Sivunitsatinnut ilinniapunga (For our future, I go to school): A Description of an Archaeology Field School and Photo Exhibit Project in Nunavik, Northern Quebec

Jrène Rahm
Université de Montréal

Pierre Desrosiers
Consultant in Archaeology

Jessica Kotierk
Government of Nunavut

Tommy Weetaluktuk
Avataq Cultural Institute

This article offers a description of a case study, an archaeological field school, and photo exhibit project with youth in Nunavik, Quebec, Canada, aimed at the valorisation and preservation of Inuit cultural heritage. The field school was assumed by Pierre Desrosiers, an archaeologist working in the administrative office of the Avataq Cultural Institute in Montreal at the time, and Tommy Weetaluktuk, archaeologist and current director of the archaeology department at the head office of the Avataq Cultural Institute in Inukjuak, Nunavik. Jessica Kotierk from Igloolik, a trained conservator, assisted with the conservation of organic artifacts and the training of youth in the field school. The project was also about knowledge creation in that youth from Akulivik, Nunavik participated in a photography project and exhibit, a component of the field school assumed primarily by Jrène Rahm from the Université de Montréal. In this article, we describe the four phases of the case study Sivunitsatinnut ilinniapunga (For our future, I go to school)*: (1) The field school in Akulivik, Nunavik; (2) a community follow-up visit in the fall to the school in Akulivik; (3) a field trip to Montreal the following spring by some of the youth with their two high school teachers to assist with the inauguration of the photo exhibit; and (4) the inauguration of the photo exhibit in Akulivik. We situate the project in a selective review of the history of archaeology in Nunavik and Nunavut. Through an analysis of its educational implications, we address student learning and engagement supported by Indigenous community and university partnerships.*

Field schools in archaeology are not simply a means to form future archaeologists, but a tool to also re-engage children and youth with history and material culture. At the same time, Atalay (2006) reminds us that:

> Archaeology is much more than simply a tool for understanding the past: Archaeological practice and the knowledge it produces are part of the history and heritage of living people and have complex contemporary implications and relevance for those people in daily life. (p. 283)

Archaeology, as described by Atalay (2006) who is an Anishinabe woman and archaeologist, is about people and about the piecing together of multiple forms of evidence such as oral histories, documents, materials, artifacts, and ecofacts with environmental observations, to name a few. It is a tool to engage in storytelling, occasioned by objects, landmarks, and place. Archaeology can be a means to revitalize traditional practices in ways that result in pride in one's heritage, in understandings of the past in ways connected to the present and future, and the valorisation of culture and language in ways that can facilitate the overcoming of disconnections across generations. It is what Atalay (2012) describes as community-based archaeology, with, by, and for Indigenous and local communities.

In this paper, we address some of these dimensions in the context of a case study of an archaeological field school and photography project pursued in Nunavik from 2012 to 2014. The field school was assumed by Pierre Desrosiers, an archaeologist working in the administrative office of the Avataq Cultural Institute in Montreal at the time, and Tommy Weetaluktuk, archaeologist and current director of the archaeology department at the head office of the Avataq Cultural Institute in Inukjuak, Nunavik. Jessica Kotierk from Igloolik, a trained conservator, assisted with the conservation of organic artifacts and the training of youth in the field school. The photography project was pursued under guidance by Jrène Rahm from the Department of Education at the Université de Montréal, who has a history of working with urban youth on participatory projects, but who was new to Inuit education in Nunavik at the time. All authors of this paper, irrespective of their history or level of expertise, were committed to respectful relations and collaborative work, driven by community needs put forth by Inuit from Akulivik, Nunavik. Hence, the project was driven by the goal to engage in the valorisation and preservation of the cultural heritage with Inuit youth and their community.

The project was named *Sivunitsatinnut ilinniapunga (For our future, I go to school)* since we wanted to use it as a means to reflect upon the educational potential of archaeological field schools. We aimed to ground that reflection in relational ways of knowing and being at the heart of the Inuit worldview (Karetak, Tester, & Tagalik, 2017) and explore, through this case study, ways in which youths' engagement with archaeology may offer a means to keep alive and reconnect with what Inuit have always known to be true, and to guide the future educational pathways of Inuit youth.

Archaeology, once taken out of its Western scientific context, seemed to lend itself well to these objectives for at least three reasons. First of all, land

as pedagogy grounded the field school through engagement in cultural practices, storytelling, and the excavation of artifacts (Simpson, 2014). Second, the excavations implied object interactions and supported reconnections with the past and "previous owners and makers of the objects" (Gadoua, 2014, p. 326). A field school can offer physical contact between objects and persons on the land, a form of meaning-making further enhanced through dialogue among local knowledge keepers, archaeologists, and youth, resulting in the remembering and sharing of knowledge. As underlined by Atalay (2006), such a dialogue among Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars can lead to the creation of "a counter-discourse to the Western ways and colonial and imperialist practices of the past" and support "a decolonized archaeological practice—one that is first and foremost 'with, for, and by' Indigenous people" (p. 283). The latter is well aligned with the mandate of the Avataq Cultural Institute, which is committed to the preservation and promotion of Inuit culture and language (Koperqualuk, 2009), and whose archaeology department was solicited by the community as a partner in this project. The mandate to promote culture is tied to a third issue the project aimed to address: namely, finding ways to offer youth opportunities to not only preserve their culture but also create new knowledge. That dimension was met through the addition of a photography project, which involved the local community and youth in the co-creation of a tangible result—an exhibit. The latter was also a tool to support a dialogue between Inuit in Akulivik and people in Montreal, and thereby reach out to non-archaeological populations and make archaeology socially relevant to both, the *Qallunaat* (i.e., White people) and the Inuit (Griebel, 2010). Taken together, the project speaks directly to the *Canadian Journal of Native Education's* (CJNE) second issue theme in that it was intended for the revitalization and maintenance of cultural practices while also committed to student learning and engagement through this Indigenous community and university partnership.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. First, we situate the project in a selective review of the history of archaeology in Inuit Nunangat. Second, we offer a description of the four phases of the case study *Sivunisatinnut Ilinniapunga (For our future, I go to school)*: (1) The field school in Akulivik, Nunavik; (2) a community follow-up visit in the fall to the school in Akulivik; (3) a field trip to Montreal the following spring by some of the youth with their two high school teachers to assist with the inauguration of the photo exhibit; and (4) the inauguration of the photo exhibit in Akulivik in the context of a community event at the school. Through an analysis of its educational implications, we address student learning and engagement supported by Indigenous community and university partnerships, speaking to the second theme of this CJNE special issue.

