

## Chapter 7

# At the Heart of the Ikaahuk Archaeology Project



Lisa Hodgetts and Laura Kelvin

As part of the Western scientific tradition, the discipline of archaeology has always emphasized the intellectual aspects of our work as archaeologists. This volume provides a welcome opening for us to consider the emotional side of what we do. This chapter explores our personal trajectories towards a more heart-centred practice through our experiences as part of the Ikaahuk Archaeology Project – a community-focussed research project in the largely Inuvialuit<sup>1</sup> community of Sachs Harbour in Canada's Northwest Territories (Fig. 7.1). We document how we came to the project, what we have learned through it, and the implications for our future work and the discipline more broadly. We argue that a heart-centred approach to archaeology makes our research caring work – work done with and for others – and that its outcomes, while more personally rewarding for us as people, are not valued in the same way within academia as those of a mind-centred approach. A heart-centred archaeology therefore calls us to action to restructure not just our research lives but the institutional and legislative contexts within which many of us work.

Our reflections are inspired by the feminist call for knowledge production to be more of a work of the heart. Hilary Rose (1983) suggested that feminists should ground their epistemology in “hand, brain, and heart”, by which she meant that it should not only be about the abstraction of thought (the brain) but also about activism (doing – the hand) and what she called “caring labour” (the heart). Caring labour is nurturing work, the intimate, emotionally demanding labour most often associated with raising children and with women. She argued that we need to break

---

<sup>1</sup> Inuvialuit are the Inuit of Canada's western Arctic.

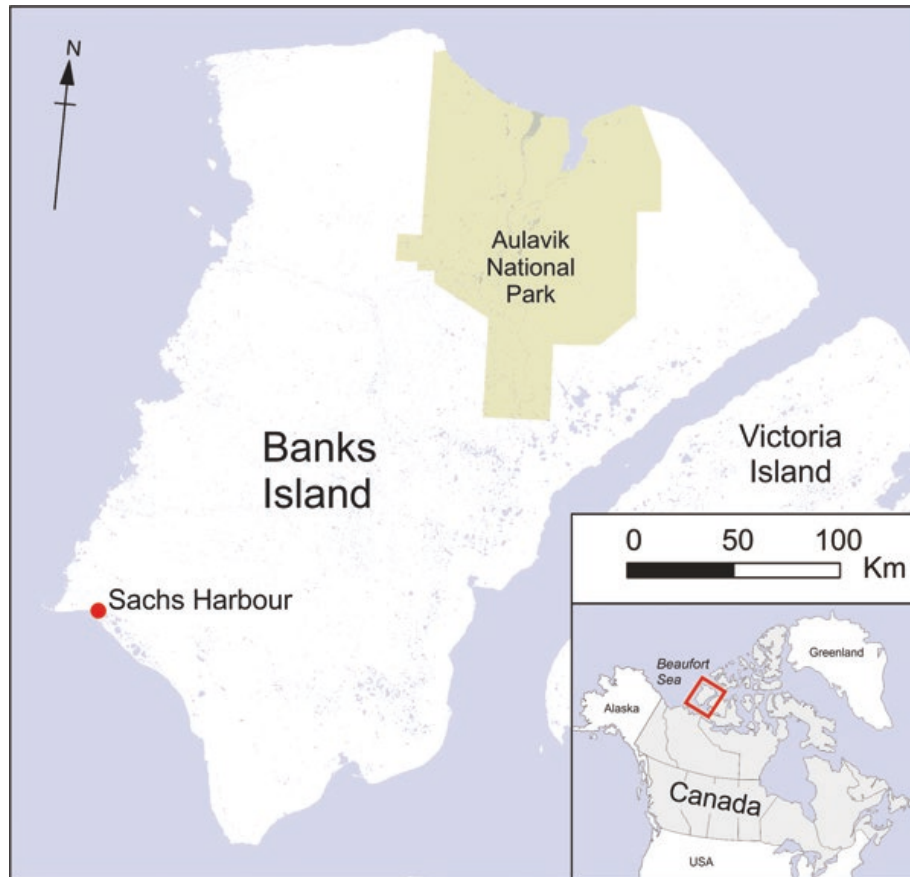
---

L. Hodgetts (✉)

Department of Anthropology, The University of Western Ontario, London, ON, Canada  
e-mail: [Lisa.Hodgetts@uwo.ca](mailto:Lisa.Hodgetts@uwo.ca)

L. Kelvin

Department of Archaeology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, NL, Canada



**Fig. 7.1** Location of Sachs Harbour on Banks Island

down these divisions between labour of the mind, body, and heart to move towards a feminist epistemology of science. Within academia, teaching is often framed as caring labour, work done with and for others, but research rarely is. Park (1996: 47) argued that “a gendered division of labour exists within (as outside) the contemporary academy wherein research is implicitly deemed ‘men’s work’ and is explicitly valued, whereas teaching . . . [is] characterized as ‘women’s work’ and explicitly devalued”. Over 20 years on, the gendered nature of that division may be less pronounced (though we note that 70% of Canada Research Chairs are held by men (Government of Canada 2017)), but our experience suggests that publication counts and traditional measures of research success still carry the greatest weight in decisions about research funding and tenure and promotion. We advocate for a more holistic and caring approach to archaeology by *all* archaeologists and ponder how to work for structural change within academia to support this more heart-centred practice.

