"The Land is Like a Book":
Cultural Landscapes Management in the Northwest Territories, Canada

THOMAS D. ANDREWS

To the Indian people our land is really our life. Without our land we . . . could no longer exist as people. (Richard Nerysoo, Fort McPherson, 1976—from Berger 1977:94).

On April 1, 1999, following nearly fifteen years of land claims negotiations, the map of northern Canada changed dramatically with the creation of the new territory of Nunavut. Nunavut—the homeland of Canada’s Inuit—represents the transformation of a cultural landscape into a geopolitical landscape, where political self-sufficiency is now in the control of the Inuit themselves. In reality, two new territories were created: the new Nunavut, and a smaller Northwest Territories (NWT), largely forgotten in the glow of media interest in the creation of its newer sibling. If Nunavut represents the transformation of a cultural landscape into a geopolitical one, what is the status of NWT cultural landscapes? Cultural landscapes, still important from the perspective of NWT Aboriginal worldviews, are under pressure from changes and impacts from resource development, which have escalated in the last two decades. What trends, changes, and developments have taken place over the last two decades? How are NWT Aboriginal societies working to preserve and protect northern cultural landscapes? This paper reviews these changes from the perspective of cultural landscape research, with particular emphasis on the recent developments in the Mackenzie River valley of the Northwest Territories.

Cultural Landscapes in the NWT

If we remember the teachings of the legends and live them, if we take the sign set on the land for us as our symbol, we will never have any trouble surviving as a nation. (Stanley Isiah, as told to George Blondin—from Dene Nation 1981:ii)

We kept on traveling, and grandfather . . . kept on talking to me. . . . That was how the grandfathers taught the children (George Blondin, Deline, 1990—from Blondin 1990:204)

For the Dene, Métis, and Inuvialuit of the Northwest Territories (Fig. 97) the land is indeed a special thing. More than just a space, it is a blanket woven from strands of stories centuries old—a landscape imbued with rivers of meaning. It is a cultural landscape where physical features are used as mnemonic devices to order and help preserve oral narratives, which themselves encode knowledge relative to identity, history, culture, and subsistence. To paraphrase Richard Nerysoo, the land is life.

The mnemonic link between geographic feature, place name, and oral narrative has been well documented in many societies that preserve rich oral traditions (see Buggey, this volume; Andrews et al.1998; Feid and Basso 1996; Hirsch and O’Hanlon 1995). Vast territories known intimately by members of highly mobile societies and codified by names form the basis of a complex ethnogeography, where the physical world is transformed into a social geography in which culture and landscape are fused into a semiotic whole. These cultural landscapes meld natural and cultural values and are often difficult to compare with Western catego-
The Northwest Territories, Canada. Three land claims have been negotiated in the NWT and passed into settlement legislation—for the Inuvialuit, Gwich'in, and Sahtu Dene and Métis. The Dogrib, occupying the region north of Yellowknife, have completed a land claim agreement, but it awaits passage by the Canadian Parliament. The roads represented by dotted lines are usable only in winter.
ries of geographical description. As young people travel with their elders, they are told the names and stories, using geographic features as mnemonic aids, and in this way travel, or mobility, becomes a vehicle for learning. Elders who have worked on the land all their lives, who have visited places of spiritual significance, who have traveled to the edge of the world—and who have learned and recounted the stories about these places—are regarded with great respect because they are very knowledgeable. In this way, knowledge passed down through the ages in stories is mediated through personal experience. Mobility, and the knowledge gained from it, is therefore tied to notions of prestige as well (Andrews et al. 1998:311-13). The ethno-pedagogy of educating and socializing children with the land is an ancient tradition, corroborated by oral tradition and supported by archaeological research (see below).

Though there are many examples to draw upon to illustrate this relationship, the site of Ayonikj (Fig. 98) is particularly useful, as it is said that the site witnessed the creation of the Sahtu Dene and their neighbors. The following passage is taken from the Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Joint Working Group report (T'Seleie et al. 2000:18-20), which is described more fully later in the paper:

The story takes place at a time in Sahtu history long ago when humans and animals could change form. Sahtu Dene history is divided into two great time periods: the time of the 'Old World,' when animals and humans could change form, and lived together. This was succeeded by the 'New World,' a time when humans and animals took their final form. With the New World, people and animals lived in harmony, abiding by rules of mutual respect and conduct. These are the rules that guide hunters to respect the animals that give themselves for food. We are living in the New World today. As told by an Elder from Colville Lake, the story of Ayonikj begins...

In the ancient days everyone lived together—the Inuit, the Gwich'in, and the Dene from this region. The big war that happened at Ayonikj happened because of two children that were fighting one another over an owl. Everyone began to fight because of the children and it is said that the battle was so fierce that there was a lake of blood that formed on that hill. Finally an Elder stood and asked the people to stop fighting. Everyone went their separate ways, and even the languages changed with time. A lone dog wandered toward Gwich'in country and that represents the Gwich'in. A young man wandered to the Arctic coast and that represents the Inuit. That is why the Inuit are so agile. The children ran towards Great Bear Lake; they represent the Neyagot'ine [Délı̨nę people]. That is why the people of Bear Lake are so energetic. An Elder stayed here, and he represents the people who live here today. That is why the people of this area are so wise.

Generally stories are not interpreted for young people, and are told without the explanation that ends the story of Ayonikj, above. The elders say that young people must try to understand the meaning of the story through their own experience, noting that this encourages independent thinking, and provides for a strong future for the youth. As family groups traveled from place to place along the trails that cross the Sahtu landscape, children were told the names of the places and the stories that reside at each. As they grew to adulthood and began telling their own children the same stories, the places themselves became aids for remembering the vast oral tradition in which Sahtu Dene and Metis culture finds its roots (Fig. 99). In this way the land teaches the young their identity, their history, the rules of their society. Experience becomes the catalyst for the acquisition of knowledge. These places are considered sacred, and are important to the future well being of Sahtu Dene and Metis culture.

The link between land and culture in the NWT represents an ancient system that operates in complete harmony with the landscape, where both mental and physical sustenance is sought and found. What remains of this today? Does this system continue to function? With the current pace of change in the North, is this ancient ethno-pedagogy still valid?

The Changing Landscape

Some young people today claim that the traditional way of life is a thing of the past. I believe that as long as there are Dene, then
we will not abandon the traditional way of life. I tell the young people to listen to what we have to say because then they will be able to benefit from the teachings that we are passing on to them. Our oral tradition, once written, will last as long as this land, and if they retain this information in memory they will gain from it. That is why we are working on the land. (Harry Simpson, Rae Lakes, 1991—from Andrews et al. 1998:317)

Someone once remarked in reference to the pace of change in the NWT that if you are unhappy with the status quo, wait a few days until negotiations change it. Over the last century, both the pace and degree of change have been dramatic, and it has had dramatic impacts on northern indigenous societies. Beginning over two centuries ago with early exploration and the fur trade and continuing today with the prospects of major resource development, the landscape of the NWT has been of international interest as multinational companies vie for development rights. While development proceeds at a tremendous pace, Aboriginal inhabitants of the Northwest Territories have been negotiating a relationship with Canada for more than a century, attempting both to gain a degree of self-sufficiency, but also to exert control of and ultimately benefit from resource development on their traditional lands. Beginning with the negotiation of Treaties 8 (1899) and 11 (1921), Aboriginal inhabitants of the NWT—the Dene, Métis, and Inuvialuit—have struggled to find a relationship with Canada. Though comprehensive land claims—which many refer to as modern treaties—were signed with the Inuvialuit (1984), the Gwich’in (1992), the Inuit of Nunavut (1993), and the Sahtu Dene and Métis (1993), land claim negotiations continue in the southern reaches of the territory, as do self-government negotiations in most. Part of a long and difficult process, self-sufficiency is the ultimate goal of these efforts.
99/ Drum Lake, Mackenzie Mountains, a Mountain Dene sacred site where oral tradition tells that the spirit of a giant mountain sheep lives underwater and must be avoided by travelers on the lake.

