DIAMONDS ARE FOREVER: A DECOLONIZING, FEMINIST APPROACH TO DIAMOND MINING IN YELLOWKNIFE, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN POLITICAL SCIENCE
YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO

September 2017

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the impact of the development of diamond mines in the Yellowknife region, Northwest Territories (NWT), asking two questions: how has the diamond-mining regime affected the gendered social relations in the regional racialized mixed economy? And, how can violence against Indigenous women living in the region be situated in the context of structural shifts in the mixed economy? The analysis developed in response to these questions is informed by a theorization of the mixed economy as a dynamic set of social relations characterized by tension between the temporal imperatives of capitalist production and the place-based imperatives of subsistence.

Taking a decolonizing, feminist political economy (FPE) approach, this dissertation responded to these questions by drawing on documentary analysis, interviews, and talking circles to examine the – often invisibilized – labour performed by Indigenous women that reproduces the mixed economy. The central contention is that the diamond-mining regime represents a new imposition upon daily and intergenerational social reproduction performed by Indigenous women, an imposition that is sometimes violent, and that is met with resistance.

The dissertation unfolds in six substantive chapters. Building on a theoretical and historical grounding offered in chapters one and two, chapters three-five draw on field research to examine shifts in local relations of capitalist production, social reproduction, and subsistence production. The analysis reveals that the Fly-In-Fly-Out (FIFO) diamond-mining regime, itself a spatial articulation of the capitalist separation between (masculinized) capitalist production and (feminized) social reproduction, introduces, or, in some cases, intensifies a nuclear male-breadwinner/female-caregiver structure.

Woven through this analysis is an examination of the relationship between structural and embodied violence. Indeed, the structural shifts imposed by the diamond-mining regime – characterized in this dissertation as structural violence – contribute to Indigenous women's experiences of embodied violence in the Yellowknife region. At the same time, Indigenous women meet these shifts with decolonizing resistance in the form of the day-to-day labours they perform to reproduce the place-based social relations of the mixed economy.

Acknowledgments

I would like to begin by thanking my dissertation supervisor, Dr. Leah Vosko, for her tireless support, her thoughtful scholarship and brilliant analytical eye. Thank you for all that you have taught me about research and writing. Thank you to Dr. Kamala Kempadoo and Dr. Frances Abele, my two committee members, who offered exceptional ongoing analytical insight and support throughout this project. These three excellent scholars contributed immeasurably to this project, and I am very grateful.

This dissertation would not have come to be were it not for the generous guidance and contributions of many people and organizations in Yellowknife, NWT. First and foremost, thank you to *The Native Women's Association of the NWT* staff and community. Thank you for welcoming and teaching me as a staff member, and for hosting and contributing so much to my research. Thanks to Della Green and Jennifer Hunt-Poitras for all of your support. Special thanks to Marie Speakman, my mentor, friend, and colleague, who has taught me about the strength and wisdom of compassion. Thank you, also, to the many community activists and organizations who guided me in this research, offering insight, encouragement and logistical support, including: Arlene Hache, Lois Little, Itoah Scott-Enns, Tee Lim, Lorraine Phaneuf, Lawrence Nahtene, Anneka Westergreen, Lesley Johnson, the Tlicho Government, The Status of Women Council of the NWT, The Centre for Northern Families, Alternatives North, Ecology North, The YWCA, the NWT and Nunavut Chamber of Mines, and especially all of the research participants.

Thank you to my generous friends and family members who edited portions of this dissertation: Mom, Dad, Bridget, Amanda, Tobin, Nico, and especially Madeline, who reviewed the whole thing. Your time and careful eyes are so appreciated.

I have been fortunate to receive guidance and friendship from a number of mentors. Thank you to Dr. Rawwida Baksh, Dr. Rianne Mahon, Dr. Andrea Doucet, Dr. David McNally, and Dr. Susan Ferguson for their intellectual and personal guidance. Thank you, also, to conference organizers, co-panelists, and peer reviewers. Thank you to the Closing the Employment Standards Enforcement Gap team, from whom I have learned a great deal about research and collaboration towards social change. And thank you to friends, professors and the administrative staff of the York Political Science Department.

Thank you to my community of friends for talking and *not* talking with me about my dissertation. Both helped tremendously. In particular, to Simon, Heather, and Tom, thank you for the reassurance and advice, as those who trod this path before me. To Amanda, Ezgi, Tobin, and Brendon, thank you for walking this with me.

Finally, thank you to my family. To my superb in-laws, aunts, uncles and cousins, thank you for the impressively sustained interest in my dissertation over years of family gatherings. To my late grandfathers, Ross and Alex, who showed me how passion for social causes can spur intellectual curiosity. And to my grandmothers, Rachel and Jane, who show me how this curiosity can extend into all aspects of one's life.

To Mom and Dad, your love is mighty, and has helped make me brave. Thank you for being there in such a profound way. Madeline and Bridget, our trifecta has given me so much strength – thank you for always being in my corner, always being wise, and making me laugh. And to Nico, thank you for everything, but thank you especially for the day-to-day: for taking on extra social reproduction, and then finding the energy to talk social reproduction theory over dinner. To our future labours of love.

This research was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the Ontario Graduate Scholarship, and York University.

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List of Acronyms

Automated Teller Machine (ATM)

Broken Hill Proprietary Company (BHP)

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)

Canadian Political Economy (CPE)

Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE)

Department of Indian and Northern Development (DIAND)

Department of National Defence (DND)

Emergency Protection Order (EPO)

Feminist Political Economy (FPE)

Fly-In/Fly-Out (FIFO)

Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT)

Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

Human Participants Review Subcommittee (HRPC)

Human Resources (HR)

Impact Benefit Agreement (IBA)

Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC)

Participatory Action Research (PAR)

Northwest Territories (NWT)

Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)

Sexually Transmitted Infection (STI)

Social Reproduction Feminism (SRF)

Socio-Economic Agreement (SEA)

There Is No Alternative [approach to capitalism] (TINA)

United States of America (USA)

Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)

YK [Dene] (Yellowknives Dene)

Introduction

'Diamonds, they're just rocks. They're just rocks. Think of the water. Water is life. You look at the plants, you don't water them, you die… a rock is not going to feed you. The wildlife is. The water is' (Talking Circle One: 2014).[1]

Overview

This dissertation examines the impact of the development of diamond mines on the social relations of the mixed economy in the Yellowknife region, Northwest Territories (NWT). This research emerged out of observations I made and relationships I developed while living and working in Yellowknife from 2008 to 2010.[2] Within a strikingly short period of time, diamond mining had become the NWT's predominant industry. A new commodity for Canada, the first diamond mine opened in the NWT in 1998. Since then, Canada has become the third largest diamond producer in the world, with the industry accounting for a full 50% of the NWT Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Santarossa 2004, Byrd 2006, GNWT 2014). Glossy magazine ads celebrate the "purity" of Canada's northern diamonds by depicting vast, beautiful, and empty landscapes, but the industry's messaging belies the complex social relations and associated social problems through which the diamond-mining regime has developed. These social problems include some of the highest rates of violence against women in the country. Working for the Victim Services Program at The Native Women's Association of the NWT, my days were spent with women who had experienced violence. The pervasiveness and devastation of this violence demanded – and continues to demand – an informed response.

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[1] See Appendix A for a list of interviews, talking circles and the focus group.

[2] The NWT is home to approximately equal parts non-Indigenous and Indigenous people. The area in and around Yellowknife, the site of this study, holds within it both third-generation Yellowknifers (Indigenous and not) and layers of the transient: from the mining management in the freshly-built subdivision along Niven Lake, to the people from small Indigenous communities visiting family or in town for a doctor's appointment, to the internal and external migrant workers attracted by the promise of extractive jobs.

The region of study includes the town of Yellowknife, the adjacent Yellowknives Dene towns of Dettah and N'dilo, and the Tlicho Dene capital, Behchoko (100 kilometres up the river from Yellowknife). The mixed economy characteristic of this region is a set of social relations that combine subsistence production and social reproduction with capitalist production. Far from a fixed socio-economic structure, the mixed economy is the dynamic result of settler colonial relations in the region. The region is traditionally the land of the Dene, and is now home to Dene, Métis, and Inuit, as well as settlers from a wide range of social locations. Over time, the ever-shifting social relations of this place have borne the – gendered, racialized, and, arguably, violent – tensions between the capitalist temporal imperative to extract surplus value and the place-based subsistence relations oriented towards communal needs.[3]

Feminist political economy (FPE) (Jenson 1986, Vosko 2000, 2002) helps to make these shifting social relations visible by pursuing an expansive analysis of "production" that encompasses capitalist production and social reproduction. Taking a decolonizing approach to FPE, I include subsistence production at the same level of analysis as capitalist production and social reproduction. In so doing, I ask how the diamond-mining regime has impacted the gendered social relations in the racialized mixed economy in the Yellowknife region. I explore the relationship between the, arguably, violent structural shifts in these relations, and Indigenous women's experiences of embodied violence. I orient my analysis around Indigenous women's experiences, as their social location in relation to subsistence, social reproduction, and capitalist production (in the form of diamond mining) offers unique insight into the racialized gendered restructuring of social relations perpetuated through the diamond-mining regime, and its violent structural and embodied effects.

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[3] The concept "place-based" is elaborated below. It draws upon Glen Coulthard's (2010) discussion of the unique role that place – in contrast with a Western linear focus on time – plays in Indigenous belief systems and social relations.

By "diamond-mining regime", I aim to refer to the policies, legislation, and norms that were developed relationally by the Canadian State, private capital, and Indigenous groups in establishing and operating the diamond mines. In its relationship to northern Indigenous people and their labour, the diamond-mining regime represents, at once, a continuity and a discontinuity with past forms of extraction. Gold mining came to the Yellowknife region in the 1930s, and the gold mines operated until the early 1990s. As another iteration of resource extraction driven by the imperatives of private capital and the Canadian State, the diamond-mining regime followed on the heels of gold mining, sustaining the tension between subsistence-oriented production – wherein labour is oriented toward the daily and intergenerational wellbeing of the collective rather than the profit of the individual – and the extraction of surplus value. However, the diamond mines also represent something novel, in terms of the mining regime's approach to Indigeneity. The gold mining industry, managed largely by settlers from southern Canada, relied on Indigenous expertise in establishing the mines, and hired northern Indigenous people for specific tasks, mostly "bushwork" for men, and cooking for women. However, the recruitment of Indigenous people for long-term mining employment was not a priority for the gold companies or for the Canadian State (Collymore 1980). Conversely, as a result of decades of Indigenous organizing at the local, regional, and national levels, the diamond mines have incorporated a new approach to extraction that recognizes Indigenous relationships to the land (at least, on paper), and solicits Indigenous participation in the form of consultations and employment. Indeed, northern Indigenous people in the Yellowknife region have been newly targeted as potential mine workers, both as individual workers and through the contracting of Indigenous companies for mine operations.

The diamond-mining regime is also novel in its spatial organization of production. The diamond-mining regime's emphasis on Indigenous participation is combined with a fly-in//fly-out (FIFO) extractive model. An increasingly popular approach to extraction, FIFO mines fly workers in for prolonged shifts, in contrast to traditional mining practices where a "mining town" is built with all the necessary infrastructure to support its workers. A FIFO structure enables mining companies to draw on workers who live at a distance from the mine, whether from southern Canada or one of the many communities of the NWT. The FIFO structure of the diamond-mining regime expresses an emphasis on variable capital (workers) over fixed capital (infrastructure), and the institutionalization of temporariness under neoliberalism (Vosko 2000, Peck 2013, Vosko et al. eds. 2014).

I argue that, as a result of the increased levels of Indigenous participation and its FIFO structure, the diamond-mining regime exerts an intensified pressure on place-based subsistence-oriented social relations in the mixed economy. This pressure lands with a particular severity upon the labours and bodies of Indigenous women. In the context of the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife – and the north, in general – Indigenous women have long negotiated the competing imperatives of capitalist production and subsistence production in engaging in activities necessary for social reproduction. The centrality of social reproduction as a de/colonizing site of tension between the daily and intergenerational reproduction of social relations oriented towards capitalist and subsistence production brings a material imperative to structural and embodied violence against Indigenous women.

I reveal the relationship between violence and the accumulation of new sites of extraction of surplus value – in this case, in the form of diamond mining – by building upon FPE literature that posits violence as inherent to capital accumulation (Davis 1981, Mies 1986, Mies and

Bennholdt-Thomsen 1999, Federici 2004). However, while the contributions of FPE have focused primarily on the gender violence of the relationship between masculinized capital accumulation and feminized social reproduction, I draw upon decolonizing and anti-racist theories of the violent processes of racialization inherent to the colonial appropriation of new spaces (Fanon 1963, Goldberg 1993) to argue that the gender violence of reorganizing labour for the pursuit of capital accumulation is also a racialized violence. Specifically, settler colonial processes of racializing Indigenous populations are a reaction to Indigenous people's relationships to the land (Lawrence and Dua 2003, Coulthard 2014). Indigenous women, who are materially and symbolically linked to both the land and the social reproduction of Indigenous communities, have long been targets of settler colonial violence (Anderson 2003). Thus, I contend that there are gendered and racialized aspects of violence linked to the contemporary restructuring of social relations in the Yellowknife region as a result of the FIFO diamond-mining regime. I suggest that the violence of this restructuring is facilitated, in part, by recent settler colonial intrusions into the social reproduction of northern Indigenous communities, including forced relocation of communities and residential schools.

The following section provides a summary of the dissertation's findings, framed by two research questions: What is the impact of the FIFO diamond-mining regime on social relations in the Yellowknife region? And, how can violence against Indigenous women living in the region be situated in the context of processes of social restructuring in the mixed economy? Building on this summary, I provide a description of the theory, methodological approach, and methods employed in the research. This introductory chapter ends with an overview of the chapters to follow.

I. A Shifting Mixed Economy, and Structural and Embodied Violence

a) The diamond mines in the mixed economy

Image 1: Photo taken by author beside Yellowknife City Hall.

Labour in Yellowknife is remarkably diverse for a town of 20,000, as are the ways of life carved out by its residents. However, despite this diversity, there is a ubiquity to the presence of the diamond mines. In Yellowknife, the administrative and financial centre of the territory, flags fly over Sombe K'e (a park and meeting space adjacent to City Hall) and Franklin Street (the main drag), declaring Yellowknife the 'Diamond Capital of North America' (see Image 1), while diamond company logos adorn office buildings and banners around the town. Kin, communities, and the service industry all move to the tempo of two-weeks on/two-weeks off, the most common FIFO schedule for the mineworkers.

Like other capitalist forms of production in the area around Yellowknife, diamond-mining labour is taken up relationally with subsistence and social reproduction in the context of the northern mixed economy (Abele 2009b, Southcott, ed., 2015). While at the theoretical level, subsistence and capitalist production are antithetical, at the level of social formation – that is, in the grounded ways in which people perform their day-to-day labours in the region – the relationship between capitalist production and subsistence is less oppositional and more interrelated. Indeed, Indigenous people have long engaged in capitalist wage labour to support subsistence activities (Usher et al. 2003, Abele 2009a, Harnum et al. 2014), and non-Indigenous and Indigenous people have worked together to build local socio-economies that complicate and extend beyond the assumed settler/Indigenous binary (Abele 2015, Southcott, ed. 2015). To these complex and ever-shifting social relations, the high-impact FIFO tempo introduces a new structure to capitalist production, one that reverberates across the mixed economy. Unlike the gold mining regime, which operated from the 1930s into the 1990s, the FIFO diamond-mining regime targets northern Indigenous people for employment. While it varies from year to year, northern Indigenous hires make up on average approximately 25% of the mining workforce (GNWT 2013). Employment in the diamond mines is largely high-wage, but local and Indigenous people predominantly work in jobs designated as "low-skilled", many of which are contract-based. Many "high-skilled" career jobs are held by mineworkers brought in from the south.

The FIFO schedule of the mines requires workers to live up at the mine site for their shifts, which vary, but are most often fourteen days, followed by fourteen days for travel home and – ostensibly – rest. Most daily shifts are 12 hours. Because of the FIFO structure, diamond mineworkers need not relocate (semi) permanently to the mine site, and thus can maintain their

homes outside the area of the mine. In the context of the diamond mines, the ability to maintain one's home is a benefit for both southern workers who do not want to live in the NWT, and for northern Indigenous workers who wish to remain in their home communities.

The diamond-mining regime's approach is part of a broader trend towards FIFO in extraction, both in Canada and internationally, which, in turn, contributes to the normalization of mobility as a quality of employment (Walsh 2012). Michael Hann et al. (2014) write, 'In Canada, as elsewhere, journeys to and from work are becoming more sustained and complex in terms of time consumed, distance travelled, stops along the way, and time spent away from home' (7). Indeed, labour mobility – for the purposes of this study, FIFO labour mobility – is an articulation of a sustained transience that has come to be expected in neoliberal industrial regimes around the globe (Vosko et al. eds, 2014: 4); a transience that is, in the Canadian context, particularly attached to the labour of resource extraction.[4] I argue that the FIFO diamond-mining regime is an example of neoliberal capitalism's emphasis on variable capital, and, consequently, flexibility, wherein '[t]he movement of transnational capital has also contributed to the institutionalization of temporariness as a permanently vulnerable condition for many people' (Vosko et al. eds, 2014: 6).

Indeed, in commenting on the increasingly pervasive shift toward FIFO labour by extractive capital, Peck (2013) argues that this restructuring should be understood as more than a simple shift in the workplace balance of power, but rather as:

> a much deeper social transformation. FIFO practices outsource the social-reproduction costs that the mining companies will no longer carry, and at the same time subverting the

[4] Haan et al. (2014) write, 'We contextualize some of these changing journey-to-work patterns in terms of wider societal shifts that have facilitated and, in some cases, necessitated increased mobility among the labour force. These include: changes in the nature of employment; a relative decline in transportation costs; shifts taking place in the Canadian economy nationally, regionally, and even locally; and the erosion of public policies, which once favoured labour immobility but now increasingly favour labour mobility' (7).

> threat of workplace militancy, indeed of labour organization itself. They have individualized not only work but living conditions for the mining workforce (237).

The individualization of labourers and the externalization of social reproduction from the site of production are key aspects of the reorganization of social relations identified through this research. There is a fundamental tension between the FIFO diamond-mining regime's intensification of individuation and the time-based drive for creating surplus value through the exploitation of variable capital, and the place-based subsistence orientation that characterizes Indigenous social relations in the mixed economy. This tension is obscured rhetorically by the FIFO diamond-mining regime's approach to subsistence.

Given the political imperative for the diamond-mining regime to recognize Indigenous peoples' attachment to the land, both the Canadian State and diamond-mining companies acknowledge subsistence as a part of the mixed economy and recognize the potential impacts extractive projects could have on this form of labour. However, the diamond-mining regime largely approaches subsistence as a masculinized and individualized recreation activity, divorced from the place-based social relations of the region. Viewed in this way, subsistence is an activity that is not only possible for FIFO workers, but is facilitated by the FIFO schedule (as workers can pursue subsistence activities in their "time off"). This individualized view of subsistence is tied to new processes of racialization of Indigenous people in the region wherein Indigeneity is reconfigured as an identity that links communities to the land, but in a way that is amenable to the project of capital accumulation; for example, Indigenous communities are seen as "stakeholders", and Indigenous people are seen as potential workers and beneficiaries with a special claim to employment in the diamond mines.

Approached in this way, Indigeneity and subsistence are divorced from the very real tension between accumulation for surplus value and a place-based subsistence orientation. This

rhetoric works to obscure the decolonizing threat a subsistence orientation poses to both the Canadian State and private capital. Externalized from the site of capitalist production, social reproduction bears much of the burden of this tension, as it is this labour that must manage the demands of the new extractive regime, while also attending to resulting gaps, or fissures, in local social relations resulting from its impositions. Given Indigenous women's central role in daily and intergenerational social reproduction, the tension between the FIFO regime and place-based subsistence falls with a particular intensity upon their bodies and labours. Racialized ideologies that re-frame subsistence as de-materialized culture or recreation, and gendered ideologies that feminize and naturalize social reproduction deny the intensity, and, indeed, the violence of this tension.

Indeed, the FIFO diamond-mining regime is a spatial articulation of the capitalist separation of production for surplus from social reproduction, an ideology first imposed upon Indigenous communities of the region by the Canadian State in the mid-twentieth century. The FIFO demand for workers who are unencumbered by care responsibilities is articulated through patriarchal gender relations – which are common to Western capitalist societies, but often magnified at sites of extraction (Scott 2007) – that construct capitalist production as masculinized. Social reproduction, as the mirror image of this construction, is both feminized and naturalized. In contrast to the interdependent modes of social reproduction performed across kin and community networks common to the mixed economy, the feminized responsibilities for social reproduction that result from the FIFO diamond-mining regime are individualized and localized at the household level, orienting resources away from responsibilities at the community and inter-household level.

However, activities linked to social reproduction can also be sites of resistance from the totalizing impulses of capitalism and the settler state. Indeed, throughout this work, I draw upon numerous examples offered by research participants of the day-to-day ways in which they seek to reproduce the unique place-based relations of their community. It is these labours – made visible through a decolonizing FPE expanded approach to production – that maintain the mixed nature of the economy of the region. Thus, it is the de/colonizing tensions at the site of social reproduction performed by Indigenous women, and both the decolonizing resistance and potential violence operating at this site, that are at the heart of this dissertation's inquiry.

b) Violence against Indigenous women in the NWT

In Canada, Indigenous women are three-and-a-half times more likely than other Canadian women to experience violence (Amnesty International 2009, CEDAW 2010, Sisters in Spirit 2010,), and it is estimated that this number is even higher in the north. Indeed, according to the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, the rate of violent crime against women – Indigenous and not – in the NWT is nine times the national average (Statistics Canada 2013). Too often, gender violence, sexual violence, and intimate partner violence is naturalized, approached as a tragic, but inevitable and somewhat inexplicable, aberration from the safe, non-violent norm. This naturalization is especially apparent in mainstream discourses of violence against Indigenous women in Canada. As Razack (2002) and Jiwani (2006) have argued, because of settler colonial processes of racialization, in Canada, rural and urban Indigenous communities are often characterized as violent spaces, where violence is expected, rather than explained. This dissertation challenges and rejects conceptions of violence against northern Indigenous women as expected, natural, or inevitable (Smith and Ross 2004), and, rather, situates specific forms and

experiences of violence within the political, social, and economic structures through which this violence takes place.

As such, I pursue a decolonizing FPE analysis of the ways in which the shifting relations of social reproduction caused by the FIFO diamond-mining regime play out on the labours and bodies of Indigenous women living in and around Yellowknife. I suggest that the FIFO diamond-mining regime exemplifies the structural violence of reorganizing labour for the pursuit of capital accumulation, and the focusing of this violence – racialized and gendered, as it is – upon the bodies of Indigenous women. This violence is neither natural nor inevitable, but, rather, is rooted in the historical and contemporary materiality and ideology of capitalism and settler colonialism.

Certainly, incidents of embodied violence against women cannot be reduced to the socio-economic structures that surround them, nor conflated with them. Neither, however, should they be treated as individual acts separate from structural exploitation or oppression. As such, I develop a framework that draws from both theory and grounded analysis, while avoiding a purely abstract or particularistic perspective.[5] While I take up violence broadly, I make a conceptual distinction between structural and embodied violence. This approach is informed primarily by anti-racist and decolonizing feminists (Davis 1981, hooks 1984, Crenshaw 1991, McClintock 1995, Mama 1997, Bannerji 2000, Arat-Koc 2001, Razack 2002, Smith 2005, Hill-Collins 2006, Kuokkanen 2011), and by materialist feminists (most notably, Mies 1986, Federici

[5] By "particularistic", I am referring to two trends, the second much more pernicious than the other. The first focuses on specific factors as causative of violence – like alcohol consumption – without remaining attentive to broader contexts of exploitation and oppression. The second is the tendency, adopted by the Canadian State since the early 1990s, to adopt an individualized punitive approach to violence against women oriented around the notion of the "bad apple" perpetrator (Morrow et al. 2004, Todd and Lundy 2006, Collier 2008, Francis 2011). This approach understands violence against women as an aberration, outside of mainstream cultures, institutions and structures of production.

2004), who have worked through the ways in which racialized, gendered, colonial, and capitalist structures violently play out upon people's bodies.

Distinguishing between structural and embodied violence is an analytical strategy for studying processes and experiences that are, in practice, intertwined, and often inextricable. Indeed, in my analysis of violence against northern Indigenous women, I demonstrate the ways in which violence can be, at once, embodied and structural. Grounded in theorizations of colonialism and racialization *as* violence (Fanon 1963, Goldberg 1993), and recognizing that Indigeneity as a subjectivity in Canada emerged through the violence of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006), I aim to attend to the ways in which the structures of racism in the settler colonial context are violent in and of themselves, and also shape embodied experiences of violence. The impact of the diamond mines on the land further illustrates the way in which structural and embodied violence, while analytically distinguishable, are often intertwined in practice. The physical impact of the diamond mines is structurally violent to the land, and to aspects of the intergenerational social reproduction of Indigenous communities. At the same time, the erosion of subsistence practices, as a result of extraction, diminishes physical and emotional health in northern Indigenous communities, thereby directly impacting people's bodies.

However, I distinguish between the structural and the embodied *analytically* as this distinction invites a specificity and a relationality that honours the resistance and agency of women who experience violence. That is, when violence is not "everything", one can ascertain how violence manifests differently on different bodies: a historical, social, and material specificity that is necessary for a decolonizing approach to gender violence. Furthermore, one can conceptualize violence dialectically, as processes, structures, and acts that not only shape, but also are shaped by the actors they target. Indeed, while there is a violence to the restructuring

of social relations in the Yellowknife region in reaction to the FIFO diamond-mining regime, this violence is incomplete and resisted, met with acts of creation, care and connection.

II. Theory, Methodology, and Method

In what follows, I outline the theory, methodology, and methods that guided the exploration of the questions identified above.

a) Theoretical Framework

In developing the theoretical framework used to analyze the social relations operating in the Yellowknife mixed economy, I drew on a decolonizing FPE approach. FPE finds its roots in feminist historical materialism. Iris Young (1980) states that feminist historical materialism must be materialist in that it:

> considers phenomena of "consciousness"…as rooted in social relationships; it must be Marxist in that it 'takes the laboring activity, and the relations arising from laboring activity, broadly defined, as a crucial determinant of social phenomena' and it must be historical in that it can both 'articulate and appreciate the vast differences in the situation, structure, and experience of gender relations in different times and places', but can also 'be utilized to analyze vastly different social structures (185-186).