In our Ikaahuk Archaeology Project research, we understand caring labour as putting our relationships with the Inuvialuit we work with at the centre of everything we do. These relationships require attention and nurturing, so we must tend them in the same way women tended the *qulliq*, the oil lamp that formed the sym-

bolic heart of a traditional Inuvialuit dwelling and provided heat and light to all within. Our approach to caring relationships resonates with elements of Indigenous scholarship on education (e.g. Archibald 2008, Cajete 2000, 2015) and philosophical discourse on ethics of care (e.g. Held 2006). For us, caring involves acknowledging the context within which we work and the power dynamics that flow from it. We must be sensitive to the history of our discipline and of Inuvialuit within colonial Canada and our own privilege as White academics. It also means being attentive and responsive to the needs of Inuvialuit community members, which involves continuously reflecting on our practice, both individually and collectively. We strive to pay close attention to Inuvialuit understandings, values, and concerns and to understand things from their perspectives. We also strive to ensure that our work meets their needs as much as our own, continually adjusting our approach as our understanding of their needs deepens and as those needs change. Caring means always being open to new lessons and being willing to apply them. With care comes responsibility. We are continually reminded of the colonial institutions and processes that disadvantage the Inuvialuit we work with, as well as the rational, mind-centred foundations of the academy that create structural barriers to a holistic, heart-centred practice. We feel an obligation to do what we can to break down these barriers.

We agree with Rose (1983) that we should move beyond the mind/body division that underlies Western epistemology, grounding our knowledge in the hand, or perhaps more properly in the body, through doing and in the heart, through caring. This more holistic approach draws not just on the feminist critique of science (e.g. Haraway 1988; Harding 1986; Keller 1985; Longino 1990), which undermines traditional Western understandings of science as objective and rational, but also on Indigenous ways of knowing. While they vary from community to community, many Indigenous worldviews share a common understanding of knowledge as holistic, involving the heart, mind, body, and spirit (Archibald 2008; Cajete 2000). Moreover, many Indigenous philosophies emphasize that we create knowledge within the context of relationships and can therefore not separate it from those relationships. Caring, holistic approaches are defining characteristics of community-based archaeologies, a range of approaches that engage Indigenous and other local communities as research partners (cf. Atalay 2012, Nicholas and Andrews 1997). For us, a heart-centred practice means bringing this caring, holistic approach into all aspects of our work as academic archaeologists: research, teaching, and service (see also Lyons and Supernant, this volume). We believe that doing so will benefit archaeology, archaeologists, and the communities we work with, because it will guide us to support one another rather than serving only our own interests or competing with each other (see also Surface-Evans, this volume). The two of us have travelled different paths to these conclusions, though in recent years, our journeys have intertwined and informed each other. We begin by sharing how we both came to participate in the Ikaahuk Archaeology Project.

## **Lisa's Journey**

I discovered archaeology as a first year undergraduate English major. I took one course in Classical archaeology that sold me on the discipline because it combined my interests in people, history, travel, and the outdoors. I had my first field experience in the traditional territories of the Heiltsuk and Nuxalk First Nations on the coast of British Columbia. It was my first direct exposure, as the great-great-granddaughter of British immigrants to Canada, to the rich culture and heritage of Canada's Indigenous peoples. As an undergraduate student on those projects, I had few opportunities to interact directly with First Nations community members, who for the most part did not join us in the field. I followed my interest in zooarchaeology to graduate studies in England, working on previously excavated 4000-year-old faunal collections from northern Norway. My graduate training was strongly in the processual tradition. The expertise I gained in identifying seal bones led me to a zooarchaeological postdoctoral project in Newfoundland, working on arctic-adapted groups who occupied Newfoundland during a period of cooler climate from roughly 2000 to 1000 years ago.

To this point, I had not had the opportunity to work closely with Indigenous descendant communities whose heritage I was studying. My younger self would have scoffed at the idea of an archaeology of the heart. The work I have done over the last 10 years with community members in Sachs Harbour has completely changed my perspective on what constitutes archaeology, my approach to research, and my place within the discipline.

In 2004, I got a tenure track job at the University of Western Ontario (Western) where several of my colleagues in the Anthropology department were engaged in community-based research. I could see the value in it and wanted to move my work in that direction but struggled because I had no pre-existing relationships with communities in the western Arctic where I hoped to work. I found myself in a bind. Community-based research works best when communities are involved in the research design from the beginning, but without a fully formed research proposal, how was I to get funding to travel north to build the relationships that would allow us to develop such a project? My compromise was to formulate a grant proposal that looked very broadly at changing interactions between people, animals, and the land on Banks Island over time. This approach built in enough flexibility to work with community members to focus the questions in ways that were meaningful to them. My application was successful, and I made my first trip to Sachs Harbour in 2008. It is a small, largely Inuvialuit community of roughly 100 people and is the only permanent settlement on Banks Island. Laura was an undergraduate student at Western at the time. I remember her as the quiet one in my Arctic archaeology class, who stood out for the quality of both her thinking and her writing in the final paper she wrote on community archaeology in the North. I did not know then that she would join me in Sachs Harbour in a few years.

I am so grateful that people in Sachs Harbour did not send me packing – I was painfully aware in the early years that I had imposed myself on them; they had not

invited me in. It has taken a long time to build mutual understanding, trust, and friendship. More than a decade on, I still often feel like we are just getting started. I went in knowing that I had a lot to learn, though I did not appreciate how much. I still have a lot to learn. I am grateful for the kindness and generosity of so many people in the community who were willing to talk with me, feed me, and gently point out my misconceptions and set me straight. Throughout, I have tried to stay true to the caring values of attentiveness and responsiveness.

Over the course of the project, as I learned more about community members' values, beliefs and epistemologies, something Laura helped me to better understand, the research moved away from more traditional archaeological approaches to less traditional ones that are more community-driven. Our initial work involved survey, including geophysical survey in response to community members' wishes for less invasive methods, and some targeted excavation of a site threatened by erosion – which is accelerating in the region in response to climate change.

