are mentioned in these Arctic issues. Both of these documents discuss experiences that Inuit people face in a changing northern environment, and priorities and strategies needed to address these impacts, to strengthen Inuit capabilities and adaptation to these emerging and accelerated impacts.

> the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, must be the first step when seeking to develop climate policies (ITK 2019, 14, emphasis added).

Increased marine traffic

Relatedly, as a consequence of climate change, with ice melting in the Arctic waters and rivers there is an increase in marine traffic, that not only pollutes the waters, but also disturbs wildlife along marine routes. Elders and harvesters from the communities of *Akłarvik*, *Paulatuuq* and *Uluhaktok* share their concerns regarding this increased marine traffic, and the lack of current oversight and regulation by all levels of government. Cruise ships traverse the Chukchi Sea around Alaska through to the Beaufort Sea eastward through the ISR and beyond. As well, there is an increased amount of traffic along the Mackenzie River, both of which are noted by the following concerns:

> [T]here's so much changes in our society nowadays too like, in terms of cruise ships that are taking place. You know, every summer now, and in some point in time that will have a major impact on us… I think that should have been addressed right, even before it started. And because what it is, is that, what we hear [is] that they do some dumping as well too of their sewage in the Ocean, which is not allowed in the country. And, you know, I think those kind of things need to be monitored by the Inuvialuit themselves, at least in our area. Because you know, it is our fridge there, they're doing it in our future (Robert 20-01-15).

During IFA negotiations, melting ice and cruise ships were not an issue. These statements portray the changes that are happening in the Arctic now. Inuvialuit involvement, monitoring and decision making is essential, in order to protect the waters and wildlife within the ISR. Inuvialuit authority is just as important in these matters, as they relate to the guiding Principles of the IFA. The following statements elaborate this further: "we like to know what's going on

in the watershed. How are they going to save the water? There's so much pollution" (Annie C. Gordon 19-08-18);

> [L]ook at the Titanic for an example, it's [supposed to be] unsinkable. You know, where is it now, under the Ocean right? Prime example. I mean you got tourism. Right now they're in stages of bylaws, because nobody wants to act on them. But mind you, when we reach that level, we want to be careful also. Because we want our people to act on certain situations out there ah. Look what's happening. I mean, further out west, a cruise ship actually stopped, and there was harvesters in the area, and these were caribou [they were hunting]… what happens [is that] you get 1500 people on a cruise ship, going to go take pictures of caribou, for an example. Caribou is not keen to be near people, right? It's not natural. What they're gonna do? They're gonna move away (Harvester from *Paulatuuq* 19-12-13);

> Game Council, that's their mandate too, is that knowingly, they know some small boats that are coming from up the river and dumping all the way down. I mean, they just have to stop it. There's gotto be law, regulations [to] say, "You can't do that. You're going to be fined something if you do."… These cruise ships out here, 500 people in one day, they can make grey water and garbage and they're dumping it. How about the wildlife that they run over. Or fish? Or marine life? (Danny C. Gordon 19-08-18).

Numerous concerns can be identified in these statements. They range from sinking ships, to dumping of grey water and garbage into the waters, to impacts on the wildlife and marine life, the health of the watershed due to pollution, not to mention increased traffic in Inuvialuit waters and lack of regulation at multiple levels. Traffic control, dumping stations, monitoring of waters, Inuvialuit involvement and maintaining safe distances with wildlife are measures that would begin to address these concerns. These participants anticipate that traffic will continue, and may increase.

These aforementioned concerns stem from climate change and the effects that it brings. With the IFA being open to interpretation, and the empowerment and agency that it affords Inuvialuit, mitigation measures with regards to marine traffic and the pollution that they bring can be formally addressed and regulated. Essentially, the IFA is a living document, in which Inuvialuit have the rights and freedoms to mitigate and address impingements related to climate change impacts as they relate to the guiding Principles. It is the will of the people who aim to protect Inuvialuit ways of life, as well as the political powers of the Inuvialuit leaders to hold the government accountable, as each have the agency and capacity to address these issues raised.

Knowledge of the Elders and knowledge of the IFA

Many Inuvialuit Elders, fieldworkers and negotiators have passed on, and the knowledge has passed with them. Additionally, Elders' role as advisors and long term thinkers are not being practiced as it was in the recent past, with regards to COPE communications and counsel seeking; they have been "put on the shelf" as expressed by Randal (19-08-15). He emphasized that the leaders

> need advisors from Inuvialuit, with Inuvialuit mind, Inuvialuit mentality… So there's two minds at work, one is *qablunaat*, one is Inuvialuit. Inuvialuit mind, the Elders will protect that. Like *Isaliq* said, "When you commit to a situation, listen to the elders." It's not happening (19-08-13).

The reasons for this are speculative; Inuvialuit governance has been altered and replaced by formal elective discourse, where the knowledge of the Elders may not be seen as relevant in its realm of expertise compared to times past. Irrespective of the reason(s) for not seeking counsel of the Elders, through anthropologist Natasha Lyons' research with the Inuvialuit, she

has come to see that “the social memories of Inuvialuit Elders are precious commodities, as they flow from the last generations to be born and raised on the land. These Elders, like those before them, have consistently looked towards the future with an admirable sense of optimism, pragmatism, and flexibility in the face of change” (2010, 34).

With regards to the youth, it was also expressed that the younger generations need opportunities to be out on the land to learn Inuvialuit ways and connection to homelands, and to discuss and realize the intent of the IFA, to develop a detailed knowledge of the Agreement. There is a general concern that unless we do this, we will be hampered in the meaningful implementation of the IFA. Knowledge and experience of the land is essential to motivate the drive and determination to follow through with the Principles and statutes of the Agreement.

Incorporating the IFA into the local school curriculum would help ensure education of Inuvialuit youth regarding their inherent rights and freedoms (Robert 20-01-15). Lawrence Amos noted, "People don't know the land claim anymore. There's a very few experts left that actually worked when they were writing and developing it. We need to take steps to re-educate our people about that. If we don't re-educate our people about the power of our land claim and how to use it, we're moving in a bad direction where we won't be able to defend ourselves" (19-12-13). IFA knowledge is critical to defending future ways of life in meaningful ways. Robert also stated:

> Well, I think one of the biggest statement, concern that I have right now, it's the knowledge of the Final Agreement itself. You know, it's diminishing and I think we need to keep up with our own people. If we don't keep it up, then somebody else will, down south who is very smart, will control us. Take the control out of us even though it's a part of Canadian Constitution (20-01-15).

These statements identify the knowledge – power nexus that is vital, not just in the details of the Agreement and its complex and intricate mechanics, but also in the knowledge of the mandate of the people that drove its formulation. Without the knowledge of the IFA and the context of the background in which it was negotiated, namely drawing upon the knowledge of the Elders and the knowledge of what it is to 'be' on the land and waters, the ability to 'defend ourselves' and 'be in control' of Inuvialuit matters pertaining to the Agreement will be hampered. Elders have an invaluable role in the community, as they share the knowledge they hold as long term thinkers.