Like Young, Leah Vosko (2002) emphasizes that FPE must be historical, noting that a number of grounded case studies – following Jane Jenson (1986) – moved FPE toward analyses at the level of social formation. Jenson contends that, while gender subordination exists in *all* historical and contemporary capitalist formations, the specific structure of the relationship between patriarchy, capitalism, and social reproduction must not be assumed. Instead, a historicized, material, and, I would argue, dialectical account of the interests of the state, the mostly corresponding interests of capital,[6] and the organization and resistance of social movements is required to explore social

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[6] Though it is not explicit, Jenson seems to be relying on a notion of the state similar to the one put forward by Rianne Mahon (1977), wherein the state institutionalizes a political compromise between capital and labour that consistently, and deeply, favours capital. This "compromise" is taken up rhetorically as the "national interest".

reproduction in a given place and time. Thus, I situate this analysis at the level of social formation, wherein capitalist production, social reproduction, and subsistence are performed through racialized and gendered subjectivities. By social formation, I mean the particular social relations of a given space and time, knowable through the dialectics of materiality and ideology that produce and reproduce gendered and racialized social locations within the mixed economy.

To analyze the contemporary shifting relations between departments of production under the FIFO diamond-mining regime in the Yellowknife region, I draw upon Wally Seccombe's (1992) expanded conception of production, an analytic framework that approaches value-producing labour (capitalist, or productive, labour) at the same level of analysis as social reproduction. By social reproduction, here, as elsewhere, I am referring to 'the processes involved in maintaining and reproducing people, specifically the labouring population, and their labour power on a daily and generational basis' (Bezanson and Luxton 2006: 3). FPE, anti-racist, and critical theorists have long advocated for and contributed to theories that integrate social reproduction into the "political" and the "economic". I argue that, for a fulsome decolonizing approach to social relations in the region of study, subsistence must also be included as an element of the mode of production. I draw upon Indigenous and feminist theories of subsistence (Nahanni 1977, Abele and Stasiulis 1989, Adams 1995, Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen 1999, Kuokkanen 2008, Coulthard 2010, Kuokkanen 2011), and critical empirical studies of subsistence in the circumpolar north (Asch 1977, Watkins 1977, Usher et al. 2003, Abele 2009a, Harnum et al. 2014) in developing subsistence as a department of production. By introducing subsistence as a department of production at the same of level of analysis as social reproduction and capitalist production, political economic analysis is unhinged from the axis of capitalist production, making visible the *ongoing* shifts in power relations between departments of

production. Indeed, the historical analysis herein demonstrates that, in the traditional economy, social reproduction and subsistence are indistinguishable in that both are forms of labour directed toward the social needs of the community. Social reproduction *becomes* distinct from subsistence through Canadian State activities that, on the one hand, racialize and marginalize subsistence, and, on the other, feminize and restructure social reproduction toward a Western capitalist model. Thus, contemporaneously, social reproduction sits as a site of tension between subsistence and capitalist production. It is through this analytical lens that we are able to understand the material impetus behind the Canadian State's interventions into Indigenous women's activities related to social reproduction in the Yellowknife region.

In expanding the conception of production, I seek to both enlarge what is understood to be production, and expand what counts as "social relations" to the subjective, the cultural, and the ideological. Vosko (2002, 2010) notes that a contemporary FPE must take an integrated approach, accounting for the racialized nature of divisions of labour nationally and internationally. In this dissertation, I approach gender and race at the same level of analysis as class (Vosko 2002, Ferguson 2008), examining relations of production through Himani Bannerji's (2005) theorization of capital as practice – a particular, rather than universal, process that is inextricably embedded in gendered and racialized structures. Bannerji writes:

> Capital is always a practice, a determinate set of social relations and a cultural one at that. Thus, "race", gender, and patriarchy are inseparable from class, as any social organization rests on inter-subjective relations of bodies and minds marked with socially constructed difference on the terrain of private property and capital (149).

With the understanding that different aspects of subjectivity are co-constitutive, this study focuses on gender relations in the context of the racialized mixed economy. I first discuss my approach to gender relations, and next my approach to processes of racialization, Indigeneity, and settler colonialism.

I use the term "gender relations" to inform my subject, in line with Joan Scott's (1986) suggestion that, by using the term, "gender", one expresses,

> [T]hat information about women is necessarily information about men…This usage insists that the world of women is part of the world of men, created in and by it. This usage rejects the interpretive utility of the idea of separate spheres, maintaining that to study women in isolation perpetuates the fiction that one sphere, the experience of one sex, has little or nothing to do with the other (1056).

By articulating my subject in terms of gender relations rather than a static notion of gendered or sexed categories, I aim to highlight the dynamic and relational way in which gender relations are constructed. Here, again, drawing on Scott, I approach gender as 'a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated' (1986: 1069).[7] Scott's politicized and denaturalized conception of gender relations helps to illuminate the gendered shifts in social relations in the mixed economy. For example, in analyzing gender relations within subsistence production in the mixed economy, I draw upon Scott's insights to emphasize the ways in which gender roles in subsistence have shifted over the years as a result of both Canadian State policies and social disruption caused by resource extraction. Notably, I contrast the individualized, masculinized approach to subsistence taken up by the FIFO diamond-mining regime with interdependent gendered relations of subsistence common to the mixed economy.

Like gender, I approach Indigeneity relationally, as a racialized subjectivity and place-based identity (Coulthard 2010) that is 'shaped and lived in the politicized context of contemporary colonialism' and as something that is dynamic rather than fixed and ascribed (Alfred and Corntassel 2005). To approach Indigeneity as a static identifier would be to reproduce the colonial identity politics associated with the term, "Aboriginal", that depoliticizes, excludes, and makes anachronistic (McClintock 1995) what should be a living, relational concept

[7] To put it another way, I am interested in the particular materialities of women's experiences in and around Yellowknife. I do not approach the category of "woman" as *a priori,* fixed or separate from the category, "man".

(Alfred and Corntassel 2005). As described in the methods section below, I interviewed both non-Indigenous and Indigenous women, as a means of approaching racialized subjectivities relationally, rather than in isolation. Including non-Indigenous women in the interview groups, who, themselves, were differently racialized and located in the mixed economy, enabled an analysis of the ways in which settler colonial racial hierarchies were grafted upon experiences of the FIFO diamond-mining regime. Indeed, the continuities and discontinuities between research participants' narratives offered telling insights into the ways in which both racialization and gender structure experiences with, and locations within, the regional mixed economy.

Indigeneity in the Canadian context is a racialized category formed through the social relations of settler colonialism. Like other racialized categories in Canada, Indigenous people are racialized in opposition to a white "norm". However, as Stuart Hall (1986) and David Theo Goldberg (1993) remind us, there is no general racialization or, related, racism; rather, one must look to the histories and materialities that beget particular subject formations. In the context of Canada, and the area around Yellowknife, while racialized minorities are robbed of their Indigeneity (Thobani 2007) – that is, their relationship to specific places – Dene, Métis and Inuit people are defined by theirs. As Patrick Wolfe puts it, 'so far as Indigenous people are concerned, where they are is who they are and not only by their own reckoning' (2006: 388). Here Wolfe is pointing to the territorial challenge Indigenous people pose to settler colonialism: conceptualized in this way, by their very existence, Indigenous people are a danger to settler state sovereignty. Wolfe concludes that this challenge is the impetus for a logic of elimination inherent to the racialization of Indigenous peoples. I weave an analysis of the structural and embodied violence of the settler colonial racialization of Indigenous people in the chapters that follow, arguing that this racial logic, and its shifting iterations over time, has shaped the uneven

incorporation of Indigenous people into capitalist production in the mixed economy, as well as Canadian State activities targeting the social reproduction of Indigenous communities.

At the same time, Indigeneity is not only an identity ascribed by the Canadian State. While the broad grouping of Indigenous people (or Aboriginal or First Peoples) has emerged as a result of settler colonialism in Canada, Indigenous identity has also been taken up to denote shared concerns, shared colonial histories, and shared values (Kino-nda-niimi Collective 2014). In this dissertation, when speaking about specific histories, or particular groups or people, I use the terms, Dene, Métis or Inuit, as these three groups are represented in the area around Yellowknife, and research participants self-identified as being a part of one or more of these groups. When I speak about *general* experiences in relation to the diamond mines shared in the region, I use the term Indigenous people, acknowledging the distinct histories and relations of Dene, Métis and Inuit people.

It is also worth clarifying that writings on colonialism and autonomy in the north include two distinct, though interrelated, approaches to these terms: for some, the NWT and their populations (both non-Indigenous and Indigenous) are internal colonies to Canada, and devolution of powers to the territorial government represents a move to northern autonomy.[8] For most Indigenous communities, however, the Government of the NWT (GNWT) represents another settler administration, and the struggle is for *Indigenous* self-determination, regardless of what level of government this power is wrested from. In this dissertation, I am speaking about colonialism – and, specifically, settler colonialism – in line with the second understanding. I am concerned with the colonial continuities of the diamond-mining regime; that is, the ways in which the diamond-mining regime represents a state-sanctioned imposition of capitalist

[8] For an articulation of the north as a colony, see, for example, Kenneth Coates (1985). This is not to say that Coates is unaware of Indigenous issues; this is not the case. Instead, I am referring specifically to the way that he characterizes northern autonomy.

accumulation that impedes the social relations of Indigenous people. I do not use the term colonialism to deny agency of Indigenous people,[9] nor to obscure the ways in which Indigenous people and northern settlers have worked together in building local social, economic, and political structures (Southcott ed. 2015), or the ways in which Indigenous people have participated in the political and economic architecture of the diamond-mining regime. Rather, I use settler colonialism as a concept to emphasize the struggle against the totalizing impulses of capital and the Canadian State in the regional mixed economy, and the structural and embodied violence of this struggle. Settler colonialism is a form of colonialism wherein settlers claim autonomy and sovereignty over a specific space, and, as noted by Lorenzo Veracini (2010), claim a regenerative capacity and right. I conceptualize this "regenerative" impulse as the social reproduction of social relations informed by Western capitalist materiality and ideology, which, in the region of study, interact dialectically with the reproduction of Indigenous social relations. In this way, I approach the mixed economy not as a fixed set of social relations, but as a dynamic site of struggle that is made possible through day-to-day and intergenerational social reproduction oriented towards subsistence.

b) Methodologies

The methodologies adopted in this dissertation are guided theoretically by anti-racist, decolonizing, and feminist methodologies (Smith 1999, Dei 2005, Tuck and Yang 2012), and by regional norms established through community activists, researchers, and practitioners (Watkins 1977, Nahanni 1992, Gibson 2008, Irlbacher-Fox 2009, Harnum et al. 2014). I came to this research through two years of employment with The Native Women's Association of the NWT and with community organizations doing frontline anti-violence work and applied research on

[9] A concern aptly raised by Abele and Stasiulis (1989).

violence against women in and around Yellowknife. My experiences working with these community organizations, and learning from friends, co-workers, and the communities with which I engaged led me to this research project. Conversations with community mentors and observations of community norms helped shape the research questions, methodologies, and methods used in this dissertation.

I engage in this research as a white settler living in southern Canada with Irish, English, Scottish, and Swedish ancestry, who lives through the racialized privileges afforded to me by the white settler state, and who aims to be an ally in decolonizing struggle. Karen Max (2005), writing as a non-Indigenous woman who conducts research with Indigenous people, notes, 'I believe that locating ourselves should be an ongoing reflexive process that requires an openness to critique from others, as well as our own critical reflection of ourselves and our work' (81). Max argues that, 'while it is not appropriate for non-aboriginal people to do research on aboriginal peoples, we can work to become allies in collaborative research projects' (79). The move from research *on* to research *with* is a crucial decolonizing orientation, and has informed the approach of this study. As an "outsider", I am cognizant of the mistakes I have made and will make, and I am committed to an ongoing and open reflexivity. While I focus on Indigenous women's labour as it has shifted as a result of the diamond mines, and their violent experiences associated with these shifts, I do not attempt to define what it means to be a northern Indigenous woman, or how Indigeneity is experienced. Rather, my aim is to bring research participants' contributions in conversation with FPE, decolonizing, and anti-racist theory as a means of developing *one* avenue toward understanding the ongoing ruptures in social relations in the mixed economy, and the relationships between interpersonal experiences of embodied violence and the violence of structural shifts for the pursuit of capital accumulation in the Yellowknife

region. In this way, through this research, I endeavour to contribute to exposing and challenging the power relations of which we are all a part.

In delineating the questions, subjects, and modes of inquiry that shape this study, I am informed by feminist epistemologies and methodologies that 'generate their problematics from the perspective of women's experiences' (Harding 1987: 30).[10] Contesting the Cartesian dualism that dis-embodies political subjects (McNally 2001), this research draws upon feminist and anti-racist methodologies that take an embodied approach to analysis. An embodied approach recognizes that the imagined "disembodied" political subject is predicated on a violent colonial, racialized, and gendered dichotomy of the rational vs. the – embodied – irrational (Fanon 1963). Thus, I take Fonow and Cook's (2005) recommendation that the body be studied not as 'an object of inquiry', but rather as 'a social category of analysis'. I approach the body as a political agent: not simply a site upon which socio-political processes play out, but, rather, a contested – and contesting – site of agency.

This study was also shaped through my commitment to social justice, a commitment that acknowledges the power relations through which academic research is enacted, is responsive and respectful to the community with which it engages, and aims to challenge inequality and injustice. The social justice orientation of this dissertation operates at the community-level, through a commitment to engaging with, and articulating issues of, inequality and exploitation with the aim of building community capacity, rather than simply extracting community knowledge. Methodologically, this means acknowledging that research is not neutral (Autonomous Geographers 2010: 265). As Doucet (2008) writes, it is not enough to reflect on

[10] Indeed, As Mary Hawkesworth (2006) notes, feminist theory and methodology are not discrete. In asking what is distinct about feminist methodologies, Hawkesworth writes, 'In contrast to discussions of feminist "methods", which focus on particular tools to collect and analyze specific kinds of data, debates about feminist methodology encompass questions about theories of knowledge, strategies of inquiry and standards of evidence appropriate to the production of feminist knowledge' (2006: 6).

one's own subject position in relation to research, or to confess away responsibility or privilege; rather, one must think through the political motivations guiding the research (75). I therefore developed research questions in conversation with The Native Women's Association of the NWT and community activists about what would be deemed useful and generative by the community. I also designed research methods in consultation with participants, and encouraged a two-way stream of knowledge sharing, discussed in the following section.

c) Methods

In methods, my methodological commitment to community-informed social justice translated into a flexibility in the design and implementation of interviews, talking circles, and focus groups to make space for reflexivity and responsiveness. I designed and organized interviews collaboratively, and conducted interviews in a semi-structured way in order to give research participants the space to speak of their experiences in the way that they wished. I made interview transcripts available to participants, so that they could retain a copy for their own records, and to give them an opportunity to amend or omit anything that they had shared in the interview. I also committed to reporting back on research findings to individual participants and to community organizations. I developed interviews, talking circles, and focus group schedules with the aim of maximizing participant safety, comfort, and learning, and drew upon feminist and anti-racist analytical tools that emphasize that neither the act of data collection nor the interpretation of data are neutral processes (Kirby and McKenna 1989: 23).

Informed by both the theoretical imperative to approach subsistence, social reproduction, and capitalist production at the same level of analysis, and the methodological imperative to elevate the ethnographic authority of the research participants, I undertook a mixed methods approach to data collection, combining historical analysis, documentary analysis, interviews,

talking circles, and a focus group. While historical and contemporary documents provided data on the gold and diamond-mining regimes, the policy apparatuses that surround them, and general socio-economic trends in the NWT, interviews, talking circles, and the focus group surfaced information about – often invisibilized – activities oriented towards subsistence and social reproduction performed by Indigenous women in the area around Yellowknife. The research participant sample, due to its size, does not lend itself to generalizable conclusions, and thus, operates at a different level of analysis than territorial data. Rather, in providing a snapshot of forms of labour that often slip through the cracks of traditional labour surveys, the interviews, talking circles, and focus group offer insight into the gendered gaps in many analyses of the mixed economy. They are best approached as grounded sources of insight that enliven and complicate the FPE analysis in this dissertation, and, at times, exemplify both the links between structural and embodied violence, and acts of decolonizing resistance.

I conducted fieldwork in the Yellowknife region (interviews, talking circles, the focus group and document collection) from June 1 to August 30, 2014. In planning the fieldwork, I reached out to The Native Women's Association of the NWT, asking whether and how they wanted to be involved in the research. They were interested in the research, and its potential implications for community organizing, and offered to house the project. We reached a reciprocal arrangement, wherein I was given office space and access to their resources, and, in exchange, helped with office activities over the three-month period.[11] The Native Women's Association of the NWT staff provided invaluable support and expertise to this dissertation: they offered ongoing advice and insight as the fieldwork proceeded; they contacted their community networks to help recruit research participants; and they helped to organize, design, and facilitate

[11] This included helping to organize an outreach event on missing and murdered Indigenous women, helping to organize an outreach event on residential schools, and assisting in report writing.

talking circles. Perhaps more than anything, the ongoing informal exchanges in the office as we discussed the research brought a rich reflexivity to the project that informed the evolving research design, and analysis of the data.

I conducted thirty-three open-ended interviews, two talking circles and one focus groups, with a total of fifty-eight research participants. For the open-ended interviews, I identified four participant groups. These groups were adult women living in Behchoko, Ndilo, Dettah or Yellowknife who self-identified as having a direct relationship to the diamond mines (Target: 15-20 participants; Actual: 20 participants), community workers (Target: 6-8; Actual: 8), diamond industry management (Target: 2-4; Actual: 2); and territorial government employees working in social and economic policy (Target: 6-8 interviews; Actual: 4).[12] Six interviews were held in Behchoko, with the remainder of the interviews taking place in Yellowknife. I developed separate interview schedules for each of these interview groups.

I approached the first group, women who self-identified as having a direct relationship to the diamond mines, and the majority of whom were Indigenous, as "primary informants". I defined "direct relationship" in the following ways: (1) women who have worked in the diamond mines; (2) women who have participated in a diamond-industry training program; (3) women who have a family member who has worked in the diamond mines; and, (4) women who self-identify as having a direct relationship with the diamond mines.[13] The interview schedule for the first group consisted of open-ended questions. Because the interview schedule included questions on violence, I drew on question design methods that honour resistance to violence developed by Allan Wade, Cathy Richardson and Nick Todd (2003), thereby eliciting 'a shift from the victim

[12] In implementing fieldwork, I adjusted this target. Because of the participation of government workers in focus groups, and my access to government policy documents, I determined that I had collected the data required for analysis.

[13] I opened my definition to include those who self-identify as having a 'direct relationship' with the diamond to avoid privileging Western, hetero-normative understandings of the family, community or romantic relationships.

as an "affected object" with internal deficits that leads to the violence or mistreatment, to the victim as a "responding agent" with internal capacities that enable resistance to such mistreatment' (116).[14]

The second group consisted of community workers, with a focus on anti-violence community workers. I developed both an interview schedule and a focus group schedule for this group, and some people participated in both. The focus group was designed as a two-hour guided group discussion about the community development and anti-violence landscape in Yellowknife. I developed a list of potential participants early in the research design process, and approached these groups to ascertain interest. The focus group and interviews were each valuable sources of information in distinct ways. While the interviews provided the confidentiality and time for in-depth discussion, the focus group offered the opportunity for knowledge creation and transmission through group interaction.[15]

Because a focus of this dissertation is the diamond mines' and the Canadian State's roles in restructuring production in the regional mixed economy, the third and fourth target groups were diamond industry management and government personnel in positions related to diamond mining, respectively. The purpose of these interviews was to discuss company and government approaches to community impact, gender, and Indigeneity in relation to diamond mining. Interviews with diamond industry personnel, in particular, focused on the two primary novel

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[14] Wade et al. (2003) use the term, "victim", in their discussions of interview methods. This is because they are discussing interviews with people who have experienced violence; and because they subscribe to the notion that "victimhood" simply refers to someone's experience of violence and does not denote an identity and certainly not a weakness. This term, however, is not appropriate for my own research because my subject is women with relationships to the diamond mine, not women who have experienced violence. Thus, here, I use the term 'victim' only to replicate Wade et al.'s terminology.

[15] Here I am drawing on Kitzinger's (1994) articulation of group interaction as data. In describing a research project on media messages related to AIDS, she writes, 'We chose to work with pre-existing groups – clusters of people who already knew each other through living, working or socializing together…The fact that research participants already knew each other had the additional advantage that friends and colleagues could relate each other's comments to actual incidents in their shared daily lives. They often challenged each other on contradictions between what they were professing to believe and how they actually behaved' (105).

characteristics of the diamond-mining regime outlined above: that is, the FIFO model, and the regime's approach to Indigeneity. In developing the interview schedule for these groups, I drew on methods of interviewing elites/government officials (Devault and McCoy 2001, Leech 2002, Morris 2009, Rice 2010).

In conducting interviews, it was clear from the outset that many of the research participants fit into more than one target research group; for example, some community workers also self-identified as women impacted by the mines, and some research participants' professional lives had included a combination of government work, work in diamond management, and/or community work. The numbers of research participants in each category, listed above, reflect only the primary identity around which most responses centred and do not articulate the multiple identities through which research participants engaged with the interviews.

Interviews and the focus group were complemented by talking circles that were both a data collection and community engagement tool. The talking circles elicited a much higher participation rate than anticipated. The implementation of the talking circles represents the most significant shift in methods that occurred over the course of the fieldwork. Prior to arriving in Yellowknife, I planned to conduct focus groups solely with community workers, as I was concerned that focus groups with women who had been impacted by the diamond mines may involve sensitive matters that participants would wish to remain confidential, or put research participants in uncomfortable positions. However, staff at The Native Women's Association of the NWT and other participating community groups highlighted the potential for community learning and development that could flow from hosting a talking circle. The talking circle is an Indigenous tool for bringing community members of all ages together for shared learning and listening (Wolf and Rickard 2003). The Native Women's Association of the NWT has a history

of using talking circles as a way of discussing important and difficult community issues, most commonly, issues related to residential school. It was suggested that community members would feel more comfortable, and that discussion might be richer, if research was conducted through this method. As such, I coordinated two community talking circles; more than a focus group, these events were spaces for community members (mostly women, but also some men) to come together to share their experiences of the diamond mines. The Native Women's Association of the NWT staff and I cooked lunch for talking circle participants with the aim of creating a warm and inclusive atmosphere. Because talking circles are led according to Indigenous tradition and by a community leader, it was agreed that it would be appropriate for the talking circles to be led by Della Green, according to her traditions. Della is from Namgis First Nation, Alert Bay, and worked as the Victim Services Coordinator at The Native Women's Association of the NWT at the time. Rather than verbally contributing to facilitation, I developed questions that were displayed on poster board for the talking circle. In talking circle tradition, participants are not called upon, but rather are given time to reflect and contribute when, and if, they desire. Displaying the research questions on poster board, rather than orally posing the questions consecutively, allowed the participants to respond to one another freely while personally reflecting upon the questions, and voicing their reflections at the time of their choosing.

This experience was an example of the ways in which traditional practices are adapted for new purposes.[16] The community talking circles proved to be highly effective, sometimes in unanticipated ways; the dialogue between participants led to rich insights and learning, as people were able to build off of one another's reflections. Furthermore, research participants shared tactics for managing hardships they had experienced, and discussed community-building

[16] It is worth noting that, as a settler and researcher, it would not have been appropriate for me to initiate talking circles as a research method.

strategies to move beyond a socio-economy focused on extraction. Many participants expressed satisfaction and feelings of solidarity in learning about one another's stories.

Approximately 15-20 people attended the first talking circle, with 10 people speaking, while 10-15 people attended the second talking circle, with 8 people speaking.[17] Because some of the participants in the talking circle were also community workers, only one focus group was arranged solely for community workers. 10 people participated in the focus group. Between interviews, talking circles and the one focus group, I determined that I had reached saturation in this method of data collection.

While interviews, talking circles, and the focus group provided concrete examples of the shifting social relations of subsistence, social reproduction, and capitalist production, I conducted documentary analysis to develop an understanding of the political and economic context of these social processes. In Yellowknife, I collected print material from the GNWT, the NWT Federation of Labour, the NWT & Nunavut Chamber of Mines, Status of Women Council of the NWT, and community researchers. I also accessed documents online through federal and territorial websites, industry websites, and an online industry archive (NWT and Nunavut Chamber of Mines). These materials included policy, planning, and monitoring and evaluation documents (GNWT, NWT Federation of Labour, NWT & Nunavut Chamber of Mines, Status of Women Council of the NWT); labour force data (GNWT, NWT Federation of Labour; NWT& Nunavut Chamber of Mines); and, socio-economic data (GNWT, NWT & Nunavut Chamber of Mines). They provided multi-scalar insight into the history of the subsistence economy, the territorial economy, the diamond industry, the move to a FIFO model, the diamond industry's

[17] The reason why the number of attendees is approximate is that, because the talking circle was open to the community, some came late or left early, some people came and chose not to speak, while others chose to speak, but did not submit a consent form. Only those attendees who submitted completed consent forms are quoted.

role in the national and territorial economy, and, regional strategies for employment and development.

The knowledge gained through documents, interviews, talking circles, and the focus group inform the analysis of the diamond mines conducted in chapters three, four and five. Chapter two and, to some extent, chapter three also rely on historical material in order to develop the analysis of shifts in departments of production through the mixed economy. In particular, chapter two makes an FPE intervention in Canadian Political Economy (CPE) historical analysis of northern development by combining an analysis of Canadian State social policy targeting social reproduction activities performed by Indigenous women with literature and primary data on Indigenous subsistence. In this way, the relationship between departments of production is made evident, and social reproduction emerges as a site of tension between subsistence and capitalist production. The historical analysis of shifting social relations in the mixed economy sets the stage for an analysis of the continuities and ruptures in social reproduction under the contemporary diamond-mining regime. In what follows, I map these arguments as they are structured through the dissertation chapters.

IV. Chapter Overview

Throughout this dissertation, I approach the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife as a dynamic set of social relations that is reproduced through de/colonizing struggles. I argue that the FIFO diamond-mining regime is a new imposition upon the daily and intergenerational social reproduction performed by Indigenous women, an imposition that is sometimes violent, and that is met with resistance. Divided into five chapters, the first two chapters establish the theoretical and historical grounding for this argument, providing the context for the subsequent three chapters, which take up the field research data to analyze the shifting social relations in the area

around Yellowknife through the development of the FIFO diamond mines. The focus of chapter three is capitalist production, whereas that of chapter four is day-to-day social reproduction, and the focus of chapter five is intergenerational community social reproduction. An analysis of structural and embodied violence is woven throughout all chapters, beginning with a theoretical grounding in chapter one and a historical analysis of structural and embodied violence in the northern mixed economy in chapter two. In chapters three – five, I demonstrate the structural and embodied violence of the restructuring of the three departments of production in the mixed economy as a result of the FIFO diamond-mining regime. The conclusion draws together these analytical threads to offer a more systematic discussion of the restructuring of departments of production, and the relationship between restructuring social relations and violence against Indigenous women in the Yellowknife region. In what remains, I outline in greater depth the contributions of each chapter.