How have indigenous societies of the NWT moved to protect their cultural landscapes from the onslaught of market-driven forces? What impacts are occurring to cultural landscapes? Is the changing geopolitical landscape of the NWT straining perceptions of cultural landscapes? Have other social and cultural changes caused changes to the interpretation or appreciation of cultural landscapes? Though a detailed examination of these questions is beyond the scope of this paper, an attempt will be made to address them in a broad compass, providing a general perspective on cultural landscapes and change in the NWT today, by presenting a selected description of current or recent research approaches and projects directed at documenting and protecting cultural landscapes. However, in order to set the context for these, this paper will first review NWT social, political, and economic trends today.

The NWT Today
With twenty-eight communities and a total population of just over 42,000 in an area of 1,346,106 square kilometers (519,734 square miles), much of the NWT today is still remote and difficult to access. Although all of the communities are accessible by air, only half of them are linked by some 2,200 kilometers (1,367 miles) of all-season road. Winter roads link many of the remaining communities, as well as several large mines, though these roads are available for use only four months out of the year. A few communities are serviced by river barges or sealifts. Today all communities have access to telephone and electricity, though for the smallest and most remote, these services arrived only in the 1990s.

As a territory of Canada, the authority for responsible government in the NWT rests ultimately with the federal government. The territorial government has been
gradually taking on a larger role as portions of these responsibilities are transferred through devolution agreements. However, whereas provinces in southern Canada hold title to land in right of the crown and consequently have broad legislative rights over provincial lands, in the NWT the federal government maintains title, and consequently also maintains legislative control over crown land. The largest private landowners in the NWT today are the Aboriginal land claim authorities where settled claims have been completed. For example, the Gwich'in of the Mackenzie Delta region received title to 22,422 square kilometers (8,657 square miles) of land in the NWT as a component of their land claim, representing forty percent of their settlement region. Continuing self-government negotiations will also change the political map of the NWT, as Aboriginal groups negotiate control of some government responsibilities over portions of their traditional lands. As these negotiations are still underway, it is premature to discuss their nature, but they have the potential for making significant adjustments to the way the NWT will be governed in the future.

Taxes generate only a small fraction of territorial government revenues, with the main cost of local government managed mostly through federal transfer payments, representing about sixty-one percent of nearly $800 million (CAD) required annually to finance public government. The government continues to be the largest employer in the NWT. Fur trapping, traditionally an important aspect of the subsistence economy, has suffered a dramatic decline over the last three decades, which many attribute to the campaign of the animal-rights movement and its effect on the fashion industry. In 1988, fur trapping generated almost $600 million in the NWT, compared with just $750,000, one decade later (GNWT 2000b). In contrast to this trend, resource development has been booming. In 1998, the value of mineral and oil and gas production in the NWT was worth $289 million while a year later (1999) it had risen to $861 million. This three-fold increase was due solely to the opening of a new diamond mine, owned by BHP Diamonds, Inc., a subsidiary of the multinational BHP-Billiton. These figures will rise to much higher levels over the next decade as two new diamond mines begin production, and there will be significant increases in gas production. Natural gas development is also booming, and the prospects of a new pipeline bringing gas from the Mackenzie Delta to southern markets is currently receiving much attention from government, industry, and Aboriginal groups. The latter have formed a consortium, the Aboriginal Pipeline Group, uniting Dene and Inuvialuit partners, to negotiate joint venture agreements with multi-national companies to develop and own a percentage interest in a new gas pipeline. Exploration activities are on the rise as companies rush to prove-up resources in the advance of a potential pipeline, already in the environmental review process.

The economy of these projects often betters, and sometimes dwarfs, the cost of governing the NWT. Indeed, some of the larger multinational mining companies employ more people worldwide than the number of residents in the NWT. These are daunting facts, and they illustrate problems that both the territorial government and Aboriginal communities must overcome to negotiate meaningful partnerships and benefits.

The boom, bust cycle of development has created pressure on the delivery of government health and social services and programs. Social problems linked to drug and alcohol abuse are prevalent in many northern communities and seem to be exacerbated by the "bust" of the development cycle. However, many communities have chosen to battle these trends by ensuring that "wellness" and healing programs, supported by government and other agencies, are easily and widely available for those who request assistance.

A century ago, diseases introduced by Euro-Canadian newcomers decimated northern Aboriginal populations. Smallpox, scarlet fever, influenza, tuberculosis, and measles, among others, all had dramatic effects on northern populations. One estimate suggests (Krech, 1978:99) that between first contact with Europeans and 1860, eighty percent of the Gwich'in died from
the introduction of new diseases, for which they had no immunity or treatment. Today, though most of these diseases have been eradicated or have been made manageable through medical advances, tuberculosis and influenza still result in some deaths each year.

Today, a few of the larger centers have hospitals; and the smaller communities have nursing stations, though it is often difficult to find and keep qualified nurses for those facilities. The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) provides a medical air evacuation service, which brings patients to hospitals in Inuvik or Yellowknife; and when necessary, serious cases are medevaced to larger centers in southern Canada.

The Northwest Territories has eight official languages (Chipewyan, Dogrib, Slavey, Cree, Gwich’in, Inuktitut, English, and French). The Dene or Athapaskan group of languages (Chipewyan, Dogrib, Slavey, Gwich’in) represents the largest Aboriginal linguistic family, and many adults are fluent in both their first language and English. The worldwide trend of language homogenization has left many NWT Aboriginal languages in danger of disappearing, as fewer young people learn to speak their parent’s language. Many Aboriginal communities are actively fighting this trend by implementing language revitalization programs and are hopeful that it will ensure language preservation.

Caribou hunting, long the touchstone of northern culture and the mainstay of the subsistence economy, continues to be important in both metaphorical and nutritive senses. In heavily forested areas of the NWT, where migratory caribou herds are absent, moose hunting (Fig. 100) is important. Fishing is also of critical importance, and perhaps because it is considered a more mundane activity—less romantic perhaps, than hunting—it is often under-represented in the literature on subsistence economy. For people who live off the land, however, it is easier and less expensive in terms of labor to catch fish every day than it is to hunt for caribou or moose, and consequently, people who live on the land eat fish more than they eat meat. Nonetheless, caribou are essential to northern subsistence and take a central place in the ideology of life in the North. As people moved in phase with the migration of caribou and the spawning runs of fish, living in and off the land (Helm 2000:35) meant a yearly round spent in the “bush.” With the coming of the fur trade, periodic visits to the fur trade post were added to the yearly round, and the economy of trapping and trading fur was a new focus for families who made their life primarily on the land. Federal government transfer payments and the development of a Canadian social support network in the 1950s lead to people moving into town and a gradual erosion of “bush” life. Today northern communities flourish with modern homes and conveniences, with municipal and government services providing electricity, telephones, and satellite television.