More recently, we focussed on increasing access to artefact collections from Banks Island housed in southern museums. We explored the potential of 3D modelling towards this end, utilizing low-cost, easy-to-use technologies in the hands of community members. Through listening and trying to respond to the needs of community members in Sachs Harbour, my research has become less about reconstructing past lives from material remains and more about working with community members to facilitate their access to their archaeological heritage and supporting them as they make meaning from those remains. It flows from my personal relationships with community members, which makes it a work of the heart, and it is about connecting them with things that have emotional and spiritual meaning and value for them – things of the heart. I have made new friends through this work, and because we are friends, I share in the joy that I see on their faces when they hold an artefact or they share a happy memory with me. I am emotionally invested in this work in a way I never was in any of the previous work I have done, which makes it more demanding at times, but also far more meaningful for me.

## **Laura's Journey**

My parents always had a strong interest in archaeology, and they often brought my siblings and me to museums, which prompted my own interest in archaeology. What I hope to achieve with my work is strongly influenced by my grandmothers. My maternal grandmother was Hungarian and had a great love for her culture, and her heritage was a source of pride. She was always excited to share her heritage with me and taught me that heritage is an important part of self. She often stood in contrast to my paternal grandmother, who due to colonial processes was unable to learn much about her Indigenous heritage and family, and internalized racism often made her uncomfortable talking about it. In the long term, I hope to contribute to understandings of the past that better reflect the understandings and experiences of

Indigenous people as part of a greater effort to foster knowledge and appreciation of Indigenous heritage in North America.

I did my undergraduate degree at the University of Western Ontario in Anthropology and First Nations studies. In the beginning, I felt a disconnect between what was being taught in my classes and what I understood about contemporary Indigenous people. I became disillusioned with archaeology and thought it might not be for me. When I took Lisa's Arctic archaeology course in 2006, it was the first time I had an archaeology instructor explicitly discussing the colonial roots of archaeology and the continued impacts it has on Indigenous communities – issues that had deterred me from pursuing a career in archaeology. She also taught our class about ways that Indigenous communities and archaeologists (and Indigenous archaeologists!) are working together to build research projects that empower Indigenous communities and build holistic and inclusive understandings of the past. Her encouragement of my interest in these topics helped me find my voice and my place in archaeology.

I went on to do a Master's degree at Memorial University with Lisa Rankin. My MA project used oral history research and archaeological survey to examine the history of the Inuit-Metis in Sandwich Bay, Labrador (Kelvin 2011). It was part of the broader *Understanding the Past to Build the Future Community University Research Alliance Project* initiated by the Southern Inuit in Labrador (Kennedy 2014). Working on this large-scale collaborative project gave me a chance to see the ways archaeology can creatively benefit communities when it is guided by community aspirations and inspired me to continue my studies. After finishing my Masters, I came back to Western to do a PhD with Lisa, as part of the *Ikaahuk Archaeology Project*. My research explored how Sachs Harbour community members produce and maintain historical knowledge in order to determine how archaeological knowledge can best complement Inuvialuit understandings and ways of knowing the past (Kelvin 2016). I spent the summer of 2013, summer and fall of 2014, and spring of 2015 living in Sachs Harbour for my research, conducting interviews with community members focussing on archaeology, traditional knowledge, and Banks Island's past (Fig. 7.2). The relationships that I built and the teachings I received from Elders and community knowledge holders have shaped who I am as a researcher and a person.

## Learning Through Doing: Together

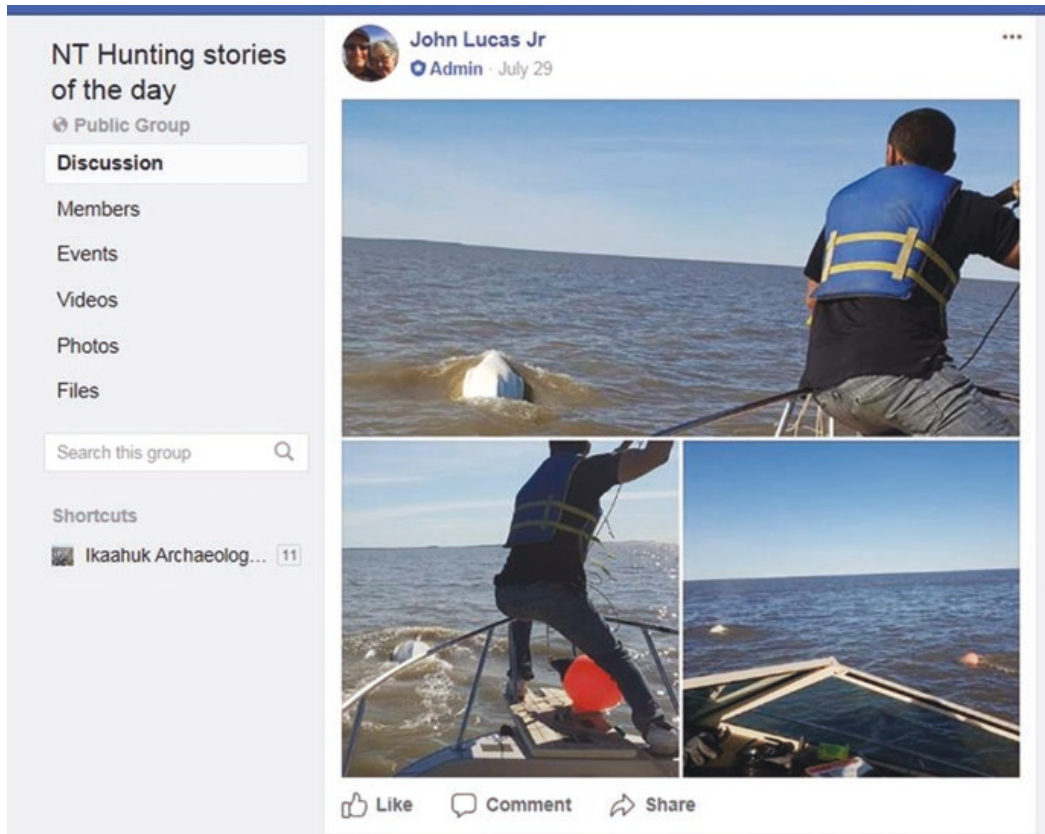
Attentiveness to the needs of Sachs Harbour community members has taught us the importance of embodied action – doing – to their understanding of their history and identity as Inuvialuit. *Doing* has an important social element – it often happens with others and involves sharing stories and other knowledge. This is a common feature of many Indigenous knowledge systems, in which knowledge is understood as inseparable from the social relations within which it is created (Cajete 2015). Western academics study the past intellectually and know the past primarily in their