In *Chapter One: A Decolonizing, FPE Approach to Production,* I begin by introducing my approach to the examination of violence. I outline theoretical quandaries in an FPE approach to violence, and suggest distinguishing between structural and embodied violence as dialectical categories of analysis. Next, I develop a decolonizing, feminist expanded conception of production. The analysis draws upon Marxist categories of production, but critiques these same categories for their exclusion and naturalization of social reproduction and subsistence. I suggest that Seccombe's (1992) expanded conception of production is a useful framework because it approaches social reproduction as a separate department of production that is at the same level of analysis as capital production. I note, however, that Seccombe, like many FPE theorists, does not include an analysis of subsistence production. I argue that analyses of the social relations in the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife – and shifts in these relations – must incorporate

both social reproduction *and* subsistence production. In so doing, I elevate social reproduction as a site of de/colonizing tension. I suggest that in expanding analyses of production to include social reproduction and subsistence, social reproduction emerges as a locus of struggle between the reproduction of labour processes and ideologies oriented towards subsistence and those oriented towards the demands of capital. In the shifting relations between these departments of production, the gendered and racialized colonial violence of reorganizing for the pursuit of capital accumulation becomes evident.

In *Chapter Two: A Decolonizing, FPE Approach to Yellowknife's Development,* I take up the categories outlined in chapter one and engage them in an analysis of the development of the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife from the mid-twentieth century to today. By taking an FPE approach, I emphasize the gendered and racialized (and, arguably, violent) nature of the shifts in departments of production through the recent history of the mixed economy. These shifts have occurred in part because of the gold mines established in Yellowknife, but more so as a result of the activist role the Canadian State has taken in restructuring northern Indigenous social reproduction. I argue that in the Dene's traditional and early mixed economy in the area around Yellowknife, subsistence production and social reproduction were one and the same. Largely through Canadian State activities, social reproduction was feminized and isolated from subsistence, which was, for its part, racialized and restructured. While the Canadian State played an activist role in restructuring Dene people's social reproduction toward the demands of capital, this restructuring was not matched with sustained efforts to integrate them into capitalist production (that is, until the establishment of the diamond mines). By analyzing these processes through an expanded conception of production, it becomes clear that Dene social reproduction was targeted as a site of struggle between subsistence and capitalist production, and that

contemporary feminized responsibility for social reproduction (to the extent to which it has been internalized) is the result of a relatively recent rupture in social relations in the area around Yellowknife.

In *Chapter Three: Time, Space and the Diamond-Mining FIFO Extractive Regime,* I explore the extent to which diamond mining represents a "new extractivism" by looking at the diamond-mining regime as a particular manifestation of the FIFO model shaped by local Indigenous movements and the resulting multi-scalar local governance regimes. I compare the diamond-mining regime with the gold mines that dominated Yellowknife's political economy for most of the twentieth century, and abruptly shut down just a few years before diamond mining began. I argue that the FIFO diamond-mining regime, while, in some ways, in continuity with the history of extraction in the region, represents a new – and distinctly gendered and racialized – approach to production because of its focus on variable capital, and in its spatial articulation of capital's separation of social reproduction from capitalist production.

The FIFO diamond-mining regime also represents a new approach to Indigeneity, articulated through its institutional arrangements; in particular, Socio-Economic Agreements (SEAs) between the GNWT and Impact Benefit Agreements (IBAs) between Indigenous communities and the diamond-mining companies. While SEAs and IBAs are positioned as a means of resolving the tensions between extractive production and local Indigenous communities, I argue that the individualized, masculinized approach to Indigeneity expressed in these agreements – a reflection of the diamond-mining regime's general approach to Indigeneity – obscures the impact of FIFO on the social relations of subsistence and social reproduction. I combine an analysis of the diamond-mining operational structures with an analysis of research participants' experiences of working at the diamond mines, as a way of illustrating the,

sometimes violent, gendered and racialized hierarchies of labour that straddle sites of extraction and sites of "home" as they have been restructured through the FIFO diamond-mining regime.

In *Chapter Four: Social Reproduction and the Diamond Mining Regime*, I argue that the FIFO, masculinist approach to capitalist production pursued by the diamond-mining regime has resulted in a reorganizing of social reproduction performed by Indigenous women. Drawing on the history of social reproduction discussed in chapter two, this chapter suggests that the contemporary reorganization of social reproduction performed by Indigenous women as a result of the diamond mines was made possible, in part, by recent racialized interventions by the Canadian State into Indigenous homes. These interventions separated social reproduction from subsistence and aimed to restructure education and household formation according to Western models, thereby rupturing the intergenerational social reproduction of Indigenous social relations.

Next, drawing on research participants' contributions, I outline two manifestations of the reorganization of relations of social reproduction for the pursuit of capital accumulation in the form of FIFO diamond mining. I identify a (once again, contested and uneven) reorientation of social reproduction toward the demands of capital and away from subsistence. This reorientation is accompanied by a restructuring of social reproduction through the spatial articulation, in the form of FIFO extraction, of the ideological divide between social reproduction and capitalist production. In the context of the regional mixed economy, a central result of this restructuring has been to "make nuclear" social reproduction: that is, to intensify and localize household-level social reproduction at the expense of the inter-household linkages that support the reproduction of community social relations.

I turn to community-level intergenerational social reproduction in *Chapter Five: Diamonds, Subsistence and Resistance*. I explore the relationship between the FIFO diamond-mining regime and subsistence production, examining the impact the extractive regime has had on social relations oriented towards subsistence. I argue that, while FIFO structures manage the tension between the demands for mobility by contemporary capital with the material fixity of resource extraction, the greater time/place tension at play in the mixed economy is between the capitalist imperative to annex space with time and the place-based social relations of subsistence. I explore the reorientation, or increased orientation, of Indigenous women's labour towards the demands of capital as a result of the imperatives of the diamond-mining FIFO extractive regime, tracing restructuring and resistance along three lines of inquiry: sharing, community and kin; subsistence and education; and, the land and the body. I contend that this reorientation is violent on both structural and embodied levels; however, it is also a shift that is incomplete, contested and shaped through resistance. Indeed, the day-to-day labours that socially reproduce and strengthen a subsistence orientation in the face of the totalizing impulses of capital and the Canadian State exemplify the ways in which the constrained – and sometimes messy – choices made at the level of social reproduction shape the social relations that make up a given regional political economy, and, in the context of this case study, reproduce the regional mixed economy.

A theme running through chapters four and five, as with the rest of the dissertation, concerns the relationship between the restructuring of northern Indigenous women's labours and structural and embodied violence. In the *Conclusion*, I take up this relationship, asking what of this analysis might be applicable more broadly. I suggest that the FIFO model encourages an intensified hierarchical ordering of masculinized capitalist production over feminized social reproduction. This restructuring is tied to the exploitation of land, which manifests itself as a

racialized structural and embodied violence. Indeed, while I suggest that distinguishing between structural and embodied violence, as relational categories, encourages a theory of violence that is dynamic, yet specific and non-totalizing, I reassert here that the structural and the embodied are analytical categories only. Experiences of violence by Indigenous women in Canada demonstrate that the structural and the embodied are not discrete and are often experienced simultaneously. In using this chapter to engage the research of this dissertation in broader conversations about violence against Indigenous women in Canada, and the gender and racial violence of extraction, my hope is to reveal the insights and the challenges associated with this study, looking ahead to potential future avenues of inquiry, collaboration and social change.

Chapter One: A Decolonizing FPE Expanded Conception of Production

'We need to value young women in the same way that we value diamonds. They're not disposable. And yet we're still treating them [that way]. And I felt this as a young person: a resource, but not a separate agent' (Interview 104: 2014).

Introduction

In this chapter, I develop a framework for theorizing the shifts in gender relations in the racialized mixed economy in and around Yellowknife as a result of the diamond mines, and the structural and embodied violence interwoven into these processes. Drawing upon this framework in the chapters that follow, I seek to demonstrate that it is in the relations between and within departments of production – that is, social reproduction, subsistence, and capitalist production – that one can trace the racialized gender violence of reorganizing labour power in the pursuit of capital accumulation, a colonial violence met with decolonizing resistance.

In the first section, I outline my conceptual approach to violence in order to analyze violence against Indigenous women in the Yellowknife region. I develop relational definitions of structural violence and embodied violence, which I use to explore what an analysis of northern diamond mining can reveal about the relationship between the structural violence of restructuring labour power towards the demands of capital and/or the Canadian State and experiences of embodied violence. In so doing, I use the case study pursued in this dissertation as a means of theorizing the violence that has been used throughout the global history of colonialism for the pursuit of private or state-driven accumulation. In section two, I outline an expanded conception of production: expanded insofar as it conceptualizes the economic beyond capitalist production, approaching social reproduction, subsistence, and capitalist production at the same level of analysis. I use this expanded conception of production to guide my analysis at the level of social formation. To ground my study at this level of analysis, in section three, I introduce Bannerji's

(2005) concept of "capital as practice" as a way of expanding political economic analysis not simply into different relations of production, but into a meaningful engagement with the racialized and gendered subjectivities through which these relations are reproduced. I argue that the specificity of northern Indigenous relationships to the land, and settler colonial violence targeted at these relationships, must inform the analysis of the tension between the temporal drive of capitalist accumulation – intensified in the FIFO approach to mining – and the place-based imperatives of subsistence. I further suggest that this tension is both structured and mediated by the past and present role of the Canadian State in shaping social relations in the regional mixed economy. Thus, this section delineates "place" and the Canadian State as foci of analysis of the social relations in the region under study.

I. Theorizing Violence

In arguing that there is a racialized gender violence to the reorganization of labour for the pursuit of capital accumulation, and that, in the region of study, this violence is experienced with a particular intensity by Indigenous women, this dissertation necessarily confronts the question of what counts as violence. Violence is conceptually evasive. Asking what counts as violence leads to a murky terrain where a person whose theoretical concerns are rooted in a commitment to progressive change might be rightfully concerned that, in veering toward the precise, their definition becomes exclusionary. On the other hand, in veering toward the expansive, does the concept risk losing its utility; in other words, if violence is everything, does it cease to be anything?

Sedef Arat-Koc (2001) writes of the tension between the importance of analyzing the connection between violence against women and social inequality, and the concern that 'extreme broadness' in definition – that is, a definition that includes poverty or reproductive technologies,

for example, as violence – lacks epistemological clarity and has the potential to obscure the particular experience of embodied violence, and even pervert feminist strategy by diffusing political attentions. Arat-Koc (2001: 9) is sympathetic to this concern and thus, in her work, she distinguishes between violence – by which she means interpersonal and embodied violence – and structures of oppression and exploitation, while continuously remaining attentive to their relationship, noting:

> [w]e believe that an analysis of connections between abuse and violence and social inequality are essential to understanding not only who is more vulnerable to experience or to be trapped in violent relationships, but also whether and how the state deals with it, whether the person experiencing violence would be believed and protected, or whether their situation would be taken for granted.

Arat-Koc rightly addresses the political and theoretical problem with using the same term – violence – to express, for example, a woman's experience of sexual assault and her more long-term experience of racialization. However, I have chosen to attend to her concern for the analytical potency of the term, "violence", dissolving in this expansiveness by distinguishing between structural violence and embodied violence. I make this decision informed by the anti-racist, decolonizing, and feminist theories of violence that ground this dissertation. Naming the structural as violence acknowledges the interpersonal and intergenerational harm that is perpetuated through colonial material and ideological processes, and inextricably links, and thereby politicizes, specific physical manifestations of embodied violence to these larger processes.

Indeed, the approach to violence taken in this dissertation is rooted in my assumption that colonialism, in all its forms, is violent. Colonialism is a racialized and gendered violence that ranges from overt genocide to what Fanon calls 'peaceful violence' (1963: 63). There are continuities between different forms of colonial violence across space and time: continuities in

racial hierarchies and exclusions (Goldberg 1993:52) grounded in what Sylvia Wynter (1990) calls an ethnohumanism, wherein the normative and moral values associated with humanity are tied to a Eurocentric conceptualization of "reason"; continuities in capitalist imperatives to annex new spaces of, and bodies for, accumulation; and, continuities in the constitution of racialized subjectivities through the movement across borders of displaced bodies and displacing socio-political orders. However, these continuities should not be mistaken for a generic or shared violence across time and space. Jenson (1986) urges us to look to the specificities of the *distinct* ways in which gender relations are produced in different states, and, as Hall (1986) and Goldberg (1993) remind us, there are no generic racisms. Hall writes, 'No doubt there are certain general features to racism. But even more significant are the ways in which these general features are modified and transformed by the historical specificity of the contexts and environments in which they become active' (23). As a settler colonial state, Canada has developed through multiple and shifting violent forms of racism: the racialization of Indigenous people, tied as it is to their relationship to the land that is being settled and the challenge they pose to Canadian State sovereignty, is distinct from minority populations racialized as "migrant", though these processes are intertwined and tied together in the violence of white supremacy.

The particular subject of this dissertation makes the links between structural and embodied violence – and, indeed, the permeability between these categories – all the more prescient, as the structural violence of resource extraction is intertwined with the embodied violence of in-access to healthy, traditional foods, which, in turn, is intertwined with the structural violence against subsistence-oriented northern communities, which contributes to intensified experiences of embodied violence by northern Indigenous women. However, linking embodied violence to structural processes of reorganization and dispossession is far from new.

Many Indigenous scholars and activists make an explicit link between infringements upon the body and infringements upon Indigenous land, belief systems, practices and socio-economies (Maracle 2003, Alfred and Corntassel 2005, Smith 2005, Coulthard 2010, Smith 2012). In her work on sexual violence against Indigenous women in North America, Andrea Smith conceptualizes large-scale processes of appropriation, re-structuring, and degradation (environmental exploitation, for example) as gendered violence. In so doing, she identifies sexual violence as a racist, patriarchal state tool of oppression and exploitation; as a tactic – not simply an effect – of settler colonialism (Smith 2005: 8).

Like Smith (2005, 2012), Kuokkanen (2008),[18] and Audra Simpson (2016) conceptualize colonialism as gender violence, and, indeed, argue that structural processes of colonial oppression and dispossession cannot be divorced from Indigenous women's experiences of violence done to their bodies and lives. As Simpson evocatively argues:

> This specificity of the Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) is of a piece with the diffuse forms of violence that constitute a state: the intentions, the feelings, the capacities of its citizens, who can also, as we saw in the case of Loretta Saunders, [19] and so many more, kill. States do not always have to kill; its citizens can do that for it.

Simpson highlights the contemporary role of the Canadian State in perpetuating colonial violence. As has been articulated on numerous occasions by the Native Women's Associations in Canada, the Sisters in Spirit campaign, and other grassroots research and activist campaigns (Baskin 2003, Little 2007, Amnesty International 2009), linking the specificity of murdered and missing women to colonial Canadian State policies and, as I argue in this dissertation, to capital

[18] Unlike Smith and Simpson, who are looking to specific North American colonial structures and practices, Kuokkanen is arguing for an approach that conceptualizes neoliberal globalization as violence. In looking to globalized structures of violence, her argument has parallels to the work of Anna Agathangelou (2004) and Patricia Hill Collins (2006).

[19] Loretta Saunders was a 26-year old woman who was murdered in February 2014. She had been studying the crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada.

accumulation, is necessary for confronting the roots of these atrocious acts of violence, just as obscuring these links by individualizing and de-politicizing specific acts of violence is a colonial strategy. Indeed, former Prime Minister Stephen Harper pursued this strategy in the Yukon in August 2014 when he declared that violence against Indigenous women was a criminal issue, and must not be approached "sociologically" (Boutillier 2014).[20]

Thus, I follow Fanon (1963) in articulating racialization *as* violence, and Smith and Simpson in conceptualizing structural processes of capital accumulation and colonization as racialized, gendered violence, situating this research alongside decolonizing scholarship and activism that links colonial structures and processes with the ongoing crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada (Sisters in Spirit 2010). However, in order to attend to specificity in addressing experiences of violence against Indigenous women in the region of study, throughout the dissertation, I distinguish between structural and embodied violence conceptually, while recognizing that these are dialectical categories that are intertwined and, at times, indistinguishable, in practice. Furthermore, Indigenous scholars and activists have argued that scholarship engaging with Indigenous communities can give violence an over-determining quality (Simpson 2014), defining Indigenous communities *as* violent, and stifling recognition of all that is non-violent, creative, and life-giving. This is a concern that was echoed in discussions on research design with community leaders, and in interviews. By approaching structural and embodied violence as specific and relational, rather than amorphous and totalizing, I aim to make visible creative non-violence, and resistance to violence.

Thus, as I use it in this dissertation, structural violence includes acts, processes, institutions, materialities, and ideologies that establish, perpetuate, or enact harmful exploitative

[20] While Harper's punitive, anti-social, depoliticized approach to violence against women is particularly stark, the current government's approach to violence is in line with a general neoliberal move towards individualized, punitive and medicalized responses to violence (Walker 2003, Todd and Lundy 2006).

or oppressive power relations. Embodied violence is, in turn, unilateral 'deliberate behaviour in which one person chooses to dominate, control or harm another' (Weaver et al. 2007: 5). Embodied violence includes, but is not limited to, emotional, psychological, physical, sexual, and financial abuse. I recognize that these definitions are imperfect, both in their inability to consistently capture the diverse and difficult experiences of violence that I address, and also in the potential slippage between violence and experiences of hardship (material or subjective) that may or may not be construed as violence. However, rather than attempt a definitional escape from these stumbling blocks, I aim to follow Seccombe's (1992) suggestion to move back and forth between the theoretical and the empirical, and between different levels of abstraction, in refining a theory. Indeed, Seccombe writes:

> Precept without concept is nonsense. It is far better to render one's theoretical framework explicit, checking and modifying it continuously in the light of empirical investigation, than to proceed "by intuition and common sense." The acid test of any theory, of course, is the analytical results are achieved through its use (7).

A conceptual openness is consistent with my commitment to respect research participants' experiences, articulations, and interpretations of violence. As noted in the introductory chapter, interviews were open-ended, allowing for participants to approach the research subject in their own way, through their stories and insights. Research participants often wove together experiences of labour exploitation, embodied violence, and colonial racism with a fluidity that must inform this study, rather than be marred by static conceptual categories. Similarly, Sergio Gonzalez Rodriguez (2012) cautions against reducing the devastating viciousness and pain of embodied violence to fixed structural correlations. In his study of violence against women in the maquiladora industry of Ciudad Juarez,[21] Rodriguez creates space for the immaterial, for what I would characterize as a qualitative poetics of compassion in his

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[21] A town near the US/Mexico border known for its high rates of violence against women.

respect for the tragic, irreducible mystery of murder;[22] a compassion that I aim to thread through analyses of violent ideological and material structures, which I turn to first, and violence at the level of the body, which I then address.

a) Structural violence

In recent years, in FPE literature, two noteworthy engagements with the relationship between structural violence and embodied violence are Maria Mies's *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (1986), and Silvia Federici's *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation* (2004), written twenty years later. I ground my discussion of structural violence in their theories as I argue that these authors successfully link embodied violence with the structural violence of capitalist accumulation of new spaces. However, while Federici and Mies strongly posit a general gender violence to capital accumulation, their theories do not attend to the specific articulation of this violence through processes of colonialism and racialization, and in different spaces and times. As such, speaking to Hall (1986) and Goldberg's (1993) call for the regional and temporal specificity of violent racisms, I explore the relationship between gender and racial structural violence, particularly as this relation articulates in the violent subject formation of northern Indigenous women through settler colonial processes.

Mies (1986) and Federici (2004) both ground their theory by taking up and critiquing Marx's analysis of "so-called primitive accumulation", or the capitalist accumulation of new spaces, as a way of understanding colonial and imperial histories. I use the word "primitive" here as a reference to Marx's theory (1976), which speaks to a primary or "original" reorganization of

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[22] This is in contrast to studies that focus on quantitative correlations, like the assertion that greater alcohol intake leads to greater interpersonal violence or lower socio-economic indicators is correlated with greater interpersonal violence. While these quantitative relationships certainly offer their own insight, particularly in terms of policy or programming prescriptions, they also hold with them the danger of reducing distinct and painful narratives of power and harm to overly generalized social trends.

land and labour for the pursuit of capital accumulation. However, I do not use this term throughout as I agree with theorists – including Federici – who argue that this concept might obscure the *ongoing* nature of accumulation. Furthermore, the term "primitive", while used by Marx in the original German as a synonym with "original", has a long history as a racist term used in colonial discourse. Federici analyzes the disciplining of women's bodies and relations of social reproduction during the original capital accumulation in Europe, arguing that 'one of the preconditions for capitalist development was the process that Michel Foucault defined as "disciplining of the body", which…consisted of an attempt by state and church to transform the individual's power into labor-power' (133). In line with Marx's vivid descriptions of the violent disciplining of the body into The Worker (1976: 896), Federici argues that the creation of The Worker required a regime of terror aimed at removing the body of its dynamic potential – what Federici calls the body's 'pre-capitalist magic' – and turning it into a machine for the accumulation of capital. She writes, 'For the same relation that capitalism introduced between land and work was also beginning to command the relation between the body and labour. While labour was beginning to appear as a dynamic force infinitely capable of development, the body was seen as inert, sterile matter that only the will could move…' (140).

While Federici's (2004) embodied subject is both female and male, she argues that, though the capitalist accumulation of new spaces is violent, in general, there is a particular violence against women and feminized bodies; indeed, that 'the rise of capitalism was coeval with a war against women' (14). This argument echoes that advanced by Simpson (2016) and Smith (2005), described above. Federici argues that capitalist production is made possible only through an ongoing violent appropriation of women's lives and bodies, pointing to the ways in which the state has used gender violence to regulate social reproduction for the demands of

capital. “So-called primitive accumulation”, then, was facilitated through an attack on women’s power and status within non-capitalist communities, and an intensification of patriarchal norms and practices that pre-existed capitalism. Indeed, both Federici and Mies (1986) theorize the medieval witch hunts as primarily attacks on women’s reproductive autonomy by a patriarchal and newly capitalist state. Mies writes, ‘The witch hunt had not only the direct disciplinary effect of controlling women’s sexual and reproductive behaviour, but also the effect of establishing the superiority of male productivity over female productivity. These two processes are closely connected’ (70). Thus, according to Federici and Mies, capitalist colonialism brought with it newly gendered relations of production, and a new culture of violence against women.

The relationship between capitalist accumulation of new spaces and violence against women posited by these two scholars offers important insight for a decolonizing feminist analysis of structural violence: namely, that violence against women, often treated as an irrational aberration from liberal capitalist society, is, instead, a deeply rational practice tied to capital’s material reliance on unpaid activities integral to social reproduction that are performed by women, and the dialectical relation between patriarchy and capitalism through which modern capitalism has emerged. Indeed, Mies (1986) writes, ‘If violence against women is not accidental but part of modern capitalist patriarchy, then we have to explain why this is so. If we reject a biologistic explanation – as I do – we have to look for reasons which are central to the functioning of the system as such’ (27). For Federici (2004), not only is violence against women rational under a patriarchal capitalist logic, but also, because it is rooted, in part, in women’s biological ability to reproduce, there is a corporeal link to violence against women in different places and times. She illustrates this, both in her fluid analysis that jumps across borders and

temporalities, and in her comparison of the original move from feudalism to capitalism to the gender violence of contemporary processes of colonization.

The link between gender violence, social reproduction, and capitalist accumulation of new spaces helps to situate violence in the context of the shifting mixed economy. In the region of study, however, it was the Canadian State, and not capitalist interests, that first targeted Indigenous women's social reproduction activities. Mies (1986) and Federici (2004) both point to the triadic link between acts of violence done upon individual bodies, state violence, and the violent pursuit of capital accumulation. In analyzing contemporary violence against women, Mies discusses state action and state *in*action; specifically, that the state's monopoly over "legitimate" use of direct violence stops at the line of the family, or the so-called private sphere (27).

Though political and cultural permissiveness for violence in the home does, indeed, contribute to violence against women, Mies's generalized distinction between public state violence and private domestic violence is a symptom of a few interrelated weaknesses in Federici's and Mies's analyses of structural violence and its links to embodied violence. While some women – namely, those who do not experience colonial or racialized oppression – may find the state absent from their homes, racialized women, and women marked as "Other" for reasons of household formation, sexuality, or socio-economic status experience no such lack (Crenshaw 1991, Koshan 1997, Arat-Koc 2001). Rather, it is often the case that household violence is structured or perpetuated by a state presence in the home (for example, as will be discussed in chapter two, the Canadian State's removal of Indigenous children from their homes for mandatory government education). However, both Federici and Mies root gender violence in the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism without meaningfully attending to the way

that gender violence is racialized. I argue that gender violence is structured by processes of racialization, including settler colonial relations, the racialized global labour market, and the ways in which state formation is premised upon inclusions/exclusions, and gradations of "desirability" in its citizenry (Thobani 2007). The omission of this analysis by Federici and Mies is unfortunate given the transnational imperative of their works. While both authors discuss racialization, neither approach it as a fundamental aspect of the structural violence of capitalist accumulation of new spaces, or ongoing state discipline.

Thus, herein, the violence of capitalist accumulation of new spaces is approached at the level of social formation through the ways in which manifests itself distinctly in different places and times, and in relation to different gendered and racialized subjectivities. Thus, it is more accurate to say that there are racialized gender *violences*. In discussing the specific racialized gender violence that Indigenous women experience in the colonial context of diamond mining in the mixed economy, I am engaging with research that links resource extraction and violence to Indigenous bodies, historically and contemporaneously, and symbolically and materially, as noted above. Symbolically, just as the Indigenous woman is deemed rapeable (Smith 2005, Kuokkanen 2008), so, too, is Indigenous land inherently explore-able and extract-able.[23] Indeed, while there is often a purely geological understanding of sites of extraction – that is, the assumption that extractive projects emerge where there is a valuable resource to be extracted – a critical spatial and socio-geographic lens demonstrates that it is no coincidence that resource extraction consistently occurs in imagined frontier zones, so-called "empty space", the spaces where sites of industrialization and urbanization have not encroached upon Indigenous ways of being. Just as the idea of "wasting" the resources found in this imagined empty space is written

[23] It could be argued that free entry mining in Canada, wherein companies are given rights to mine sites simply by staking a claim, is a legislative articulation of this symbolic link.

as unthinkable, so, too, is it unthinkable to imagine uprooting the urban and industrial centres of Canada, no matter the matter that lies beneath. As such, tearing up the concrete of the financial centres of the Canadian State is not considered; instead, the materiality of resource extraction is imposed upon the spaces of symbolic periphery. Understood in this way, the longstanding centrality of resource extraction to northern economic development (Parlee 2015) becomes a social, rather than geological, phenomenon.