Nunavimmiut and Inuit Nunangat: History, Archaeology, and Inuit Ways

History is an integral part of the daily lives of Nunavimmiut. It is passed on through stories and cultural practices, and distinguishes itself in important ways from Western notions of history (Koperqualuk, 2009). To begin with, there is no word for *history* in Inuktitut. History for Inuit is about remembering, by bringing the past to the present through stories. That is, traditionally, Inuit defined themselves in light of what they lived daily as a small group within a specific region. Those stories were passed on from one generation to the next orally. More recently, given concerns about the passing of elders and holders of that history, many oral history projects have been pursued, sometimes with Inuit youth taking the lead and thereby having the opportunity to also engage in an intergenerational sharing of the past (Bennett & Rowley, 2004). The same concern also led the Avatq Cultural Institute to engage in "history-making" during annual meetings with elders and to establish "benchmarks for preserving traditional knowledge" resulting in a vast collection of "oral histories from elders, archival photographs, publications, archaeological information, and later, geneaology" (Koperqualuk, 2009, p. 15). Some were shared through publications and magazines, mediated by Avataq. The documentation of a common history also became important for political and legal reasons in light of land claim negotiations and settlements. The Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (ILUOP) in the 1970s is just one example in which Inuit who directed the project relied on Inuit hunters' knowledge of the land and hunting practices.

Despite such history projects by and of Inuit of Nunavik, Koperqualuk (2009) notes how the term *history* only gradually came to be defined by Inuit. In fact, Koperqualuk (2009) argues, after consultation with elders, that a collective history is best captured by *Inuit qaujimajatuqangit* or IQ, which is often translated as traditional knowledge or what Inuit have always known to be true (Karetak et al., 2017). While the term *traditional* is used, IQ purports to "a set of values and practices, the relevance and importance of these, and ways of being and looking at things that are timeless" and which is essentially about a holistic and Inuit grounded worldview (p. 1). That epistemology implies "a way of thinking, connecting all aspects of life in a coherent way" (p. 3) that was and still is passed on orally. Hence, IQ is a collective history expressed by elders (Koperqualuk, 2009). Inuit values, beliefs, and practices are inherent to IQ and elders wish to pass it on to youth and future generations. Essentially, "maintaining Inuit values, beliefs and practices offer us hope for the future as we reclaim our rich history and past" (Putulik, 2015, p. 86). Two examples are the naming practices (Lyons, Dawson, Walls, Uluadluak, Angalik, Kalluak, Kigusiutuak, Kiniksi, Karetak, & Suluk, 2010), and the use

of kinship terms (Putulik, 2015). Naming practices in Nunavut, as described by Putulik (2015), are about relationship building or *inuuqatigiingniq* in that naming a child after a person ensures a relationship between the two, whereas the naming after a deceased person mediates healing from that loss and also ensures some level of continuity. The practice of kinship terms implies relationship building within the immediate or extended family, as well as outside of the family. As such, kinship relations are based on names but can also be about people who respect each other. The latter can be instrumental in mediating the reconnection among family groups that were broken. Other kinships may rely on same gender relations or *tuqelurausiq*, or a special agreement between unrelated people mediated by the sharing of a small item or *avik*, that symbolises a bond and "encourages sharing" (p. 73).

The oral history practices of Inuit also imply the passing on of skills needed to survive on the land (Karetak et al., 2017). For instance, children learn by observation from their parents, family members, and elders about "the location of resources", "the fluctuations of fauna", or about ways to act, be, and become through being on the land. It is in this manner that the land is pedagogy, and thereby transmits values and practices that are essential tools to ensure children's survival on the land. Place names are another example in that each known location reflects knowledge significant to Inuit about physical characteristics, resources, or archaeological features, among other dimensions (Lyons et al., 2010). Inuit relied on such knowledge in their travel. Numerous mapping projects currently record Inuit knowledge keepers' stories about place to enrich Western Global Positioning System (GPS) based mapping, thereby making maps more locally relevant and meaningful (Müller-Wille, 1987).

Inuit Nunangat also has a rich oral history of "indigenous small-scale archaeology" in that the visibility of many artifacts in the North naturally led to the admiration and sharing of stories around objects that were found among Nunavimmiut (Rowley, 2002). In some cases, it led to the collecting and exhibiting of artifacts in communities or the passing on of artifacts, such as a harpoon head, given beliefs that it may bring luck to others in the future. Yet, as noted by Inuit, historians, and archaeologists, there was much respect for the land and its history (Fitzhugh & Loring, 2002). Typically, artifacts were used to teach children about the past, but not removed. With the movement towards a "scientific archaeology" led by archaeologists in North America in the post-World War II era, however, that rich knowledge of elders and history of Inuit archaeology was simply ignored. The Western grounding and scientific obsession of the archaeological practices in the 1970s and '80s focused on telling "objective truths" about material culture and were highly steeped in the colonisation of Nunavik.