Though country food is still an important part of northern diet, the practice of hunting has changed dra-
matically. In September 1999, I accompanied a group of Dogrib hunters to the barrenlands to partake in the traditional fall hunt, which I later described in a letter to anthropologist June Helm. In her recent book "The People of Denendeh," Helm (2000) excerpted part of the letter as a contrast to hunting techniques in the 1820s. Whereas hunting techniques of the 1820s included stalking with movements that mimicked caribou behaviour and the use of snares and a variety of drive techniques, today's hunters use modern conveniences to their benefit. Though the nature of the hunt has changed, it is still founded on a tradition and knowledge centuries old, as indicated in my letter to June Helm (2000:70-1):

Hunts organized by the band councils of the four Dogrib communities [Rae-Edzo, Wha Ti, Gamiti, and Wekweti] were taking place at the same time and in the same general area. The camp locations had been chosen carefully the week before. Hunters first referred to satellite maps distributed weekly to the communities by the Department of Resources, Wildlife, and Economic Development (RWED), which show the locations of fourteen collared caribou cows. These are usually posted on a bulletin board near the band office and always attract lots of attention. The RWED study is designed to examine the impacts of recent diamond mine exploration and development on the Bathurst Caribou herd, which numbers nearly 350,000 animals. The satellite transmitters on the collars send signals once every five days for six hours. Biologists in Yellowknife download the location data and maps are prepared and sent to the communities. Once a general [hunt] location was chosen, the bands then chartered a small plane to scout for caribou, and ultimately, specific locations for the camps. The caribou are widely distributed in small groups ranging in size from a few animals to thousands, over an area of many thousands of square miles. The preparation in locating suitable sites is necessary because the bands use expensive aircraft charters to move hunters and camp supplies to the caribou. In contrast, just a generation ago hunters traveled to the barrenlands by canoe and were consequently much more mobile and able to cover large distances in pursuit of caribou. With the use of aircraft, the camps are set up at locations where caribou are fairly numerous and hunters range from camp on foot. Consequently, it is important to choose areas where sufficient numbers of caribou are moving through to make a successful hunt.

Though the satellite maps provide current data regarding the distribution of the herd, it only parallels Dogrib traditional knowledge of caribou movements and behaviour. Indeed the camp we visited had been used over many generations and the lakes and features in the area all have Dogrib place names. [For example,] Grizzly Bear Lake (known as Diga Ti, or "wolf lake" in Dogrib) is located on a traditional canoe route used to access the summer/fall hunting areas. Consequently, it was no surprise that we located two archaeological sites during our visit. One ... consisted of an old stone ring measuring four metres in diameter, ... a grave (surrounded by a picket fence, and [therefore] dating [it] to the twentieth century), and the remains of three birch bark canoes. Based on the state of preservation, the canoes are likely less than 100 years old. There were also a small number of stone flakes scattered throughout the site indicating a potentially much older use. A second site was located on a high bedrock hill ... where we found a large surface scatter of stone flakes. The hunters we were traveling with had stopped there to rest and look for caribou. In discussing the [archaeological remains], they felt confident that the flakes were the result of an ancestor from long ago sitting on the top of the hill passing his time by working on a stone tool while waiting for caribou. It was interesting to reflect on these two episodes, separated by time and vast differences in technology, yet linked by the knowledge of the area passed down through the generations.

Today, the worldview of northern Aboriginal youth is different from that of their grandparents as television, the Internet, world travel, a southern-based education system, and a community-based life have created vastly different life experiences for young people. Partly due to a language barrier, where youth struggle to speak the first language of their elders, traditional knowledge and values are in danger of being marginalized—overwhelmed by dominant societal values of urban or southern Canada. Most young people today prefer the comforts of town life to the rigors of the bush and no longer pursue tradi-
tional lifestyles on a fulltime basis. As a result, an economy based on wages has gradually eclipsed one rooted solely in subsistence activities. Today, hunting, fishing, trapping, and bush life have become recreational activities for many Aboriginal northerners. Where just a generation ago young people were socialized and educated through travel and experience in a cultural landscape, where place was imbued with knowledge through stories, today children are largely educated in school settings and based in modern communities. These changes have come with a cost, and for many elders this situation represents a crisis. Elders are struggling to find ways to ensure that the knowledge that guided them through life, passed down to them orally through many generations, is transmitted by other means to today's youth. If they no longer learn by traveling, by listening to the stories associated with place, are the North's cultural landscapes in peril too?

History of Cultural Landscape Research and Management in the NWT

There are many stories about that hill, so when we get there I will tell stories about it. There will be many, many stories. We'll have to check all the areas mentioned in the story, and we will have to climb to the top of it. When we get to the hill there will be lots of work to be done (Harry Simpson, Rae Lakes, 1992—from Andrews and Zoe 1997:173).

Cultural landscape research in the NWT has a long history. Often partnered today with environmental assessment studies, documenting traditional ecological knowledge has become a part of doing business in the North. Natural gas producers in Alaska and Canada are currently debating routes for transporting Arctic gas reserves to market, one of which would see a pipeline constructed through the Mackenzie River valley. Recently a consortium of Inuvialuit and Dene organizations issued a statement in support of this proposal, indicating that they would be interested in negotiating a percentage ownership of the pipeline. This statement was in stark contrast to the position taken by the same groups in the mid-1970s when a pipeline proposal caused outcry, launched a major study called the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger 1977), and led to twenty-five years of land claim negotiations, which continue today in some areas.

Aboriginal organizations struggled during these decades to meet a government negotiating agenda by conducting ambitious land use and occupancy studies to document the context of cultural landscapes in the North. The Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (Freeman 1976), and the Dene Mapping Project (Asch et al. 1986) are two examples of these efforts from the area treated here. Funded through government loans advanced against the final compensation to be paid as part of the claim, these projects served to preserve a picture of landscape use which was under severe pressure from outside sources and which was undergoing tremendous change. Future generations of northern Aboriginal youth will find much of value in these studies as they grapple with new challenges.

In 1989, UNESCO Canada published an inventory of community-based resource management projects in Canada (Cohen and Hanson 1989). The chapter on the NWT (DeLancey and Andrews 1989) focused on resource use conflicts and inventoried a total of twenty-five projects designed to help communities prepare for negotiating their interests through comprehensive land claims. Most of the community-based research in the NWT in the 1980s was directed at documenting traditional lifeways, including knowledge about cultural landscapes as perceived by elders, for use in land claims negotiations or in environmental assessment hearings. The report (ibid.) classified community-based research efforts into a variety of categories, based on the subject of the research. The majority of these projects were designed to either document traditional lifeways in response to development pressures or to provide support for negotiations designed to empower local communities in managing resource use in their area. Though
more than a decade has passed, today little has changed in this regard.