The link between violence against Indigenous women and the violence of extraction is far from only symbolic. Actual sites of extraction are structurally violent on a number of levels. First, the physical acts of extracting resources from the earth – sometimes through the deposition of poisonous chemicals – undermines the health and use-value of the land. Such practices harm any community close to an extractive site, and, indeed, in the era of climate change, it would be hard to argue that there is anyone in the world entirely divorced from the environmental impacts of resource extraction. However, there is a *specific* history, ontology, and set of contemporary social relations that shape Indigenous relationships to the land in northern Canada, and elsewhere (Coulthard 2010). The symbolic, material, and corporeal are not divorced here. For example, in an interview, Alica, a young Dene woman, spoke of a visceral feeling of emotional and spiritual sickness when she entered a mining camp to work. The two larger diamond mines in the NWT sit on her family's traditional trap line, where her grandparents lived out their days and where her mother was raised (Interview 119: 2014). Additionally, many informants spoke of the loss of country food as a result of the diamond mines,[24] and their worries about the impacts this loss has had on emotional and physical health. For example, through the Orwellian-sounding "de-watering process", seven fish-bearing lakes were drained to make way for the first diamond mine

[24] Country food is the local term for food sourced locally that is part of the traditional diet.

(Bielawski 2003: 73-75), a practice that has been repeated for each mine. These were lakes teeming with life that Indigenous communities valued as sources of nourishment and well-being. At the same time, an even greater fear threaded through many interviews – the fear of cancer and its relationship to resource extraction.[25]

Alongside the links between physiological and emotional health and the land-based violence of extraction, there has been some (albeit, limited) research on the links between the socio-economics of resource extraction and greater incidences of racialized gender violence. This research has emerged primarily from Latin America (Carrón et al. 2007, Rodriguez 2012), and, more recently, Canada (Amnesty International 2016). Alongside this research, I argue that, in its colonial imposition of gender relations that place masculinized activities devoted to/contributing to capital accumulation hierarchically over feminized and naturalized activities directed at social reproduction, the diamond-mining FIFO extractive regime enacts a structural violence. This structural violence persists dialectically with embodied experiences of racialized gender violence. A quantitative causative correlation (i.e., diamond mining leads to more incidents of violence against northern Indigenous women) does not necessarily follow from articulating this relationship, in part, because of the difficulties in reliably determining quantitative measures of violence against women, but more so because I approach diamond mining as one node of capitalist and Canadian State engagement with the mixed economy. Thus, my focus is on *qualitative* shifts in experiences of embodied violence in the context of restructuring social

[25] Concerns about newly high rates of cancer in communities, and their possible links to the diamond mines were expressed by a number of informants. Indigenous communities have endured the devastating long-term health impacts of extractive projects all over Canada. Ward Churchill, for example, has documented the high incidents of cancer and birth abnormalities in Indigenous communities as a result of uranium mining (2001); Brittany Luby (2011, 2015) has looked to the gendered health impacts (particularly prenatal health) of hydroelectric damming on Anishnabe communities; and a number of community activists in the NWT are struggling to document the impact of the arsenic deposits left by gold mines in Yellowknife (O'Reilly 2012).

relations as a result of the FIFO diamond extractive regime, rather than quantitative measurements.

b) Embodied violence

It is clear, then, that structural and embodied violence are relational categories; but what, precisely, does "embodied" mean? And how might one incorporate the body into political economic analysis, not as an object that is acted upon, but as a dynamic site of political agency? Informed by a number of scholars seeking to move past the identity/political economy divide (Bannerji 1995, McNally 2001, Kempadoo 2004),[26] I argue that to ignore the body in FPE theorizing is to perpetuate western liberal conceptions of the unencumbered individual that privilege those who, because of their gendered, sexed, and racialized characteristics, are seen as non-bodily (namely, white, heterosexual able-bodied cis-men). Separating analyses of the corporeal/subjective from the structural, or political/economic/sociological, obscures violence, particularly as it is enacted along gendered, colonial, and racialized lines (McNally 2001).[27] Thus, here I explore the ways bodies – all bodies – exist in a porous relation to the material, ideological, and natural world.

In using the term, "porous", I am drawing on the work of David Harvey (1998), who suggests conceptualizing the body as:

> An unfinished project, historically and geographically malleable in certain ways. It is not, of course, infinitely or even easily malleable and certain of its inherent ('natural') qualities cannot be erased…[Second], the body is not a closed and sealed entity, but a

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[26] Bannerji (1995) critiques the identity/political economy divide as the result, in part, of a propensity for "identity" to be construed as antithetical, or outside, of class.

[27] In *Bodies of Meaning* (2001), David McNally offers a cogent analysis of the ways in which the body has been separated from the individual and the raced and gendered implications of this. McNally links the bourgeois mystification of the body to capital's alienation of labour. He writes, 'The bourgeois and postmodern (non)body has its sociohistorical roots in the way capitalism radically separates intellectual from manual labor. Management, supervision, and intelligence are positioned on one side of a class divide, while labor, physical hardship, and the body are situated on the other. Mind is de-materialized, while the body is de-subjectivized, reduced to a mere thing' (5).

> relational 'thing' that is created, bounded, sustained, and ultimately dissolved in a spatiotemporal flux of multiple processes. This entails a relational-dialectical view in which the body (construed as a thing-like entity) internalizes the effects of the processes that create, support, sustain, and dissolve it…The body is, then, both embedded in the processes that produce, sustain, bound and ultimately dissolve it and internally contradictory by virtue of the multiple socio-ecological processes that converge upon it (402).

I am compelled by Harvey's notion of the body as porous, unfinished, a relational thing, and suggest that it is a useful concept for approaching subjectivity at the level of social formation. Conceptualizing the body as embedded, but internally contradictory, speaks to the fraught relationship between the body and capital: that the body is – messily, imperfectly – economic, and that both the body and abstraction from the body (McNally 2001: 5) are required for the valuation of capital.

However, certainly the body's capacities, its labouring powers, and its signifiers typically far exceed that which is valued and/or structured by capital.[28] It is here that Harvey's (1998) analysis of the body falls short: he seems to view gender and "race" as important only insofar as they shape how and where a person is inserted into the circuits of capital. Indeed, Harvey writes:

> as gender, race, and ethnicity are all understood as social constructions rather than as essentialist categories, so the effect of their insertion into the circulation of variable capital…has to be seen as a powerful constitutive force in distinctly capitalist constructions of identities associated with gender, race and ethnicity' (1998: 407-408).

While Harvey is attempting to integrate gender and "race" into an analysis of capitalism, his analysis pivots on the valuation of capital, positioning subjectivities in relation to the circuits of capital, rather than opening up analysis to embodied social relations that move inside, outside, and beyond capitalism.[29] As such, while I take up Harvey's conception of the "porous body", I draw on anti-racist and decolonizing feminist theories to locate the body – and violence done to

[28] Recognizing here that the body's capacities are conditioned by constructs of disability, an intersection that is not addressed in this dissertation.

[29] Here I am alluding to the capitalist and non-capitalist relations of production and social reproduction, which are approached through an expanded conception of production in the next section.

the body – as it relates not just to capitalist production, but equally as it relates to the racialized and gendered social relations of subsistence production and social reproduction.

I suggest, then, that the body is a site of ideological and material struggle tied to the land-based struggles against settler colonialism. As Fanon (1963) writes, the racial formation of colonized subjects is forged in the violence of colonialism. As noted above, in the context of settler colonialism, this violence has a genocidal impulse that is tied to the relationship Indigenous people hold to the land and the barriers it poses to the development of the settler state (Wolfe 2006). Simpson (2016) discusses this genocidal impulse as it articulates in contemporary manifestations of embodied violence against Indigenous women in Canada, saying, 'Canada requires the death and so-called disappearance of Indigenous women to secure its sovereignty'. She explains:

> An Indian woman's body in settler regimes such as the US, and Canada is loaded with meaning – signifying other political orders, land itself, of the dangerous possibility of reproducing Indian life and most dangerously, other political orders. *Other* life forms, other sovereignties, other forms of political will. Indian women in the aforementioned example of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy transmit the clan, and with that: family, responsibility, relatedness to territory. Feminist scholars have argued that Native women's bodies were to the settler eye, like land, and as such in the settler mind, the Native woman is rendered "unrapeable" (or, highly "rapeable") because she was like land, matter to be extracted from, used, sullied, taken from, over and over again, something that is already violated and violatable in a great march to accumulate surplus, to so called "production".

Similarly, in tracking the use of sexual violence against Indigenous women in North America as a tool of settler colonialism, Smith (2005: 3) writes:

> [T]he analysis of and strategies for addressing gender violence have failed to address the manner in which gender violence is not simply a tool of patriarchal control, but also serves as a tool of racism and colonialism. That is, colonial relationships are themselves gendered and sexualized…An examination of how sexual violence serves the goals of colonialism forces us to reconsider how we define sexual violence, as well as the strategies we employ to eradicate gender violence.

Thus, Indigenous bodies – especially Indigenous women's bodies – are a site of material and symbolic struggle, as evidenced by the ongoing crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada.

At an event discussing murdered and missing women in Yellowknife, Marie Speakman, a Victim Services Worker for The Native Women's Association of the NWT, said, 'I think about this as a woman and as an Aboriginal woman. I think about all the women vulnerable to this violence that has not been stopped. This is not just physical and sexual violence. Every day as Aboriginal women, we face systemic racism. We face prejudice and barriers in our work lives, our personal lives and on the streets' (Speakman 2014: 1). Thus, approaching embodied racialized gender violence as it has been structured through – in this case – the colonial relations of the white settler state enables one to make linkages between embodied violence and ongoing de/colonizing struggles.

Given the ways in which the violent racial formation of *Othered* corporealities has been central to the overt and "peaceful" (Fanon 1963), or systemic, violence of settler colonialism in Canada, it is no surprise that some of the most detailed and compelling accounts of the embodied violence of colonialism to come out of academic institutions in Canada in the last twenty years have emerged out of the public health discipline.[30] As Fanon (1963) explains, colonialism is a process that seeps into the minds and bodies of both colonized and colonizer: the corporeal violence of colonialism is not confined to physical violence, but extends to the ways in which physiological and mental illness/health is produced and reproduced through pathologies of colonialism. In Canada, public health accounts critique colonial practices, like residential school, the reserve system, and resource extraction by linking these to varied and longstanding embodied

[30] See, for example, Milloy (1999), Kelm (1998) and Fournier and Crey (1997). These are important decolonizing interventions as, much like violence, Indigenous ill-health is often read either as individual medical problems or determinants of dysfunction.

repercussions. Kelm (1998), for example, writes of the ways colonialism has shaped Indigenous bodies, arguing, 'Aboriginal ill-health was created not just by faceless pathogens but by the colonial policies and practices of the Canadian government' (xix). A health perspective is a useful reminder for the political economist to consider the different ways violence can target the body. In an analysis of extractive industries, this is particularly pertinent. Indeed, in interviews, discussions of the impacts of diamond mines often moved fluidly between concerns about domestic violence to problematic substance use to the disappearing caribou herds to conspicuously rising rates of cancer in communities, as noted above. These concerns, while distinct, are experienced simultaneously, relationally, and corporeally, and thus will be approached accordingly.

II. A Decolonizing FPE Approach to Production

If there is a racialized gender violence to the reorganization of labour for the pursuit of capital accumulation, as I contend in this dissertation, one must determine *what* an analysis of relations of labour includes and *how* to approach these relations. Below I attend to the "how" question. To respond first to the "what" question, I introduce an expanded conception of production as the analytical framework of this dissertation, a conception that approaches social reproduction, subsistence production, and capitalist production at the same level of analysis. In applying this framework to my case study, social reproduction emerges as a site of tension between subsistence and capitalist production. Tensions between subsistence and capitalist production surfacing in processes of social reproduction help to explain the structural violence experienced by northern Indigenous communities, and the embodied violence perpetrated against northern Indigenous women. I begin by locating FPE theory as it both builds from and challenges Marx's categories of production. Next, I discuss FPE modes of expanding production to accommodate

social reproduction. I then introduce the decolonizing expanded conception of production that is the theoretical framework of this dissertation, and outline its analytic components.

In *Capital, Vol. I* (1976), Marx writes:

> The maintenance and reproduction of the working class remains a necessary condition for the reproduction of capital. But the capitalist may safely leave this to the worker's drive for self-preservation and propagation…From the standpoint of society, then, the working class, even when it stands outside the direct labour process, is just as much an appendage of capital as the lifeless instruments of labour are (718-719).

Marx's assertion encompasses both the strengths and the weaknesses of his analysis of the reproduction of labour power. Marx conceptualizes the production of capitalist value[31] and the reproduction of workers (specifically, workers' labour power) as indivisible elements of the same process: for him, the valuation of capital. Indeed, Marx contends that capitalist production is dependent on the reproduction of labour power that occurs outside of the workplace (Ferguson and McNally 2013: xl). This characterization holds analytical and political weight for an understanding of struggles in the so-called "domestic" realm: it speaks to the limited analytical capacity of a framework that privileges "real" (value-producing) workers' struggles over the struggles of those who perform unpaid work in their own homes and/or in the homes of others. Marx's contention also presents a challenge to theorists who treat social reproduction and capitalist production discretely, or as part of separate spheres, such as the dual-system feminist theory of the 1980s.[32]

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[31] For the purposes of the following discussion, it is useful to explain Marx's definition of capitalist value, as it is distinct from common usage. For Marx, capitalist value is measured not by its social necessity, but by 'the labour time socially necessary to produce it, including both direct (living) and indirect (dead, or past) labour inputs' (Fine and Saad-Filho 2010: 18). As such, new value is created under capitalism through the exploitation of labour; that is to say, through the various means of extracting more labour than that which has been compensated.

[32] Dual-system feminism refers to an earlier socialist feminist attempt to theorize class exploitation and gendered oppression that theorizes patriarchy as separate from capitalism (Eisenstein 1979, Hartmann 1980). It has been critiqued for its reproduction of bourgeois and male-centred categories. Young (1980), for example writes, 'Precisely because the separation of domestic from economic life is peculiar to capitalism, use of that separation as the basis for the analysis of women's situation in contemporary society may be playing right into the hands of bourgeois ideology' (178).

However, while Marx acknowledges capitalism's dependence on social reproduction, he also naturalizes its constitution. For Marx, structures of social reproduction are formed through the social relations upon which capitalism is grafted (that is, the male-dominated nuclear family) and the imposition of the demands of capital. Marx naturalizes the former and assumes that the latter is the historical agent, while social reproduction is left depoliticized, inert. Indeed, for Marx, if there is capitalist production, there will be capitalist social reproduction (1976: 711). Marx's – and subsequent Marxian – naturalization of social reproduction leaves an analytical gap, de-socializing *social* reproduction by characterizing it as biological and natural, and, hence, devoid of power relations and struggle. Indeed, Marx writes, 'The organization of the capitalist process of production, once it is fully developed, breaks down all resistance…In the ordinary run of things, the worker can be left to the "natural laws of production"'(899). Thus, Marx assumes that social relations in capitalist spaces will succumb to the logic of capital. This assertion denies social reproduction as a site of struggle, and also denies non-capitalist relations of production that persist both inside and outside of capitalist – or, mixed – spaces.[33] The assumption that fully developed capitalist production 'breaks down all resistance' posits a binary between that which is capitalist and that which is not, as though a combination of capitalist and non-capitalist production is a *temporary* phenomenon in the process of capitalist colonization. This binary cannot account for the mixed economies that have developed, even under the reach of global neoliberal capitalism. Indeed, in the case of the Yellowknife region, the mixed economy offers relative stability through the boom and bust of resource extraction. The strength of the mixed economy should not be confused, however, with invariability or inevitability. Rather, I aim to emphasize the ongoing ideological and material shifts between departments of production within

[33] This is not to say that Marx ignores colonization as an aspect of capitalism; in his chapters on primitive accumulation, Marx demonstrates that the annexation of new spaces of capital accumulation is part of the capitalist mode of production (1976). However, this is beyond the scope of this discussion.

the mixed economy, a dynamic site of struggle wherein day-to-day labours of Indigenous women emerge as acts of decolonizing resistance against capitalism's tendency to 'break down all resistance' as they reproduce the subsistence orientation that makes the mixed economy "mixed".

In developing a framework through which to analyze the mixed economy, I draw on the work of Seccombe, who develops an expanded conception of production in *A Millennium of Family Change: Feudalism to Capitalism in Northwestern Europe* (1992). Seccombe's theoretical expansion begins with his diagnosis of the problem of economism in Marxism. For Seccombe, the issue is rooted in what he calls the 'arbitrarily constricted' conception of the productive forces and social relations that make up a mode of production. He writes:

> There is a broad consensus that the original sin of economism stems from an overemphasis of the economic dimensions in conceptualizing modes of production, and a reduction of their political and ideological "levels" to derivations of the economic base. While agreeing that the consequences of economism have indeed been pernicious for Marxism, I find the standard diagnosis of this ill to be misconstrued. In my view, the economist error has stemmed not from an exaggeration of the weight of the socioeconomic dimension but instead from a false narrowing of its field, and a failure to conceptualize adequately the integration of the socioeconomic with politico-legal relations of the state and the cultural formations of groups and classes. In short, while others have faulted the reduction of superstructure to infrastructure, I focus here on the arbitrary constriction of the infrastructure itself (Seccombe 1992:11).

Seccombe's (1992) reference to the division between superstructure and infrastructure falls back on a normalized, and, I argue, erroneous, division between the material and the ideological, or base and superstructure (to be discussed below). However, for its part, Seccombe's expansion of what he calls the 'infrastructure' of the mode of production is useful in its precision and its breadth. Specifically, Seccombe argues that traditional Marxian accounts have excluded the production of labour-power from analyses of production. Rather than approaching the production of labour-power (a component of social reproduction) as a sphere in

isolation from capitalist production, or, alternately,[34] characterizing social reproduction as capitalist production itself, advocating for a broad conception of the *socio*economic, he writes, 'I have opted for a rather different strategy: expanding the mode-of production concept by including the reproduction of the species as *a form of production* with the same status as goods production' (Seccombe 1992: 4).

By approaching social reproduction as a *distinct* form of labour with the same ontological status as capitalist labour, Seccombe (1992) offers a framework for exploring the relations between different departments of production without tacitly subordinating one to another, or attempting to claim one as the other.[35] This opens the theoretical space for an attention to the unique character of social reproduction and its ambivalent relationship to capitalist production, as it is both necessary to capital relations and outside of capital relations (Vosko 2002). Approaching different departments of production at the same level of analysis also allows for an exploration of subsistence economies and mixed economies. These subjects are outside of Seccombe's frame of analysis, and indeed, much FPE work on expanding conceptions of production. For Seccombe, subsistence refers to the production that is done in order to secure the daily maintenance of the worker. In order to take a decolonizing approach, I expand and historicize the definition of subsistence to encompass a specific place-based, non-capitalist form of production: that is, more than just securing daily maintenance, it is an orientation towards collective, rather than individual, need, and is attached to place-based histories and sets of

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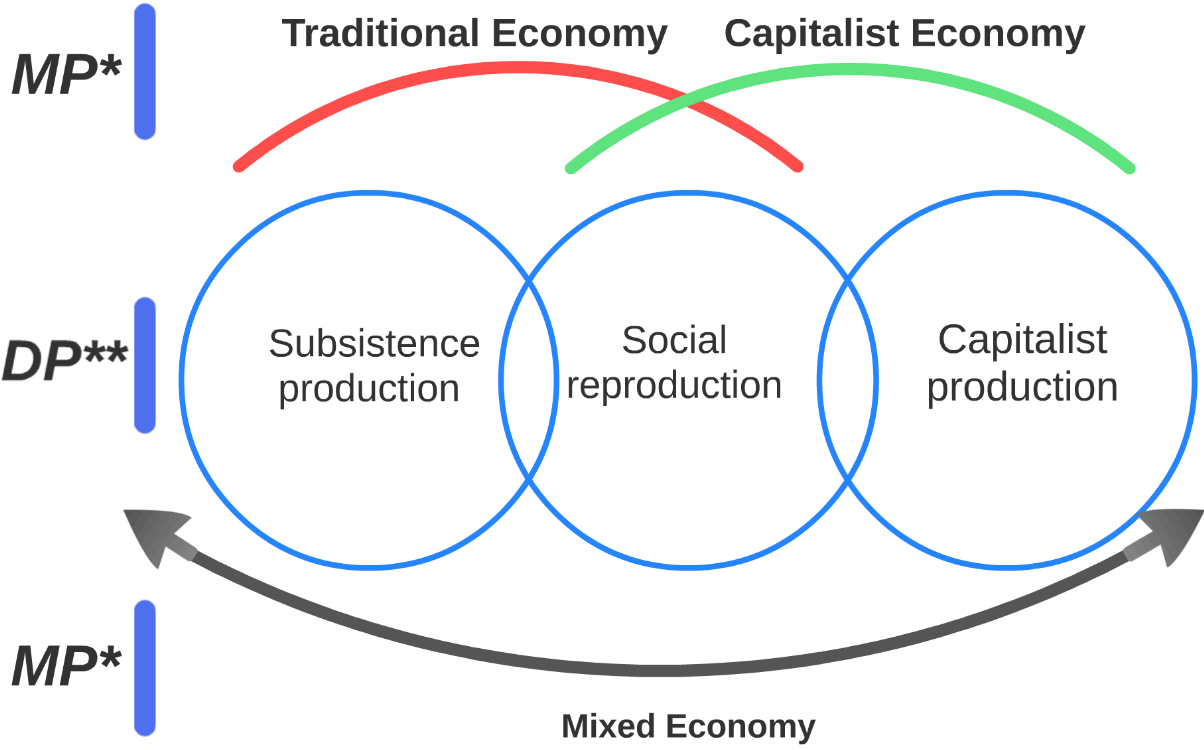
[34] And here Seccombe is explicitly challenging dual-systems feminism, articulating a critique similar to that made by Young (1980).

[35] This, I would argue, was the primary weakness of the domestic labour debates, the major FPE contribution to analysis of reproduction in the 1970s and 1980s. The 'debate' of the domestic labour debates refers to a series of theoretical arguments over whether work in the home was productive labour, in the Marxian sense, generally focused on work in one's own home (which implicitly obscured the labour of women – primarily women of colour – working for pay in other people's homes). Interestingly, while Seccombe's later work is little concerned with questions of productivity or non-productivity, he was a major contributor to these earlier debates (1973, 1975).

meaning. The diagram below (Figure 1) illustrates the expanded conception of production that frames this dissertation.



*Mode of Production

**Departments of Production

Figure 1: A decolonizing expanded conception of production.

This diagram represents two levels of analysis that are taken up in this research, noted in the legend below the diagram: mode of production and department of production. The mode of production, as a Marxist category, refers to the combination of forces of production and relations of production organized so as to sustain and reproduce a 'distinctive mode of appropriating surplus labour' (Jessop 1982). Contra economistic interpretations of this definition, I emphasize

that relations of production are *social* relations and must be approached through the ideological and cultural structures through which they dialectically operate (Bannerji 2005). Indeed, in his decolonizing discussion of Marxian categories of production, Coulthard (2014) suggests that mode of production be conceived broadly as a mode of life. He argues that mode of production 'accurately reflects what constituted culture in the sense that the Dene deployed the term, and which our claims for cultural recognition sought to secure through the negotiation of a land claim' (65). In this way, mode of production is tied to both ontology and place.

And, indeed, I have developed this framework to illustrate the shifting social relations of the specific place under study. In a more general analysis of the Canadian economy, one would position the mixed economy as a regional socio-economic formation operating *under* capitalism. However, the analytical framework illustrates the ways in which the traditional northern Indigenous economy and the capitalist economy come together in the contemporary mixed economy in the Yellowknife region. As will become clear below, the traditional economy does not exist contemporaneously, as such, but rather is included in the diagram as a comparative and explanatory set of social relations used for analyzing the genesis of the mixed economy. In this way, I position the mixed economy as a distinct regional mode of production that emerges through the transition away from the traditional economy, and through the past and present relations between subsistence, social reproduction, and capitalist production. I first discuss modes of production, and then turn to departments of production.

a) Modes of production in an expanded conception of production

The semi-circles framing the circles (which are departments of production) represent the three modes of production: they are the traditional economy, the capitalist economy and the mixed economy. As illustrated in Figure 1, the traditional economy is comprised of subsistence

production and social reproduction. The capitalist economy – defined as an economy oriented toward the creation of surplus value through the exploitation of labour-power (Marx 1976) – is comprised of capitalist production and social reproduction.[36] The mixed economy combines the capitalist economy and the traditional economy. The mixed economy column has arrows to denote its dynamism: the historical, and contemporary shifts in balance between capitalist production and subsistence production. This is illustrated in the history of the mixed economy. For example, during the fur trade, subsistence dominated the mixed economy, whereas contemporary resource extraction has shifted social relations toward capitalist production.

In Canada, the traditional economy generally refers to Indigenous socio-economic formations that are non-capitalist and based on the relationship between people, animals, and the land.[37] In regards to the location under study, Asch (1977) characterizes the northern Indigenous economy before the fur trade as a 'total economy both in the sense of production and circulation of goods. The people of the region were themselves wholly responsible for their own survival. They achieved this end by organizing themselves into self-sufficient local groups within which production and distribution were collective activities' (49). He notes that, from the fur trade onward, the economy was a mixture of subsistence and the use of externally produced goods acquired through exchange (in Gibson 2008: 68): a mixed economy. However, as argued by Indigenous elders and scholars (Watkins 1977, YK Dene Elders Association 1997), because the fur trade was relatively non-invasive and did not substantially disrupt Indigenous socio-

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[36] It is worth noting that, while I separate the traditional economy and the capitalist economy for the purpose of clarifying analytical categories, I am not at all arguing that the capitalist economy developed separately from the traditional economy; indeed, this dissertation aims to contribute to anti-colonial literature arguing that the capitalist economy developed through initial and ongoing exploitation and appropriation of traditional and mixed economies.