These sentiments about the importance of the IFA and the knowledge of the Elders reveal the *suanngak* that Inuvialuit have and will continue to have if the intent and meaning of the IFA are passed on to the next generations. If it is lost on the younger generations, Inuvialuit may potentially be controlled by the government in future negotiations and implementation of the IFA, by being subject to State practices without having a sound understanding of Inuvialuit rights, freedoms and obligations on behalf of Inuvialuit. As Vernon Amos shared, the IFA is open to interpretation and has served Inuvialuit well in the 36 years since its signing. If the Inuvialuit are to continue to exercise various rights and freedoms, both knowledge of the IFA and knowledge of the Elders are important, particularly since there are a number of statutes that have not been implemented yet, namely self-government that is still going through the motions of being finalized.

Inuvialuit practices of unity and sharing

During my interviews, it was expressed that traditional Inuvialuit practices of unity and sharing are diminishing. Food sharing always ensured the survival of families and individuals

during times of food abundance, but more importantly, during food shortage. Many families would camp seasonally, hunt and work together, sharing the catch and workload. With outside influences, the move to settlements and access to grocery stores, sharing is not practiced as often. People are caught up in the more individualistic priorities of money and capital. At times, country food is sold to those who are not able to hunt themselves, emphasizing the need for income and the move away from country food sharing. These unity and sharing practices were valued and ensured stronger cohesion, as expressed by Nellie: "the most important thing is people have to work together. You know, they gotta work together, you got to support each other. Whether you like each other or not, support the success of someone, be proud of each other. And sometimes I feel that that's lost a bit you know?" (19-08-14). While unity makes for a stronger community and stronger people, sharing exemplifies caring, equality and equity thereby reinforcing the value of unity.

Inuvialuit values of unity and sharing were taught through observations, actions and leadership. The relationship between harvesters and families were stronger, and made life more bearable in times of stress and uncertainty. These values instilled caring and reciprocity, and they exemplify cohesiveness and survival, as noted here:

> [H]e taught them how to hunt. All the boys… he taught my father and my father passed it on to the boys and the boys passed it on to the other little boys. So that's they way they used to trap out on the land. It was very important that whatever they got, they shared. Everybody had to share… he taught them how to share, share everything that they owned or, or cared for (*Panigavluk* 19-08-16).

These values of unity and sharing are not just moral and social necessities, but political acts that are fundamental to relationships – including nation to nation – and speak to the internal strength of Inuvialuit that has carried them forward to today. Hank stated:

> [T]hat's how our people used to work long ago, is togetherness. They get things done that way. If you're apart, you're gonna have a hard time to be by yourself if you're apart. But if you're all together, your leaders come to one common goal, and you're gonna see a stronger Inuvialuk that way. That's my vision for that I think… to make our Inuvialuit stronger with each other, [is] by working together, not apart. Cause the government is just laughing at us when we work apart like that (19-08-19).

These values of sharing and unity, amongst others, ensured Inuvialuit survival, well-being and cohesion. The political unity of COPE leadership during the IFA negotiations made for a stronger unified voice, effectively becoming a force to be taken seriously. The same value of unity can continue to carry Inuvialuit forward into the 'future' with regards to a unified front in politics and addressing climate change impacts, as well as other infringements or impingements. Future-making is just as much about relying on past practices as it is about the present circumstances, where we draw strength from the past and our internal strength as a people, to make meaningful choices for future Inuvialuit.

Inuvialuit governance and state impingement

Traditional Inuvialuit leadership was based on the qualities that a person had with regards to wisdom and experience, someone who was capable of providing for the Inuvialuit People as a whole, ensuring their overall well-being. This traditional form of governance was based on Inuvialuit values. During negotiations of the IFA, the federal government stipulated that Inuvialuit leadership would need to follow a democratic model because the federal

government did not recognize traditional Inuvialuit governance. The imposition of European norms and practices for democratic government leave people feeling concerned. Traditional values of consensus, choice and wisely informed decision making speak to the heart of Inuvialuit politics, which were ancient practices proven to be effective. As stated by Randal:

> [H]istorically, leaders were, were chosen by consensus, by their knowledge, by their contribution to their community. Their life and actions in their life proved their worth… you want to put yourself under a leader, you got a choice which leader you want to be with. Because the leaders' responsibilities, [are to] take care of those in his care. That's the leader's responsibility. And these leaders historically always had these advisors, Elders as counsellors and advisors. It was all consensus.
>
> Now, and we negotiate in our negotiations, we wanted to continue that Inuvialuit historical governance. We'll p[ick] our leaders by consensus. And the government's side is, "No, they gotta be elected, democratic system. They gotta be elected otherwise, government and anybody else won't recognise them." And we argued our case in negotiations, but they wouldn't give in. So we said to ourselves as negotiators, for the government, "Okay. To get the Final Agreement, let's agree with that." But once we get control of the IFA, we can change that. We can go to the government and say we want this amendment, because we've proved how Inuvialuit conduct themselves. We've proven, not only to third parties that were so against our IFA. We've proven that we are a resourceful people, knowledgeable and resourceful. It is not just words I'm talking, we've proven we can do it (19-08-15).

There are two things I would like to raise based on this statement. One is the 'trade off' that Inuvialuit negotiators made to achieve the IFA: they had to agree to the subversion of their traditional governance. This is something that they could live with, but they were unhappy with the government's intents and purposes. The other is Randal's emphasis that the truth in these are 'not just words… we've proven we can do it.' Even though they did not like the subversion,

people succeeded in spite of their reservations and objections, because they held up their values in the way they implement the IFA, resourcefully and with knowledge.

Despite the success of Inuvialuit resourcefulness and knowledge, the subversion that Randal highlights has become entrenched in Inuvialuit polities that does not go unnoticed by the people who feel that their voice and vote do not matter in local politics, and are noted in the following statements:

> There's about 8,000 Inuvialuit now… Children included, and [the] population [is] growing. You know how many Inuvialuit are controlling our lives? 42, IRC and also the Community Corporations. 42 people making decisions and voting on the things that will affect our lives… That flaw has to be addressed. Like I told you and you know, like when the governments first came, government didn't recognize our governance (Randal Boogie Pokiak 19-08-15);
>
> [T]o be meaningful participants of society, in this society, that's a big one there. Because what a lot of people are saying is, "If you say we're being meaningful participants, then why only 42 directors get to vote? Why not everybody?" That's the biggest concern... they always go back to the 42 directors. You know, it was brought up as agreed upon by so and so at such and such a time. And for us to go back means that we have to change, we have to make an amendment to the IFA, and to make an amendment cost money... what they should do is open up the land claim again and renegotiate (Elder from *Inuvik* 19-08-15).

This Elder is referring to one of the Principles of the Agreement, that states that 'Inuvialuit are to be meaningful participants of society'. This Principle is open to interpretation, and applies to a broad range of issues. She asks us to attend to the question, are Inuvialuit meaningful participants if they are not given the opportunity to vote in Inuvialuit leadership and governance processes? She is referring to the fact that the Chair of the IRC gets voted in by the

42 directors that comprise the six Community Corporations. Further, it is these 42 directors and the Chair who make decisions on behalf of the Inuvialuit. Colonial hegemonic discourse altered the trajectory of Inuvialuit governance where each person had a voice. To amend this formal governance would require renegotiation of the IFA, which requires resources and time. The value of consensus would be weighed against the IFA provisions, in an already altered social society that no longer practices consensus decision making. The paradox is that the current system, as laid out in the IFA, claims to be democratic; however, it does not operate in true democratic fashion. How does this act of 'denial' of traditional Inuvialuit governance and of a vote in local elections serve federal and Inuvialuit politics? More importantly, does this go against the rights and freedoms that Inuvialuit and all Indigenous Peoples have, in larger realms of nation building or rebuilding?