That positioning of archaeology has been summarized eloquently by Daniel Weetaluktuk, the first Inuit archaeologist:

> Arctic archaeology has always been the southern archaeologists' thing for over the past 50 years and still is today. They have kept it that way so the Inuit of eastern Arctic still don't know and understand it too well ... So the Inuit have had to settle for being guides and they had little choice but to do so because of circumstances involved; their lack of inside knowledge and proper training. (as cited in Kemp, 1982, p. 1)

Yet, there have been important shifts given a restructuring of research practices in the North driven by the mandate of Inuit involvement and voice. It led Inuit to reclaim their space and position in archaeology, and the cultural heritage industry today, at least in part. That change was advocated by Inuit communities, activists, and elders, starting in the 1960s and 1970s, who recognized the important role of history for community well-being, identity work, and cultural pride (Koperqualuk, 2009). In Nunavik, it was further fueled by lack of a firm commitment (financial and other) to language and culture by the 1975 *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement* (Gendron & Kokiapik, 2011), which led to the creation of Avataq in 1980 by Inuit of Nunavik, an institute committed to the following: An Inuktitut promotion and preservation program, a genealogy program, a Nunavik museums program, a Nunavik Inuit art collection, an archaeology department, an artists' support program, a documentation and archives centre, local cultural committee, traditional skills courses, and research and publication service. With the creation of the archaeology department in 1985, elders asked Avataq to overlook any future archaeological research in Nunavik and to claim all artifacts that had been taken away in the past (Avataq Cultural Institute, 1983, p. 86). Ten years later, the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* (NLCA) was settled in 1993 and spelled out the key role in the management and conservation of archaeological sites in Nunavut. It led the Inuit Heritage Trust to offer Inuit youth archaeological field schools in Pond Inlet, to give just one example (Chemko, 2006). The *Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement* (LILCA) with the Nunatsiavut Government overseeing archaeological activity on Labrador Inuit Lands was settled in 2004 and came into effect in 2005, a process that started with a land claim in 1977 that then led to negotiations from1988 onward, with an agreement in principle in 2002. The writing of heritage legislation is still pending yet overseen, in part, by the Torngâsok Cultural Centre in Nain that houses archaeological artifacts from the region (Government of Nunatsiavut). A similar land claim, *Nunavik Inuit Land Claims Agreement* (NILCA), came into effect more recently for the Inuit of Nunavik concerning the islands surrounding Nunavik (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2011).

Another landmark event was the *Ittarnisalirijiit* Conference in 1994 that was co-organized by three Inuit. It followed a conference in 1993 at the Smithsonian Institution in honour of Arctic archaeologists, all of whom were over the age of 80, who began a discussion about the need to establish guidelines for the conduct of archaeological fieldwork in Inuit Nunangat (Webster & Bennett, 1997). The name *Ittarnisalirijiit* was chosen, meaning "those who deal with the distant past, the time of legends" (p. 247) and brought together for the first time historians and Inuit archeologists on their land in Igloolik. Youth and elder delegates from the Inuit Nunangat region shared experiences. Exchanges also led to a list of guidelines and recommendations on how Inuit would like to see the conduct of archaeological research. Already, then, there was a call for historical societies in each community, regional and community museums, site stewards, the development of information to share with the public, the inclusion of archaeological courses in the education system, stronger role of municipalities in pursuing research, and a concern about the repatriation and reburial of skeletal remains—many issues that still need to be better addressed today. This article speaks to one of them, the educational potential of archaeological field schools with children and youth, and their role in the preservation and generation of new knowledge.

Description of the Project Sivunitsatinnut Ilinniapunga

The project we describe in this paper was assumed by the archaeology department of Avataq, created in 1985, with the mandate: (1) to promote and foster an interest in archaeology among Nunavimmiut, especially young people; (2) to sensitize the communities to the importance of archaeology, and the protection of archaeological sites and ancient objects; (3) to build partnerships with scientific and educational institutions; (4) to safeguard archaeological sites affected by construction projects; and (5) to undertake and encourage research into the history of Nunavik and disseminate the results (Gendron, 2007). Since its inception, the department assumed field school projects in which communities and youth were involved in ways Daniel Weetaluktuk had envisioned, driven by the following goals, according to Daniel Gendron, director of the archaeology department at Avataq at the time of this project :

> the important part about our projects where we hire students to do fieldwork in the summer is not to make them archaeologists, but to make them realize they have a past, and this past is significant, and that they should be proud of it. Beyond this point, if they want to do archaeology, fine, but if they want to do something else, it doesn't matter. What matters is that they have a relationship with their past and that they are accepting themselves. (informal conversation in 2011, cited in Griebel, 2013, p. 139)

Avataq's ways of reaching out to youth implied a "hybrid approach that incorporates diverse elements such as place names, traditional knowledge, oral histories, and cultural landscapes into models of inquiry and explanation" (Lyons et al., 2010, p. 3). To appreciate the culture and come into contact with elders also became the driving force of the Ataguttaaluk Field School in Igloolik, Nunavut, that started in 1990 and which was featured at the *Ittarnisalirijiit* Conference (Rowley, 1994; 2002). In that field school, Grades 10, 11, and 12 students received high school credit for their work. As Avataq has done in the past, students also engaged in the moulding and casting of artifacts, and they were envisioning tool making in the following year.

From 2001 to 2006, the project *From Tuniit to Inuit*, assumed by Avataq, entailed multiple field schools, offering students the possibility to return, a unique opportunity of which half of them took advantage. The second component of that project entailed a bachelor's level course in anthropology that was open to Inuit teachers engaged in the teacher education program at McGill University, a joint venture with the Kativik School Board and an opportunity that was highly appreciated by the 18 participating teachers. A follow-up multi-year project from 2008 to 2013, *Sivulitta inuusirilaurtangit atuutilaurtanigillu* (Time and space among the Inuit of Nunavik), at the tail end of which this project took place, offered further opportunities to students and communities across Nunavik to engage with archaeology (Gendron, 2007; Lofthouse, 2014).