Large-scale development often serves to generate large sources of funding, which researchers from a variety of disciplines can draw on. The Northern Oil and Gas Action Plan of the 1980s and early '90s represented a consortium of industry and government that contributed equally to fund the collection of baseline data on the Mackenzie Delta region for a variety of disciplines. Managed by government, in its early days it made few allowances for Aboriginal research interests or needs. More recently, with the explosion of interest in diamond exploration and development in the mid-1990s, Aboriginal groups, industry, government, and environmental organizations partnered to create the West Kitikmeot/Slave Society (WKSS). Taking its name from the geological region in which diamonds are found (the West Kitikmeot and Slave geological provinces), the WKSS was begun in 1995 and was funded largely through contributions from industry, government, and environmental organizations. Aboriginal groups control more than half of the seats on the WKSS board. As reflected in the organization's vision statement, its objective "is to achieve sustainable development in the West Kitikmeot Slave Study area which respects Aboriginal cultural values, so that the land is protected, culture is preserved, and community self-sufficiency and reliance [are] enhanced" (WKSS 2000:iii).

Maintaining Cultural Landscapes Today: A Brief Survey

So this place has a story, and it's a good story too (Harry Simpson, 1994—from Andrews et al. 1998:311).

Recognizing the continuing need to document and maintain cultural landscapes (Fig. 101), Aboriginal groups and their partners have been working diligently over the last decade. As in the recent past, a significant percentage of the ethnographic landscape research of the current decade is driven by resource use conflict—as the pace of development increases, so does the need to document cultural landscapes. Since a detailed inventory of current research is beyond the scope of this paper, instead I will discuss five different approaches to preserving cultural landscapes in the hope that these examples will demonstrate the direction that recent research is taking, as well as illustrating the diverse ways these projects are being managed.

**Comprehensive Land Claims: Negotiating Preservation**

Land claim negotiations in the Northwest Territories have been underway for nearly thirty years. Indeed, an entire generation of Dene and Inuvialuit youth has grown up thinking that negotiations are as much a part of life as is hunting. Summarized in brief compass, land claims completed to date empower Aboriginal groups by granting land ownership and management rights, by providing compensation for relinquishing certain rights, and by granting economic and social measures to provide for self-sufficiency. Many Aboriginal groups have begun to negotiate self-government provisions, either as a component of ongoing land claim negotiations, or through dedicated negotiations following the completion of a land claim.

Within these agreements, Aboriginal groups have used many strategies to maintain and protect cultural landscapes. Land selection allows Aboriginal groups to protect (through fee simple ownership) portions of their traditional lands that are deemed most important. However, the need to balance protection of cultural landscapes with economic self-sufficiency has meant that some land has been selected with an eye toward future development. The Gwich'in and Sahtu claims provide for the development of land use plans that are designed to sustain development through the establishment of land use policy. Conservation of cultural values is predominant in these plans. Some skeptics have wondered if the lobby to protect rights to mineral interests in these areas has caused government to pause before passing these plans; after years of negotiations, a new plan has finally been signed.
Marking the confluence of the Bear and Mackenzie Rivers, Bear Rock (in the distance) is sacred to most NWT Dene groups; this is where Yamoria, a Dene culture-hero, stretched the hides of three giant beavers he had killed. Bear Rock is today depicted in the Dene Nation’s corporate logo as a political symbol.

The Sahtu Dene and Métis Comprehensive Land Claim (Government of Canada 1993) took a unique approach to protecting cultural landscapes. A clause in the chapter on heritage called for the creation of a joint working group charged with the responsibility of making recommendations to government on how specific places and sites should be protected. Representation on the joint working group included one representative from the federal government, one from the territorial government, and two from the Sahtu region. The four members elected a fifth person, a Sahtu resident, to act as chair. The Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Joint Working Group released its report in January 2000 (T'Seleie et al. 2000), which presented recommendations on how to commemorate and protect forty sacred or cultural sites, or site groupings, in the Sahtu Settlement Area (see Fig. 97). It also presented an additional twenty-one general recommendations that address the direction of future research and the need for cultural landscape protection and advocacy in the region. The Working Group met over a four-year period (1995-1999), often contracting elders and community experts to assist with the research.

Though many of the report’s recommendations still await action by government and Sahtu land claim authorities, the Report has proved useful for developers wishing to avoid impacting Sahtu cultural sites, and to planners who are developing a land use plan for the region. As well, some teachers in the region have used the Report as resource material in the schools. These are positive advances and serve ultimately to protect Sahtu cultural landscapes.

**Education: Taking the Classroom on the Land**

Recognizing that the ethno-pedagogy of educating
youth through travel is disappearing, several Aboriginal groups have established annual educational trips using traditional trails where young people and elders interact in much the same way as they did in the past. For example, the Gwich’in have organized an annual snowmobile trip between Fort McPherson in the NWT and Old Crow in the Yukon. The trip, which follows a traditional dog team trail, allows families residing in both communities to connect and exchange greetings, and provides elders an opportunity to teach young people aspects of traditional life. Other groups have organized similar trips. In 1999 elders and youth walked from Colville Lake to Fort Good Hope, following a summer walking trail and recreating what was many years ago an annual event to trade at the Hudson’s Bay Company post in Good Hope. The Yellowknives Dene First Nation have organized summer canoe trips, following traditional birchbark canoe trails, and designed specifically to provide learning experiences for youth.

In 1971, in his remarks on the occasion of the opening of the new high school in the Dogrib community of Edzo, Chief Jimmy Bruneau recognized the need to educate Dogrib students in both a southern Canadian-style school system and in Dogrib cultural ways. Reflecting the chief’s perspective in her remarks to a meeting of Dogrib elders, educators, and education administrators working to develop a mission statement for the Dogrib school system in 1990, elder and education innovator Elizabeth Mackenzie, noted that “if children are taught in both cultures equally, they will be strong like two people.” The Dogrib education board recognized the importance of this and adopted it as an educational philosophy for the Dogrib school system (Dogrib Divisional Board of Education 1991). The mission statement argues that if young people are provided a formal education in a southern Canadian-style school setting, in conjunction with instruction in Dogrib language, culture, and identity, they will grow to be “strong like two people,” taking the best from both worldviews. Because much of Dogrib history and identity is tied to life on the land, this new educational strategy uses every opportunity to take the classroom out on the land—or more relevant for this paper—to use the cultural landscape as a classroom. Through organizing cultural camps in all seasons, by canoe trips in summer, by bringing elders directly into the classroom, and by providing for formalized Dogrib language instruction, the Dogrib education system has forged a unique learning experience for Dogrib youth based on this collaborative philosophy.

Recognizing that their youth face a different world, Dogrib elders are working to bring the past into the education system, always guided by the pervasive philosophy of “strong like two people.” Throughout the last decade, Dogrib elders have participated in a variety of research projects in partnership with linguists, anthropologists, and archaeologists. In a general sense the research has been designed to apply Dogrib traditional knowledge within the theoretical and methodological constructs of these disciplines. However, for the elders a single objective has been tantamount: that these partnerships provide products that can be used to educate youth in the Dogrib school system (Fig. 102). As a result many of the research projects have been founded on complex partnerships with the Dogrib school system (see below).