What complicates matters further is the progress made towards Inuvialuit self-governance, upon which there will be a new governance structure in place. Within the Inuvialuit Self-Governance Agreement-in-Principle, there is no mention of how or whether the new governance structure, in the form of an Inuvialuit Council, will affect the current governance structure of the IRC. What it does mention is that two councillors will be elected in each of the six communities, with one councillor becoming the leader of the Inuvialuit Government (Inuvialuit Self-Government Agreement-in-Principle 2015, 27). It further goes in to operational matters, but it does not specifically mention how it will operate in relation to the current governance structure. Would this new system further entrench Inuvialuit authority in Eurocentric constructs, or does it create space to revive the unity that Inuvialuit spoke of?

Michael Asch raises an interesting point: "the question is whether there is a concept within our Western intellectual framework which is analogous to the notion of a peoples' right to a land base and self-government which derives from an 'original sovereignty' and remains unextinguished, even in the face of the acquisition of sovereignty by a new political authority" (1989, 125). Under what circumstances would traditional Indigenous governance be recognized with enough force that it is upheld in the Constitution, let alone practiced within our territories that comprise the broader Canadian society? That is not to say, though, that this 'democratic' way that Inuvialuit currently practice politics are not effective; they are simply not the traditional way that Inuvialuit governed. Inuvialuit have had to adapt time and time again. The complexities raised here prove to be contemporary challenges that Inuvialuit are faced with. Land claims are a formal, foreign process that Indigenous Peoples are subjected to, in order to continue to practice land rights and authority over ancestral territories. Compromises were made by the Inuvialuit in order to be federally recognized as a distinct, sovereign people, protected by the Canadian Constitution.

On the 21st of July 2015, the Inuvialuit negotiated and signed the Inuvialuit Self-Government Agreement-in-Principle[47] with both the federal and Territorial government, 31 years after the signing of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. Within this document are the frameworks through which Inuvialuit self-government is laid out, as well as implementation

[47] The Inuvialuit Self-Government Agreement-in-Principle was signed in *Inuvik* by the then IRC Chair, Nellie Cournoyea, GNWT and Federal representatives. This document lays out various social, economic and implementation responsibilities, including but not limited to Inuvialuit governance, health, housing, education and justice. Nellie Cournoyea who was instrumental during the COPE era, and in the implementation of the IFA. She served as MLA for her homelands, Nunakput, as well as Premier for the NWT, prior to becoming IRC Chair.

processes. The sections highlighted below speaks to what the Inuvialuit Constitution and self-government will consist of:

3.3 CONSTITUTION

3.3.1 The Inuvialuit shall develop and approve an Inuvialuit Constitution.

3.3.2 To provide political and financial accountability of the Inuvialuit Government to Inuvialuit and to provide for the rights of persons to whom Inuvialuit Laws apply, the Inuvialuit Constitution shall provide for:

(a) the requirement that all voters and all candidates for elected office in the Inuvialuit Government be Inuvialuit and either citizens of Canada or permanent residents of Canada;

(b) eligibility requirements to hold office in the Inuvialuit Council, including those related to minimum age and residency;

(c) eligibility requirements to nominate candidates and to vote in elections for the Inuvialuit Council, including those related to minimum age and residency;

(d) the structure of the Inuvialuit Government;

(e) the establishment and maintenance of relationships between the Inuvialuit Government and Inuvialuit corporations established under the IFA;

(f) the length of the term of office for a Councillor, which shall not exceed five years;

(g) the powers and duties of the Councillors;

(h) the establishment of procedures for the Inuvialuit Council and for Councillors to carry out their respective powers and duties;

(i) the protection of the rights and freedoms of Inuvialuit and other persons to whom Inuvialuit Laws apply;

(j) all persons affected by administrative decisions of the Inuvialuit Government with a right to appeal or apply for administrative review of those decisions;

(k) the enactment of Inuvialuit Laws;

> (l) a system of financial administration with standards comparable to those generally accepted for governments of similar responsibility in Canada, through which the Inuvialuit Government will be financially accountable to Inuvialuit (Inuvialuit Self-Government AIP 2015, 25-26).

Based on this, the constitution and self-government itself confirms that all Inuvialuit are "to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society," (IFA 1984, 1) as stipulated by one of the Principles in the Agreement. This is an important change, compared to the current election processes for leadership in the current election processes in the IRC. Further, implementation may be another challenge in itself, but the political and institutional power that Inuvialuit have gained over the course of fifty years is to be celebrated and shared.

The authority and opportunities for self-determination within the IFA allow Inuvialuit leaders to address and mitigate against the climate crisis, among many initiatives. They also provide for Inuvialuit to be meaningful participants in any development that happens within the ISR, formalities of which were achieved by Inuvialuit fieldworkers, negotiators and leaders that are now being practiced. When asked whether there are any climate change mitigation or protection measures to support and protect Inuvialuit way of life currently in the ISR, Vernon Amos stated that,

> A lot of that is just being worked out now through the IRC. Through their innovation research, climate change division, their economic measures that they've just come up with, their mining policy that they're just coming out with. Sure, our land claim was signed in '84, but here we are 35 years later and things are finally being implemented. Institutions are finally being made to deal with those things. Doesn't happen as fast as you want, but at least it's happening (19-12-13).

To draw meaning from contemporary visions and concerns of Inuvialuit is to look into the heart of contemporary Inuvialuit voices and values. Visions and concerns reflect issues that Inuvialuit face today, none more glaring than the climate crisis and Inuvialuit subjugation. The accelerated force of climate change has brought with it pressing matters that were not considered during IFA negotiations, namely the receding ice, increased marine traffic, and cabins and homes being lost to the elements. These matters, however, as with the other concerns and visions raised, can be addressed through Inuvialuit leadership and future-making efforts of the communities, as these concerns not only pertain to the Principles of the IFA, but they are tied to daily life, seasonal practices and community values. Challenges to doing so in a good way involve the complex temporality, whereby we are guided by past Inuvialuit leaders who have ensured our survival and well-being in a changing northern society, empowered by Inuvialuit constitutional will of the present, to ensure a future in which we can continue to practice culture and traditions to remain a distinct society.

I will offer a few final questions and thoughts, as this chapter is drawn to a close. Inuvialuit ancestors and Elders have gifted us with a foundation of unique rights and freedoms to work with, as well as *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq*, and it is our responsibility to carry that forward with knowledge and heart. With the accelerated climate crisis affecting Inuvialuit *nunangat*, and the *suanngak* and will of Inuvialuit leaders, how can Inuvialuit begin to protect Inuvialuit ways of knowing and being with mitigation and protection measures that are challenges in and of themselves? The entanglement between the north and south compound the issue, hence the need for meaningful consultation and action at all levels of government. In an ever changing homeland and northern society, Inuvialuit are faced with more irreversible change.