[37] I use the term 'traditional economy' as this is the term used in local Dene (Tlicho and Weledeh) publications (see YK Dene Elders Association 1997, Zoe 2005). As is noted in chapter two, the term "traditional" is not in reference to a static, unchanging concept of a socio-economy; rather, it refers to socio-economies imbued with space-based history and meaning, a concept that straddles Western political economic distinctions between the material and the ideological.

economies, the pre-World War II Indigenous economy is generally understood as one oriented towards subsistence (DiFrancesco 2000, Gibson 2008), and, thus, a traditional economy. In the NWT, the rocky land and cold climate means that traditional economies rely primarily on hunting, trapping, fishing, and foraging; practices of drying and preserving meats and making teas and medicines from the local bush; and, using skins and fur for clothing and household goods.

The northern mixed economy developed through a series of twentieth century extractive projects, and Canadian State social and spatial restructuring initiatives. Though settler-Indigenous socio-economic relations existed long before this period, the development of a mixed economy in the north is usually defined temporally by scholars as post-World War II. Significantly, in the period immediately following World War II, Indigenous communities that had been predominantly nomadic moved into government social housing in sedentary communities. However, 'although this move brought deep and important changes to northern life, it did not lead to an end of life on the land. Instead, the way of life that Indigenous people had followed for centuries was adapted to reflect their new constraints and opportunities' (Abele 2006: 185).

Today, on-the-land activities are pursued by some Indigenous people living in the bigger cities of the NWT, like Yellowknife; however, it is especially the small communities of the NWT that rely on subsistence for a large proportion of their social needs.[38] Protecting, pursuing, and respecting the mixed economy is an important and ongoing decolonizing practice in the

[38] This will be discussed in detail in chapter two; however, it is worth noting that, according to the GNWT (2012), approximately 30% of households in the NWT accessed more than half their food through traditional activities (this is known as 'country food').

NWT.[39] While relationships to capitalist production within the mixed economy vary across time and place, the commitment to pursuing subsistence activities and making them visible characterizes contemporary northern life.

b) Departments of production in an expanded conception of production

These three modes of production – the capitalist economy, the traditional economy, and the mixed economy – are populated by three departments of production: social reproduction, subsistence production, and capitalist production. In Figure 1, I depict the circles representing these three departments of production as overlapping to represent the permeability of the boundaries between these categories (for example, childcare performed as wage labour, or hunting a caribou that is at once directly consumed by a care unit, shared with friends and community, and traded or sold for desired goods). Social reproduction sits as a category of labour necessary for both subsistence production and capitalist production. As a site of de/colonizing struggle between social relations oriented towards subsistence and those oriented toward accumulation for surplus, social reproduction is a site of both colonial violence, and creative decolonizing resistance.

In this dissertation, I use the term capitalist production to denote "productive" labour in the Marxian sense: that is, labour that is exploited for the creation of surplus value, wherein 'the worker produces not for himself, but for capital' (Marx 1976: 644).[40] This definition has been used to marginalize women, as well as anyone not engaged in paid work, from workers'

[39] Currently, questions are emerging about whether the global industrial economy is in danger of replacing the mixed economy (Little 2007).

[40] Marx continues, 'It is no longer sufficient, therefore, for him [the worker] simply to produce. He must produce surplus-value. The only worker who is productive is one who produces surplus-value for the capitalist, or in other words, contributes towards the self-valorization of capital' (1976: 644). Because this definition is in keeping with a general theoretical consensus on 'capitalist production' in critical political economic literature (Fine and Saad-Filho 2010), I do not elaborate further upon this concept.

struggles; FPE theorists have challenged this exclusion as erroneous and oppressive,[41] an argument with which I concur. However, I use this definition to distinguish *different* relationships between labour and capital, not to privilege productive labour over other labour. Marxian theory also refers to productive labour as variable capital. Because the focus of this research is on the FIFO diamond-mining regime as a particular form of capitalist production that emphasizes variable over fixed capital, it is worth specifying the meaning and implications of this term. In describing the inputs into the circuits of capital, productive labour is referred to as variable capital to distinguish it from investments in fixed capital. Variable capital refers to the amount of value added to a commodity by workers' labour, while fixed capital refers to the physical structures (for example, a road, a factory) that are used for capitalist production and constant capital refers to the wear and tear on fixed capital required in a given production cycle (Fine and Saad-Filho 2010: 34-35). According to Marx, both variable capital and constant capital contribute to the exchange value of a commodity, but it is only the exploitation of workers' surplus labour (variable capital) that creates new value. Thus, there is a capitalist imperative to replace fixed capital with variable capital, where possible.[42] As I demonstrate below, the imperative for variable capital articulates in the diamond-mining relations of production: following neoliberal trends in resource extraction, the diamond-mining regime uses a FIFO structure to manage the tension between the capitalist imperative to maximize the exploitation of variable capital – a temporary, time-based social relation – and the necessary fixity of resource extraction. Subsistence production operates antithetically to this imperative, while social reproduction operates at the crossroads between these contradictory impulses. To facilitate

[41] Indeed, challenging the exclusion of women and their household labour from feminist struggles was the impetus for the domestic labour debates, discussed above. Feminist theorists argued that women's unpaid domestic labour must be included in class struggle (Dalla Costa and James 1972, Fee 1976, Federici 2012).

[42] While it is beyond the scope of this analysis to discuss, certainly capitalism is not uniform and innovations in both fixed capital and modes of exploiting variable capital can result in increased surplus value.

analysis of these dynamics, in the remainder of this section, I develop social reproduction and subsistence production as conceptual categories.

As Vosko writes (2002), a theory of social reproduction is one that acknowledges the inextricable relation between production for surplus and reproduction of daily life. However, as Vosko and others (Bezanson and Luxton 2006, Ferguson 2008) note, the term, "social reproduction" is not deployed consistently in FPE literature. Beyond the (expected and often fruitful) divergences and debates amongst theorists, there is an analytical cloudiness that hampers the transformative potential of this concept. Meg Luxton (2006: 36) writes:

> By itself, social reproduction offers little more than a fancy term to describe the ordinary activities of daily life. Too often, conventional feminist use of social reproduction still focuses on women's work in the home, leaving vague its relationship to the complementary work (often done by women for pay) provided by state services such as education and health care or in the market.

As Luxton notes, when the term, "social reproduction", slips into shorthand for women's work in the home, it loses the conceptual clarity required to challenge the erroneous separation of social reproduction from capitalist production. Furthermore, assuming social reproduction refers to feminized unpaid labour in one's own home privileges a Western nuclear conception of the household, obscuring social reproduction – and the transnational racialized and colonial structures through which it operates – that is done for pay and not for pay through inter-household kin and community networks outside of the picket fence of the imagined family home.

How, then, within an expanded conception of production, does one articulate a concept of social reproduction that takes as its starting point the indivisibility of departments of production – as parts of a whole – but also utilizes precise categories of labour to explore the shifting racialized and gendered relations between departments of production in a given place and time? The first step in addressing this issue is ascertaining whether the term, "social reproduction",

refers to the social reproduction of the mode of production in its totality, and all of the contradictions therein, or whether social reproduction refers specifically to the work done to reproduce labour-power, with the cognizance of its dialectical relationship with value-producing labour, and subsistence. Either formulation has the potential to foster the aim of making visible social reproduction and the gendered hierarchies of labour between and within departments of production. However, the slippage between the more expansive and more specific definition can lead to inadvertent reproduction of the dual-systems model and its racialized and heteronormative omissions, as well as analytical incoherence, more generally.

In an example of the former conception, Ferguson characterizes social reproduction as 'the concept of an expanded mode of production, whose essential unity lies in a broad definition of labour. That definition…incorporates both the value-producing labor associated with the waged economy and the domestic labour (typically performed by women) required to give birth to, feed and raise the current generation of workers and the children who will comprise the future workers' (2008: 44). Bezanson and Luxton's (2006) definition of social reproduction is narrower. They write:

> The concept of social reproduction refers to the processes involved in maintaining and reproducing people, specifically the labouring population, and their labour power on a daily and generational basis (Laslett and Brenner 1989; Clarke 2000). It involves the provision of food, clothing, shelter, basic safety, and health care, along with the development and transmission of knowledge, social values, and cultural practices and the construction of individual and collective identities (Elson 1998; 1992) (Bezanson and Luxton 2006: 3).

Defining social reproduction as the reproduction of the labouring population, specifically, rather than the reproduction of the mode of production in totality, is a choice that need only be one of semantics. What is necessary is an analysis of the *relationship* between the two. As such, as noted in the introduction, I use the term, "expanded conception of production", to refer to an

analytical framework that encompasses capitalist production, social reproduction, and subsistence production, and approaches these different forms of labour relationally and at the same level of analysis. I use the term, "expanded conception of production", here in the same way that Ferguson uses the term, "social reproduction theory", to speak to social relations of a given place and time, in totality. Social reproduction as a category of labour, or department of production, refers herein to the more narrow conception of paid and unpaid work performed for the purpose of daily and intergenerational reproduction, as articulated by Bezanson and Luxton.

FPE and, in particular, theories of social reproduction, have established the relationship between social reproduction and capitalist production. However, the ongoing role of subsistence production and its intersections with social reproduction have been under-theorized, due partly to tendencies toward "race-blind" and Eurocentric theorizing in political economic traditions, and the limited engagements between this body of literature and Indigenous scholarship. Thus, this third category of production – subsistence production – is perhaps the most crucial to delineate, though also the most difficult. Recall that I am approaching subsistence through its regional and historical specificity as labour most often performed by Indigenous people and oriented towards the social needs of the household or community (recognizing that "community" is a flexible and shifting term), attached to particular places and the plants and animals of those places, and practiced through local social relations.[43]

Unlike capitalist production, subsistence is based on social need, rather than individual accumulation. I use the term, "social need", rather than simply, "need", because subsistence, or the traditional economy, should not be equated with hand-to-mouth living. A socio-economy can be rich and abundant without being based on the accumulation of value, and need is not simply a

[43] I detail the ideological and material specificities of subsistence in the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife in chapter two. Here, I focus on its theoretical definition, as it relates to the expanded conception of production framework.

physiological state, but a social one, and can include various comforts, entertainment, art, and culture. Like social reproduction – that can be, at once, labouring and emotive, exhausting of labour-power and interpersonally enriching – subsistence is much more than a necessary activity for biological or economic sustenance. Abele (2006) writes, '"Going on the land" is physically arduous and sometimes risky, but it is not typically understood as "work". Rather it is recognized as an activity that contributes a great deal to physical, emotional and mental well-being' (187).

While the concepts, "social reproduction", and, "subsistence production", come out of different traditions, and have distinct relationships to capitalist production and locations within the mixed economy, there is no inherent distinction between the two. Indeed, when subsistence production is a total economy (the traditional economy), the concepts collapse into one another. The distinction between subsistence production and social reproduction emerges imperfectly in the mixed economy wherein social reproduction is isolated from subsistence production as a feminized labour process oriented towards daily and intergenerational reproduction of (presumed capitalist) labour-power. Subsistence, for its part, is marginalized as racialized extra-economic activities that are outside of the mode of production. It is in this incomplete process of separation – an ongoing site of contestation that is a focus of this dissertation – that subsistence and social reproduction are made distinct and social reproduction becomes a site of colonial capitalist struggle.

An expanded conception of production facilitates an analysis of the ways in which these different forms of labour interact and sometimes overlap, thereby both bringing a corporeal intensity to the violence of restructuring for the pursuit of capital accumulation, and opening up space for stories of resistance. As noted in the introduction, it is through the relational totality of these three departments of production that the gender and racial violence of reorganizing labour

power and resistance to this violence becomes evident. A theme throughout this dissertation is the importance of day-to-day resistance that emerges through the framework of an expanded conception of production, and a dynamic, flexible approach to the labours that populate the framework.[44] Many research participants expressed the different forms of resistance they practiced, whether it was through orienting their labour towards subsistence, through the privileging of interpersonal relations over the demands of capital (in the form of diamond mining), or, as was often the case, through a combination of these tactics. Labour oriented toward the social reproduction of Indigenous communities and towards subsistence are, I argue, the resistance to the totalizing pressures of capitalism and the Canadian State that protects and reproduces the mixed economy. For example, in describing strategies for building relationships and staying healthy at the mines, Iris, an Inuit woman who had worked on and off with the diamond mines, described mine camp life, saying, 'In the night-time, after that [housekeeping work], we go fishing in the lake. We go pick berries, take some heather, make some tea. Lots of heather…You gotta take the heather, and burn the heather. And you have to take lots of heather because it burns really fast, but the smell is so good. And the taste, oh!' (Interview 101: 2014). For Iris, engaging in subsistence practices at the mine site was a source of interpersonal, emotional, and physiological well-being. Doris, a Dene woman, drew on her expertise in subsistence production in a different way. Doris experienced sexual harassment at the mine, and found the shift work incompatible with her responsibilities to her extended family. For these reasons, she drew on her expertise in sewing and beadwork to divorce herself from economic reliance on the mine. She said:

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[44] This is an insight drawn largely from Indigenous scholarship attentive to the ways in which Indigenous people in Canada resist colonization through daily enactments of work, relationships, community and culture (Maracle 1988, Alfred 2005, 2010, Kino-nda niimi Collective 2014).

> Working at the mine, if I wasn't working, if I was at home for two weeks, that was all I did. Just sew. Sewing saved me from a lot, you know. Before, before my husband had a full time job, I used to make money on the side, sewing non-stop. Sometimes I would be up twenty-four hours straight. Just sewing, sewing, sewing. So I could sell it and buy groceries. I did a lot of nights like that, just to buy groceries. So sewing saved us from a lot of hard times…Because he wasn't very good with his paycheque…So I would get back into sewing again just to make up the difference. So I love sewing. Some days, I just sit around and I can just imagine all these designs in my head. Floating by.' (Interview 111: 2014).

For Doris, sewing and beadwork had been a significant source of income, stability, and peace throughout her entire life, including during her relationship with a man who worked at the mines and during her own time working at the mine.

To return to the critiques of Marx's (1976) conception of social reproduction at the beginning of this section, both Doris and Iris demonstrate that subsistence and social reproduction are far more dynamic, varied, and resilient than Marx's understanding of a sphere of labour dictated by biological forces and the needs of capital. In approaching social reproduction and subsistence at the same level of analysis as capitalist production, and theorizing these different forms of labour through the contradictory ideological and material relations that bind them, one can avoid relegating subsistence to a "cultural" silo and social reproduction to an "emotive" or "private" silo, obscuring important strategies of resistance that shape social relations in the region of study. Instead, one can look to the ways in which Indigenous women's labour processes sustain the minority ways of life that contribute to the mixed economy.

III. Theorizing at the Level of Social Formation

While I suggest that social reproduction is a site of struggle between labour-power oriented toward subsistence and labour-power oriented toward the valuation of capital, I approach these social relations with the knowledge that labour is far more than its relationship to capital or to subsistence. Labour is qualitative, cultural, and subjective, and imbued with meaning that

transgresses the capitalist/non-capitalist boundaries. In what follows, I outline my approach to social relations at the level of social formation. This follows the decolonizing imperative outlined by Coulthard (2014), who argues that:

> any strategy geared toward authentic decolonization must directly confront more than mere economic relations; it has to account for the multifarious ways in which capitalism, patriarchy, white supremacy, and the totalizing character of state power interact with one another to form the constellation of power relations that sustain colonial patterns of behaviour, structures, and relationships (14).

In particular, given that the focus of this dissertation is on racialized gender relations in the mixed economy, it is important to emphasize that Indigeneity, as a racialized subjectivity, operates at a distinct level of analysis from subsistence, though subsistence as it is approached in this study, is primarily performed by Indigenous people. Indigenous subjectivities and subsistence are tied together through histories and ontologies grounded in the land; but, grounded though they may be, both subsistence and Indigeneity are dynamic categories that shift through time. Recall Coulthard (2010) and Alfred and Corntassel's (2005) approach to Indigeneity discussed in the introduction, wherein Indigeneity is a subjectivity produced through the lives, actions and relationships of Indigenous communities. Furthermore, Indigenous practices, expertise, culture, and belief systems are pursued both inside and outside of capitalist production in the regional mixed economy, a challenge to scholarship and politics that obscure both the persistence of Indigenous socio-economies, and the ways in which they are assaulted on a day-to-day basis.[45] The location of Indigenous ontologies and practices both inside and outside of capitalist relations points to the importance of theorizing the conceptual categories outlined in this chapter at their spaces of overlap, and in the moments of fissure at categorical borders.

[45] Examples of capitalist Indigenous labour in the NWT include, but are not limited to, the development of Indigenous businesses that are sub-contracted by the diamond companies, which sometimes operate through principles distinct from typical Western mining operations, and the development of small Indigenous-owned and operated businesses, which have been used as a strategy to avoid labour in the extractive industry, and to foster cultural sustenance.

Rather than attempting a nomenclature that avoids these overlaps, I argue that these are rich spaces of contradiction. Thus, theorizing at the level of social formation through the dialectic of materiality and ideology is essential for a decolonizing approach to FPE.

Similarly, in her theorization of capital as practice, Bannerji (2005) advocates a particular, rather than universal, approach that accounts for the social relations enacted in capitalism (45-46). In a universal approach, there is a danger that subjectivity is assumed to be determined by a force exterior to itself; a force, moreover, that is treated as a 'thing' rather than as a dynamic, changing set of social relations (46-47). Bannerji writes that capital should be understood, instead, as 'a practice, a determinate set of social relations and a cultural one at that. Thus, "race", gender, and patriarchy are inseparable from class, as any social organization rests on inter-subjective relations of bodies and minds, marked with socially constructed difference on the terrain of private property and capital' (2005: 149). This linking – the linking of social relations and subjectivity – is crucial. It moves analysis of capitalism from the abstract to the specific and divergent ways it is practiced. Rather than dismissing the subjectivities with which bodies are imbued as structures of oppression that operate parallel and separate to capitalist exploitation, one can begin to unpack the dangerous ways in which these hierarchical subjectivities are mobilized and entrenched for the pursuit of capitalist gain, and the ways in which the porous body (Harvey 1995) is a site through which power relations emerge and are enacted.

I contend that Bannerji's conception of capital as practice advances the FPE move toward analysis at the level of social formation at the same time as it responds to the race-blind tendencies in this literature, as noted by Vosko (2002). While Bannerji does not explicitly address Indigenous experiences and scholarship, her approach offers the space to do so insofar as

her intervention challenges the scholar to commit to a persistent attention to grounded processes of racialization. Of note, Ferguson (2008) argues that, in incorporating Bannerji's theory into an FPE analysis, 'it's helpful to draw upon David Harvey's notion of socio-geographic spatialization (2001), and recast the SRF [social reproduction feminism] foundational concept of labour to incorporate an understanding of its socio-spatial as well as sex-gender dimensions' (45). Here, Ferguson is referring to Harvey's dual conception of space which, she argues, cannot be experienced as separate from one another: that is, territorially based geo-political space, and social relations between spaces.

I concur with Ferguson and suggest that a spatial analysis is particularly important for – and, indeed, speaks to the distinctness of – a decolonizing FPE analysis. Indeed, in drawing on Bannerji's work, I am not attempting to conflate "race", Indigeneity, or settler/Indigenous relations. Colonialism is a racializing process, and Indigeneity is a racialized subjectivity. However, while there are undeniable intersections between processes of racializing Indigenous people in Canada and the racializing of those designated as "migrant" (Thobani 2007), particularly insofar as differently racialized subjectivities are deployed in the pursuit of building the White Settler Canadian State (Razack 2002), Indigenous subjectivities are uniquely produced through their attachment to land. This is both in regards to the racializing of Indigenous people through processes of colonization, and the attachment of decolonizing politics to particular places (Dua and Lawrence 2005). Coulthard (2010) expresses such an attachment to land in contrast to the Western temporal approach to ontology. He writes:

> It is a profound misunderstanding to think of land or place as simply some material object of profound importance to Indigenous cultures (although it is this too); instead it ought to be understood as a field of "relationships of things to each other." Place is a way of knowing, experiencing, and relating with the world – and these ways of knowing often guide forms of resistance to power relations that threaten to erase or destroy our senses of place (79-80).

Coulthard offers an expansion of relational analysis to the land; in his approach, the land is not something to be acted upon, but rather something (or some *things*) with which to act. This means that a decolonizing approach requires, first, a spatial specificity (and a specificity toward the plants, animals, rocks, and water within that space); and, second, an inclusion of land in relational analyses of production. Thus, in an ongoing commitment to decolonizing theory, the social relations of study herein extend to the land. Indeed, as I will discuss in chapter two, a material history of the Dene is a place-based history of relationships between people, animals and the land (Zoe 2005).

As alluded to in the discussion of fixed and variable capital above, space and place are also central – and contradictory – aspects of analysis of FIFO extractive regimes. FIFO extraction, in its emphasis of variable over fixed capital (by foregoing 'mining towns' for chartered flights) and its intensely temporary nature, is, in some ways, a perfect example of capital's tendency to erase space with time. However, just as resource extraction annexes spaces for (temporal) valuation, so, too, is it intrinsically reliant on space. As Rainie et al. (2014) write:

> Materiality brings about a potential conflict between natural production and social reproduction, and a dependency on natural production limits spatial flexibility…the extractive industry faces specific material limits on these processes. It is difficult to move a mine, no matter how much a particular company may wish to do this…FIFO, as we shall see, is a product of these particularities (104).

There is, then, a double contradiction – with violent implications – to a form of capitalist production that is both materially based and rooted in the *extraction* of that materiality in the context of a mixed economy grounded in the sustenance of place-based relations.

A further spatial particularity of FIFO extractive regimes is mobility: if capitalist production (in the form of diamond mining) is separated from the site of social reproduction and subsistence production, who moves to and from these different sites? Where are they moving

from and how? Walsh et al (2013) note, 'How people move over time and distance is indicative of spatial gender relations, particularly gendered power hierarchies…We argue that mobility, gender, and work intertwine in ways that reach to the core of gendered practices in everyday life, often reproducing traditional gendered relations but also creating spaces for new ones' (262). Furthermore, (perceived) mobility and non-mobility are racialized: while differently racialized people coming to the north to work in the mines are seen as inherently mobile, their work subjectivities detached from their own indigenous locations, northern Indigenous people are approached by the diamond mining regime *through* their relationship to place.

The triadic relationship between northern Indigenous communities, place, and the extractive regime is mediated by the Canadian State, and its contradictory attachment to capital and need for public legitimacy (Mahon 1977), a shifting signifier, to be sure. While subsistence performed by Indigenous people in the region is *intrinsically* tied to the land, it is *historically* (particularly since the mid-twentieth century) and *contemporaneously* tied to the Canadian State, and its policies targeting Indigenous social relations. The liberal public/private divide (Mackinnon 1989, Olsen 1983), or FPE analyses that separates social reproduction from capitalist production, often obscures the role of the state in socially reproducing capitalist relations. In understanding social reproduction as a politicized process, one can better assess the ways in which the state structures social reproduction: how states deploy different tactics to pursue capitalist accumulation in different spaces and times, and how people react and resist to these tactics. Indeed, Jenson (1986) makes the important point that social reproduction is not something that occurs in the private realm, or the "home"; instead, theorizing social reproduction must account for the dialectical relationship both between social reproduction and capitalist production at multiple sites, and also between social reproduction and the state. These relations

are particularly important in understanding the contours of social reproduction in the Yellowknife region. As I will discuss in chapter two, prior to the establishment of the diamond industry in 1998, the Canadian State played a far more activist role than private capital in restructuring subsistence production and social reproduction in Indigenous communities.

Jenson's (1986) argument points to the ever-present and ever-changing state activities required to shape social reproduction toward the needs of capital. An FPE analysis of the Canadian State's role in social reproduction in the Yellowknife region offers a new lens through which to view northern Indigenous/settler relations. Marxian (and left, generally) analyses of the state tend to focus on the ways in which the Canadian State has colluded with business interests in the expropriation of lands and resources from Indigenous peoples.[46] However, as the Sub-Arctic and Arctic are scarred by gaping mine shafts and chemical deposits, and as people march against pipelines that stretch through expanses of fragile land, there is another, more insidious, ongoing reconfiguration that works in concert with, but distinctly from, land expropriations: that is, the re-orientation of the social reproduction of Indigenous populations.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to develop a decolonizing FPE approach to an expanded conception of production, expanded in two senses: expanded to include different forms of production (capitalist production, social reproduction and subsistence production), and expanded to integrate the ideological with the material and the corporeal with the structural, to meaningfully approach relations of production as racialized and gendered *social* relations. In this chapter, I sought to bring an FPE expanded approach to production in conversation with feminist, Indigenous, and

[46] While academic left engagement with Indigenous issues in Canada *has* tended to focus on land expropriation, a left liberal approach has been far more common in recent decades than a Marxian approach. This has lead to a tendency to applaud the Canadian government for 'responsible' extraction or calls for greater 'responsibility' and 'community engagement' (see, for example, O'Faircheallaugh 2006, Fitzpatrick 2007, LaForce et al. 2009).

anti-racist theories of violence in order to build a theoretical grounding for the analysis of violence that threads through the remainder of the chapters.

The theoretical framework outlined in this chapter illustrates how social reproduction is a site of de/colonizing contestation. The shifting ways in which social reproduction is separated from production for subsistence and then performed in relation to both production for subsistence and surplus in the mixed economy is the primary site through which I explore the impact of diamond mining on gender relations, and the violent implications of shifts in departments of production. Through analyzing the social relations between and within departments of production at the level of social formation – that is, through the historical specificity of the contemporary mixed economy in the region in and around Yellowknife – the link between embodied violence and violent political and economic reorganization can be made more discernible. I employ this theoretical framework in the remainder of this dissertation with the understanding that the analytical categories I use are necessarily incomplete and inadequate, and that people's life histories cannot be fit into a box, but that by clearly articulating a defined analytical framework informed by specific political commitments and scholarly goals, my assumptions are laid bare and, thus, can be confronted, sharpened, and reshaped in the analysis that follows.

Chapter Two: A Decolonizing FPE Approach to Yellowknife's Development

'I remember something I lived by, that is affiliated with the mines, when, my uncle took me out when we were kids, out on the water to haul some water, we were out at old Fort Rae. Our auntie handed each of us kids a cup of water and he said, "You know, you won't always be able to drink from this lake. You won't always be able to drink this fresh water. You know, it tastes so good. You know why?" Because I was like, "Why? Why?" And he said, "Because some people are willing to give all this up for money. And that's why it's really important when you grow up to protect it. And that's what we're doing"' (Interview 116: 2014).