These projects are some examples that responded well to the vision of Daniel Weetaluktuk, who called for the formation of Inuit in Arctic archaeological research and advocated Inuit participation in all phases of archaeological projects, ideas he could not put into practice given his brief career, due to an accident in 1982. His pioneering role in establishing Inuit archaeology in Nunavik led to the construction of the Daniel Weetaluktuk Museum in Inukjuak in 1993 and the creation of the Daniel Weetaluktuk Award by the Québec Ministry of Cultural Affairs, offered annually by the Canadian Archaeological Association (Martijn, 2002). As Daniel Weetaluktuk noted, Inuit need opportunities to engage with archaeology:

> The situation cannot change overnight [and] will not change [at] all unless some young Inuit start taking initiative to get involved a bit more than they do now, even though they have never really been encouraged by anyone. (cited in Kemp, 1982, p. 3)

He advocated the inclusion of archaeology in the science curriculum and called for opportunities for students to learn more about careers in the sciences, two dimensions our project addressed and that the Kativik School Board supported through the development of curriculum.

Sivunitsatinnut ilinniapunga (For our future I go to school) consisted of four phases. We begin with the introduction that was offered to the public in the photography exhibit in Montreal and Akulivik in Inuktitut, English, and French, written from the perspective of youth by Desrosiers and Rahm (2014). We aimed to write the captions with youth, but due to lack of time during our visit to Akulivik in the fall of 2013, we ended up sending the texts to the two teachers involved in the project. They shared them with the youth participants for their approval, a serious limit to the co-creation of the exhibit as intended, and that we address in the discussion.

Sivunitsatinnut ilinniapuga (For our future I go to school)

Our photography exhibit offers you with a glimpse of our vision of archaeology, our landscape, and our community. It all started with twelve of us participating in the archaeological field school on Qikirtajuaq Island (Smith Island) during the summer of 2013 (July 15th—August 17th, 2013), off Akulivik. We had the opportunity to work with a team of elders and researchers (professors and graduate students) from the archaeology department of the Avataq Cultural Institute in Inukjuaq and Montreal, from the geology department at Laval University, and an Inuk expert in artefact preservation and conservation from Nunavut, working at the Canadian Conservation Institute and Avataq. Almost every day, we took pictures of our work and our landscape, documenting some of it also on video. We also learned a lot from the elders and researchers about the past but also future through dialogue circles in the kitchen in the evenings or on wet days. We then posted some of our pictures on the Avataq Facebook page during the summer. To add another dimension to the exhibit, we then took pictures of our community together with our peers and teachers at the Tukisinarvik School during the fall. At the end of November, during a one-week visit of the research team, we had the challenging task of selecting the pictures now in front of you! We (upper-elementary and secondary level students) also had an opportunity to learn more about archaeology and our history as Pierre Desrosiers and Tommy Weetaluktuk offered presentations about archaeology and what an archaeologist does, next to a throwing stick activity outdoors. We are proud to share with you our work, our vision, and hope you enjoy the exhibit. (Desrosiers & Rahm, 2014)

The exhibit was intended to engage Inuit youth from Akulivik and their community in a dialogue with the general public in Montreal. It was also a means to deconstruct images that the general people of Montreal might have of Inuit, as people of the past. We encouraged youth to present the field school, the land, and the community in ways that made sense to them and not necessarily in the kind of folkloric ways they tend to be represented by others. In line with community photography (Mitchell, 2011), we wanted to give a voice to the participating youth and co-create together a vision of the field school, the land, and the community. We anticipated that photography would make possible the creative capturing of youths' perspectives in ways spoken or written words could not (Delgado, 2015) 2006). During the field school, youth had access to two digital cameras and one video camera. We also involved teachers and their students to document their community, before our visit in the fall, when together, we

selected the pictures for the exhibit. Some of the pictures were shared through the Avataq Archaeology Facebook page over the course of the project, others assembled for a presentation at the community event at the end of the field school, and also projected at the school during parent night when we visited in the fall. Summaries of the projects were also published in *Nunatsiaq News* and other Northern magazines (Avataq Cultural Institute, 2013). We now turn to a description of the field school.

Phase 1: The Field School at Qikirtajuaq (Cape Smith)

Quikirtajuaq (Cape Smith) is an island not far from the community of Akulivik in the Hudson Bay Region of Nunavik, where the archaeological field school took place. The community was introduced in the exhibit as follows:

Our Community: Akulivik

Our pictures show the vitality of our community where people take much pride in their culture, language and traditions. The pictures show the different facets of our village where it's winter most of the year (see Figure 1). Regardless of the temperature, we like to play outside. Our friends and family play a very important role in our lives. Many of our activities take place at our school, arena or community center, especially sports or traditional activities (sewing, throat singing, making tools, sculpture, etc.).

Akulivik is located in Nunavik on the northeast coast of the Hudson Bay and has about 600 inhabitants. The community of Akulivik is named like that because it evokes the shape of a kakivak (harpoon): it is located on a point between two bodies of water, which makes it look like an akulivik, the central prong of a kakivak. The area has been inhabited for thousands of years, and we have many traditional stories associated with its places. A trading post operated

Figure 1. Pictures from the exhibit representing the community.

on the island Qikirtajuaq from the 1920s into the 1950s. Thereafter, our parents and grandparents lived in Puvirnituq before returning to Akulivik from 1973 on. (Desrosiers & Rahm, 2014)

The field school was driven by a community concern to document some of the past activity of Qikirtajuaq (Cape Smith), an island with a very rich history of Inuit activity. Yet, there has been little archaeological documentation of its past. That is, "the island was identified early on in the pursuit of Arctic archaeological research by Manning in the 1940s and Wallrath in the 1950s" (Desrosiers, personal communication, October 2013). It led to survey work in 2010, which led to the identification of a suitable setting for the archaeological field school that then took place in the summer of 2011. That summer, nine high school students, ranging in age from 14 to 17 years old, were employed. Funding for their salaries came from a collaboration with the Kativik Regional Government who offered a summer internship to youth with a good attendance record in school and intentions to graduate.