**Fig. 7.2** Elder Lena Wolki, Laura Kelvin, and Elder Edith Haogak during a traditional knowledge interview at Haogak Lake, 2014

minds. Community members from Sachs Harbour tell us that they learn about the past through doing, the same way they traditionally learned about most things (Kelvin 2016). Learning the past through doing means engaging one's body and heart, as well as mind in the process. Betty Haogak told Laura that community members learn about the past "by living it", and Kevin Gully explained that learning through doing involves "going to the source of history". When they describe this concept of learning about the past through doing, community members are usually referring to "traditional" activities like sewing, hunting, trapping, and food preparation. By taking part in traditional activities, often on the land in places used by their ancestors, people experience and know the past in ways that cannot be learned through oral histories. Their present intersects with the past as they "do" as their ancestors did. One of the women who taught Laura to sew commented during a lesson that when she sews, she knows her past and is connected to her ancestors. Learning through doing also happens through "nontraditional" activities, for example, photography and participating in culturally themed Facebook groups (Fig. 7.3).

In all of these contexts, there is an important social element and stories play a key role. *Doing* on the land or in the home, whether it involves preparing a hide, hunting, or sharing a photograph, provides an opportunity to share stories and experiences that can inform and direct actions. This sharing, which traditionally happened face to face in real time, now also happens online through social media. Even when people engage in these activities alone, they remember learning these skills from family and friends, practising them at other times and places, and feeling connected



**Fig. 7.3** Screenshot of NT Hunting Stories of the Day, a Facebook group with over 4000 members

to their community, their ancestors, and their heritage. This more holistic approach, incorporating the body, heart, and mind, is central to Inuvialuit ways of understanding, teaching, and learning about their past and to Inuvialuit identity.

To be responsive to Inuvialuit ways of knowing, we have attempted to incorporate learning through doing within the Ikaahuk Archaeology Project, embracing its holistic nature, and recognizing that Inuvialuit have a special relationship with their archaeological heritage because it is intimately tied to their individual and collective identities. We also frame the Ikaahuk Archaeology Project itself in these terms – we are learning how to do community-based archaeology with our Inuvialuit partners through doing it. This means that we all understand the project as a work in progress, and we reflect critically on our process throughout.

We have made several attempts to incorporate learning through doing in our research by involving Inuvialuit youth in the practice of archaeology. In 2009, we partnered with Parks Canada to host a youth camp in Aulavik National Park in the north of Banks Island. We brought youth to the park along with an Elder, Lena Wolki, who spent a lot of time in the area as a young girl. We visited several cultural sites, Lena shared stories about her childhood and her experiences on the land with her parents and sister, and the youth mapped archaeological features and recorded several previously unrecorded sites. During the 2013 survey field season and 2014

excavation field season, we hired Inuvialuit to join our field crew. These positions went primarily to local youth because community members told us youth needed summer work opportunities close to home.

We have had mixed success with this approach. Some students were very engaged, others less so. We recognize that these efforts simply involved Inuvialuit in Western archaeological ways of doing. Community members have suggested they would be more effective and meaningful if we could incorporate more traditional activities into this shared time on the land and find more ways to bring different generations together so they can share their knowledge. Both are elements that are featured in our current work.

We also incorporated this concept of learning through doing during a community visit to Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC) in 2015. In this instance, a stronger emphasis on storytelling led to greater youth engagement. The trip involved community members from multiple generations since people have told us it is important to focus not just on Elders and/or youth and have emphasized the importance of sharing knowledge across the generations. We held and examined artefacts from Banks Island. The Elders shared stories about their experiences with similar artefacts and about the past (Fig. 7.4). The youth used photogrammetry (a method of stitching together photographs taken from multiple angles) and 3D scanners to make 3D models of the artefacts, which we posted to the project Facebook page and shared on the project website. This approach allowed us to tap into the high levels of digital literacy and social media engagement among Inuvialuit youth.

**Fig. 7.4** Elder Lena Wolki holds up a kamik with waterproof soles during a community visit to Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre. It reminded her of learning to make similar ones from her mother. (Photo credit: Laura Kelvin)



The Inuvialuit adults on the trip felt that putting the digitization in the hands of youth was important in giving these young people a sense of ownership over their past and in empowering them to contribute to the documentation and interpretation of their cultural heritage. Beverly Amos, a linguist at the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre who participated in the trip, said to Lisa: “They should be doing your jobs one day”. We could not agree more.

While some of the students were very enthusiastic about creating the models, the process did not hold the attention of others as much as we thought it might. Drawing on the strong tradition of storytelling in Inuvialuit culture, we asked students to select an artefact and write and illustrate a story about it (Fig. 7.5). They had already heard the Elders’ stories about many of these objects. Now they imagined for themselves how these artefacts featured in the lives of their ancestors. All of the students were highly invested in this activity, and their stories are featured on our project website (<http://www.ikaahukarchaeologyproject.com/pwnhc.html>).