Other efforts at using the cultural landscape as a classroom include the many science camps that have been organized in various regions of the NWT. Designed to combine Western scientific method and theory with traditional ethno-pedagogy in a land-based setting, these camps have met with much success. Since 1995, the Gwich’in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), with their head office located in Tsiigehtchic (formerly Arctic Red River), has organized a ten day “on-the-land” fall camp for high school students (Kritsch 1996). The curriculum focuses on the Gwich’in cultural landscape and involves instruction in a variety of topics including ethnobotany, renewable resource management, heritage resource management, and land claim history.
and implementation, presented by instructors from both Western and Aboriginal traditions.

The Tundra Science Camp, located at the Tundra Ecological Research Station (TERS) at Daring Lake, about 150 kilometers (ninety-three miles) north of Yellowknife in the barrenlands, immerses high school students in a ten day program of hands-on scientific and cultural exploration (Strong and Hans 1996). Provided with an opportunity to participate in ongoing research programs being conducted at TERS, students gain an understanding of the cultural landscape of the barrenlands, through instruction in archaeology, botany, biology, geology, environmental research advocacy, and Dogrib culture. Science camps such as these follow the tradition of "strong like two people" using cultural landscapes as classroom.

Environmental Assessment: Mitigating Land Use Conflicts

Diamond mine exploration and development in the NWT has stimulated a wealth of research under the framework of environmental impact assessment. Recently enacted environmental protection legislation (Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act 1998) gives high profile to the need to document traditional knowledge and for assessing potential impacts to cultural landscapes. As mentioned above, one outcome of this effort was the creation of the West Kitikmeot/Slave Study Society (WKSS). Projects funded by WKSS include several community-based efforts directed at documenting aspects of the cultural landscape of the Chipewyan, Yellowknives, Dogrib, and Inuit. These projects have received significant funding and have been used to establish trained community-based research teams, which have been instrumental in directing changes to development plans to ensure that significant cultural sites are protected.

The "Habitat of Dogrib Traditional Territory Project" was undertaken by the Whaëndqö Naowoø Kọ group from the Whaëndqö Naowoø Kọ (Legat 1998; Legat et al. 1999, 2001), a research institution under the aegis of the Dogrib Treaty 11 Council, and funded through the WKSS. Staffed largely by Dogrib researchers, the Whaëndqö Naowoø Kọ group has carried out several projects designed to record and present Dogrib traditional knowledge, with specific reference to Dogrib classification of the environment. Focusing on place names, nomenclature for habitat, animal, and plant species occupying them, these projects have built a strong core of trained researchers, which the Dogrib Nation can employ in addressing other tasks.

The Chipewyan of Lutsel'ke, located on the East Arm of Great Slave Lake, also undertook research funded by WKSS. Community researchers focused on documenting traditional ecological knowledge of elders and land users of the Lutsel’ke Dene First Nation for a particular area within their traditional range. Known as Kache Kue, or Kennady Lake, the region was being intensively explored by Monopros, a subsidiary of
DeBeers Canada, the Canadian arm of the diamond-mining giant of South Africa. DeBeers Canada has applied for permission to open a mine at Snap Lake, a nearby site located about 100 kilometers (sixty-two miles) north of Lutselk'ee, and at the time of writing (April 2002) had just submitted an environmental impact assessment report. The WKSS funds will assist the Lutselk'ee Dene First Nation in presenting their own interests—particularly the documentation of the Chipewyan cultural landscape in the development area—and permit the people an opportunity to participate in the environmental review.

The use of innovative computer techniques, such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS), to record cultural landscapes ensures that traditional knowledge gathered through these projects will be archived and made available for future projects. These research projects also allow the Aboriginal groups to develop management strategies to monitor long-term and cumulative impacts from development on cultural landscapes. GIS computer technology is a tool designed to provide a way of managing place-based or geo-referenced information and is well fitted to recording traditional place names, trails, and other aspects of Aboriginal land use. As well as providing a tool for archiving and managing data, GIS technology allows Aboriginal youth to make significant contributions, by bringing new computer skills into the mix. By working with their elders to record land-based knowledge, and then together reviewing GIS-generated maps, young and old interact in new ways, providing a serendipitous opportunity to use the land as teacher.

**Cultural Institutes: Taking Control of the Research Agenda**

Created in 1992, the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), has been working to inventory traditional place names and land use, sacred sites, and trails in the Gwich'in Settlement Region. The work has resulted in numerous research reports and publications that document the Gwich'in cultural landscape by recording an extensive body of traditional place names and associated narratives (Kritsch et al. 1994; Kritsch and Andre 1997; Heine et al. 2001). This work continues as a priority for the institute.

Working in a collaborative arrangement is a priority of GSCI, and they have entered several partnerships with southern and northern researchers. With GSCI help, the Gwich'in Tribal Council has drafted a traditional knowledge (TK) research policy that outlines guidelines for all research activities conducted within the Gwich'in Settlement Region (GTC 2004). Designed to ensure Gwich'in collaboration, to protect Gwich'in intellectual rights to traditional knowledge, and to ensure that work is conducted in an ethical fashion, the policy strives to encourage all types of research in the region. The development of policies such as this helps ensure that research agendas are relevant to northern life and priorities. More important perhaps, it provides non-Gwich'in with a clear point of entry into establishing meaningful partnerships with Gwich'in researchers.

In 1997-1998 the Gwich'in partnered with Parks Canada to create a National Historic Site that commemorated a portion of the Gwich'in cultural landscape as being of national significance (Heine 1997; Neufeld 2001). Called Nagwichoonjik National Historic Site, it covers a 175 kilometer (110 mile) stretch of the Mackenzie River (see Fig. 98) and adjacent lands where the river flows through the center of the Gwich'in traditional land use area, making it one of the largest designated Aboriginal cultural landscapes in Canada, and among the first to be so commemorated (Buggey 1999, this volume). Presenting numerous named places, archaeological sites, cultural sites, and subsistence camps, the National Historic Site commemorates a synopsis of Gwich'in history and culture. These examples of collaborative research efforts serve as models for future efforts in preserving and managing northern cultural landscapes.

**Museums: Partnership and Collaboration**
An elder examines archaeological remains of a birch bark canoe.

The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC), a government-run territorial museum based in Yellowknife, has focused much of its research efforts on forging partnerships with elders, community organizations, and school boards that allow museum staff to develop close ties with many communities in the North. Through the 1980s and 1990s, these efforts were focused on projects in several regions, including:

- Inventory of cultural sites and development of recommendations on how to preserve and protect cultural landscapes as part of the Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Joint Working Group (T'Seleie et al. 2000).


Much of this work focused on building inventories of archaeological and cultural sites throughout the North, which permitted archaeologists at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre to serve as expert advisors in the land use review and environmental assessment process, providing recommendations on the potential for impacts to heritage sites from development.