The goal of the excavation in the summer of 2013 was to focus on one structure with a mixed history of Dorset and Thule/Inuit occupation. It led to the excavation of the house floor, made up of stones arranged around a large wooden pole in the middle of the structure, part of which was removed for the dating of the structure by the Canadian Institute of Conservation in Ottawa. Even some fur was found on that floor which was also carefully removed for further study by co-author Jessica Kotierk. In the exhibit, the field school (see Figure 2) was introduced as follows:

Archaeologists under the scrutiny of students!

Avataq's field school was conducted at the site Kangiakallak 1 (JeGn -2) on Qikirtajuaq (Smith Island) with twelve high school students from the school Tukisiniarvik in Akulivik. We were involved in all aspects of the fieldwork: the recording of artifacts, the screening of sediments, the measure of the elevation with the theodolite, as well as the pre-treatment of the artifacts in the field laboratory. Our team included not only experts in archaeology, but also an elder, familiar with the local history, a conservation specialist, and experts in the study of the land formation process and the environment of the island and its changes over time.

During our stay in camp, we slept in tents and participated in different camp activities including traditional hunting and fishing. Our pictures show the work of the research team, the discoveries in the field, and our participation in the archaeological dig. In many ways, we are literally documenting the history of the first Inuit who settled in the region. The excavated structure was a qarmaq, a semi-subterranean winter house whose entrance was a tunnel which helped to keep the warm air inside. Among the findings this summer, a stone knife with wooden handle, a figurine and even fur preserved in the frozen ground. (Desrosiers & Rahm, 2014)

Engagement with archaeology took multiple forms in camp. First, by simply walking the land together, we could identify landmarks that were signs of previous life. For instance, one area not far from the dig seemed to indicate a place of a late Dorset house, given the rectangular shape and demarcation still noticeable upon careful observation of the slope, marked

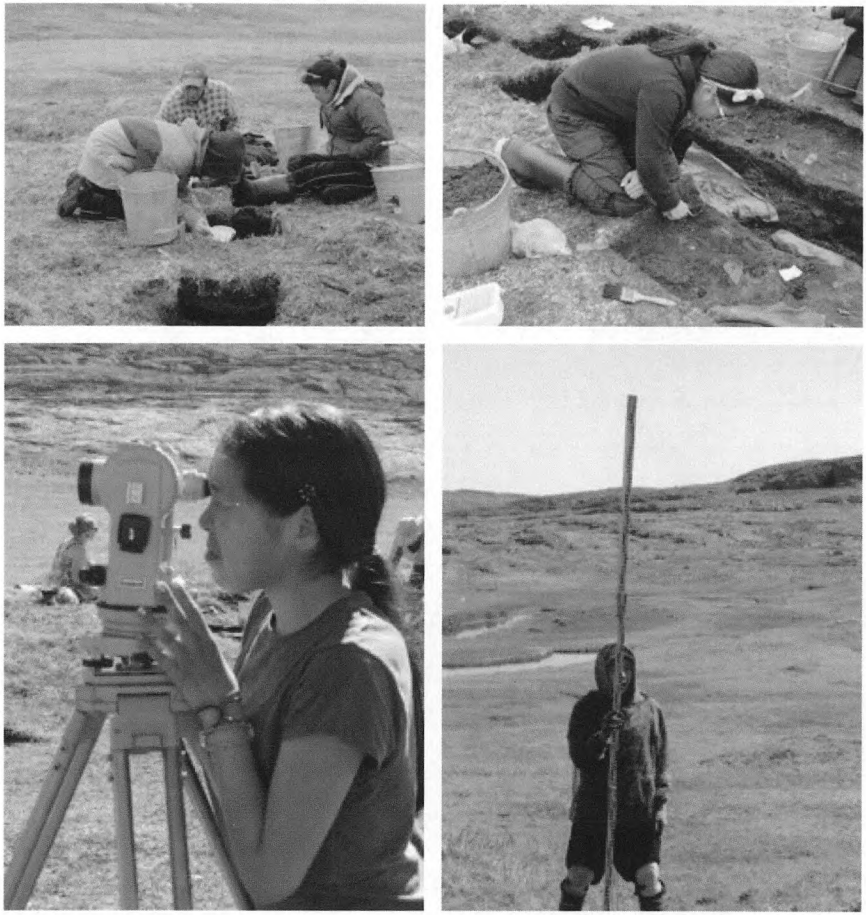

Figure 2. Pictures showing the field school, taken by youth and part of the exhibit.

by its shallow depression. The Inuit sod house (*qarmaq*) was also apparent once archaeologists guided our gaze towards it. Those structures are dug deep into the ground with a tunnel at the entrance and a bed platform in the back. "Inuit usually preferred to dig their houses on the edge of a slope while Dorset people installed their houses on a flat area" (Desrosiers, personal communication, October 2013). Other landmarks in the area were left-over assembled rocks indicative of tent structures, next to secondary structures such as stone caches to store food and fox traps (*tigiriaq*)—an igloo-like structure of carefully assembled rocks with overhanging walls.

Ways of life tied to these structures also came alive in camp through storytelling circles with an Inuk hunter, who stayed with us throughout

the field school, and other storytelling circles animated by the archaeologists and geographers of the research team, all of which were always translated into Inuktitut. The use of pictures from the archives and maps of place names led to a sharing of traditional ways of life on the island of many generations of Inuit prior to the sedentary period, including their hunting and food storage practices, among others. The discovery of artifacts then brought these stories alive in yet other ways and made evident the power of touch in meaning making and storytelling of the past and one's future in ways Gadoua (2014) described in the context of a project that brought urban Inuit in contact with artifacts in a museum. Finding a harpoon head, the wood handle of a knife, or eventually the wooden doll were excavation highlights well captured in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Excavated artifacts found by youth.