Haudenosaunee scholar Patricia Monture (2009: 92-93) writes: “such-and-such content is not the essential ingredient of a good Aboriginal education . . . Building confidence and teaching to empowerment are more important ideals because they are the tools that allow us to confront Whiteness, oppression, and colonialism”. We aspire to achieve these ideals by putting our research tools in the hands of Inuvialuit youth and having them contribute directly to project outputs. If, in the process, we can help to support or spark their interest in their past and help them develop the skills to pursue those interests into a career, we will have succeeded beyond our wildest dreams. We were both excited to see that 2 years after our PWNHC trip, a Facebook post by one of the youth participants read: “Dream job: actress or archaeologist”. It gave us hope that one day she or another student in the future might make our work their own and take it in new directions.



**Fig. 7.5** Inuvialuit students create artefact stories at Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre while Lisa looks on. (Photo credit: Beth Compton)

## Caring, Context, and Reflexivity

Building caring relationships with community members is a pillar of community-based approaches, and prioritizing our relationships with people in Sachs Harbour is at the core of our heart-centred practice. Building trusting relationships has been both a challenge and a pleasure, has taken (and continues to take) time, and means that we are emotionally invested in this work. These relationships have shaped the path of the Ikaahuk Archaeology Project and our future research.

As educated, White women from the south, our life experiences are substantially different from those of people in Sachs Harbour, who cope daily with transgenerational trauma, the effects of residential schools,<sup>2</sup> poverty, and a system that provides inadequate health care and housing. A heart-centred practice has meant confronting these experiences and our own privilege, rather than regarding them as outside the scope of a “mind-centred” archaeology. We recognize the structural racism Inuvialuit face in their daily lives and the negative impact it can have on their own perceptions of their culture and heritage. We have had to reflect on how archaeology and academia have played a role in this racism through the mining and removal of material culture, whitewashing of Inuit history, and academic gatekeeping and by contributing to popular misconceptions about the Inuit (Steckley 2009).

Community members have sometimes questioned our motives. Someone once suggested that we were reaching out to the community only to get an archaeology permit and ensure we could meet our goals as archaeologists. This was partly true, as community approval is required for research permits and licences in the Northwest Territories. However, the caring relations to which we aspire align our interests with those of our community partners: “those who conscientiously care for others are not seeking primarily to further their own interests, their interests are intertwined with the persons they care for. ... They seek ... to preserve or promote an actual human relation between themselves and particular others. Persons in caring relations are acting for self and other together” (Held 2006: 12). Obtaining research permits was never our sole purpose in attempting to build relationships with the community. As a research team, we genuinely wanted to develop projects with the community that would be of interest and use to them. However, given the history of archaeological and other research on Banks Island, largely framed in Western terms with traditional academic outcomes and limited meaningful engagement with the community, we understand why this approach was met with scepticism. We also recognize that our relationships with community members could very easily be one-sided. In many ways, we need them a lot more than they need us, not just for approval of our

---

<sup>2</sup>Canada’s residential school system, which began in the 1880s and continued in some areas until 1996, was a government-sponsored religious education programme designed to assimilate Indigenous youth into Euro-Canadian society. Operated by the State and Christian Churches, it removed Indigenous children from their home communities, forbid them from speaking their own languages, and promoted conversion to Christianity.

research or logistical support but for guidance navigating an unfamiliar place and friendship and emotional support while we are far from home.

We worked past this initial scepticism by returning to the community and showing our commitment to attentiveness and responsiveness by continually asking for and applying community input, sharing our research results, building social relationships through volunteering and participating at community events, and visiting with community members, often over tea. Nonetheless, there were still times when community members were critical of project efforts, suggesting we use our research funding to address more pressing community issues, such as improving housing. Sometimes those comments have been made in anger and have been hurtful to us as individuals in the moment. We remind ourselves that they reflect deeper frustrations with systemic injustices. Given the many challenges facing the community, we have often contemplated and sometimes questioned the value of our archaeological research on Banks Island.

## **Heart Work**

We set out to build relationships through community-based research because we care that archaeology has been used as a tool for a colonial system in the past. Caring about something is not the same as caring labour. Our relationships with community members, the caring labour that we do together, means that we care about this colonial history in a deeper, more personal way than if we did not have these connections. As outsiders, we can never fully understand Inuvialuit experiences of colonialism or the full weight of its impact on their community, but what Inuvialuit have shared with us about their experiences, and the much more that goes unsaid, drives us to keep doing archaeology in a good way, as determined by Inuvialuit. We feel a responsibility, given our own privilege, to support Sachs Harbour community members in whatever small ways we can, in regaining some aspects of their history that have been lost through colonial processes and in their rights to self-determination with respect to their cultural heritage. We are very conscious that they have their own ways of working towards these ends and that we must be cautious to avoid repeating the paternalistic approaches that characterize so many relationships between White outsiders and Indigenous communities in the past.

We are encouraged that community members tell us that the work we are doing together is important. While we recognize that archaeology can only ever be a small piece in a large puzzle when it comes to healing, many community members have shared with us the intellectual, spiritual, and emotional value that archaeological research has, or could have, for them. The care we bring to our work means that our interests are intertwined with theirs, so hearing them express these feelings brings us joy. The value that they see in the work we are doing together makes it very personally rewarding for us.

Many community members see greater knowledge of the past as part of moving beyond the impacts of the residential school system, and archaeology as one way of enhancing that knowledge, and regaining some of what has been lost. Doreen Carpenter explained to Laura:

Yeah, there is a big gap from residential school to now. . . . [T]here was a big gap in-between where our parents [were] never taught. So there is like a whole generation of kids that don't know how to teach them and having this [research] helps. Having all of this information and stuff helps us teach our kids, I think, better. Like how things used to be done long ago.

Some community members also feel that there is a disconnect between Inuvialuit youth and Elders, which they see as detrimental because Inuvialuit knowledge is passed down through the generations through storytelling and shared activities. Elder Roger Kuptana was disappointed in what he saw as a lack of interest among community members in their history: “Well, I think what it is... these people should show a little more interest in what their ancestors did”. Several community members talked about the potential of archaeology to bring youth and Elders together to explore their history, something they saw as valuable.