Introduction

As Coates (1985) notes, for many southern Canadians, life in the north was given flesh by authors like Farley Mowat and Pierre Burton, who told tales of harsh climates and hard men. While Yellowknife did not develop with the honky-tonk fanfare of Dawson City, it, too, has been characterized as a frontier town, a place of adventure and discovery. In his book, *Yellowknife* (1974), Ray Price describes the town as the 'new yet ancient land', evoking images of a wild, empty land ripe for adventure. Since the arrival of settlers and the adventure narratives that followed, Yellowknife has developed from a "frontier" gold mining town to the administrative centre of the Territory, with tall office towers housing federal, territorial, and municipal government bureaucracies, as well as the corporate interests that manage the diamond mines operating a few hundred kilometres outside of the town. Many of the shacks erected by mine workers in the 1930s remain, but these sit alongside fresh condominiums and suburban developments that look as though they might have been lifted from any number of small southern Canadian towns. Notwithstanding the myriad of restaurants flooded daily at 11:55 AM by government workers on their lunch break, or the fitness centres filled with residents escaping the winter darkness, the frontier rhetoric persists, from sources that range from the previous

federal government's northern strategy,[47] to extractive industry communications, to the density of southern "reality" shows.[48]

While the frontier imaginary offers colourful fodder for both engagement and critique (Sabin 2014), it belies a profoundly gendered and racialized settler colonial approach to northern development, and obscures labour that is not capitalist. In the "frontier" account, white settler labour carved out a capitalist economy upon a rugged empty space. The colonial violence of exploiting and restructuring traditional socio-economies is reframed as perseverance in a hostile environment, subsistence socio-economies are trapped in anachronistic space,[49] and non-Indigenous and Indigenous women are relegated to the role of bit-player or symbolic marker, respectively, rather than living, labouring actors. Settler accounts of Indigenous socio-economies tend to acknowledge – at least in a minimal sense – the political and economic role played by Indigenous men in their communities, but less so the equally significant political and economic roles played by Indigenous women.

In opposition to the frontier imaginary, a very real social alternative to the totality of Western capitalism plays out in the day-to-day labours of northern people in the area around Yellowknife, and throughout the NWT: the mixed economy. Scholars and activists have

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[47] See, for example, former Prime Minister Stephen Harper's claim that 'The true North is our destiny – for our explorers, for our entrepreneurs, for our artists. To not embrace the promise of the true North, now, at the dawn of its ascendency, would be to turn our backs on what it is to be Canadian' (Government of Canada 2009: 3). Harper's assertion obscures the activist role that the Canadian State and private interests have played in northern development in Canadian modern history; in particular, since World War II (Watkins 1977, DiFrancesco 2000, Abele 2009a).

[48] The density of reality-TV based in Yellowknife certainly demonstrates a persistent fascination in the north as an imagined frontier. Yellowknife, a town of 20,000, is home to three network reality TV series: Ice Road Truckers, Ice Pilots and Ice Lake Rebels, all of which depict a harsh, mostly empty landscape that requires a rugged, intrepid spirit.

[49] In using the term, "anachronistic space", I am referring to McClintock 's theory (1995). She writes, 'Since indigenous peoples are not supposed to be spatially there – for the lands are "empty" – they are symbolically displaced onto what I call anachronistic space…According to this trope, colonized people – like women and the working class in the metropolis – do not inhabit history proper but exist in a permanently anterior time within the geographic space of the modern empire as anachronistic humans, atavistic, irrational, bereft of human agency – the living embodiment of the archaic "primitive"' (30).

developed a significant body of decolonizing literature on northern political economy and the unique characteristics of the mixed economy that critiques and moves past "frontier" understandings of northern development (see, for example, Watkins 1977, Bourgeault 1983, Abele and Stasliulus 1989, Adams 1995, Kulchyski 2005, Abele 2009b, Southcott ed. 2015). With the aim of contributing to this literature, in this chapter I take up the categories of analysis outlined in chapter one by applying an expanded conception of production approach to the political economic history of the Yellowknife region[50] in the time that preceded the diamond mines. In so doing, I challenge the frontier narrative that casts Yellowknife as simply a resource town[51] by analyzing the shifts in regional gendered and racialized relations within and between departments of production from the mid to the end of the twentieth century.

In so doing, this chapter makes visible the – arguably, violent – shifts in gender divisions of labour through the development of the new, and newly racialized,[52] mixed economy as a result of the establishment of the gold mines around Yellowknife Bay and the Canadian State's activist role in restructuring Indigenous social reproduction. I argue that it was through these two colonial processes – that is, private capital's encroachment on subsistence production through its imposition of a capitalist extractive economy, and the Canadian State's restructuring of social reproduction through targeted racist policies and punitive measures – that a racialized gender division between subsistence production and social reproduction emerged in the new mixed economy. In historicizing and denaturalizing the separation of social reproduction from subsistence, I demonstrate the central role of Indigenous women's subsistence production in the region of study. My aim in this chapter is thus to historicize the theoretical contention advanced

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[50] By which, as noted in the introduction, I am referring to N'dilo, Dettah, Behchoko and Yellowknife.

[51] See, for example, Price (1974), Selleck and Thompson (1997), Outcrop (2000), and Silke (2012).

[52] By 'newly racialized', I am not suggesting that settler colonial processes of racialization began in this region in the mid-twentieth century; rather, that the socio-economic processes of the time led to new developments in the ways in which social relations in the region of study were racialized.

in chapter one that social reproduction is a site of tension between capitalist production and subsistence. In so doing, in this chapter, and those that follow, I situate structural and embodied violence against Indigenous women *within* northern political economic development, rather than as an inexplicable aberration *from* imagined linear trajectories of expansion and "advancement".

My analysis below unfolds in four sections. In section one, I introduce the area around Yellowknife – or Weledeh – as the site of study, contextualizing the region in Tlicho Dene and Yellowknives Dene history. In section two, I explore gender relations in subsistence production in the traditional and early mixed economy, suggesting that gender divisions of labour in these economies are characterized by an interdependence in purpose and in the ways in which they are practiced. I demonstrate that social reproduction and subsistence production become separate categories of labour largely through targeted policies pursued by the Canadian State. In section three, I take up the three departments of production that populate the expanded conception of production framework to analyze the development of Yellowknife's mid-twentieth century mixed economy. I discuss the establishment of capitalist production in the form of gold mining and, later, government work, both of which were established through an ideology of "separate" settler/Indigenous development, but, in practice, interacted relationally with existing subsistence production in the development of the regional mixed economy. I argue that, while there were only limited attempts to integrate local Dene people into capitalist production prior to the diamond mines, from the mid-twentieth century onward, the Canadian State took on an activist role in disciplining and restructuring Indigenous social reproduction to fit a Western, capitalist model. Canadian State activities worked to disrupt the intergenerational social reproduction of Dene communities: a structural violence with past and present embodied consequences. In

section four, I discuss Indigenous organizing that emerged as a response to intensified Canadian State presence in the region and extractive development.

I. Introducing Weledeh/Yellowknife

The geographic site of analysis of this dissertation is the area in and around Yellowknife, which includes N'dilo and Dettah, the two adjoining Weledeh (Yellowknives Dene) communities, and Behchoko, a Tlicho Dene community one hour to the north of Yellowknife. While the Dene of different communities have shared and intertwining histories that span the land that is now the NWT, many Dene communities operate independently from one another, and hold distinct identities from their neighbours. The NWT, including the region of study, is also home to Inuit and Métis people.[53] While Yellowknife, N'dilo, Dettah and Behchoko are discrete sites with distinct dynamics of community level social reproduction, they are tightly linked through border-crossing social relations. Some residents, including some research participants, alternately live in Behchoko and work in Yellowknife, or work in Yellowknife and live in Behchoko, daily driving one hour along the road that links the towns. For example, Rose, a young Tlicho Dene woman who lives in Yellowknife said:

> Yeah, we go back every two months or so. Because I still have cousins out there. And even my immediate family, like it's my mom and my dad and my sister, and me growing up with millions of cousins running around. I want my son to have that…And because the world's so different now, we go out there. And he has a sense of freedom there (Interview 102: 2014).

Many Tlicho conceptualize their lives, families, and communities as straddling these two towns.

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[53] There are just over 40,000 people living in the NWT, approximately 50% of whom are Indigenous. Most of the Indigenous population lives in the 32 smaller communities of the Territory (NWT Bureau of Statistics 2015), while most of the non-Indigenous population lives in Yellowknife. Unlike the Yukon, the NWT's urban population is spread out among a few towns (Coates and Powell 1989). Hay River, Fort Smith and Inuvik all have populations ranging from 2,500 to 4000 and are much larger than most Indigenous communities. They also have significant non-Indigenous populations. Most Indigenous communities have less than 1000 inhabitants, with the smallest, Kakisa, counting approximately 55 residents. It is also worth noting that some writings count the number of NWT communities as up to 60, depending on how communities are defined and counted, 'demonstrating that Northern Indigenous ways of moving and settling simply do not fit neatly into Western data collection' (Hall 2013: 391).

As Abele (2009) argues, the mixed economies of northern cities should be understood through their relationship to a rural base: to the smaller communities more deeply and consistently engaged in subsistence, and to the expanses of land and water where the caribou live, and where the trap lines and fishnets are set. This is not to say that people do not engage in subsistence production in Yellowknife or the other urban centres of the NWT, nor that capitalist production is not an important part of the economy in smaller communities; rather, that the balance between capitalist and subsistence production is significantly different in urban and rural communities, and that the urban and rural in the NWT are linked through a social and economic interdependence. Taken together, the cities and communities represent a mixed economy, wherein livelihoods are built through a combination of subsistence, social reproduction, and employment in government (municipal, territorial and federal), non-governmental organizations, and private business (mining and industries auxiliary to both mining and government, tourism, as well as businesses serving the local populations).

Recall that the mixed economy, itself, is not approached here as a fixed category, but rather as an ever-shifting set of social relations reproduced through ongoing resistance to the totalizing impulses of capital and the settler state. Thinking through the dynamism of the mixed economy – and its uneven spatial enactment across the urban and rural north – helps move analysis beyond the blunt instrument of dichotomous thinking (for example, traditional/capitalist or colonizing/decolonizing) toward a grounded qualitative approach to the shifting relations between and within departments of production in the area around Yellowknife, and the gendered and racialized implications of conceptualizing the mixed economy as a – shifting, and potentially temporary – site of de/colonizing struggle.

Figure 2: Map of NWT communities (GNWT 2012).

Yellowknife's name comes from the Weledeh Dene First Nations, also called the Yellowknives Dene, named for their tools and cooking instruments made from copper they collected from their traditional territory (Yellowknives Dene First Nation). Today, it is the NWT capital, the centre of private capital and government activities in the territory (see Figure 2 for Yellowknife's location in relation to the rest of the communities in the NWT). People from southern Canada and, indeed, around the globe have come to Yellowknife as a result of private recruitment into the extractive and auxiliary industries, and state initiatives, like the temporary

foreign worker program.[54] Yellowknife has also become home (in varying degrees of temporariness or "permanence") to Indigenous people from across the NWT and the north. Indeed, during a quick stroll along Franklin Avenue – the town's central road – one might encounter a conversation in Inuktitut, followed by two friends speaking across dialects in North and South Slavey, followed by a group of Tlicho Dene youth interjecting Dogrib into their English banter.[55]

Traditionally, however, the land that is now Yellowknife and its surrounding area was inhabited primarily by the Weledeh Yellowknives Dene (now part of the Akaitcho Nation), whose summer camps lined the Yellowknife River, and the Tlicho, whose summer camps were just north up the northern arm of Great Slave Lake. While it is accurate and important to name these spaces as the traditional territory of the Dene, the concept, "traditional", must not be conflated with a static account of history. As with any group or community, land usage changed over time. According to Tlicho cosmology, as told to Valerie Gibson by John B. Zoe, a member of the Tlicho First Nation, Dene history is conceptualized through relationships: relationships to people (outside and inside of Dene communities), animals, and land. Eras are marked 'in the initiation of relationships to newcomers, the negotiation of difference and the resolution of difference through agreement-making' (Zoe in Gibson 2008: 53). For example, the second historical era for the Tlicho tells the story of the 1823 Peace Treaty between the Tlicho and the

[54] Of note, while hiring through the temporary foreign worker program has been restricted by the Federal Government due to high rates of unemployment in the territory, Yellowknife, as a city, applied for and was granted an exemption (GNWT 2015).

[55]According to Government of the Northwest Territories data, approximately 25% of Yellowknife residents identify as Indigenous and 18% of Yellowknife adults speak an Indigenous language well enough to carry on a conversation (GNWT 2015). This is compared to 38% of the population as a whole. These languages include Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, Inuinnaqtun, Dogrib, Cree, Chipewyan, North Slavey, South Slavey, and Gwich'n. However, the full-time Indigenous population in Yellowknife at any one time is bolstered by the many transient people who come in from their home communities in the NWT for any length of time for work, health and social service appointments, education or visits with family and friends. This transience is a particular feature of Yellowknife important for understanding the relationship between Yellowknife and the smaller Indigenous communities in the north.

Weledeh Yellowknives Dene. After years of hostility generated by competition for European goods, the two groups established a peace treaty that demarcated their respective land. The Peace Treaty made it possible for the Tlicho to camp closer to the Yellowknife River and facilitated land sharing; however, it is also a treaty that continues to shape contemporary competing interpretations of, and struggles for, the land (Yellowknives Dene First Nation, Gibson 2008: 67).[56]

Tlicho cosmology is oriented around ruptures in social relations that are negotiated and resolved. The concept, "rupture", is useful because it acknowledges the impact of new relations, and the labours necessary to manage that impact, but it does not approach the new relations as totalizing. Instead, eras marked by the rupture of new relations make space for a new set of dialectically emergent relations. This way of approaching history reminds us that, while the mixed economy is evidence of Indigenous resistance and regional innovations, it is neither fixed nor a given. Indeed, the mixed economy is not exempt from the threats of capital's *ongoing* tendencies towards new accumulations, nor the structural violence of white supremacy. The concept of rupture, then, is drawn upon in this chapter and following chapters to link past processes of restructuring with the impact, or rupture, of the diamond mines.

II. An Expanded Conception of Production Approach to Weledeh's Early Mixed Economy

In this dissertation, I define subsistence as labour that is performed in the NWT mixed economy for the purpose of acquiring or producing the needs of a household or community. Thus, while cognizant of the continuities between forms of non-capitalist, land-based labour across the globe (Bennholdt-Thomsen and Mies 1999, Kuokkanen 2011), I am referring to the *specific* ways in

[56] For more detail on the political history of the Dene, see Watkins (1977), Coates and Morrison (1989), and Gibson (2008). It is beyond the scope of this chapter – and, indeed, this dissertation – to offer a fulsome discussion of the complex ways in which the production and social reproduction of Indigenous relationships to land has been translated into calls for sovereignty through treaties and negotiations (Coulthard 2014).

which subsistence labour is performed in the region of study, the sets of meaning the people performing this labour attach to it, and its racialization through settler colonial processes. Here, I emphasize the roles of Indigenous women in subsistence production in the early mixed economy, and the interdependence between (typically) male and (typically) female labour, as well as the relational quality of subsistence, more generally. In the traditional and, to some extent, early mixed economy, subsistence and social reproduction were indistinguishable as they were performed with the same aim: that is, the provisions of the social needs of the community. This interdependence is, I argue, at odds with the capitalist feminization of social reproduction, and the tendency in Western capitalist cultures to structure social reproduction outside of so-called relations of production (i.e., production for surplus) through a nuclear, heterosexual household norm. This racialized tension runs through the history of Canadian State/Indigenous relations – from the denial of women's leadership in subsistence to the racist surveillance of Indigenous motherhood (Baskin 2003) – and underpins the gendered shifts in the departments of production in the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife. I discuss the relations of production of the Yellowknives and Tlicho Dene, first, in the context of the traditional northern economy in the region of study, and next in the context of the pre-diamond mixed economy.

a) Social reproduction and subsistence in the traditional economy

Both the Weledeh Yellowknives Dene and the Tlicho Dene spent centuries on the land surrounding Yellowknife, their dogsled trails and canoe routes navigating the territory, from the northern barrens down to Great Slave Lake (Gibson 2008). The Weledeh Yellowknives Dene Elders Advisory Council (1997) writes:

> Since time immemorial, T'satsot'ine have stayed on the banks of the Weledeh [Yellowknife River], coming to think of themselves as Weledeh Yellowknives Dene and traveling throughout their traditional lands. As Indigenous people, Weledeh Yellowknives Dene were born to their lands and in that sense are part of their lands. For

> Dene the "land" (*ndeh* in their languages) means about the same as the English word "environment": ndeh includes the soil and plants, the air and weather, birds, the waters and fish, trees, animals and people who use the land. From generation to generation, Dene are taught to respect the land because it is the source of their survival. Respect is paid in many ways: by using without damaging; by not wasting any part of animals, birds and fish; by offering to pay the land; and by learning to live with the land its changing without bringing change (11).

This articulation of relating to the land is more than a history or a set of material practices: it is also an ontology. Coulthard describes this ontology as a place-based orientation, a 'grounded normativity' (2014: 60).[57] This orientation links social relations as they shift throughout different periods of the traditional and mixed economy.

In traditional (pre-contact) Dene economies, specific divisions of subsistence labour diverged between different groups, but because of the geography and the cold climate of the NWT, what was common was a nomadic lifestyle wherein large game was most often hunted (usually a male task) and prepared (usually a female task) in co-operative parties (Asch 1977, Nahanni 1992, Irlbacher-Fox 2009). Phoebe Nahanni writes that, 'At the time of contact and generally to the 1920's the Dene traveled widely in family groups, periodically visiting the trading posts. Since then their movements gradually decreased in scope' (1992: 68). Like other Dene communities in the NWT, the Weledeh Yellowknives Dene traditionally lived nomadic lives, structuring their labour and their migration with the seasons. They would spend their summers gathering berries and medicine and fishing on the Yellowknife River, moving their camps north to hunt as the weather grew colder (Yellowknives Dene Elders Advisory Group 1997). The Tlicho Dene camped up the north arm of Great Slave Lake in the summer.

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[57] Indeed, Coulthard writes, 'Indigenous struggles against capitalist imperialism are best understood as struggles oriented around the question of land —struggles not only for land, but also deeply informed by what the land as a mode of reciprocal relationship (which is itself informed by place-based practices and associated form of knowledge) ought to teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and our surroundings in a respectful, nondominating and nonexploitative way' (2014: 60).

Up until recently, the land use patterns of the Weledeh Yellowknives Dene brought them in and out of the land that is now called Yellowknife on an annual basis. Before the town and mine settlements, the moose and rabbit around Yellowknife River provided sufficient resources for some families to stay year-round, if they chose; however, most would spend winters in the northern barrens. The Tlicho Dene followed similar seasonal land use patterns. The Yellowknives Dene First Nation Elder Advisory Council describes (1997) winters in the following way:

> Every member of Weledeh Yellowknives families who could walk in the barrens harvested wood, water, food, feathers, and wind-blown musk-ox hair. Women, children and old people who could no longer travel on winter trails collected berries, medicine plants, moss, lichen, seeds, fish eggs, and bird eggs. They set willow and babiche nets in lakes to catch fish and in shrubs to catch ptarmigan. They set snares and nets for winter fowl, and snares for rabbit and other small animals. Youth and adult hunters who did not have to stay with young children harvested large animals for meat and trapped larger fur-bearers for pelts and sometimes meat (27-28).

As illustrated in this account, while certain roles were designated for women and others for men, traditional Yellowknives Dene relations of production are characterized by interdependence and by respect for all aspects of labour. Nahanni (1992) explains that, 'within the domestic unit, each member of the family performs tasks which were learned by observation or taught to members of the family. Division of labor for some tasks are gender related' (57). Harnum et al (2014) and Usher et al (2003) note that, because of this interdependence, subsistence production should be approached at the household level, rather than making the individual the unit of analysis.[58] Harnum et al and Usher et al also recognize the inter-household sharing and cooperation involved in northern subsistence production. Nahanni stresses the flexibility of these roles within

[58] This assertion is an important theoretical challenge to the capitalist normative approach that assumes the individual as the economic unit of analysis, and also an important empirical insight into relations of production and reproduction in the North. However, in its approach to the household as a homogenous unit, it obscures shifting gender relations of production and power within the household; this concept will be further discussed in chapter five.

household and inter-household groupings, as women and men took on different tasks as needed (57-59). For example, after the men had successfully hunted caribou, Yellowknives Dene women used caribou hides to make tipis, blankets, floor mats, covers for sled frames, and other necessities for their households and communities.[59] They also made hunting cases and bags for the hunters (YK Dene First Nations Advisory Council 1997: 33). The Yellowknives Dene First Nations Advisory Council (1997) notes that the women took great pride in decorating the hunting cases and bags (34), their craftwork honouring both the work of the hunters, and their own skill.

The interdependence of gender roles in subsistence is obscured when Indigenous women's subsistence labour is described as "traditional culture", rather than work (Irlbacher-Fox 2009) – as with beadwork and sewing – or it is obscured altogether. Describing this labour as "culture" relies upon both the racialized marginalization of traditional labour as a "symbol" of anachronistic culture (McClintock 1995),[60] rather than a department of production contributing to the regional political economy, and the gendered naturalization of labour performed in sites of "home", or non-work. Indeed, while there is a certain fascination on the part of settler populations with the perceived "grit" required to hunt a moose, for example, there is far less attention paid to all of the complex processes undertaken by women in their preparation of animals for food, shelter, clothing, and household goods. These are processes that are integral for communities, both in terms of meeting their needs for daily and intergenerational social reproduction, and in terms of the place-based meaning of these activities. In her description of Dene women's work tanning moosehide, Irlbacher-Fox offers an example of the symbolic and

[59] Caribou is very important for the Dene, materially and symbolically. This longstanding relationship to the caribou is important to note, given the impacts the diamond mines have had on caribou migration patterns.

[60] It is the anachronistic account of culture that is problematic here, as certainly this labour *is* imbued with cultural meaning. However, to use its cultural meaning to assign this labour a space outside of relations of production is to deny its role in the maintenance and social reproduction of the mixed economy.

material importance of subsistence labour traditionally designated to the women, and the expertise this labour requires.[61] She writes:

> According to Dene knowledge, the newly created Earth was made beautiful by a moosehide. In the NWT, ceremonial, special occasion, and everyday use of moosehide continue to make the world beautiful. Moosehide clothing is a signifier of Dene cultural knowledge, artistic ability, and artisanal skill. Tanning, sewing, or beading moosehide items requires intense skill and attention that few people possess. Tanning hides requires tanners to be close to the land (37).

When subsistence labour is implicitly conflated with typically-male activities, like hunting, it is through a settler gendered assessment of the *quality* of labour and the gendered subjectivities of the people performing the labour. This characterization inaccurately imports a labour typology informed by capitalist social relations that feminizes and naturalizes much non-value producing labour. The gendered nature of a particular form of labour and the gendered subjectivities of the people performing that labour are of a different level of analysis than the labour's relationship to capitalist production for surplus value. However, it is settler ideological assumptions that are used to obscure Indigenous women's role in subsistence production. Indeed, conflating subsistence labour with the types of work typically performed by Indigenous men draws on the settler capitalist ideological assumption that social reproduction is *separate* from capitalist production; thus, here, subsistence production replaces capitalist production in the imagined social reproduction/capitalist production dichotomy. Replacing capitalist production

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[61] Irlbacher-Fox (2009) offers a unique written account of labour practices that are usually transmitted orally. She writes, 'The tanning process is lengthy and complex. Unprocessed hides are provided by hunters; when they kill a moose, it is skinned. This skin, covered in hair on the outside and with meat and membrane on the side having contact with the muscles and flesh underneath, can weigh upward of 100 pounds and is difficult to pack out of the bush. Tanning the hide involves removing all of the hair and all of the flesh to create a single piece of leather of uniform thickness. This is done by a multi-stage process using different sizes of knives for first scraping off the hair, then the flesh, thinning the skin at parts where it is thickest, usually over organs such as the kidneys. This is followed by a process of soaking the hide in a mixture of Ivory soap, water, and rotted moose or caribou brains. At intervals it is stretched and wrung out or "twisted" and then smoked over fires consisting mainly of rotted spruce wood dampened with water. Smoked hides are scraped using ulu-like scrapers, or moose leg bone scrapers, which serves to soften and stretch the drying fibres of the smoked hide, removing bits of membrane. This is followed by a final smoking, where the hide, sewn into a cone shape with the bottom of it left open, is hung over a smouldering fire of a specific type of dried rotted spruce wood, which is called dahshaa in the Gwich'in language. The dahshaa smokes up into the hide, imparting the distinctive rich bronze colour of the hand-tanned hide' (36-37).

with subsistence in this dichotomy is a mistaken parallel because the division between capitalist production and social reproduction is a *real* division under the capitalist mode of production insofar as capitalist labour is labour that creates new value for capitalism (productive labour) and social reproduction is labour that provides the necessities for daily and intergenerational reproduction.[62] In subsistence production, there is no such division: neither subsistence nor social reproduction is performed for the valuation of capital. Instead, both forms of production are oriented towards the social needs of the community. Rather than the contradictory dependence capitalism has on social reproduction, the *inter*dependence of labours in the traditional economy is one that emerges from shared goals and shared benefits. Furthermore, no one form of labour is ideologically or materially subsumed by the other. The distinction between subsistence production and social reproduction materializes as interventions by private capital and the Canadian State simultaneously racialize and marginalize subsistence production, and attempt to feminize and re-orient Indigenous social reproduction towards capitalist production.

b) The development of the modern mixed economy in and around Yellowknife

Irlbacher-Fox's account of tanning moosehide, quoted above, is a contemporary one, demonstrating the ways in which subsistence labour persists in the shifting mixed economy of the NWT. However, to say that this form of labour persists is not to minimize the deep changes in the material and ideological structures that shape the mixed economy. Indeed, I have specified the difference between capitalist and subsistence gender divisions of labour[63] in order to build the theoretical grounding for analyzing the violent racialized and gendered shifts between and within departments of production as a result of governance regimes, and structures of capitalist

[62] As noted in chapter one, this is not to say that these labours are not interdependent or that the boundary between the two is impermeable; only that there is a real distinction in their relationship to the valuation of capital.
[63] This is a distinction at a general level, noting that gender relations in specific capitalist, subsistence, and mixed economies, and the divergences *within* these categories, are best analyzed at the level of social formation.

accumulation. In this section, I locate the Weledeh Yellowknives Dene and the Tlicho Dene in the geography of the modern mixed economy, and analyze the relations of production in and around Yellowknife through the development of gold mines, and the resulting settlement of Yellowknife, first as a mining town and then as a government town, as well.