Youth were also taken along on hunting trips. As most youths said, "country food is the best" and we were lucky to often feast on arctic char, seal, caribou meat, and sea urchins, in addition to Western food brought in from the community. Our hunter also brought *puurtaq* (a seal skin bag used for fermentation), resulting in *misiraq* (seal oil), a great delicacy with raw arctic char and seal.

Living on the land was also a means to connect with the land and see the land in new ways. We experienced the ice melt through the continuous accumulation of water in the excavation site, especially at the beginning. We water sieved the earth we excavated in a nearby lake to ensure that we would not miss out on chards or other small archaeological artifacts in the soil. That step became another way to feel the season, as the water was terribly cold at the beginning of the camp but then warmed up given some sunshine during the late summer. Each day, we observed new wildflowers and also spent some time collecting shells by the water, an activity some youths' parents shared with them in the past (see Figure 4). Youth could develop archaeology skills through practice, effort, and action or *Pilimmaksarniq*, and contribute to a common cause or *Piliriqatigiingniq*, namely the documentation of the history on the island. They also experienced what it means to respect and care for the land, animals, and the environment, or *Avatimik Kamattiarniq*, another IQ principle.

Towards the end of the field school, we returned to the village daily in the evenings, to attend a local music festival that brought many Inuit singers to Akulivik. It led to the idea to also invite the community to the island for a religious service (our hunter guide was the Bishop's assistant). Many families came to this event, which entailed a visit of the site, followed by tea and cookies, an event that modelled *Tunnganarniq*, the IQ principle of fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming, and inclusive,

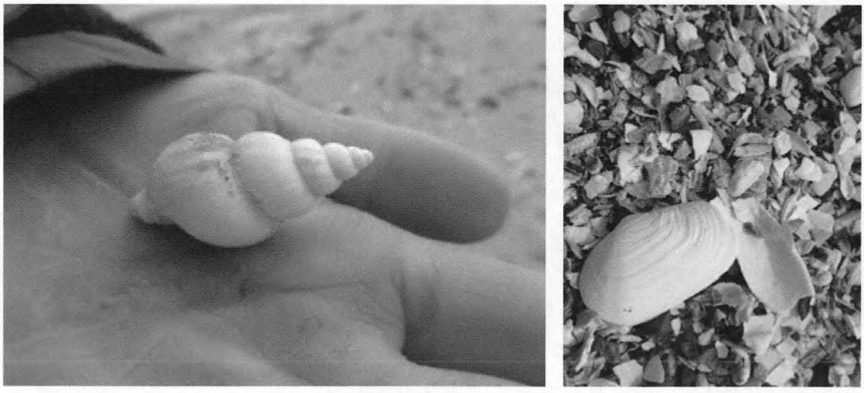

Figure 4. Two pictures from the exhibit showing some of the shells of Akulivik.

while also being respectful of others. It also makes visible a commitment to relationship building or *Inuuqatigiitsiarniq*.

During the last week of the field school, some of us spent time packing up the artifacts in town within a teacher's house, where we stayed. It was a special moment, as we discovered additional artifacts by chance. I (Jrène Rahm) worked with Jessica Kotierk, our specialist in artifact preservation, and two youth. One of them found a needle as we tried to remove some of the dirt in which we had transported wood pieces to keep the wood from drying out and thereby ensuring its preservation until treated further at the Conservation Institute in Ottawa. I will never forget the excitement when Louisa found a needle. It was so fragile and beautiful, and made us wonder what story that needle would have to tell if it could. But the needle also became an excuse for Louisa to bring her mother to our place and show her the precious artifact. She could share with her mother the hard work she had conducted in the field school over the summer. The field school ended with an exhibit at the gymnasium where the students presented their discoveries and tools of archaeology together with the team. The community event was well attended, with Inuit forming a long line to get a closer look at and sometimes touch the artifacts.

Phase 2: Archaeology Presentations and Exhibit Preparation at the School

Two archaeologists (Desrosiers and Weetaluktuk) and Jrène Rahm returned to the community in November 2013 for a week. The objective was to talk to students of all ages about archaeology and have them manipulate some artifacts that students from the field school had found. We also introduced students to an Inuit hunting technique and engaged them in the launching of a throwing stick outside of the school. The throwing stick is a unique tool developed by Inuit to throw their weapons further and with greater force, given the addition of a shaft that comes loose and helps attain considerable velocity (Boas, 1988).

Figure 5. Presentations in the classroom and selection of pictures with youth for the exhibit.

Each day, presentations were made in the different classrooms, simultaneously translated and directly elaborated in Inuktitut (see Figure 5). After school, youth were invited to meet with Jrène Rahm, the first article author, to select the pictures for the exhibit. The pictures from the summer about the field school and the land were printed and spread out on tables so youth could select the ones they wanted to exhibit.