Inuvialuit resilience and resurgence attest to the strength and adaptation required to face such challenges. I wonder what my *ataatak Angagaq* would think of the IFA, and the successes and challenges that Inuvialuit negotiators faced, and continue to face today. I also wonder how involved or active he would be in addressing the eroding landscape that he called home, and made a life out of. His love of the land and his people is exemplified in the visions and concerns raised by the Elders, harvesters and COPE negotiators that I spoke with. The enduring legacy of land, waters and knowledge, as passed down from our Elders and envisioned by our prophets, are powerful gifts through which we can carry our traditions and people into the future.

Morals, Values, Teachings

Inuvialuit *nunangat* has its own history, an ancient story that precedes the Inuvialuit and Inuvialuit Settlement Region formal boundaries. Western Arctic lands and waters are rich in non-renewable resources of oil and gas. More importantly, these Western Arctic lands and waters are rich in terrestrial and marine life, what some might call non-renewable resources. Not only are these lands and waters the homelands of the Inuvialuit, they are also the home of these natural inhabitants who have freely occupied vast Arctic and subarctic spaces and places for millennia, and whose lives are "entangled" in every sense (Dussart and Poirier 2017). During the IFA negotiations, Inuvialuit People gave these natural inhabitants voice and agency at the negotiating table, protecting them against industrial invasion and rampant pillaging and extraction of non-renewable resources that would forever change the landscape. The current unfortunate reality is that the frigid Arctic conditions and the Arctic landscape are being transformed by warming temperatures brought on by anthropogenic consumption of non-renewable fossil fuels in the south. The impacts of climate change on Inuvialuit lifeways are another aspect of colonialism.

I have amplified Inuvialuit voices throughout these pages, which illustrate our story of a people carving a balanced life between worlds. Inuvialuit temporality is entangled with ancient lands, waters and non-human persons, the colonialist constructs of the State, and with capitalist development and consumption of non-renewable resources in the south. Inuvialuit life was one of day to day and season to season living, of unity, hardships, sharing and spiritual connection to the land, waters and animals, rich in culture and traditions. Inuvialuit life today is

caught up in Eurocentric polities, interwoven into age-old culture and traditions that transcend through time and persist in spite of colonialism. This new life that the new generations are born into is one where Inuvialuit have one foot in the past and one foot in the future.

Swallow and adapt

Essentially Inuvialuit have become bicultural, where Inuvialuit roots are influenced by the discourse of Western frameworks, as prophet *Isaliq* foresaw. Randal shares his memories of speaking with Elders, who spoke of the counsel that *Isaliq* provided generations ago:

> [T]he Elders that were counselled by *Isaliq*, a prophet from long time ago. [He c]ounselled them, "You're gonna fight the war of words, it's going to be in a strange tongue"… So very early in 1960s… the Elders that wanted to fulfil that vision of having sovereignty to live in our region, they said, "Okay, we can't be the ones talking to *qablunaaq*, in this strange language. We gotta recruit our people"[48] (19-08-13).

Isaliq's counsel was instrumental in the course of Inuvialuit sovereignty and land rights efforts. His guiding principles and wise counsel gave Inuvialuit direction and purpose.

> *Isaliq* said, "You got to adapt to two lifestyles. It's always an adaptation… The only way you could adapt, is if you get to know what the hell you're adapting to." So… what kind of changes, what kind of attitude change should I have towards the enemy of the environment and wildlife? So, we had a purpose to do that you know. So, the pipeline to me, it's gonna come just like anything else. *Isaliq* said, "These *qablunaaq* gonna come in waves one after the other. Wave after wave, just like in the Ocean. One wave fall in another. Some waves are mild and just lap the shoreline. And then you have those fierce storms, social storms that hit Inuvialuit shores. And that's what happened

[48] Randal further went on to say "Elders always watch the children and they say, 'Well, this one really can do stuff. Their mind is always sharp.' As a young child growing up, Elders knew us, I mean they knew us inside out. And they said, 'Amongst your family, we want this child, your child to finish school.' They went to another family, 'No matter what it takes, let them graduate.' And with my family, I was the one chosen from Bertram [*Angagaq*] and [*Igaliq*] Lena's family" (19-08-13).

> with both the government and oil companies starting in 1965 all the way to when they left the area in 1986. These were two big waves, government and oil companies with big money, and you know they could manipulate people. And that's what we were up against. But *Isaliq* said, "Swallow them or accept them, whether you like it or not, swallow it. When you swallow and accept it, whatever you swallow, you got control over." So that's what we were trying to do in our IFA, is to swallow whatever that *qablunaat* brought to our area and get control of it. And I think we achieved that through the IFA. He was very firm, we needed that control, that sovereignty, because, you know, the Elders never thought about it. They just had to make it happen. Cause *Isaliq*, before white man come, he talked about it. And if our people were that focused, that determined, you can't change their mind. I mean, they know it has to happen. They didn't know exactly what they were getting into, because they didn't know how the government works and government structures. You know, every nation needs a governance, but with the European Parliament type government there were a lot of laws that were dealing with the native peoples, Indigenous People, not only across Canada, but in the NWT, when it started being developed… NWT was just new, they were just feeling their way, how to govern NWT cause they were not in the NWT until 1967. We knew that. Maybe the Elder's didn't, but those of us that they hired to become their voices, we knew these things. You know, because we were told to observe and listen, and see how we could adapt (19-08-15).

To adapt, to be in control by swallowing and learning *qablunaat* ways are what the prophet *Isaliq* advised Inuvialuit to embody in the face of imposition and erasure, in order to survive as a people and to remain sovereign. By swallowing and learning, Inuvialuit knew how to deal with government, who were still 'feeling their way in the north,' exemplifying that the government was never in complete control. The visions of *Isaliq*, of the 'waves' of colonization and of 'swallowing' colonial processes, prepared Inuvialuit for the 'war of words' that was to come. *Isaliq*'s visions were like a secret weapon (Randal Boogie Pokiak 19-08-15) to regain control of

homelands, as Inuvialuit needed to understand how the system operates. The larger waves of the oil and gas storm that nearly brought disaster to Inuvialuit shorelines were stopped by a smaller wave of the land claims struggle that Inuvialuit overcame.

Ingenuity and adaptability ensured Inuvialuit survival in ancient times. Swallowing and digesting, learning and coopting foreign processes have ensured Inuvialuit resistance and survival during capitalist and colonial pressures. Learning first hand, and adjusting to these same colonial processes, will also benefit Inuvialuit in current challenges of the climate crisis and the implementation of the IFA, and to continue to protect the environment and its inhabitants who cannot speak for themselves. These qualities can also be beneficial for any future-making efforts involving community development, joint ventures or governance reform. Kwakwaka'wakw Member of Parliament Jody Wilson-Raybould (Puglaas) stated, "The benefits of taking back control of land management and creating private interests in our lands and developing property markets must be balanced with our collective interests. The preservation of our lands for future generations is a sacred, inalienable trust, carried forward by each generation. This has been our way, our tradition, since time immemorial" (2019, 128).