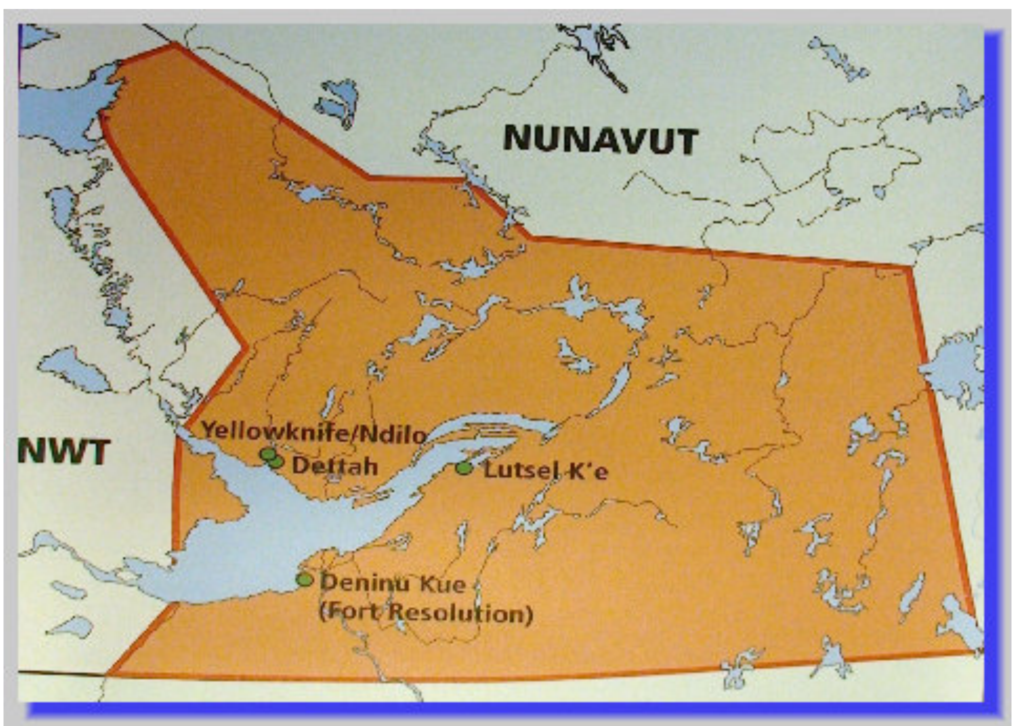

Figure 3: Akaitcho land (Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation 2014).

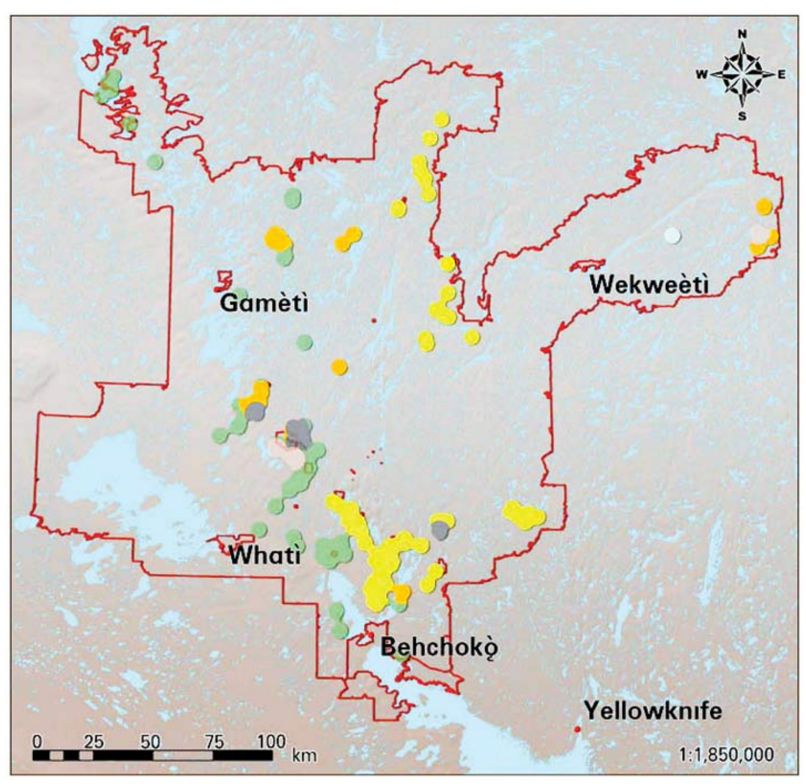

Figure 4: Tlicho land claim (Tlicho Government 2014).

Today, the Weledeh Yellowknives Dene live primarily in N'dilo and Dettah. N'dilo sits on the tip of Latham Island, neighbour to Yellowknife's Old Town, looking out on Great Slave Lake – what Peter Kulchyski describes as 'prime real estate…poor people on expensive turf' (2005)[64] – while Dettah is around the bay, a 40-minute drive from Yellowknife in the summer or a 10-minute drive along the frozen Great Slave Lake during the winter (see Figure 3). After settling the Tlicho Land Claims and Self-government Agreement in 2003, discussed below, the Tlicho Dene First Nation now governs 39,000 square kilometres of land to the northwest of Yellowknife, land surrounding the four Tlicho communities of Whati, Gameti, Wekweti and Behchoko. Behchoko, 100 kilometres north of Yellowknife and the largest community of the

[64] Kulchyski is referring, in particular, to N'dilo's proximity to Old Town, a neighbourhood that, as the name suggests, is the original Yellowknife (non-Indigenous) settlement. While one can still find the old shacks that first scattered around Old Town, they sit beside some of the most expensive homes in town.

four, is the governing centre of the Tlicho First Nation (see Figure 4). Zoe describes the contemporary Tlicho landscape as:

> known intimately to Tlicho Elders. Trails, which are used year-round, provide access to a vast harvesting region, and link thousands of place names, each with a narrative of some form, sometimes many, inextricably bound to the place. Names and narratives convey knowledge, and in this way Tlicho culture is tied directly to the landscape' (Zoe 2014).

Like Indigenous people from other territories and communities, some Yellowknives Dene and Tlicho Dene also live in the City of Yellowknife itself, which was established through the 1930s gold rush.

In the 1930s, the lure of gold brought a new set of social relations – a rupture – to the early mixed economy. While the fur trade is what initially drew Euro-Canadians to the NWT,[65] it was gold that enticed them to settle on the Dene land now known as Yellowknife. As Mark Dickerson (1992) writes, 'gold fever spilled over into the NWT from the Yukon [gold rush]' (18). In 1935, a gold deposit found on the east shore of Yellowknife Bay led to the development of Con Mine. Shacks were erected to house the mineworkers in what is now Yellowknife's Old Town, a rocky shoreline that, to this day, is etched with frontier lore about adventure, living on

[65] It is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss it in detail, but the fur trade had a major impact on the lives of Indigenous people in the NWT. For an analysis of this, see Asch (1977), Coates (1985), and Blondin (1997). On the impact on Indigenous people, Coates (1985) writes, 'They gained access to the technology and material devices of a different age and civilization [sic], but they also faced the devastation caused by imported disease, a depletion of game through over-hunting and considerable economic and social change' (30). Settler fur trades established ten camps, or forts, along the Mackenzie River (Gibson 2008: 54); Indigenous peoples engaged in the fur trade shifted their annual travel patterns to participate in these camps, the locations of which have shaped colonial settlements in the NWT to this day. Given the subject of this dissertation, it is of note that Ron Bourgeault (1983) argues that participation in the fur trade undermined egalitarian relationships between women and men in northern Indigenous communities because men were seen as responsible for the fur as a trade-able commodity and thus 'assumed the role of the head of the household' while women were targeted by settlers as a means of accessing Indigenous communities. Bourgeault's claims are provocative insofar as they offer an assessment of the way in which gendered relationships shifted through early contact between northern Indigenous peoples and settlers; however, his insistence on the degradation of gender equality and communal structures of reproduction and production is challenged by many accounts of Indigenous social relations of that time (see Asch 1977), including the Yellowknives Dene First Nations Elders Advisory Council, who point to significant changes in their land use patterns as a result of the fur trade, but not to changes in their gendered structures of social reproduction or production.

the land, and escape from the ordinary.[66] In historical accounts, the "discovery narratives" vary, with the most significant variance found between those told by prospectors – involving discovery of gold on an empty land – and the Yellowknives Dene account, wherein two women picking berries for medicine found a rock full of gold and were convinced by a prospector having tea with their family to trade it with him for a metal pot (Yellowknives Dene First Nations Advisory Council 1997).

Originally, the deposits at Con Mine were believed to be limited, and gold exploration and development was sidelined by developments related to World War II. Young men who might have otherwise worked in the mines were asked to fight; northern uranium extraction was prioritized over gold during the war (Dickerson 1992); and, the north gained strategic importance for national security (both Canadian and American), redirecting state resources that might otherwise have gone towards northern extraction. War-related development led to the building of airfields and winter roads, and the construction of the Canol Pipeline to bring oil from Norman Wells, NWT, through Whitehorse to Alaska (Abele 2009a: 24), activities that had a major impact on northern Indigenous peoples (Barry 1992, Abele 2009a). However, after the war, prospectors found additional deposits at the Con Mine site, and on the north side of Yellowknife, leading to the development of Giant Mine in 1948. Thus, the NWT gold industry revived. Over the decades, the two mines operated at varying rates of profit: both suffered and faced threats of closure due to increased costs of production and stagnant gold prices in the 1960s, but revived with the ascent of the market value of gold in the 1970s. Throughout the mid-twentieth century,

[66] See, for example, Fran Hurcomb's *Old Town: A Photographic Journey Through Yellowknife's Defining Neighbourhood* (2012).

the mines provided relatively steady employment for many settler men in the new town of Yellowknife. Ultimately, Con Mine operated until 2003 and Giant Mine operated until 2004.[67]

In contrast to the FIFO extractive structure discussed in the next chapter and its emphasis on variable capital, like most northern mining settlements at the time, the Yellowknife gold mines were characterized by heavy investment in fixed capital. This establishment of fixed capital laid settler claim to the land already marked by the nomadic patterns of Dene subsistence production. Initially, most workers were housed in camps adjacent to the mines. Even as the town of Yellowknife developed and mine employees and their partners and children moved to homes closer to the new town centre, Con Mine and Giant Mine were but a short drive from workers' homes. Histories of the gold mines describe hard labour, and jovial settler and camp life where proverbial stakes were set and lives were built in the newest part of the "new world". For the workers, employment in the gold mines was often the alternative to poverty in southern Canada, as is sometimes the case with extractive labour in imagined frontier or "undesirable" spaces. As Jack Lambert, who worked in Con Mine in 1938, when it first opened, said, 'When I was there, I don't think there was any turnover. People were coming in and if they got a job, they stayed there. This was the time of the 1930s, when having a job was something to be prized' (in Silke 2009: 14).[68] Settler and Indigenous miners (always male, sometimes with female partners) also arrived from other parts of the north: for example, seasoned northern prospectors and miners arrived from Great Bear Lake, some 500 km northwest of Yellowknife. For its new residents, Yellowknife became a space of "temporary permanence", a local political economy invested in its amenities, and with stable jobs that could support families under a male breadwinner/female caregiver model (Seccombe 1986).

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[67] A third site, Negus Mine, operated from 1939 to 1952 (Silke 2009).

[68] Jack Lambert moved to Yellowknife from Edmonton, where he was making $35/month. At Con Mine, Lambert started at $125/month (Silke 2009: 14).

Since its establishment, Yellowknife has been home to settler women. Settler women arrived in Yellowknife in the 1930s, along with settler men, albeit in much smaller numbers. Some women arrived with their husbands who had come to mine and some arrived of their own accord. Originally, women were employed primarily as teachers, nurses, missionaries and nuns. Women's experiences are omitted in a great deal of writings on early modern life in the north, in both the writings of settler society and of Indigenous society.[69] As Lois Little notes:

> Northern women's stories are not part of the written history of the NWT even though indigenous women have always lived throughout the north and an estimated 500 Euro-Canadian women lived in or passed through the NWT as missionaries, educators, nurses, travellers, artists, scientists, writers, and wives of "significant others" between 1867 and 1939 (Kelcey 4). Northern women are mainly invisible in adventurers and explorers' journals, historians' treatise, and government and ethnographers' reports. The small body of writings by non-indigenous women who historically passed through or lived in the NWT speak of personal courage, isolation and hardship and generally fail to acknowledge the presence of other women, particularly indigenous women (2007: 98).

The historical records of women's stories and labours are limited; however, early accounts of settler women describe the challenges of social reproduction in the cold climate with limited resources. Little quotes Florence, who was born to early settlers of the Yellowknife region, who said, 'In the mixed economy,[70] "women were part of everything", and men and women always worked together to survive and earn a living' (Little 2007: 44). Beyond the day-to-day social reproduction activities that these women performed, before social service infrastructure was in place, settler women also developed community welfare projects. For example, the *Daughters of the Midnight Sun* was a social group established in 1938 by 16 women self-described as 'the majority of the fair sex in the community at the time' (Outcrop 2000), who developed artistic and

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[69] It is worth noting that it is *written* history that omits the role of women and Indigenous oral history chronicles women's roles in reproduction, production and community leadership (See, for example, Nahanni 1992, Zoe 2005, Irlbacher-Fox 2009).

[70] Here Little is using the term, "mixed economy", in comparison to the globalized economy she observes and analyzes post-diamond mining. This is distinct from my usage; however, she is articulating a particular gendered interdependence in the mixed economy during the gold mine that is distinct both from the interdependence of traditional subsistence labour and the gendered relationships to labour since the establishment of diamond mining.

welfare community projects. This self-characterization, of course, excludes the Indigenous women living alongside the new settlers. As Little notes, much like male settler accounts, the limited narratives available of early settler women's lives in the NWT tend to either ignore Indigenous women and men's presence, or to present them as an anachronistic fascination, obscuring the role Indigenous labour played in the development of settler women and men's lives in Yellowknife.

The details of the historical relationships between differently racialized settler women and Indigenous women in Yellowknife's early history would bring depth to an FPE analysis of the development of the mixed economy; however, it is beyond the scope of this project. Rather, I introduce the roles of early settler women here to demonstrate the gender roles that accompanied the development of the gold mining regime. These gender roles would come to shape Indigenous engagement in mining, but not in this iteration of an extractive regime. Indeed, the male-breadwinner/female-caregiver model that came alongside the gold mining industry did not, for the most part, penetrate gender relations in Indigenous households, who tended to be involved with the gold mines in a time-limited fashion. Indeed, while women and men, Indigenous and not, contributed to the development of the town of Yellowknife, it was almost exclusively settler men who were steadily employed by the extractive economy.[71]

However, Yellowknife is a town that defies easy categorization: a "resource town" to be sure, Yellowknife is also a government town. While gendered access to wage labour in and around Yellowknife may have had beginnings similar to other northern resource towns, as the regional mixed economy grew through the presence of settler and First Nations administrative and political offices and the employment they provided, the gendering of wage labour shifted.

[71] The gold mining employment regime is discussed in more detail in chapter three.

Unlike the provinces, the NWT developed under federal administration through an evolving bureaucratic matrix in Ottawa.[72] Indeed, Dickerson (1992) writes that from 1905 to 1921, the NWT was governed from Ottawa in an ad-hoc fashion without a policy framework; and from, 1921 to 1950, 'a handful of civil servants in Ottawa ran the region as if it was their own bureaucratic fiefdom' (29).[73] However, the 1950s saw concerted efforts to develop regional self-administration in the NWT, including territorial representation in federal parliament. This process of devolution led to the establishment of Yellowknife as territorial capital and the corresponding move of administration from Ottawa to Yellowknife.[74] In 1953, the first mayor of Yellowknife was elected (Dickerson 1992: 18), establishing a municipal administrative structure; and in 1967, Yellowknife was named the territorial capital.

This regional self-administration was but one moment in a long process of devolution that had, arguably, one of its most significant developments in 2014 – that is, the granting of territorial jurisdiction over subsurface rights.[75] However, in terms of the development of Yellowknife as a city and the introduction of new forms of employment, the move of the territorial administration from Ottawa was of deep significance. Hurcomb (2012) writes:

> [The] Government of the NWT left Ottawa and arrived in Yellowknife, with an advance guard of 81 government employees. Almost overnight, Yellowknife changed from a mining town into a government center, with all that entailed, including the construction of office buildings and apartment complexes in New Town to accommodate the new arrivals (10).

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[72] See Dickerson (1992) for a comprehensive history and policy analysis of NWT federal administration and points of devolution.

[73] See Wotherspoon and Satzewich (2000) for an analysis of the federal bureaucracy as it relates to Indigenous administration.

[74] The constitutional basis for territorial self-government was established by the NWT Act, written in 1875 and amended in 1905 to reflect new territorial boundaries (Dickerson 1992, Abele 2009a).

[75] In April 2014, jurisdiction over subsurface rights was granted to the NWT. This has important implications for the managing and distribution of revenue from the diamond mines, which is discussed in chapter three.

And, indeed, the abrupt "arrival" was more than just metaphor. CBC archived radio north footage from Yellowknife in 1967 reads:

> We start with the arrival at the territorial government on September 18, 1967. Everyone is anxiously awaiting the arrival of the new residents of the NWT. The stewardess has opened the door and I can see the figures of some of the first arrivals. I see our Commissioner, Stuart Hodgson, followed by John Parker and Mr. Gamble, the Treasurer of the NWT…I think I see a pet skunk coming off. I seem to see a cage. The skunk is just behind Mr. Gilchrist, the assistant to the Commissioner. The skunk is very small and is completely deodorized. I would be interested in seeing its first encounter with a raven (CBC in Outcrop 2000: 180).[76]

For those Yellowknife residents who took pride in their frontier settler subjectivity, it was the beginning of a new time, indeed. Demonstrative of the dynamism of the northern mixed economy, the "temporary permanence" of the gold mining economy was faced with a rupture. The newly localized administrative apparatuses would come to shape, and be shaped, in turn, by the Indigenous governance regimes that would be built throughout the territory from the 1970s onward through Indigenous resistance, land claim negotiation, and struggles for self-government. These struggles are discussed in the final section of this chapter. In the next section, however, I build upon this overview of the development of the mixed economy in Yellowknife by taking up the analytical categories developed in chapter one to focus on the regional shifts in capitalist production, social reproduction, and subsistence production between the development of the gold mines and the "discovery" of diamonds half a century later.

III. Tracing the Shifts in Departments of Production in the Mixed Economy

The sixty years between Con Mine's first dig and the first flight to bring workers from Yellowknife to the diamond mines were ones of profound change for the Tlicho and Weledeh Yellowknives Dene. While scholars have characterized the imposition of capitalist production on

[76] While the commentary on the skunk is amusing, to be sure, I include it for its representation of an imagined "old Yellowknife" reacting to the new, professionalized workforce arriving in town. The domesticated animal – in contrast to the northern, undomesticated raven – demonstrates a tension that persists in Yellowknife to this day.

Indigenous communities as uneven development, by uneven, they tend to be referring to Indigenous people's incorporation into capitalist production through oppressive means and into exploitative positions.[77] I concur with this general characterization; however, I suggest that, in the case of capitalist and Canadian State encroachment on northern Indigenous social relations, there was, above all, an unevenness *between* departments of production. During the gold mine era, there was a semblance of separate *economic* development between settler and Indigenous economies. This was a semblance, only, in that the gold mines were built using the lands and resources of Indigenous people, and were established through the support of their expertise. However, there were only limited attempts to engage Indigenous people in capitalist production as full-time wageworker in the gold mines.[78]

Conversely, based on a strategic national interest in the north,[79] there was intense pressure for a *social* incorporation of Indigenous peoples. Thus, throughout the mid-twentieth century, social reproduction performed in Indigenous communities was targeted by the Canadian State for restructuring. Specifically, social reproduction was feminized and isolated from subsistence, a racialized department of production that sat uneasily with the increasing settler development of the regional mixed economy. By analyzing these – incomplete and contested – settler colonial processes, it becomes clear that Indigenous social reproduction was targeted as

[77] Gail Kellough (1980) provides a useful overview of analyses of Indigenous incorporation or non-incorporation into the Canadian capitalist economy, arguing that Indigenous people were not left out of economic development, but rather were incorporated as an underclass. Wotherspoon and Satzewich (2000) also review this literature: in particular, they critique models of 'internal colonialism' for inaccurately omitting Indigenous agency from analysis and argue for a political economic model with 'an emphasis on the changing material circumstances which shape and are shaped by aboriginal life experience'.

[78] Indeed, both Kulchyski (2005) and Coulthard (2014) note that, as settlers tended to be relied upon for labour, northern Indigenous people experienced the impact of capitalism as dispossession rather than proletarianization. The specific approach to Indigenous labour taken up by the gold mines is discussed in more detail in chapter three.

[79] The Canadian State's strategic interest in the north refers to a new concern for sovereignty brought about principally by a concern regarding American military presence north of the 60th parallel during and following World War II (Coates 1985, Abele 2009a, as well as to an intensified interest in northern resource extraction (DiFrancesco 2000).

the locus of struggle between subsistence and capitalist production, and that feminized responsibility for social reproduction (to the extent to which it has been internalized) is the result of relatively recent interventions into northern Indigenous social relations. I first analyze the impact of gold mining and government work on the regional mixed economy, and then turn to Canadian State policies and programs targeting Indigenous subsistence production and social reproduction, and the structural and embodied violence embedded in these activities.

a) Capitalist production in the mixed economy

The Yellowknives Dene's account of the establishment of the mines and the town of Yellowknife contrasts starkly with settler narratives of exploration and discovery. The Yellowknives Dene First Nation Advisory Council (1997) write of the years preceding and during the first mine camps:

> The years following were sad ones for Dene. Surveyors and prospectors, eager to gain quicker access to the peoples' land, set fires that forced changes to migration patterns. Poisoned meat set out for fur-bearing animals resulted in untold deaths of sled dogs and people: an entire Weledeh Yellowknives community at Smoky Lake became victims of greedy trappers…Many people died in a series of epidemics, the worst of which occurred in 1928, when an estimated 10 to 15 percent of the entire indigenous population of Denendeh died in six weeks during the summer. Weledeh Yellowknives survivors, fearing a return of disease in Weledeh-Cheh, stayed in the barrenlands year-round for four or five years. When they returned, they discovered newcomers in their traditional lands (49).

Both the Tlicho and the Yellowknives Dene had been engaged with settlers through the fur trade: indeed, Behchoko was once Fort Rae, a camp established as a fur trading post. However, the establishment of a settler town and the fixed capital of the gold mines had a markedly different impact from the fur trade. While the Tlicho and the Yellowknives Dene were both impacted by the gold mines, the Yellowknives Dene felt the imposition more directly, as Yellowknife was established on the traditional land of their summer camps (see Figure 5).

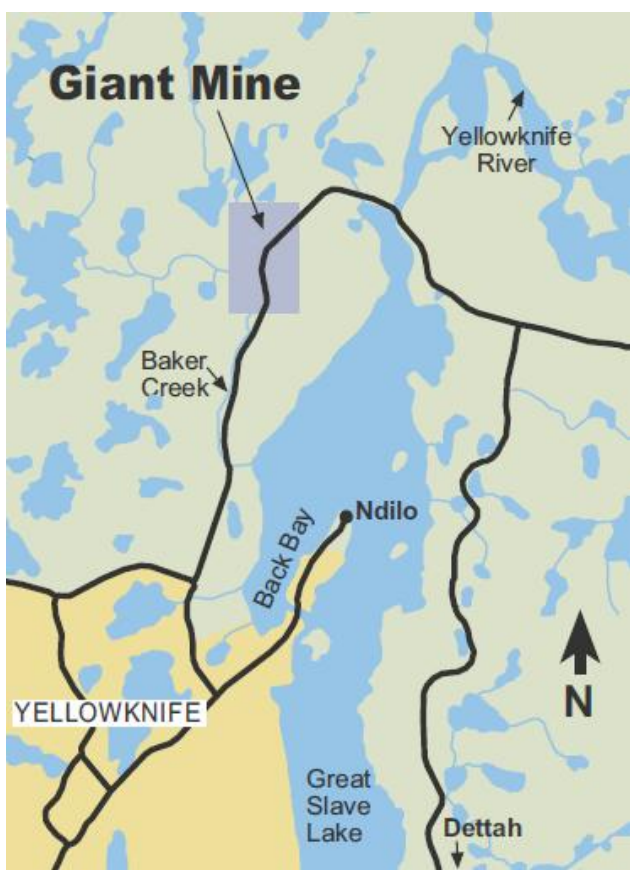

Figure 5: Gold mines on Dene land (Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation).[80]

The Yellowknives Dene continued to engage in subsistence production, but with the new town, the new mines, and the new neighbours, their activities were deeply disrupted, both structurally and corporeally. Environmental contamination and settler land use patterns drove animals from the area around the Yellowknife River, impeding the gathering, fishing, hunting, and trapping of small game. Caribou, in particular, stopped coming to the area, forcing hunters to travel longer distances for large game. Because of arsenic used to separate gold from the rock in mining operations, women were forced to change their gathering patterns: 'Women stopped

[80] In Figure 5, one can see that Giant Mine sits directly on the traditional Weledeh Territory on Yellowknife Bay and beside Yellowknife River. The locations of N'dilo and Dettah are also marked, the spaces that would become permanent settlements for Yellowknives Dene (as noted in relation to the rest of the Akaitcho Nation in Figure 3).

picking medicine plants and berries, which used to grow thickly in the area of Giant Mine' (Yellowknives Dene First Nations Elders Advisory Council 1997: 53).

Like other Indigenous groups around the territory, the Yellowknives Dene were remarkably adept at adapting to the changes brought about by the settlers – travelling farther for their winter hunts as the big game moved away from the mines and the town – but resilience should not minimize the profound and, arguably, violent rupture of the attacks on the Dene land, resources and bodies. For example, the arsenic that contaminated the water and the land led to the deaths of a number of animals and, tragically, the death of four children living in the family camps of N'dilo in 1951 (Yellowknives Dene First Nation Elders Advisory Council 1997: 53).[81] The corporeal implications of the environmental impacts of the gold mines emphasize the tight links, and, sometimes, in-distinguishability, between structural and embodied violence as it relates to extraction and capitalist accumulation of new spaces.

Of course, the gold mining extractive regime would not be the only form of capitalist production introduced to the Weledeh area in the twentieth century. As noted above, thirty years after the first gold mine opened, in 1967, Yellowknife was named the territorial capital, making government a significant source of employment in Yellowknife. Today, federal, provincial, municipal, and First Nations administrative and political offices, and related not-for-profit offices and resource management boards, provide significant levels of employment in Yellowknife, particularly for northern women. Indeed, in 2010, public sector work provided 45.1% of total wage labour in the NWT (or 10,200 jobs), compared with 20.6% of wage labour for the total Canadian population, and a significant proportion of those jobs are concentrated in

[81] The arsenic used to extract gold from Giant Mine remains in the land around Yellowknife to this day; specifically, there are 237,000 tonnes stored in permafrost chambers under Yellowknife. As noted by local environmental and social justice activists (O'Reilly 2012) and national and international media, this is enough arsenic to kill every person on the earth several times over (CBC 2014; Huffington Post 2014).