It led to the retelling of many stories of our adventures over the five weeks of fieldwork. The following evenings, we looked at the pictures youth from the whole school had taken of the community and selected

Table 1. Summary of the activities during Avataq Week in Montreal, 2014

Day	*Activity*	*Objectives of Activity*
Monday, morning	Visit of Avataq Visit of Avataq's Museum	To revisit artifacts youth found in field school
afternoon	Repository (Centre des collections muséales à Montréal; CDCM)	Learn more about history through the many artifacts of their community stored in Montreal
Tuesday, morning	Visit John Abbott College in St-Anne-de-Bellevue	See with their own eyes where they would go to school in Montreal
afternoon	Botanical Garden, visit of archives Biodome Movie Night at Forum	Meet with a scientist who worked with different communities in Nunavik documenting flora with them
Wednesday, morning	Arctic Archaeology and Visit of Zooarchaeology laboratory at McGill University	Visiting a university and museum of an archaeology department
afternoon	McCord Museum—Tour Evening: Photo Exhibit Opening Night	Visiting a museum committed to Indigenous issues; exhibit opening
Thursday, morning	Trip to Ottawa: Tour of Canadian Conservation	Observe how artifacts are taken care of and restored for exhibits
afternoon	Canadian Museum of History; behind the scenes visit; exchange with Indigenous curator	Visit the backstage of one of the largest collections of Inuit artifacts; meet with an Indigenous curator
Friday, morning	Lascaux exhibit at Montreal Science Centre Lunch in Chinatown	Come into contact with history and culture in yet another manner
afternoon and evening	Laser Quest iSaute in Laval	Enjoyment and experience of activities they do not have access to in Akulivik
Saturday	Return to Akulivik by plane	

some together for the exhibit. Youth were eager to choose pictures they judged as intriguing and respectful of each other and potentially interesting to Qallunaat.

Phase 3: Avataq Archaeology Week 2014

This was the second time that the archaeology department organized Avataq Archaeology Week in Montreal. Like the first time in 2011, a subgroup of students from the summer field school were invited to come to Montreal during their spring school break with their teachers and assist in different activities tied to the field school as summarized in Table 1.

The highlight of the trip was a visit to the Canadian Institute of Conservation in Ottawa where staff were later treating some of the artifacts the youth had excavated (e.g., the fur we excavated was later cleaned and restored to ensure its preservation and original look). While visiting, we received a tour and introduction to basic conservation treatments such as the introduction of chemicals to prevent further deteroriation of objects and the manipulation of objects to restore them to an earlier appearence, as shown in Figure 6.

Amber Furmidge, one of the collaborating teachers with us, noted that the youth "loved Avataq, they loved seeing the reserves of Avataq, they

Figure 6. Visit to the Canadian Conservation Institute in Ottawa.

enjoyed going to Ottawa, they wish they'd had more time there to look at everything, you know, it's hard to do it in a daytrip" (A. Furgmidge, personal communication, April 2014). It was a charged program. Randy McLeod, the other teacher who participated for the second time in Avataq week, remembered how youth were moved to see artifacts they had excavated with the team in a glass display at the Avataq office. As Randy summarized, referring to one of his students, "he found one artifact that was then on display at the Avataq office ... and it was so cool, it was like 'hey, I found that!'... and now it's behind glass and people are not allowed to touch it anymore!" (R. McLeod, personal communication, April 2014).

The trip was also important in introducing youth to one of the colleges where some Inuit from Nunavik pursue further education. As Randy noted, "it's not about pushing them to go to college but at least, if they want to go, they now have a somewhat more realistic expectation of what it's gonna be like" (R. McLeod, personal communication, April 2014). It helped them see, with their own eyes, what college students do in Montreal. Finally, the trip made possible the inauguration of the photography exhibit together. Randy described it as follows:

> I liked the launch of the exhibit when people from Montreal were actually there to see ... the kids were very quiet at the time but I think that was a pretty cool thing! For them to be able to see their own ... for people to be there and to be interested in what they did ... and for people to actually be interested in what they did! So I think that was something that kinda stood out, that was pretty cool! (R. McLeod, personal communication, April 2014)

The mayor of Akulivik at the time, Adamie Alayco, and his family participated in the launch with us and asked Avataq to continue this kind of work, noting how important it is for their youth and community. As Amber recalled when we talked about the project, the community was impressed : "I don't know how to put it, [they were] kind of proud when we talked about it, that it was in Montreal, they were very happy to know that part of their world was shared ... with complete strangers." (A. Furmidge, personal communication, April 2014). While youth themselves said little during the exhibit, we all observed what Amber remembered: "to see them excited, and pointing at a picture, and talking about it ... remembering what was going on at the time that the pictures were taken, them sharing stories with each other" (A. Furmidge, personal communication, April 2014). Later, the teachers confided that neither of them thought much about the project at the beginning and wondered if, indeed, we would ever be able to transform it all into an exhibit. In that context, they referred to all the projects and people that constantly show up at the school, yet also referred to the fact that most projects never led to anything. The exhibit was a very moving experience for all of us.

Figure 7. The exhibit in the museum in Montreal (left) and in the school in Akulivik (right).

Phase 4: Exhibit in Community

After the exhibit in Montreal, which lasted a month, it was shipped to Akulivik, and the two teachers, with the help of youth, mounted it in the school. The community was invited to the school for a special event and visit of the exhibit. The mayor of Akulivik, Adamie Alayco, who visited the exhibit noted during an informal conversation that "the community is really excited to see what was created before their time" (A. Alayco, informal conversation, April 2014). Figure 7 illustrates the mounted exhibit.

As Randy recalled:

> A lot of people came to see it. There was a lot of interest. It was a really cool night! A lot of the people started reading the texts. Everybody seemed to enjoy it, to have a good time. For all of them, it was a way to revisit the artifacts they excavated or admired when you exhibited them in the gym earlier, at the end of the excavation. (R. McLeod, personal communication, April 2014)

The exhibit led to something tangible that people in Montreal and Akulivik could relate to, in different but to them meaningful ways. It led to a production that held all the components of the project together and supported dialogue.