Ethical dimensions

Westman argued that concerns for environment and social issues are typically sidetracked into technical hearings and processes that do not seem to take unprecedented dilemmas or unforeseen disasters into account theoretically, methodologically or ethically (2013, 118) with regards to both development and mitigation. Furthermore, Berger argued that as Canadians, "we have some hard thinking to do. The issues that confront us are not only economic, to be resolved by the application of ideological formulae. They are issues that under

close examination, can be seen to have a moral and ethical dimension" (1978, 646). Thankfully, with the Inuvialuit in control, their voice is at the forefront of all development. Inuvialuit also have 'hard thinking to do' when it comes to making decisions about capitalist industrial expansion and interacting with neoliberal forces. *Angagaq*'s words and actions create space for this 'thinking' and the rebalance of power that Inuvialuit gained.

Ataatak Angagaq noted that the animals that we depend upon will be there to harvest next year, for years to come when he stated, "The North is my bank" (Berger 1977, 94). He did not take more than what he needed and wanted to ensure that the lands and waters would be protected for future Inuvialuit. His dedication as a fieldworker for the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (ILUOP) is evidence of that. His dedication as a COPE fieldworker is also evidence for the resurgence and mobilization of Inuvialuit sovereignty efforts. Industrial development and community (re)building require balance, where development will not irreversibly erode the lands and affect wildlife, which would thereby erode Inuvialuit culture and identity as a distinct people.

COPE negotiators knew the importance of being prepared for development on Inuvialuit *nungagat*, and demanded to be consulted and to have free, prior and confirmed consent regarding all development matters. Further, Inuvialuit are to also benefit from any type of development, if they are in agreement and provide permission. Dedicated Elders, fieldworkers and negotiators accomplished the IFA with determination, guidance, focus and knowledge of *qablunaat* ways. They have sacrificed much of their own lives, away from home and family, to preserve what was left of Inuvialuit values and teachings. Because of their sacrifice and legacy

of selfless determination, generations that follow have a strong political foundation to carry forward Inuvialuit traditions and culture.

Mobilization: theory into practice

Inuvialuit narratives of subjectification, resilience and resurgence speak not only to acknowledging and mobilizing Indigenous rights and freedoms, but also to the value of the land beyond monetary gain. This Inuvialuit story of challenges, conflict, hardships, survival from epidemics, population decline and resurgence, survival through social transformation, determination, consultation and sovereignty is one of many stories that Indigenous People have faced, and continue to face and overcome. Importantly, the story of "meaningful consultation," "meaningful participants" and "meaning making" needs to be put to practice in order to fully acknowledge Indigenous rights, freedoms and agency. Inuvialuit have put this into practice. Though the Inuvialuit have established "a sovereignty within a sovereignty" (Randal Boogie Pokiak 19-08-15), other Indigenous groups continue to struggle to have even the most basic recognition of their sovereign rights on their traditional territories. This can be seen in the high profile cases of oil and gas developments of the Unist'ot'en and the Wet'suwet'en First Nations in British Columbia, and in Standing Rock Sioux Tribe in North Dakota in the United States. These groups in particular, among many, are being encroached upon by industry and the State, in order to develop pipelines or other infrastructures to support non-renewable resource extraction without the proper consultation with sovereign decision makers or regard for these Indigenous communities. It is for circumstances such as these, as well as other politics of a sensitive nature, that meaningful consultative efforts, engagement and allyship is needed to fully exercise Indigenous rights and freedoms beyond lip service. It is not only for the interest

of Indigenous groups, but also in the interest of industry and the State to honour and acknowledge the humanity that they desperately disregard for capital gain. The future well-being of Indigenous groups lie within their autonomy and agency that is respected through the mobilization of meaningful communication and consultation, facilitated and engaged by government and industry.

Inuvialuit practiced good consultation during the COPE era. The grass roots efforts of leaders with the support of the "meaningful consultation" by Justice Berger, intersected development and government impingement. Not only did they regain control and sovereignty of homelands, but their self-determination efforts empower Inuvialuit to be "meaningful participants" in society, to be in control of how they move forward as Inuvialuit in a changing northern economy. "Meaningful consultation" brings marginalized voices to the forefront, whereby individual and community voices and stories can be heard and acted upon in meaningful ways. To "make meaning" from the Inuvialuit voices is to look into their worldviews, *Pitqusimik Ilisimaniq* and experiences to tell a part of the Inuvialuit story, in Inuvialuit terms, in an Inuvialuit voice. To take the time to listen, to be in community, is to show respect, and build relationship with people who have much to offer, teach and benefit from. Further, to practice "meaningful consultation" is to intersect colonial ways and colonial narratives of Indigenous Peoples, and marginalized people in general.

Story as knowledge

The colonial narrative of Turtle Island is in transformation when an Indigenous story is told by Indigenous people, who speak of subjugation and inequities that they are subject to, as well as their resistance, persistence and renewal that have carried them forward. As noted by

Julie Cruikshank, “Storytelling may be the oldest of the arts. We know that every culture on earth has passed essential ideas from one generation to the next by word of mouth” (1991, 11). Story is the very basis of all humanity, and it connects us in ways that transcend time, space, place and culture. Each person has their own story, each collective group has its own story, all of which are rooted spatially and temporally in places. These places too have their own story, of geography, of becoming, of transformation, of being providers and of course being a natural force that is both powerful and delicate. Its history can only be appreciated and understood through the eyes and words or stories of the people who call it ‘home.’ Noted by Cruikshank:

> To the people who live there, that place may have further dimensions. Elders often give a very different picture of landscape than scientists do. They tell stories of how a particular place came to be, the events that happened there in the distant past when animals and humans could still talk to one another, and the events that have occurred there in historical times. They locate the place not by means of numbers on a grid, but by means of a narrative, a story. And that story may flow into other stories, like a trail or a stream (1991, 11-12).

Everything is connected. As I listened to Inuvialuit share their experiences and memories for my re-search, it was both humbling and powerful, as I could relate to their experiences, their visions and concerns. As they spoke of their experiences, of being on the land and of practicing culture, memories were triggered and occasionally stories were shared of how they continue to live as Inuvialuit, compared to the lives of Elders past. Often, gratitude was expressed to the Elders, for the hard yet fulfilling lives they lived, for how they survived and made it easier for present and future generations. I echo those sentiments of gratitude, to the COPE members and the years of sacrifices that they made, to the Elders past and present for their counsel and wisdom, to leaders like *Mangilaluk* and to the prophets like *Isaliq* who provided guidance, for

all of whom I have much respect and reverence. I am thankful for the stories that were shared and entrusted to me, as this Inuvialuit story would not be complete without their voices and stories.

There are teachings in story if we simply take the time to listen with our mind, as well as our heart. Metaphysics and the social fabric of humanity can be found in story, which can only be understood by engaging and interacting with story, acknowledging this connectedness and entanglement. Indigenous narrative as resurgence transforms the colonial narrative, when Indigenous voice takes up space and enriches perspectives of rootedness, entanglement, self-determination, subjectification and, ultimately, of our own successes. Robina Anne Thomas (Qwul'sih'yah'maht) states, "Storytelling provides an opportunity for First Nations to have their histories documented and included in the written records. In other words, storytelling revises history by naming and including their experience" (2005, 244). "[A]nother significant gift of storytelling is the ability to share and document missing pieces of our history and pass these teachings on to our future generations. As stories continue to be told, we continue to build the strength and capacity to continue our resistance to colonization and assimilation" (Thomas 2005, 253).