Documenting place-names, trails, and cultural landscapes, and then using this information to locate archaeological sites, has made it possible to examine aspects of the temporal nature of cultural landscapes and in the process corroborate oral narratives that spoke of ancient times and events. The ethnoarchaeological research conducted with the Dogrib has demonstrated that place names themselves preserve knowledge of sources of raw material for making stone tools, demonstrating that the names encode centuries-old knowledge (Andrews and Zoe 1997:165-7; Hanks 1997).

Often these projects lead to related projects or follow-up research that usually starts because of an interest expressed by an elder or community member. For example, during the heritage resource inventories conducted in partnership with the Dogrib, archaeologists found the remains of thirty-five birch bark canoes at sites the elders had identified along the trails (Fig. 103). This provided the researchers with a new perspective on the role and importance of these craft for traversing the Dogrib cultural landscape. As a result a related project was undertaken to document by video the entire process of building a Dogrib birch bark canoe (Andrews and Zoe, 1998; Woolf and Andrews, 1997). Working within the Dogrib philosophy of "strong like two people," the project was conducted in partnership with the local school board, and several high school students served as apprentices to the six elders from Rae who
made the canoe. While the canoe was being constructed, exhibit designers from the PWNHC worked with the industrial arts class at the school to build a display case for the finished canoe. Designed to roll through any door in the school, the canoe could be brought directly into classrooms and used by elders in instruction.

The Internet, which now links all NWT schools, provides an opportunity to introduce innovative new resources into northern classrooms. Following the ethnopedagogical tradition of using the land as a teacher, the PWNHC, in partnership with the Dogrib Community Services Board, and the Inuvialuit Social Development Program, have developed a web-based virtual tour of northern cultural landscapes. Called "Lessons from the Land," the web resource provides students an opportunity to tour two cultural landscapes—the "Idaa Trail," a Dogrib birchbark canoe and dog team trail, and "Journey with Nuligak," which focuses on Inuvialuit culture and history (www.lessonsfromtheland.ca). Additional modules will be added in the future. Through photographs, illustrations, narrative, video and sound clips, and 3-D animation, students can opt to take a tour of these landscapes, with "on-line elders" as their guides. The web resource is structured to allow teachers to select specific features to make a lesson pertinent to the grade level being taught. Developed in conjunction with the GNWT Department of Education, Culture, and Employment, "Lessons from the Land" is featured as a component of the recently revamped Northern Studies curriculum. Using computers to create a virtual experience, "Lessons from the Land" takes the cultural landscape into the classroom, providing a learning alternative to taking the classroom out on the land.

Protecting Cultural Landscapes


Clearly these and other recent efforts have made great advances in documenting traditional knowledge and cultural landscapes across the NWT, creating sources of recorded knowledge that will be invaluable to future generations. How effective are these efforts in preserving and protecting cultural landscapes today?

Though the northern education system has made some advances in developing northern-based curricular material, broad-based advances are lacking. Currently, the NWT has only two elementary school curricula (Dene Kede GNWT 1993 and Inuuqatigiit GNWT 1997) based on Aboriginal worldviews. Though these curricula are used in several regions quite successfully, they are not used in all, and the resources to accompany them are scarce. The Dogrib have been very active in developing programs for their own schools. Special program curricula like "Trails of our Ancestors" (Dogrib Divisional Board of Education 1996), which provides for summer canoe travel through Dogrib cultural landscapes, are very popular with students. Though successful, these programs are expensive to operate, and the lack of published curricular material reflecting northern values and realities makes them difficult to deliver in a classroom setting. Land-based classes are always fun and instructive, but difficult and expensive to run. Funding for these programs is always difficult to obtain, and organizers are constantly searching for sources to draw from. As a result these programs are not widely available. Government needs to focus on developing northern curricula based on Aboriginal worldviews, and then funding school boards to move classrooms out onto the land whenever possible. The use of educational alternatives, which allow for innovation in the classroom through computers and the Internet, must also be maximized. These programs will provide future generations with an appreciation for the need to steward cultural landscapes as their ancestors have done (Fig. 104).

Though environmental assessment has supported traditional knowledge and cultural landscape research, thereby making a significant contribution to the northern knowledge base, the ability of these efforts to actually preserve and protect cultural landscapes has yet to be demonstrated. For community elders, who
hold vast amounts of knowledge pertinent to the cultural ecology of their lands, and who speak their Aboriginal language as a first language, the formality of an environmental hearing can be an intimidating experience and one not conducive to expressing an Aboriginal worldview. Furthermore, many communities find the process of participation in environmental proceedings to be little more than token efforts designed to appease political agendas. These programs are also tied to the boom and bust cycle of development and are therefore intermittent in their availability and patchy in their application. The WI<SS, created in 1995, was designed with a lifespan of only five years. Though it was extended for two years, researchers must eventually look for alternate sources of funding. Consequently, although these projects add greatly to the documentation of traditional knowledge, they make minor practical impact on efforts in preserving cultural landscapes over the long-term. Community-based research capacity developed through these projects must be maintained through the bust part of the development cycle that is almost certain to follow. Also, the use of GIS technology, and perhaps more importantly, the educational and training opportunities to learn how to use it, must be maximized in northern communities.

The commemoration of Aboriginal cultural landscapes is relatively new in Canada (Buggey 1999). In 1998 the community of Deline, in the Sahtu region, celebrated National Historic Site commemoration for a cultural landscape in their traditional territory—Sahyoue and Edacho National Historic Site. As with the Nagwichoonjik National Historic Site, these designations serve to raise the profile of Aboriginal cultural landscapes through national commemoration, long part of the Canadian National Historic Site system plan (Parks Canada 2000; Buggey 1999, this volume). Though they cover large tracks of land, they offer little concrete protection because the commemorations are only honorific. The community of Deline has negotiated an interim land withdrawal for Sahyoue and Edacho National Historic Site, but the governments...
have dragged their heels in finding a permanent way of protecting these landscapes.

The interim withdrawal was granted through the auspices of the Protected Area Strategy (PAS), a joint federal-territorial program approved in 1999 (GNWT 1999). Designed to identify and establish protected areas in the NWT, the program seeks partnerships with northern Aboriginal groups in advancing areas for protection. The PAS secretariat (located in Yellowknife) has worked with communities to develop a plan to protect the Horn Plateau, a 10,000 square kilometer (3,861 square mile) area critical to both the Mackenzie Valley Slavey and Dogrib cultures. While this interim solution protects it for five years, a permanent protection measure has not been developed.

With respect to the protection of cultural landscapes the report of the Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Joint Working Group (T'Seleie et al. 2000:24-5) made the important observation that virtually all Canadian legislation designed to protect landscape or landscape features focuses on natural values instead of cultural ones. The laws designed to mark sites noted for their cultural value usually provide for honorific commemoration of these places only and do not protect them from incompatible land uses. Though cultural landscapes are mentioned in the PAS documentation, no special legislative tools were identified for protecting places of cultural value. The joint working group recommended that government move immediately to rectify this deficiency. Places exhibiting a natural value have a plethora of legislative tools available to protect them, which defines acceptable types of land use (such as tourism) and sets guidelines for their practice. Most importantly however, these instruments of law protect natural landscapes by protecting them from inappropriate forms of development. George Barnaby, a Sahtu Dene elder has remarked that "we have no word in our language that means wilderness, as anywhere we go is our home" (Fumoleau 1984:59). This statement expresses a view that does not differentiate between the natural and the cultural—both are inseparable parts of a whole. The Sahtu Dene worldview, which expresses an intellectual unity between the natural and cultural aspects of the environment, is in stark contrast to the philosophy of separating cultural from natural values represented in Canadian law and there is need to reflect this holistic view in new legislation designed to protect cultural landscapes.