## Things of the Heart

Many people in Sachs Harbour have talked to us about the importance of artefacts as embodiments of the traditional knowledge and skills of their ancestors. They view them as touchstones that link the past with their own personal histories (see also Lyons (2013) for a rich discussion of these connections). These deep emotional connections make them things of the heart. In the following exchange during an interview with Laura about the value of archaeological research in their community, Lawrence Amos is initially unsure about its relevance for him, until his wife Beverly talks about the emotional connection it makes her feel to her ancestors:

**Lawrence:** Yeah, I don't know how it is going to benefit me, like you know, how is it going to benefit our people? The work, sure I know it is interesting stuff.

**Beverly:** It doesn't make you feel good inside? I'm not talking about other kind of benefits, but right here (points to heart).

**Lawrence:** Yeah. That's, well that's the best part.

**Beverly:** That's one of the only main parts, eh. Make you appreciate how, what they went through and how strong they are, so you would be more thankful.

Most community members feel that artefacts connect them to their ancestors or that the artefacts embody the spirits of their ancestors. Traditional Inuvialuit teachings therefore require that people avoid disturbing artefacts, particularly those associated with graves, as Bridget Wolki explained to Laura:

You know the energy of the people before go into their worldly possessions. But, yeah, it was a big taboo for us. Touching or taking any of that stuff... . Everybody has their own opinion on everything so I can't speak for everybody but I can speak for my family and say we weren't allowed to touch because of bad juju would be on you, bad luck. It would bring bad weather...

These teachings led us to move away from excavation in our own work, though there are some community members who see value in it, particularly in the face of accelerated coastal erosion as a result of climate change. Because of these teachings, community members worry about what happens to artefacts after they are excavated, which was the major impetus behind our community visit to Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC). Trip participants felt the trip was important so that they could reconnect with the artefacts and see that they are well cared for. At PWNHC, Beverly Amos talked to Laura about seeing artefacts from Banks Island: “And that’s a really special part. I felt like I belonged to something. It was like a part of my people, yeah, my ancestors. So that was really special”.

## **Applying the Lessons We Have Learned**

The Inuvialuit we work with, who recognize and celebrate the importance of Elders sharing their knowledge, remind us of our obligation to share what we have learned, through our relationships with them, with our broader academic communities. Over the course of the Ikaahuk Archaeology Project, Sachs Harbour community members have emphasized the importance of involving Elders and other community members in the interpretation of archaeological artefacts and sites, providing opportunities for intergenerational knowledge exchange and disseminating the results of archaeological research to communities in ways that are accessible and meaningful to them.

We are both incorporating these lessons in our current work. Moving forwards, Lisa has joined forces with a team of other researchers and Inuvialuit to pursue these ends through Phase 2 of the Inuvialuit Living History project (Hennessy et al. 2013, Lyons et al. 2012). This project is a collaboration between Inuvialuit Elders and knowledge holders, archaeologists, anthropologists, digital media specialists, and museum professionals to examine how we can most appropriately and effectively create, document, and disseminate multiple forms of knowledge about Inuvialuit history and heritage in the digital realm. The first phase of the project focussed on making the MacFarlane collection, a group of Inuvialuit ethnographic objects from the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, more accessible to Inuvialuit and other interested audiences online through the Inuvialuit Living History website ([www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.com](http://www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.com)). This new phase will involve adding new collections and content to the site and reworking its aesthetics and layout to more effectively reflect and represent an Inuvialuit worldview. We recently hosted a large community gathering where Elders and knowledge holders told stories and taught youth to make traditional tools and stencil prints and shared their knowledge of Inuvialuit artefacts brought to the gathering from southern repositories. We also held a land-based culture camp where Elders and youth engaged in traditional activities, visited cultural sites, and youth documented their experiences through a range of digital media.

Laura is now conducting postdoctoral research as a contributor to the Tradition and Transition partnership between Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Nunatsiavut Government. Her project, the Agvituk Archaeology Digital Archive Project, explores best practices for knowledge sharing through the development of a digital archive containing archaeological knowledge and traditional knowledge of the archaeological site Agvituk, located within the present boundaries of the largely Inuit community of Hopedale, Nunatsiavut. One aim of this research is to lessen the community-perceived gap between youth and Elders by working with youth to interview Elders and community knowledge holders about the past and archaeology. Nunatsiavummiut youth are facing multiple challenges not limited to transgenerational trauma, food insecurity, poverty, isolation, and inadequate access to mental health care and housing. These challenges have resulted in a suicide rate in Nunatsiavut that is more than 20 times the national average. Northerners often cite greater knowledge of heritage and participation in culture as one of many ways to work towards combating these challenges (Inuit Tapiriit Kaanatami 2016; Lys 2018). The project team hopes that through strengthening relationships between Elders and youth, and supporting youth interest in their culture and heritage, archaeology can be used as a tool to promote healing.

For us, a heart-centred archaeological practice is a work in progress. It involves putting our relationships with community members at the centre of what we do and working with them towards common goals. It means being attuned and responsive to their changing needs. In the spirit of Rose (1983), this practice is about bringing the hand and heart to our “brain” work through a focus on *doing*, engaging with artefacts and collectively participating in traditional and nontraditional activities, and *caring*, tending the relationships that make that work possible. Bringing together our intellectual and emotional selves in this way calls us to action and points us to other places where we need to promote change as we rethink our working lives and try to better align them with our personal values.