Indigenous people's storytelling is critical, to be taken seriously on its own terms. It is through stories that invaluable local knowledge emerges, of land and wildlife patterns and diversity, offering mitigating wisdom against challenges of climate change, and impacts of development, to portray a few of its benefits that have been identified here. Inuvialuit memories, stories and resurgence have injected local agency into the polities, whereas previously this was not possible, particularly from the time that government, and oil and gas

industry entered the area in the mid 1960s, through to the signing of the land claims in 1984. There is knowledge, history, connectedness, rootedness and even entanglements within stories, in which we can identify belonging, pedagogy and epistemology. To draw upon stories is to draw upon and "make meaning" of each of these notions highlighted, and to mobilize the teachings. To neglect to do so is disrespectful, abhorrent even, when it comes to the land and its caretakers.

Call to action

When government continues to override local knowledge and resource management efforts, they presume to know better than local knowledge holders on matters that government officials know little of. This denial of knowledge and agency erodes the sustainable relationship between people and animals that Indigenous Peoples still depend upon, thereby displacing and marginalizing Indigenous People on their own homelands. To steamroll pipelines onto traditional territories without consent raises the question of whether a 'nation to nation' relationship is another form of lip service, particularly when Indigenous rights are further entrenched at the margins of development. True acts of relationship building would entail meaningful consultation and engagement on matters that are at the heart of Indigeneity, which are land based practices and relationality at the source. If the State were serious about the well-being of and reconciliation with First Peoples, it would acknowledge Indigenous health and embodiment phenomenologically tied to the land (Baines 2018), as well as the capacity and agency to make sovereign decisions for themselves, including the rejection of a pipeline. When decisions have been made by Indigenous land rights holders and sovereign leaders, those

decisions need to be upheld and respected. Canada needs to progress beyond paternalism, and consider its First Peoples on all development endeavours, especially on unceded territories.

By telling the Inuvialuit story, by sharing the successes as well as challenges, Inuvialuit sovereignty efforts and meaningful consultation conducted by COPE fieldworkers and Justice Berger, these experiences can be used as an example for how to properly consult with Indigenous Peoples. Each Indigenous group is its own distinct culture based on geography and politics, and each has its own current challenges and successes. The Inuvialuit story is unique in itself, and is by no means is it a perfect consultation model, nor does it tell the complete Inuvialuit story, but both the model and the story can be built upon. Both government and industry have recognized Indigenous agency and rights in the past, and are being pressured do so again. In a similar vein as the consultative model intended by the IFA and the people who crafted it, Wilson-Raybould suggests that industry representatives practice meaningful engagement with Indigenous groups, to move forward in a good way by building relationships and partnerships with our Nations (2019, 159).[49]

Indigenous People exercise sovereign rights by challenging colonial polities and building and rebuilding their communities, to continue to be resilient and resistant to further

[49] A comprehensive bulleted list of relationship and partnership building is located on page 160 of Wilson-Raybould's book, *From Where I Stand: Rebuilding Indigenous Nations for a Stronger Canada* (2019), in which she highlights her speeches and lectures that she gave as Regional Chief and as Minister of Justice and Attorney General. Topics that are covered include 'Moving Through the Postcolonial Door,' 'Rights and Recognition,' 'Governance in the Post-Indian Act World,' 'Building Business Relationships and the Duty to Consult,' and 'Restoring Balance, Correcting Injustices, and Keeping Vigilant.' Wilson-Raybould's book speaks to the message of rebuilding First Nations and empowering Indigenous Peoples within the Canadian Confederation, and the course we need to set to get there; she speaks to how relations with Indigenous Peoples in Canada are transforming and must continue to transform for the betterment of both Indigenous People and the Crown; she also includes stories of listening, learning, and reflection (2019, 10).

marginalization and subjugation. Meaningful policy change in the federal system is possible through holistic understanding by the federal government and the general public, where "jagged worldviews" (Little Bear 2000) no longer collide. Relationality, as small acts in various realms of life, becomes the stimulus of social change and social justice in everyday life, as well as in macro structures of power (Starblanket 2018, 30). Land rights and self-government, as exemplified in the IFA and the Inuvialuit self-government Agreement-in-Principle, are steps towards federal policy change with regards to Indigenous Peoples, whereby Indigenous Peoples are empowered through formal inclusion and meaningful entrenchment in the Canadian Constitution. Inuvialuit rights and self-government are not only Indigenous rights or human rights, but they are Canadian rights, recognized by the State.

Similar to the Indigenous struggles and resilience throughout the country and world, Inuvialuit are reclaiming, rejuvenating and rebuilding our communities and nation. As Indigenous Peoples, our colonial struggles are similar yet varied, where we are all tasked with nation rebuilding. These concomitant conditions and struggles mean that we do not have to face these challenges alone. Simpson and Smith stated that,

> [T]he goal becomes a different political form, perhaps under the sign of decolonization and an end to genocide and settler colonialism, it is necessary to build forms of political power to make that happen. This would require a shift away from seeking recognition from those in power, focusing instead on those interested in changing power relationships. Because the conditions of Native peoples are inextricably linked to the conditions facing other oppressed groups, a different political imaginary would require an engagement with intellectual work from these other sides of struggle in order to build stronger intellectual and political solidarities (2014, 11).

By building each other up, Indigenous People become a stronger and unified front, attempting to achieve the same goals of sovereignty and nation building against the same colonial forces. Land based efforts of protection, stewardship and sustainability are concomitant with community building, where each is essential to Indigenous holistic well-being and future-making in a good way, to ensure that as equal citizens in Canada, Indigenous People are considered and treated as such. Wilson-Raybould affirmed that:

> [C]ommunities that have kicked down the postcolonial door are doing better than those who have not. Sure, they have struggles, but they are different struggles, struggles that are fought with the confidence of empowerment and the ability to make decisions and take responsibility for one's own actions. So let us recognize the significant ground we have made in the last fifty years, let us take the opportunities that lie before us and seek to empower – individuals by individual, community by community, Nation by Nation – so that no single person, no single community, and no single Nation is left out or behind (2019, 28).

These words of Wilson-Raybould, and of Simpson and Smith, are encouraging and essential to carry Indigenous Peoples forward, through the 'post-colonial door' together, where Indigenous People are able to live in harmony within and between our societies, as well as with settlers.

Land freeze to land claims and land rights

Finally, as shared by Thomas, "Storytelling traditionally was, and still is, a teaching tool. As such, the stories that are told in re-search too will be teaching tools. Sharing stories validates the various experiences of the storytellers, but also has the ability to give others with similar stories the strength, encouragement, and support they need to tell their stories" (2005, 252). This Inuvialuit story is an Indigenous story, told by Inuvialuit, whose voices and knowledge are captured in these pages. This story, and the words of *Angagaq* and the various

other Inuvialuit, who speak with conviction and courage, apply not only to the Inuvialuit, but they apply to all Indigenous groups who are being encroached upon. Indigenous uprising empowers all Indigenous People, where resurgence and solidarity alters the trajectory and discourse of colonialism.