The development of Aboriginal cultural institutes in the NWT is a major advance as it allows local communities to shape research agendas within their traditional lands. The Dene Cultural Institute, based in Hay River; the Whaëñdço Nâowoò Kò, based in Rae; and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), based in Tsiigehtchic, are all examples of community-based efforts striving to document cultural landscapes and preserve Aboriginal worldviews (Fig. 105). These are positive developments that encourage collaboration between research and Aboriginal communities. However, these organizations face several limitations. One of the most significant is the lack of stable funding needed to carry out long-term research and programs. For example, GSCI estimates that nearly fifty percent of its time and staff effort is spent on raising funds (Ingrid Kritsch, pers. comm.). Another problem faced by cultural institutes is one of scale. These institutes are often operated by a small number of dedicated people—and in the NWT it is most often women—who have been working consistently for many years. When interacting with government to access program funding or support, cultural institutes find they must respond to a bureaucracy many times larger. This often creates misunderstandings and makes it difficult for these small agencies to deal with government expectations. Significant and long-term funding must be found to support their activities, as it will be these groups who bring cultural landscapes forward for protection. Lack of funding is also an issue of constant concern for museum or government research projects. Competition among cultural organizations, museums, and government researchers for limited funding sources is ultimately counterproductive for preserving and protect-
ing cultural landscapes in the NWT, as well as elsewhere in the Canadian North.

Though major advances have been made in the last decade toward documenting and protecting cultural landscapes in the NWT, much work remains to be done. Efforts in the coming decades must continue to focus on documentation as a priority. They must also strive to develop broad-based education programs that provide youth with an understanding about the cultural landscapes they live in. Northerners must urge governments to create legislative tools to protect cultural values. Finally, governments must develop significant and stable funding sources for community-based cultural and heritage research.

Epilogue

"The land is like a book." I have worked with Harry Simpson, theDogrib elder who spoke these words, for many years now, and after hearing him use this simile many times I have come to understand—I think—what he means. Clearly it captures the essence of the Dogrib ethno-pedagogy of using the land as a teacher—an aid in remembering the thousands of years of accumulated knowledge, transmitted to youth through an oral tradition and through travel. Moreover, this simile is really a carefully crafted translation of this Dogrib educational philosophy, because by making the comparison with a book, he has also made it relevant and easily understood by non-Aboriginal people who store their knowledge in books and not in oral narratives tied inextricably to a cultural landscape. Cultural landscapes are ultimately creations of a collective consciousness. They are places that are valued by society. If a society is to ensure that they are valued by future generations, then they must transmit that sense of value from generation to generation, something that the Dogrib and many other northern groups have done and continue to do with great eloquence.

In the struggle to protect their cultural landscapes, Aboriginal people in northern Canada have sought partnerships in the global community. Partnering with environmental groups, lobbying national governments and international agencies, including UNESCO and others, and traveling to far-flung places to develop support networks have all become tools in the struggle for preserving and protecting the cultural landscapes at home. In September 2001, a group of Gwich'in from Canada and Alaska traveled to Washington, D.C., to lobby U.S. government representatives to vote against the proposed exploration for oil and gas reserves in the "1002 lands" on the Alaska North Slope. Though the Gwich'in representatives had been in Washington many times before on similar missions, the events of September 11, 2001 were to cause them much anguish. Family and friends in the North watched on television the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and on the Pentagon in Washington worried for the safety of their loved ones so far from home. After several fretful hours of silence residents of the NWT learned that no harm had come to the Gwich'in representatives, and through a cell phone connection with CBC North radio in Canada heard familiar voices describing first-hand in the vernacular of the North, the atrocities that took place so far away. These terrible events—an attack on icons of the American cultural landscape, long thought to be impenetrable—serve to demonstrate that in today's world, cultural landscapes are indeed very fragile.

Acknowledgments

Over the years of my working and living in the Canadian North, I have been blessed with numerous rewarding friendships and experiences—many of which I have called on to write this paper. To the unnamed many who have helped form my understanding and appreciation of northern cultural landscapes I say mahsi cho/thank you. Several colleagues took time from their busy schedules to read and comment on a draft of this paper. I would like to thank Chuck Arnold, Susan Buggey, Melanie Fafard, June Helm, Mark Heyck, Ingrid Kritsch, Igor Krupnik, and Leslie Saxon for their helpful and insightful comments. If I have misrepresented a
fact or omitted an important concept or issue, I bear this responsibility alone. I would also like to thank volume editor, Igor Krupnik, for inviting me to submit a paper, and for the support of both Susan Buggey and Ellen Lee, my Canadian compatriots, for suggesting me in the first place. Igor's lively and respectful encouragement at the beginning of this process was much appreciated. I wish also to thank Miles Davis of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre GIS facility who, with his usual spirit of synergism, prepared the maps under tight time constraints, and to John Poirier, also of the PWNHC, who helped me format some of the images. Finally, to my wife, Ingrid, whose editorial skills I turn to most frequently, I express my sincere appreciation and thanks.

Notes

1. Readers wishing to read more about Dene, Metis, and Inuvialuit ethnography and history should consult Volumes 5 (Damas 1984) and 6 (Helm 1981) of the Handbook of North American Indians, published by the Smithsonian Institution. All Dene words are presented using the practical orthography of the Government of the Northwest Territories.

2. The Dogrib have been negotiating a land claim and self-government agreement with the federal government since 1992. In 2003 they signed a final agreement that will provide ownership to 39,000 square kilometers of land; co-management and hunting rights over a larger area; self-government rights, and $152 million CAD in financial compensation. As of June 2004, the Parliament of Canada had yet to pass the settlement legislation needed to give the agreement the force of law.

3. Approximately half of the NWT population is Aboriginal. Almost half of the population (18,000) lives in the territorial capital of Yellowknife. The next largest community is Hay River, population 4,000.

4. Diavik mine is located thirty-five kilometers from BHP-Billiton mine, and it began production in 2003. De Beers Canada, 150 kilometers northeast of Yellowknife, completed environmental negotiations in 2003 and should begin construction soon.

5. The Mackenzie Gas Project was proposed by a consortium of companies, including Imperial Oil, ConocoPhiIlips, Shell Canada, ExxonMobil, and the Aboriginal Pipeline Group. The project will see construction of a gas pipeline stretching from the Mackenzie River delta to northern Alberta, following the right bank of the Mackenzie River. If the project proceeds as expected, natural gas production could start in 2010.


8. The Department of Resources, Wildlife, and Economic Development established TERS to study tundra ecology and to create baseline data against which environmental impact assessment of diamond exploration and development might be measured. The science camp is organized by RWED, with assistance from the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre.