## Bringing a Heart-Centred Practice to Academia and Beyond

In terms of Rose’s (1983) *hand*, we focussed earlier on learning through doing with Inuvialuit community members, but she also meant doing in the sense of activism and working for change. A heart-centred practice demands that we work for structural change within academia, so that it assigns greater value to all of the caring work we do in our research, teaching, and service. We need to help reshape our institutions so that they value and reward us for supporting and nurturing our community research partners, our students, and each other (see also Lyons and Supernant and Surface-Evans this volume). Academic structures have long valued research over other scholarly endeavours, prioritizing a Western rational approach to research over a more holistic one inspired by Indigenous ways of knowing and feminist approaches. They measure success (also framed as “impact”) in terms of the number and quality (based on publication venue) of peer-reviewed publications. These

standards influence tenure, promotion, pay, and funding success (Kasten 1984, Fairweather 2005) and devalue nontraditional outputs such as websites and videos that are often produced through community research. When Lisa started at Western, she was told by several of her senior colleagues to focus on publication over other aspects of her work and advised to put a minimum of effort into teaching, to free up more writing time. She felt very vulnerable during her pre-tenure years because of the time she was investing in building relationships in Sachs Harbour. As Monture (2009: 95) notes about researchers working with Indigenous communities:

someone who offends Aboriginal communities, a concern often shared with me and I assume other Indigenous faculty, proceeds through the [tenure] process unchallenged. Yet someone, Indigenous or White, who works very hard at maintaining their relationships and understands those relationships as foundational for accumulation of their knowledge and expertise in the ‘field’ does work that earns them no university credit but is very time consuming. The result is to make invisible the work that is most important to Indigenous people and communities. And this will impact on the number of scholarly papers that an individual can produce.

In recent years, there have been some positive changes in the way funding bodies and universities evaluate scholarly merit. Many major research funding programs, emphasizing the importance of Indigenous research and knowledge mobilization to communities (e.g. SSHRC 2015, 2017) and many institutional processes for tenure and promotion, now consider nontraditional research outputs such as digital and social media contributions in their criteria (O’Meara et al. 2015). Tensions between these newly reframed expectations and highly entrenched, long-standing measures of impact can disadvantage researchers taking a holistic, caring approach since decisions are often strongly influenced by the assessments of individual reviewers, who interpret evaluation criteria differently. Lisa’s recent experiences on university-wide and national multidisciplinary funding committees suggest that research impact is often still evaluated primarily based on traditional publication counts. One way to work towards structural change would be for heart-centred scholars with university appointments to advocate for the review of tenure and promotion processes within our own universities. This work will obviously fall to those of us privileged enough to have such appointments. Reframing these policies at the university level could go a long way towards educating our colleagues with a more mind-centred practice about the values and “hidden” caring work involved in community-engaged scholarship, potentially influencing their work as reviewers in other contexts. Evaluating the impact of such work is a tricky and fraught exercise, but the same is true for peer-reviewed publications (O’Meara et al. 2015). Appropriate measures of impact could be broadened to include things like reference letters from community members (Monture 2009) and the number and length of collaborative relationships.

We can also play the long game in terms of working towards change. A caring approach to teaching means prioritizing our relationships with students and teaching about the context within which archaeology operates (see also Supernant and Lyons and Surface-Evans this volume). Nurturing them to succeed in the discipline means sharing our own experiences and explicitly talking about the structures of

power that shape its reward system. Lisa does this, for example, in her graduate professional development class in the section on grant writing. Sharing her experiences of the tenure process and of serving on grant committees in this class often leads to lively discussions about the kinds of research that are disadvantaged by these structures and how those structures need to change. One day, our students (like Laura!) will join the professorial ranks and be in a position to help us change our disciplinary culture. Investing in our students in this way has its own emotional rewards. Having Lisa invest the care and emotional support she did into her mentorship, Laura was able to become more confident and pursue a career she otherwise would have shied away from. For Lisa, it has been a great pleasure to watch Laura's development from a reserved undergraduate to the valued colleague and friend that she is today.

Having more Indigenous students and colleagues in the university system will also help to change it, since holism and care – for each other, for other living things, and for the land – are central to Indigenous ways of thinking and being (Cajete 2015). By working closely with Indigenous youth in our research, helping them gain practical experience and feel confident in their abilities, we can encourage them to pursue higher education. This is something we are both trying to achieve in our current work.

The care that links us with Inuvialuit community members and links them to their ancestors through their ancestors' things also calls us to turn our hands to make change to the heritage legislation that governs those objects. In most jurisdictions, including the Northwest Territories, heritage legislation is built upon Western archaeological and curatorial understandings of objects. It frames them as having value in and of themselves and prioritizes "rational" over "emotional" engagements with them. It also tends to prioritize access by "heritage professionals" over access by descendant communities. For example, our archaeological fieldwork on Banks Island required a Northwest Territories archaeological permit. The permitting process requires that all permit requests are sent to the Community Corporation and the Hunters and Trappers Committee in the community closest to the proposed work. Communities can thus control archaeological fieldwork on their traditional territories, since a permit will be denied if the community does not approve. However, if communities do not respond within 30 days, the permit is issued without community comment, so the balance of power lies with archaeologists. Moreover, the legislation stipulates that all excavated artefacts from sites in the Northwest Territories are housed at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife. While community members are always welcome to visit them there, few know who to contact to gain access, and doing so requires the journey to Yellowknife. There is also no formal process to involve communities in decisions about access to archaeological collections from their traditional territories after they are excavated. Once an excavation permit is approved, communities lose all formal control of their artefacts. In practice, the Heritage Centre staff often seek community input on such matters, but community authority is not entrenched in legislation. The Inuvialuit we work with value artefacts as objects of the heart and not just of the mind – they have a profound connection with these things. As so-called experts, we need to voice our

support for legislation that privileges this special relationship over any “scientific” or “curatorial” claims on those objects. Our commitment to care means that we owe this to the Inuvialuit we work with – it is one way that we can tend the flame of our relationship with them.