The conclusion of this story returns to my *ataatak Angagaq*, my inspiration for telling this Inuvialuit story in the first place. On the last page of this story is his personal map of placenames of the Tuk area (figure 7). I can't help but think that *Angagaq* had a hand in the successes that were achieved with the IFA. On March 9, 1976 *Angagaq* submitted the *Proposed Land Freeze for the Tuktoyaktuk Area* on behalf of COPE, in which COPE stressed the significance to freeze resource exploration and pipeline construction while Inuvialuit were in the process of regaining control of Inuvialuit land rights. In this short 12 page document, COPE pointed out 97 traditional placenames in the *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* area alone. Though no maps were included in this document, many are captured in his map. He and COPE also highlighted three critical areas that required protecting, as they are sensitive wildlife habitats: *Imaryuk* (Husky Lakes) – *Avvaq* (Cape Bathurst) that are considered sacred grounds to the Inuvialuit; Mackenzie Bay – *Qangmaliq* Bay where beluga whales congregate in the summer to birth their young; and Kendall Island Bird Sanctuary where migratory birds stage their return annually to nest and raise their young. Each of these areas pointed out are now sanctuaries that are protected from development activities. The following statement are words that COPE addressed to Justice Thomas Berger during the Berger Inquiry, who in his 1977 Report recommended a 10 year moratorium on oil and gas exploration and pipeline development until land claims were

finalized. These words succinctly captures and highlights Inuvialuit connectedness to land, authority, temporality and future-making of a nation who transcend the ages and adversity:

> For longer than the oldest man can remember, the Inuit have lived on the coasts of the Arctic Ocean. The grandfathers of our grandfathers made this country their home. We feasted when there was plenty and went hungry when there was little. We ordered our lives by the ever-changing clock of the seasons. We lived in harmony with the lands and the waters we depended upon.
>
> When strangers from the [S]outh came into our land, we lived in harmony with them too, for they were few. The land and the water remained unchanged.
>
> Until recently, the passing of man was marked only by old sod houses, log homes, whale bones, and fish weirs. Now, however, men and machines leave their trails wherever they go in their quest for oil, gas and minerals.
>
> Many proposals from oil and gas companies to conduct seismic and drilling operations near Tuktoyaktuk have been approved since 1972, when land use regulations were first instituted. We have watched these operations and we have not been convinced that either the regulations or the enforcement of them provide satisfactory protection for the land.
>
> We fear that some options for the use of the land may be destroyed before a land claims settlement is made. Therefore, lands and waters with particular importance to us for reasons of tradition or livelihood need to be protected from destructive uses until a settlement is made.
>
> When people finally have permanent control over their own lands, they will be better able to decide their future in relation to that land. It will then become evident which alternatives for the use of the same land and water are compatible with the people's vision of the future and meld with their remembrance of the past.
>
> The most important areas of land and water must be protected from development now, so that all the options are available in the future.

In a letter to Inuit Tapirisat of Canada dated November 28, 1974, the Honourable Judd Buchanan stated that he would be willing to entertain proposals to give special protection to areas which have particular cultural, historic or local value.

Writing on behalf of the people of Tuktoyaktuk, the Tuktoyaktuk Hunters and Trappers Association and the Tuktoyaktuk Hamlet Council, the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (C.O.P.E.) wishes to present the first proposal for development freezes in three areas near Tuktoyaktuk.

A land freeze is a moratorium on all industrial activity within the area outlines for the times of year stated. The freeze would be instituted immediately and would stop all industrial activity, both programs which are now in progress and those which are proposed. The freezes would remain in effect until land claims negotiations between Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and the federal Government of Canada are complete and a satisfactory settlement has been reached (COPE 1976, 1-2).

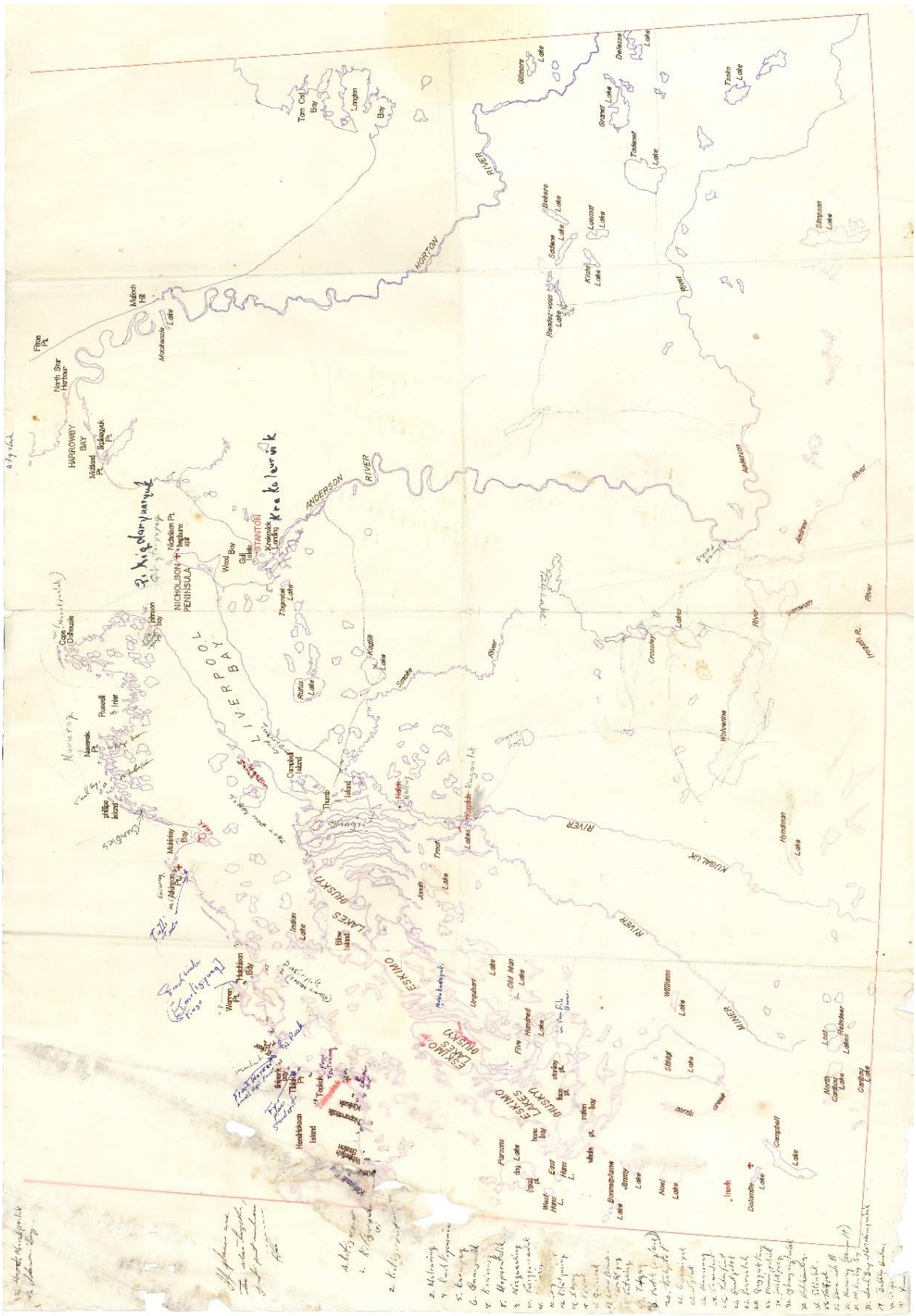

Figure 7. *Angagaq's* personal map of placenames in the *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* area, 1970s.