9. Located in Tsiigehtchic, one of four Gwich'in communities, in the Mackenzie Delta region of the NWT

10. The policy is now available as a download from the Gwich’in Social and Cultural Institute’s website at http://www.gwichin.ca.

11. Also known as Grizzly Bear Mountain and Scented Grass Hills. See Buggey (1999:21-3) for a discussion of the significance of this site in terms of the Canadian experience with cultural landscape designation.

12. Horn Plateau’s Dene name is Edéhzhie.

13. Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, P.O. Box 1320, Yellowknife, NT X1A 2L9, Canada.

References

Andrews, Thomas D., and John B. Zoe


Andrews, Thomas D., John B. Zoe, and Aaron Herter
1998 On Yamîzhah’s Trail: Dogrib Sacred Sites and

**Andrews, Thomas D., and Elizabeth Mackenzie**


**Arnold, Charles D.**


**Arnold, Charles D., and Elisa Hart**


**Asch, Michael, T.D. Andrews, and S. Smith**


**Berger, Thomas R.**


**Blondin, George**

1990 *When the World was New: Stories of the Sahtu Dene*. Yellowknife: Outcrop.

**Buggey, Susan**


**Cohen, Fay G., and Arthur J. Hanson, eds.**


**Damas, David**


**DeLancey, Deborah J., and Thomas D. Andrews**


**Dogrib Divisional Board of Education**


1996 *Gowhaëhdoj’ Gits'g’ Egl Nlwharan: Trails of our Ancestors: Course 15 Curriculum*. Rae-Edzo: Dogrib Divisional Board of Education.

**Feld, Steven and Keith H. Basso, eds.**

1996 *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

**Fumoleau, Rene**


**Government of Canada**

1993 *Sahtu Dene and Metis Comprehensive Land Claim*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

**Government of the Northwest Territories**


**Gwich’in Tribal Council**

2004 *Gwich’in Traditional Knowledge Policy*. Inuvik: GTC.

**Hanks, Christopher C.**


**Hanks, Christopher C., and David L. Pokotylo**


**Hanks, Christopher C., and Barbara Winter**


1986 *Local Knowledge and Ethnoarchaeology: an Approach to Dene Settlement Systems*. *Current An-

**Hart, Elisa J.**


**Heine, Michael**

1997 **"That river, it's like a highway for us": The Mackenzie River through Gwichya Gwich'in History and Culture.** Ottawa: Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

**Heine, Michael, Alestine Andre, Ingrid Kritsch, and Alma Cardinal**


**Helm, June**


**Helm, June, ed.**


**Hirsch, Eric and Michael O’Hanlon, eds.**


**Krech, Shepard**


**Kritsch, Ingrid**


**Kritsch, Ingrid D., and Alestine Andre**


**Kritsch, Ingrid, Alestine Andre, and Bart Kreps**


**Legat, Allice**

1998 **Habitat of Dogrib Traditional Territory: Place Names as Indicators of Biogeographical Knowledge.** Annual Report of the Dogrib Renewable Resources Committee to the West Kitikmeot Slave Study Society, Yellowknife.

**Legat, Allice, Sally Anne Zoe, Madelaine Chocolate, and Kathy Simpson**

1999 **Habitat of Dogrib Traditional Territory: Place Names as Indicators of Biogeographical Knowledge.** Annual Report of the Dogrib Renewable Resources Committee to the West Kitikmeot Slave Study Society, Yellowknife.

**Legat, Allice, Georgina Chocolate, Bobby Gon, Sally Anne Zoe, and Madeline Chocolate**

2001 **Caribou Migration and the State of their Habitat: Final Report.** Submitted to the West Kitikmeot/Slave Study Society, Yellowknife.

**Neufeld, David**


**Parks Canada**

2000 **National Historic Sites: System Plan.** Ottawa: Department of Canadian Heritage.

**Strong, Roseanna, and Brenda Hans**

1996 **Diamonds in the Rough: The Tundra Science Camp.** *Green Teacher* 48:24-6.

**T'Seleie, John, Isadore Yukon, Bella T'Seleie, Ellen Lee and Thomas D. Andrews**


**West Kitikmeot/Slave Study (WKSS)**

2000 **Annual Report: 99/00.** West Kitikmeot/Slave Study, Yellowknife, NT.

**Woolf, Terry, and Thomas D. Andrews**

1997 **Ty̱chep K'ielâ: The Dogrib Birchbark Canoe.** VHS video documentary; 30 minutes. Rae-Edzo: Dogrib Divisional Board of Education.

2001 **Ty̱chep Ékwo Njhmâa: Dogrib Caribou Skin Lodge.** VHS video documentary; 30-minutes. Rae-Edzo: Dogrib Community Services Board.
## contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Contributors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix</td>
<td>List of Figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv</td>
<td>FOREWORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William W. Fitzhugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION: LANDSCAPES, PERSPECTIVES, AND NATIONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Igor Krupnik, Rachel Mason, and Susan Buggey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Part One

**State Policies: Perspectives from Four Arctic Nations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>AN APPROACH TO ABORIGINAL CULTURAL LANDSCAPES IN CANADA</td>
<td>Susan Buggey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>PROTECTING ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPES IN ALASKA: U.S. POLICIES AND PRACTICES</td>
<td>Rachel Mason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>WRITING ETHNOGRAPHIC HISTORY: HISTORIC PRESERVATION, CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES</td>
<td>Tonia Woods Horton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>MANAGING THE SÁMI CULTURAL HERITAGE IN NORWAY: THE LEGAL LANDSCAPE</td>
<td>Ingegerd Holand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES IN ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION: A RUSSIAN NORTH PERSPECTIVE</td>
<td>Pavel M. Shul'gin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Part Two

**Protecting the “Invisible”: Stories from the Arctic Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>&quot;TO SAVE THE YUGAN&quot;: THE SAGA OF THE KHANTY CULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM</td>
<td>Andrew Wiget and Olga Balalaeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>NENETS SACRED SITES AS ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPE</td>
<td>Galina P. Kharyuchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>LANDSCAPES OF TRADITION, LANDSCAPES OF RESISTANCE</td>
<td>Donald G. Callaway</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part Three

Regional Approaches to Documentation and Protection

301 "THE LAND IS LIKE A BOOK": CULTURAL LANDSCAPE MANAGEMENT IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, CANADA
Thomas D. Andrews

323 DOCUMENTING ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPES IN ALASKA'S NATIONAL PARKS
Tonia Woods Horton

343 CULTURAL HERITAGE IN YAMAL, SIBERIA: POLICIES AND CHALLENGES IN LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION
Natalia V. Fedorova

358 SÁMI CULTURAL HERITAGE IN NORWAY: BETWEEN POLITICS OF LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND THE POWER OF THE STATE
Torvald Falch and Marianne Skandfer

Part Four

Comparative Perspectives

379 JOINING THE DOTS: MANAGING THE LAND- AND SEASCAPES OF INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIA
Claire Smithe and Heather Burke

401 EPILOGUE. NATIONS, PERSPECTIVES, AND NATIONS: WHAT DOES IT ALL MEANS?
Ellen Lee

407 INDEX

414 ILLUSTRATION CREDITS