Discussion: Implications for Education

In the 2017 winter issue of the *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Drew Michael, a well known mask maker in Alaska, briefly speaks about his experience at the

Nunalleq archaeological excavation site in Ouinhagak, Alaska, and the manner in which it helped him to reconnect with the past as a Yu'pik and Inupiaq, showing a picture of him with one of the masks that was excavated:

> Being there connected me to my homeland in a way that I have never experienced before, and it affected me profoundly. As I was digging, I felt like I was getting to know the different generations of people who lived on this land. I found a small wooden mask that is probably around 500 years old. As a mask maker, it was surreal. I kept pinching myself because I couldn't believe what I found. The experience has been influencing my work; there is a deeper spiritual connection in the stories that I am telling. (Michael, 2017, p. 14)

Field schools are a form of pedagogy that makes possible a connection with local knowledge, language, and the land in ways inherent to IQ (Karetak et al., 2017). Drew Michael's reflections about his experience makes evident, quite eloquently, how he felt "physically, spiritually and culturally" by being on the land and through his contact of a wooden mask of the past (2017, p. 14). That connection then also fueled the creation of new knowledge, and became embodied and expressed in new ways through his art. This project supported learning from experience and the reclaiming of Inuit ways of being, knowing, and becoming. Artifacts and the photographs led to the joint remembering of the past and present. And, as such, youth "learned that their history is important, and that it's really important to understand your history, and I think they enjoyed seeing things from the past, that were, important" (A. Furmidge, personal communication, April 2014). To then exhibit these experiences in a public space and share them with the general population in Montreal and members of their community positioned youth also as creators of new knowledge in that they brought the past to future generations through the exhibit.

Battiste (2013) notes, "It is time to change the educational outcomes for Aboriginal youth by fully integrating their knowledge and heritage into an educational system that values and respects Indigenous ways of knowing and allows Aboriginal students to embrace and celebrate who they are instead of making them doubt themselves" (p. 180). As shown here, field schools with youth are effective tools towards such an end (Desrosiers & Rahm, 2015; Gendron, 2007). The project was designed to support the navigation of systems and places, resulting in new imagined possibilities and future aspirations for Inuit youth, Qallunaat teachers, and the researchers. It implied a dialogue between Inuit and Qallunaat in ways empowering to both and, as such, the project was deeply entrenched in and driven by a serious commitment to respectful partnerships and learning from the other (Wilson, 2008). It is a project and process Avataq has been engaged in for a long time. As such, it has much to teach us about creating new possibilities through collaborations and partnerships.

Language is another integral part to Inuit ways and education "because each language represents a knowledge system that holds the depth of knowing that has not yet been tapped for contemporary education and the future of sustainable development" (Battiste, 2013, p. 146; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2017). In line with this concern, we ensured that everything we did together and that was later produced for the exhibit was offered in the three languages of the students' current life : namely Inuktitut, English, and French.

Central to an education grounded in IQ are also respect and relationship building and the development of a shared repertoire of experiences which collaborative projects as the one described here can support (Karetak et al., 2017; Wilson, 2008):

> you start having those common experiences or understand their experiences, and they start understanding your experiences; you know, through classroom discussions and extracurricular activities, you start having shared experiences, you start having shared backgrounds a little bit, they share your backgrounds, and that's why it's better; it's not better because you've been here longer, it's better because you start to understand, to start sharing experiences that you can then refer to, that can help in class. (R. McLeod, personal communication, April 2014)

Yet, not all joint projects are productive in this manner. Some projects are short-lived, quickly over, or simply never lead to anything tangible to which Inuit youth can relate. Randy distinguished between activities that keep students busy and out of trouble, and others "that increase their world view" (R. McLeod, personal communication, April 2014), and which then help contextualize future learning, making it more meaningful and empowering, something he felt this project did well. Whether it is about shared experiences or openness to Indigenous cultures, both mediate in important ways teacher-student relationships in the classroom, making joint-participation in land-based activities and culturally relevant curricula. As Randy added,

> it's good for them to have experiences that increase their world view but also to experience it themselves with you, so then you can draw upon it together, and then say, 'yeah, that's kinda what I'm talking about'... and then build on it. Now the kids get the concept of whatever you're talking about ... you [as a teacher] end up having a different learning and teaching relationship with those students because you have some things in common. (R. McLeod, personal communication, April 2014)

Essentially, the project implied a collaboration that made archaeology relevant to the descendant communities and in which material culture was a means rather than endpoint to re-engage with Inuit ways (Nicholas, Roberts, Schaepe, Watkins, Leader-Elliot, & Rowley, 2011). As such, the project also responded well to two priorities put forward by the Qarjuit Youth Council of Nunavik in 2017: namely, to "re-build bridges between

younger and older Inuit generations and promote traditional values and customs along with the Inuktitut language" and to "encourage school perseverance and develop projects targeting informal education" (Aragutak, 2017, p. 6). While the project may also encourage some youth to become archeologists and stewards of their past, we believe that projects of this nature are particularly promising in bringing communities together to support the development of self-confident Inuit youth who can contribute to community mobilization and well-being, and who can become the safeguards of IQ and future leaders of Nunavik. The goal of the project was driven by a serious commitment to lifelong learning, as understood by Inuit and its importance of the future and as made evident by the project title *Sivunitsatinnut ilinniapunga (For our future I go to school)*. It was also driven by a commitment to youth voice, which was expressed primarily through photography, in the end. Unfortunately, the timeframe of the project and distance among members of the team did not permit the creation of trusting relationships at a level essential to the creation of a culturally safe space for dialogue and youth voice. Hence, in this article, we had to rely on Qallunaat teacher voices to make evident some of its impacts. The study essentially underlines the limits of a short-lived project. At the same time, we strongly believe that it has left us with important lessons to build on in the future, pertinent to the revitalization and maintenance of cultural practices as well as promotion of student learning and engagement. For one, the partnership among institutions made many unique resources accessible to schools while also contributing to local capacity building (Atalay, 2012). In addition, the project wove together learning on the land, with Inuktitut, with stories of the present and the past, and other cultural practices, alongside bringing youth's parents, school, and community together and, as such, may be seen as an example of the kind of culturally relevant education needed to "(re)visioning success in Inuit Education" (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2017).

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