Heart-centred practice, then, can turn archaeologists into activists. In our case, it makes our work as much about social justice in the present as about reconstructing the past. It demands that we work to shift the values and priorities of our own discipline and academia more broadly so that they do not work counter to the aims of integrating the hand, brain, and heart. As participants in these peer-reviewed processes, we have the power to change them. Caring labour also demands that we use our expertise and our positions of privilege to help rebalance the unequal colonial power relationships within our discipline and in the policies and legislation that govern our work. It broadens our definition of what constitutes archaeology so that it is not solely about studying the past through material remains but exploring the ongoing connections between the past and present through lived experience. Because it is grounded in open, respectful relationships with the Indigenous northerners whose heritage we study, and because they value the work we do together, we find this work far more personally fulfilling than a more traditional mind-centred approach, which lacks these reciprocal connections with others. We find ourselves putting our skills to work for our Inuvialuit and Inuit partners and learning from them. We are also continually learning from each other. This act of giving and receiving, which integrates our bodies, minds and hearts, feeds our spirits and renews our commitment to our work.

**Acknowledgements** We are grateful to everyone in Sachs Harbour who shared with us their perspectives, knowledge, time, and friendship. Thank you to the Sachs Harbour Hunters and Trappers Committee, Sachs Harbour Community Corporation, Sachs Harbour Recreation Centre, Parks Canada, and Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre for supporting our work. We also thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Polar Continental Shelf Program, the Northern Scientific Training Committee, and the Aurora Research Institute for funding. Lisa is grateful to the Inuvialuit Living History team for the work already done and the work to come. Our thanks to Kisha and Natasha for organizing the wonderful SAA session in Vancouver, to Sonya for her thoughtful comments as discussant, and the Heart Collective (Kisha, Natasha, Sonya, and Jane) for steering this volume through the editorial process.

## References

- Archibald, J. (2008). *Indigenous storywork: Educating the heart, mind, body, and spirit*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Atalay, S. (2012). *Community archaeology: Archaeology with, by and for indigenous and local communities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cajete, G. (2000). *Native science: Natural laws of interdependence*. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers.
- Cajete, G. (2015). *Indigenous community: Rekindling the teachings of the seventh fire*. St. Paul: Living Justice Press.

- Fairweather, J. S. (2005). Beyond the rhetoric: Trends in the relative values of teaching and research in faculty salaries. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 76(4), 401–442.
- Government of Canada. (2017). *Canada research chairs: Program statistics*. [http://www.chairs-chaieres.gc.ca/about\\_us-a\\_notre\\_sujet/statistics-statistiques-eng.aspx](http://www.chairs-chaieres.gc.ca/about_us-a_notre_sujet/statistics-statistiques-eng.aspx). Accessed 15 Oct 2017.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575–599. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066>.
- Harding, S. G. (1986). *The science question in feminism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Held, V. (2006). *The ethics of care: Personal, political and global*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hennessy, K., Lyons, N., Joe, M., Loring, S., & Arnold, C. (2013). The Inuvialuit living history project: Digital return as the forging of relationships between institutions, people, and data. *Museum Anthropology Review*, 7(1–2), 44–73.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. (2016). *National Inuit suicide prevention strategy*. <https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/ITK-National-Inuit-Suicide-Prevention-Strategy-2016-English.pdf>. Accessed 25 Apr 2018.
- Kasten, K. L. (1984). Tenure and merit pay as rewards for research, teaching and service at a research university. *Journal of Higher Education*, 55(4), 500–514.
- Keller, E. F. (1985). *Reflections on gender and science*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kelvin, L. E. (2011). *The Inuit-Metis of Sandwich Bay: Oral histories and archaeology*. Unpublished MA Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University.
- Kelvin, L. E. (2016). *There is more than one way to do something right: Applying community-based approaches to an archaeology of Banks Island, NWT*. Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository, 4168. <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/4168>
- Kennedy, J. C. (Ed.). (2014). *History and renewal of Labrador's Inuit-Métis*. St. John's: ISER Books.
- Longino, H. E. (1990). *Science as social knowledge: Values and objectivity in scientific inquiry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lyons, N. (2013). *Where the wind blows us: Practicing critical community archaeology in the Canadian North*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Lyons, N., Hennessy, K., Joe, M., Arnold, C., Elias, A., Loring, S., & Pokiak, J. (2012). The Inuvialuit living history project. *The SAA Archaeological Record*, 12(4), 39–42.
- Lys, C. (2018). Exploring coping strategies and mental health support systems among female youth in Northwest Territories using body mapping. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 77(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/22423982.2018.1466604>.
- Monture, P. (2009). Doing academia differently': Confronting 'whiteness' in the university. In F. Henry and C. Tator (Eds.), *Confronting racism in the Canadian university: Demanding social justice, inclusion, and equity* (pp. 76–105). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Nicholas, G. P., & Andrews, T. D. (1997). Indigenous archaeology in the modern world. In G. P. Nicholas & T. D. Andrews (Eds.), *Archaeology at a crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada* (pp. 1–18). Burnaby: Archaeology Press.
- O'Meara, K., Eatman, T., Petersen, S. (2015). Advancing engaged scholarship in tenure and promotion: A roadmap and call for reform. *Liberal Education*, 101(3). <https://www.aacu.org/liberaleducation/2015/summer/o%27meara>
- Park, S. M. (1996). Research, teaching and service: Why shouldn't women's work count? *Journal of Higher Education*, 67(1), 46–84.
- Rose, H. (1983). Hand, brain and heart: A feminist epistemology for the natural sciences. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 9(1), 73–90.
- Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). (2015). *Community engagement*. <http://www.sshrc-crsh.gc.ca/society-societe/community-communite/index-eng.aspx?pedisable=true>. Accessed 20 Oct 2017.
- Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). (2017). *Aboriginal research*. <http://www.sshrc-crsh.gc.ca/society-societe/community-communite/aboriginal-research-recherche-autochtone/index-eng.aspx>. Accessed 20 Oct 2017.
- Steckley, J. L. (2009). *White lies about the Inuit*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.