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Appendix 1

List of Committee for Original People's Entitlement members

Akłavik	*Inuvik*	*Paulatuuq*	*Ikaariaq*	*Tuktuuyaqtuuq*	*Uluhaktok*
Alice Selamio	Agnes Semmler	Adam Ruben	Alexandria Elias	Ada Carpenter	Agnes Goose
Anna Illasiak	Alma S. Raddi	Albert Ruben	Andy Carpenter	Ada Raymond	Agnes Kuptana
Annie C. Gordon	Bertha Allen	Bertha Ruben	Betty Haogak	Agnes White	Albert Elias
Annie Banksland	Billy Day	Billy Ruben	Beverly Amos	Andy Jacobson	Alice Omingmak
Barbara Allen	Bob DeLury	David Ruben	Beverly Esau	Anne Ettagiak	Annie Goose
Bessie Erigaktoak	Carol Dick	Dennis Thrasher	Charles Haogak	Anne Noksana	Beatrice Goose
Colin Harry	Connie Ballas	Edward Ruben	David Nasogaluak	Bert Kimiksana	Bessie Inuktalik
Delma Joe Inglangasuk	Delma Kisoun	Eileen Thrasher	Ernest Pokiak	Bertram Pokiak	Bill Goose
Don McWatt	Emma Dick	Francis Ruben	Earl Easu	Bessie Pokiak	David Kuptana
Dorothy Arey	Ernie Bernhardt	Fred Thrasher	Eli Nasogaluak	Bessie Kuptana	David Omingmak
Elizabeth Kowana	Esther McLeod	Garrett Ruben	Frederick Raddi	Beverly Kimiksana	Elsie Nigiyok
Eva Selamio	Frank Elanik	Gilbert Thrasher	Glen Carpenter	Bobby Chicksi	Elizabeth Banksland
Frank Elanik Jr.	Fred Joe Inglangasuk	James Ruben	Jackie Kuptana	Bobby Gruben	Eva Kagyut
Fred Joe	Gloria Wainman	Lena Ruben	Joe Kudlak	Calvin Pokiak	Harry Egotak
George Allen	Jessie Amos	Lily Green	Larry Carpenter	Charles Gruben	Ida Aivik
Jimmy Gordon	Jimmy Gordon	Lynn Ruben	Lena Wolki	Charlie Gruben	Jean Ekpakohak
John Banksland	Johnny Lennie	Mary Evik Ruben	Les Carpenter	Charles Komeak	Jimmy Memogana
Julie Thrasher	Kenneth Peeloolook	Nelson Green	Martha Kudlak	Christina Noksana	Joanne Oliktoak
Knute Hansen	Lillian Elias	Noel Green	Mary Elias	David Noksana	John Kuneyuna
Lena Selamio	Lily Elias	Nora Ruben	Mike Amos	Eddie Dillon	Kane Tologanak
Lucy Joe	Lorna Moore	Pat Ruben	Peter Esau	Eddie Gruben	Kate Inuktalik
Maria Selamio	Mabel Allen	Peter Green	Rita Carpenter	Eileen Jacobson	Laverna Goose
Martha Arey	Marcy Tingmiak	Ruben Green	Samantha Lucas	Emma Elias	Lena Olifie
Mary Ruth Meyook	Mary Kaglik	Sam Green	Sheila Elias	Emmanuel Felix Sr.	Mark Ekootak
Nellie Gruben	Mary Teddy	Tony Green	Shirley Esau	Florence Avik	Mary Kudlak
Peter Joe	Nellie Cournoyea	Wallace Anikina	Terri Nokadlak	Frank Cockney	Noah Akhiatak
Peter Thrasher	Paul Kailek		Winnie Carpenter	Fred Wolki	Patsy Ekpakohak
Renie Arey	Rosie Albert		Yvonne Elias	Freeman Kimiksana	Rex Goose
Richard Papik	Russell Newmark			Gayle Ovayuak	Robert Kuptana
Robert McLeod	Sam Raddi			Henry Andreason	Roy Inuktalik

Roy Hansen	Shirley Kisoun			Irene Wolki	Sam Oliktoak
Sadie Whitbread	Susan Peffer			Jean Gruben	Shirley Oliktoak
Sarah Dillon	Valerie Steffanson			Jimmy Jacobson	Stanley Klengenberg
Sarah Meyook	Victor Allen			Jimmy Komeak	Wallace Goose
Sarah Tingmiak	Winnie Dick			Joseph Evik	Wilma Memogana
Simon Bennett				Joseph Kotokak	
Tom Arey Jr.				Joey Carpenter	
Tommy Gordon				Jonah Carpenter	
Verna Archie				Lena Kikoak	
Wayne Gordon				Lucy Cockney	
Winnie Cockney				Mark Noksana	
Winnie Elanik				Mary Rose Ettagiak	
				Mona Felix	
				Persis Gruben	
				Peter Rufus	
				Randal Pokiak	
				Rita Green	
				Robert Noksana	
				Rex Cockney	
				Vince Steen	
				William Nasogaluak	

Table 2. Committee for Original People's Entitlement fieldworkers.

Based on the COPE list compiled and published in the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement 25th Anniversary* by the IRC (2009, 42-45).

Appendix 2

Ethics approval

University of Victoria

Office of Research Services | Human Research Ethics Board
Michael Williams Building Rm B202 PO Box 1700 STN CSC Victoria BC V8W 2Y2 Canada
T 250-472-4545 | F 250-721-8960 | uvic.ca/research | ethics@uvic.ca

Certificate of Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR	**Brian Thom** (Supervisor)	**ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER** Expedited review - delegated	**19-0121**
PRINCIPAL APPLICANT	**Letitia Pokiak** **Master's student**	ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE	22-Jul-2019
UVIC DEPARTMENT	**Anthropology**	APPROVED ON	22-Jul-2019
		APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE	21-Jul-2020

PROJECT TITLE **What good consultation with Indigenous groups means: Inuvialuit Research Regarding Climate Change, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and the Inuvialuit Land Claim Agreement**

RESEARCH TEAM MEMBERS **None**

DECLARED PROJECT FUNDING
Inuvialuit Education Foundation, Designated Amount Fund, Inuvialuit Education Foundation

DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL
Consent Form_2019_ LP.doc - 29-Jun-2019
IRC Board of Directors contact information.msg - 21-Jun-2019
Letter to Elders Committee_recruitment of elders.msg - 21-Jun-2019
letter to the HTCs.msg - 21-Jun-2019
Community Corporations_recruitment letter and presentation.msg - 21-Jun-2019
recruitment letter to the IRC Board of Directors, and presentation of research_2019.pdf - 21-Jun-2019
recruitment letter to the Elder Committees, and presentation of research_2019.pdf - 21-Jun-2019
recruitment letter to the HTCs_2019.pdf - 21-Jun-2019
recruitment letter to the Community Corporations, and presentation of research_2019.pdf - 21-Jun-2019
recruitment script.pdf - 21-Jun-2019
interview questions, Inuvialuit consultation_2019.docx - 07-May-2019

CONDITIONS OF APPROVAL

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol.

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.

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.

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.

Certification

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 appropiate standards of ethcis as outlines by the University of Victoria Research Regulations Involving Human Participants.

Certificate Issued On: 22-Jul-2019