Yellowknife.[82] In comparison, only 8% of NWT wage labour was provided by all resource extractive activities combined (forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas) (GNWT 2011).[83] Thus, while the glitz of the gold industry (and later, diamonds) may have outshone government work, the shift from a mining town to a government town – and, indeed, a t-shirt sold at The Black Knight, one of Yellowknife's more popular bars, reads, "We're a drinking town with a government problem" – has wide-ranging implications for the gendered and racialized access to wage labour.

The combination of the gold mines and government offices has led to the establishment of high-wage employment as a norm in Yellowknife, a trend that continues to this day. Work at the federal, territorial, and municipal level is highly paid in Yellowknife: not only do government workers have greater access to high-level, secure jobs than their southern counterparts, their salaries are bolstered with northern living allowances, instituted to offset the high costs of living in, and travelling from, the north. As will be discussed in chapter five, as a result of the high wages of some extractive jobs and some government jobs, the Yellowknife region is characterized by a high per capita income and high levels of inequality, exacerbated by a high cost of living, a low minimum wage, and low social assistance payments. That said, government work has arguably provided a mitigating factor for the gendered and racialized settler colonial political economy that developed during the early gold mining years. As Aggie Brockman notes in Little's study of northern women, 'Yellowknife specifically had a reputation for being a place that has a lot of women…lots of government offices so there is lots of women in that community' (Little 2007: 133). Furthermore, while the Indigenous people employed by gold

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[82] These numbers are provided at a Territorial, not municipal, level. However, given the concentration of government officers in Yellowknife, it would be safe to assume that a significant number of those jobs are located in Yellowknife.

[83] The low number of jobs provided by the diamond mines in comparison with the high level of value production is discussed in chapter three.

mining work were almost all male – with the exception of some Indigenous women hired for cooking and cleaning – Indigenous people working in government bureaucracy positions are predominantly women.[84] Indigenous people hold positions in political and administrative government offices at the federal, territorial and municipal level, and the settlement of land claims and the resulting governing and regulatory boards has led to significant numbers of jobs for Indigenous people in the NWT.[85] This new, and newly differentiated, access to capitalist wage labour shapes the gendered and racialized impact of diamond mining, discussed in the chapters that follow.

b) Restructuring subsistence and social reproduction in the new mixed economy

While government and gold mining have jointly dominated capitalist production since the 1960s, throughout the mid-twentieth century, it was Canadian State programs and policies that most profoundly impacted the subsistence and social reproduction of Indigenous people in the Yellowknife region. Prior to the mid-twentieth century, Indigenous people of the north had been exempt from many of the colonial social restructuring tactics that the Canadian State had pursued in southern Canada. As Philip Blake said in a statement to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, 'For a while it seemed that we might escape the greed of the southern system. The north was seen as a frozen wasteland, not fit for the civilized ways of the white man. But that has been changing over the past few years' (Blake *in* Watkins 1977: 6). Thus, while the gold mines

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[84] Labour statistics disaggregated by both Indigeneity and gender were not available; however, the predominance of Indigenous women in government bureaucratic positions was expressed by a significant number of research participants. This should not be confused, however, with participation in politics: many Indigenous men have high-profile political positions.

[85] To clarify, most of the jobs coming out of land claims agreements are situated in the smaller communities out of which these agreements have been signed; however, some of these positions are based in Yellowknife and Indigenous governance has had a major impact on the government and non-governmental work in Yellowknife. Notably, Behchoko is the administrative and governing centre of the Tlicho Nation and, given that Behchoko and Yellowknife are only one hour's drive apart, it is common for Tlicho Dene who live in both Behchoko and Yellowknife to be employed in these offices.

changed Indigenous lives and labour in the area through processes of accumulation and, largely, exclusion, it was the Canadian State that took on an *activist* role in restructuring Indigenous social reproduction and subsistence; namely, in separating social reproduction from subsistence, and restructuring the former to mirror Western social relations. In analyzing these processes, it becomes clear that, in the Yellowknife mixed economy, the boundary between social reproduction and subsistence production is socially constructed, mutable, and changing, a boundary that emerged through Canadian State ideological, material, and institutional interventions.

While Dene subsistence production was arguably most affected by relocation initiatives, discussed below, it was simultaneously constrained by state "environmental conservation" initiatives. In their mid-twentieth century northern environmental programming, the federal government approached their relationship to the land through a paternalistic, conservationist lens, in contrast to the interdependent relationship between the Dene and the land, plants, water, and animals, recalling, here, Coulthard's (2014) concept, "grounded normativity". For example, in the 1940s, the federal government developed an initiative to poison wolves as a means of protecting the northern caribou. This project resulted in the deaths of a large number of fur-bearing animals in the Yellowknife area. The Yellowknives Dene First Nations Elders Advisory Council writes that 'Coyote suffered so greatly that they were soon extinct in Weledeh-Cheh; the last one was seen in the area in 1979' (1997: 51). This interventionist and brutal approach to "protection" is antithetical to the Dene's careful approach to hunting and trapping, rooted in expertise and relationships to the land and animals, built over centuries and based on respect and a desire to sustain healthy relationships between people, land and animals for the future (Zoe 2005, Gibson 2008).

Furthermore, as the population of Yellowknife grew throughout the 1950s and 1960s – and grew more settled in their surroundings – recreation activities in the land surrounding Yellowknife became more popular, leading to the disruption of sacred sites and traditional hunting camps. Rather than protect the land for Indigenous use, the establishment of NWT parks regulated and restricted subsistence activities (Yellowknives Dene First Nations Elders Advisory Council: 1997: 52). The disparity between different settler forms of environmentalism – from the conservation approach of the early and mid-twentieth century to environmental activists from the 1970s onward – and Indigenous relationships to the land has had a profound impact on subsistence production and the northern mixed economy. While it is beyond the scope of this research to discuss settler approaches to environmental conservation and wilderness recreation in detail, I bring attention to this local history as it exemplifies the racialized marginalization of subsistence, which worked in concert with the restructuring of social reproduction towards capitalist production and away from subsistence.[86]

I approach the restructuring of Indigenous social reproduction away from a subsistence orientation through the triadic relationship between welfare payments, relocation/settlement and mandatory education. As government schools were made mandatory for Indigenous children, welfare payments were made dependent on children's attendance. Meanwhile, access to payments – as well as to new social services – became dependent on relocating to permanent settlements.[87] In the case of settlements adjacent to a town, like N'dilo, Dettah and Behchoko, permanent relocation had the significant incentive of keeping one's family together, as children could attend day school in Yellowknife. These processes – a structural violence with embodied

[86] These mid-twentieth century examples of state approaches to subsistence also build a regional foundation for the individual, recreational approach to subsistence adopted by the diamond mines, discussed in chapter three.

[87] Much like the "temporary permanence" of the Yellowknife's gold mining settlement, the drive to create "permanent" communities is an example of the time/place tension at work in the mixed economy, and the contradictions therein.

implications – put Indigenous social reproduction at the frontline in the relationship between Canadian State capitalist and ideological imperatives, and local Dene belief systems and structures of subsistence. The combination of these processes help to explain the speed with which Indigenous social reproduction and subsistence shifted in the mid-twentieth century. The push for Indigenous people to settle permanently in communities – rather than continue their nomadic subsistence production, living in different camps at different times of year and moving flexibly based on the needs of the community, the climate, and the status of the land and animals – was not a simple or immediate effort (nor should it be construed as an entirely successful or complete process, given that Indigenous people all over the north continue to go out on the land in varying forms). Rather, the mass relocation was a combination of the impact of extractive projects and settlements on subsistence, various forms of direct coercion, education policies, and strategic welfare policies. Wilf Bean (1977), a former federal government employee in the northern bureaucracy, discusses the professional incentives bureaucrats had for "convincing" Indigenous people to abandon their traditional hunting camps and nomadic lives, noting that his predecessor received a major promotion for 'finally convincing the Perry Island people to move to Cambridge Bay' (131).[88] This "convincing" was tied directly to attaching welfare payments to the new permanent communities; that is, insisting that Indigenous peoples reside in designated permanent communities as a condition for receiving their payment. It is important to clarify here – particularly given the racialized colonial tropes that critique Indigenous people for their reliance on welfare – that payments to northern Indigenous communities did not come about as a welfare state social assistance program responding to poverty, but as treaty payments distributed

[88] Bean writes, 'In retrospect, the move from camps to centralized settlements had great significance for the native peoples, not the least of which was the establishment of the dominance of the government and the reciprocal dependency of native peoples' (1977: 130).

in accordance with negotiations with the Federal State and northern Indigenous people (Yellowknives Dene First Nation Elders Advisory Council 1997, Shewell 2004, Zoe 2005).

In the region of study, given the diminished market value for furs, and the emerging use of market goods in subsistence production, many Dene relied upon Treaty Payments as a piece of their daily maintenance (Coates 1985: 192-193). Thus, the insistence upon permanent residence as a condition for these payments – re-imagined as State "charity" – had a profound impact. As the Yellowknives Dene First Nation Elders Advisory Council writes:

> In 1959, when the Indian Agent and RCMP made their annual visit to Dettah to give out Treaty payments, they told Chief Joe Sangris to tell his people to come in from their lands and stay in town permanently. The government wanted the children to go to the church's school, he said, and the people had to stay in a place where doctors and nurses could give them medical attention (1997: 53).

Although some Yellowknives Dene families continued to travel to the barrens annually up until the late 1970s, and Dene people of communities around the NWT continue to go on extended trips on the land, altogether, this marked a major shift toward sedentary lifestyles for these communities. In the 1950s, there were approximately fifteen houses in Dettah and ten houses in N'dilo; these became permanent settlements for the Yellowknives Dene. Government-built homes in Dettah, N'dilo and Behchoko were the beginning of a new reliance on subsidized housing with sliding-scale rent.[89] Unlike other small communities in the NWT, Behchoko, and especially Dettah and N'dilo, developed through their proximity to a primarily-settler community, Yellowknife. This meant that, as sedentary living impeded subsistence production by depleting the land of sufficient flora and fauna for hunting, trapping, and gathering, new forms of work opened up in government offices and the extractive industry. Thus, while Dene engagement in capitalist production increased in this time, I argue that this engagement was

[89] The move to government-subsidized housing will have important implications for the impact of diamond mining on conditions for social reproduction. Because rent is based on a sliding scale, a significant number of participants discussed situations wherein a household would go from paying $27/month to $1500/month for the same place.

driven by the Canadian State restructuring of social reproduction and subsistence, rather than the reverse.

As a result of living in government housing and the new role of government subsidies in contributing to daily maintenance, Indigenous households were in new proximity (literal and metaphorical) to the Canadian State, and their demands for particular forms of household and kin relations. By "particular", I mean that Dene households in the area, and Indigenous households, more generally, were disciplined to conform to Western styles of household formation, care and education, moulded upon the heterosexual nuclear family norm and conducive to socially reproducing capitalist social relations. Thobani (2007) argues that mid-twentieth century Canadian welfare state social policies were characterized by racist norms that targeted Indigenous and non-white women, and their households and communities. She writes, 'In the welfarist national imaginary, Native families were deficient; Native mothers deviant and a menace to their own children; and the nation the caring benefactor of these children' (109).

The racist devaluation of Indigenous parenting – and, specifically, Indigenous mothering – was institutionalized through residential schools. In the region of study, the push toward permanent settlements was directly tied to residential schools and the *re*-education of Indigenous children. Residential schools operated in Canada with the explicit mandate of "civilizing" the Indigenous population.[90] "Civilizing", in this instance, meant replacing community and family bonds with strangers who abused, imposed racial hierarchies, and punished children for any attempts to socially reproduce their own community – whether it was speaking their own language, carrying on their religious practices, or telling the stories of home. Smith (2005),

[90] Indeed, in 1879, responding to a recommendation for residential schools, then Prime Minister John A. MacDonald, agreed, saying, 'It has been impressed upon me as head of the Department that Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence, and the only way to do that would be to in central training industrial schools where they will acquire the habits and modes of thought of white men' (Miller 1996).

writing of the similar boarding school system in the United States, adds a gendered analysis to this "re-education". In discussing the Western forms of domestic labour taught to Indigenous girls, she argues, 'The primary role of this education for Indian girls was to inculcate patriarchal norms into Native communities so that women would lose their place of leadership in Native communities' (37). These patriarchal gender norms stood in contrast to the interdependent gendered divisions of labour common to a subsistence orientation.

In the NWT context, by the 1950s and 1960s, Indigenous children were coerced into attending government schools, usually in the form of residential schools. Unlike in southern Canada, where residential schools had been in operation through the Canadian State for almost a century, residential schools in the NWT prior to the mid-twentieth century were managed in an ad-hoc fashion by missionaries. From 1954 to 1964, the federal government opened five large public schools, and flew children in from around the territory.[91] The goal was to put every school-age child in the NWT in a school by 1968 (GNWT Legacy and Hope Foundation 2013: 18). Coates (1985) writes, 'By offering native children the standard Canadian curriculum, the government hoped to speed their assimilation into the broader Canadian society' (194). Yellowknife was home to Akaitcho Hall (now Sir John Franklin High school). The last residential school to close in Canada, Akaitcho Hall operated as a boarding school until 1996. It housed children from small communities around the territory, while children from Dettah and N'dilo were able to attend day school as long as their parents remained in the newly "permanent" settlements. The GNWT writes:

> While the system was late in coming to the North, its impact was significant and continues to the present. A far higher percentage of the Aboriginal population in northern Canada attended residential schools than was the case in the rest of Canada. According to the 2001 Statistics Canada Aboriginal Peoples Survey, over 50% of Aboriginal peoples

[91] The administration of these schools was moved from the federal government to the territorial government in 1967.

> 45 years of age and older in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories attended a residential school (2013b: 20).

I argue that residential schools were the most (structurally and corporeally) violent arm of the racist Canadian State project aimed at restructuring Indigenous social reproduction. While education and socialization of children, as aspects of social reproduction, were being re-oriented toward capitalist production, there was not a substantial simultaneous effort to integrate Dene people into capitalist production. Indeed, some felt they were being trained for jobs that did not exist, while being separated from the intergenerational education they would have received in their home communities through engagement in subsistence production. Indeed, traditionally, the whole community took part in educating children by including them in all parts of camp life: 'Teaching and learning happened during the course of day-to-day family life. A child was never asked, "What are you going to be when you grow up?" The answer was obvious and the training program was well-established' (GNWT 2013b: 29).

Residential schools shifted in substance over the decades. While Akaitcho Hall was open until 1996, its later graduates relate to the school far differently than the students of the sixties scoop. The stories of abuse and overt colonial racism diminished; however, dislocations, generational knowledge and relationship gaps, and feelings of "not belonging anywhere" continue, speaking – as they do today – of the painful contradictions Indigenous people must navigate in achieving educative or Canadian State-sanctioned "success".[92] The loss of linguistic, cultural and relational learning in separating education from subsistence production and community relations, more generally, has been well-documented, most recently by local participants in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015), and was expressed by a number of research participants in interviews and talking circles (2014). Indeed, while the residential

[92] As Stephen Kakfwi notes (*in* Watkins 1977), Indigenous children were being taught how to be capitalist subjects.

school program arguably failed at substantially integrating Dene people into the wage economy, it succeeded in rupturing local social relations: separating children from their parents and communities, their language, and intergenerational learning necessary for the reproduction of a place-based subsistence orientation. While the racist colonial language was not so overt by the 1950s and 1960s, impeding the social reproduction of Indigenous communities was the initial intent of residential schools, as expressed by Public Works Minister Hector Langevin when he announced the residential school plan to the House of Commons in 1883. He said, ‘In order to educate the children properly we must separate them from their families. Some people may say that this is hard, but if we want to civilize them we must do that’ (in GNWT 2013b: 15). This separation had, and continues to have, devastating intergenerational impacts at all levels: the ideological and the material, the structural and the embodied. The cultural, interpersonal, and personal impacts of residential school cannot be overstated. This insight has been explored at length by Indigenous scholars (Milloy 1999; Kakfwi *in* Watkins 1977), and was a consistent theme in the fieldwork of this dissertation.

Just as social reproduction was being (and continues to be) restructured toward the needs of capitalist accumulation and Western social norms, the prevailing gender ideology attached to the capitalist economy – that is, masculinized capitalist production and feminized social reproduction – was imposed upon Dene communities through Canadian State policies, albeit in contradictory and incomplete ways. Social service programs targeted the mother as the person solely responsible for the child, administering treaty payments under two assumptions: first, that social reproduction was undertaken in Western-style nuclear family arrangements; and, second, that social reproduction – and, specifically, social reproduction that met the requirements of the settler colonial administration – was the woman’s responsibility. Thobani (2007) argues that, in

this period, while white mothers were likely to be targeted for state education programs and resources, Indigenous mothers, alongside mothers of colour across the country, were more likely to be targets of surveillance (125). In most northern Indigenous communities, while women are often the ones responsible for meeting the immediate needs of young children, children are seen as the responsibility of the entire community, and their care and teaching is approached in an interdependent manner (Harnum et al. 2014). However, erroneous though they may be, Canadian State assumptions about the feminized responsibility for social reproduction, and its orientation towards the household (as opposed to the community) have had enormous implications that continue to shape northern Indigenous women's experiences. Indeed, Canadian State-driven processes of restructuring social reproduction laid the groundwork for the pressures towards a male-breadwinner/female-caregiver model imposed by the FIFO diamond-mining regime, discussed in the following chapters.

IV. New Approaches to Indigenous Governance

It is clear, then, that the mid-twentieth century saw a particularly aggressive colonial assault on Dene structures of subsistence-oriented social reproduction in the region around Yellowknife, and through the whole of the NWT. However, these assaults were met with sustained resistance through day-to-day choices that deny capitalism its aspired totality and the Canadian State its aspired control: the labour that has made the regional mixed economy. This resistance is enacted through the three departments of production and will be discussed in relation to the contemporary diamond-mining regime in the three chapters that follow. However, alongside the day-to-day resistance inherent to protecting and socially reproducing the mixed economy, in the mid-twentieth century, Indigenous political organizations began to take on settler colonial

powers in new ways. As Abele (2001) notes, the last forty years have seen major developments in land claims, Indigenous government arrangements, and the constitution.

In the NWT, the primary site of political struggle for Indigenous self-determination has been negotiating land-claim agreements with the federal government. Modern Indigenous organizing has fundamentally altered the political economic landscape of the NWT, particularly regarding resource extraction, and continues to do so. While my analysis predominantly focuses on de/colonizing relations of production, in this section, I move to an analysis of Indigenous social movements and the ways in which they have shaped legislation, governing institutions, and political, economic, and social norms. I take up Indigenous organizing in some detail with the aim of contextualizing the emerging norms and policies that acknowledge Indigenous rights to land and resources and the imperative to "work with" Indigenous communities demonstrated by the FIFO diamond-mining regime (what "work with" Indigenous communities means is explored in chapter three). These new norms of recognition and participation are the result of decades of grassroots organizing by northern Indigenous people and their allies.

As a number of authors have argued, the late 1960s and 1970s saw a new form of Indigenous organizing rising in the NWT (Watkins 1977, Coates and Powell 1989, Dickerson 1992, Abele 2009a, Coulthard 2014), characterized by a series of organizations, initiatives, and networks that challenged settler colonial governance and extractive processes and established the contemporary Indigenous governance regimes that shape today's northern political economy. While this period is sometimes described as the *beginning* of northern Indigenous organizing, this characterization denies the longstanding organizational forms of northern Indigenous peoples. Instead, it is more accurate to describe this time as the beginning of Indigenous organizing that directly targeted the Canadian State by using language and organizational forms

that the Canadian State can recognize (Coates 1985). The relatively laissez-faire state approach to northern governance up until the 1940s (Abele 2009b) gave northern Indigenous people less reason to politically organize contra Canadian State penetration. However, the mid-twentieth century social interventions by the Canadian State coupled with the intensified interest in northern resources – most notably in the form of the proposed Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline – sparked new coalitions and new organizing strategies. For example, an unintended consequence of the residential schools' attempts to separate children from their families and communities was that large numbers of Indigenous children were brought together in these schools and taught the language of the colonizers (the master's tools). Some of the relationships carved out in these oppressive institutions later led to radical decolonizing collaborations (Kakfwi *in* Watkins 1977).

Due to intensified settler colonial intrusions by the Canadian State and private capital, many northern Indigenous people and groups saw the need for articulating a shared identity and common demands. From 1970 to 1973, Indigenous people of the Mackenzie Delta organized the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE); the Inuit of Quebec, Labrador and the Northwest Territories organized the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), an umbrella organization for Canadian Inuit; The NWT Métis founded The Métis Association; and the NWT Dene organized the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, an association that would develop into the Dene Nation (Dickerson 1992: 101-104). Coates and Powell (1989) write:

> In 1978, at a Fort Franklin meeting, it was decided to adopt a new name for the association [of Dene communities]. Stella Mendo, a Fort Norman delegate, caught the sense of the meeting: "When we name our children we give them powerful names. Names that are strong. Our land is strong. Our people are strong and our people are one. We need a strong, powerful name to tell the world who we are. Let us call ourselves the Dene Nation" (109).

At the same time that Indigenous communities were organizing toward self-determination, Justice Thomas Berger was commissioned to conduct an inquiry into the possible impacts of

building a pipeline that would transport natural gas through the Mackenzie Valley. Rather than a quiet exercise in rubber-stamping, as may have been expected, the inquiry was a landmark study in the impact of resource extraction on Indigenous communities, one that continues to shape socio-political extractive expectations and policy to this day. Berger traveled through the NWT, holding community meetings and interviews. Many of these communities were already well-organized against the Mackenzie Valley pipeline development and they used this opportunity to propel their concerns to the national stage. In a hearing in Fort McPherson in 1975, for example, Philip Blake declared:

> We are a nation. We have our own land, our own ways, and our civilization. We do not want to destroy you or your land. Please do not destroy us…I am sure throughout your visits to native communities, Mr. Berger, that you have been shown much of the hospitality that is our tradition as a people. We have always tried to treat our guests well; it never occurred to us that our guests would one day claim that they owned our whole house. Yet that is exactly what is happening (*in* Watkins 1977: 7).

Little (2007) notes that Indigenous women participated heavily in this process (though it tended to be Indigenous men in leadership positions recognized by the Canadian State and media). Nahanni, for example, led a landmark mapping project to demonstrate the history of Indigenous subsistence land-use in the NWT, and, thus, their claims to land (Nahanni 1977: 23).

The result of this organizing and the Berger Inquiry was a 10-year moratorium on the pipeline and a new precedent for community consultation preceding resource extraction projects. Justice Berger recognized the unceded Indigenous territory of the north and argued that no resource development should occur until land claims had been settled. The Berger Inquiry occurred at a fortuitous moment nationally: Indigenous people had won the federal right to vote in 1960, and the 1969 White Paper and its assimilationist goals had been met with resistance and

demands for a new federal approach to Indigenous governance.[93] As Dickerson (1992) notes, ‘the federal government was facing a growing number of claims throughout Canada, and, after problems with the White Paper, it was obviously necessary to clarify the legal basis for the claims’ (106). A 1973 court decision, *Calder et al. vs. Attorney General of British Columbia* involving the Nisga’a, had further strengthened the precedent for recognizing Aboriginal Title. This led to the recognition by the Department of Indian and Northern Development (DIAND) that Indigenous interests had not been adequately accounted for, and the 1974 creation of an ‘Office of Native Claims’ (Dickerson 1992: 106). It was in this context that the contemporary land claim negotiation process that shapes NWT politics and extraction began.

In 1984, The Inuvialuit signed the Inuvialiut Final Agreement covering the northwest of the territory. In 1992, the Gwich’in signed an agreement with the federal government, followed by the Sahtu Dene and Métis in 1993 (McArthur 2009). In 1996, the agreement between Nunavut and the federal government was finalized and Nunavut became both a territory and the largest geographic area covered by a land claim. Of the two Indigenous groups discussed in this chapter, one has signed a land claim: the Tlicho Dene. The Tlicho Land Claims and Self-Government Agreement, signed in 2003, is a comprehensive claim that:

> allows for participation with a co-management structure to control permitting through an environmental management process, administer 39,000 km2 (19% of their traditional territory) and manage health and social service delivery. The Tlicho own the harvesting right to the trees, forest and plants of the region, have the exclusive right to take and use waters flowing through the land and own the minerals under the land (Bill C-14) (Gibson 2008: 240).

[93] George Elliot Clarke (1997) writes that the 1969 White Paper ‘proposed the abolition of the reservation system and the wholesale assimilation of aboriginals into the white majority population’ (106). Aboriginal activists responded with the Red Paper and the proposal was buried under widespread criticism and dedicated activism.

McArthur (2009) describes the agreement as state-of-the-art, as it is the first contemporary land-claim agreement to include self-government.[94] While Yellowknife is within the geographic territory of the Tlicho land claim, it was negotiated as exempt from the agreement (McArthur 2009: 202). Behchoko, one hour north of Yellowknife, is the site of the Tlicho Government, a body that has been growing since it was established. As John B. Zoe (2009) said:

> it has become evident that the work of nation-building based on historical and traditional principles has its challenges. Despite these challenges, it is still an exciting and rewarding time for the Tlicho. The primary challenge is not to feel overwhelmed by the implementation of the Agreement and the magnitude of the nation-building task. We must maintain unity and practice the collective responsibility the Tlicho have always had (276).

As noted above, the Yellowknives Dene, the community of Lutsulke, and the Deninu Kue of Fort Resolution have come together as the Akaitcho Nation (see Figure 3). The Yellowknives Dene contemporaneously negotiates through the Akaitcho Nation and has yet to reach an agreement with the federal government. Their negotiations are tri-partite: between the Akaitcho Nation, the NWT, and the federal government. In 2000, the Akaitcho signed a framework:

> to negotiate land, resource and governance issues without prejudice to Treaty 8 rights and obligations. One year later, the First Nation reached an agreement to protect lands on an interim basis, and in 2006 the Akaitcho and the GNWT reached a deal to temporarily protect land in and around Yellowknife while negotiations continue (McArthur 2009: 203-205).

The very recent history of the gold mines and the development of Yellowknife as a town on Akaitcho land (all without consultation or consent), the disastrous environmental legacy of the gold mines, and the ongoing socio-economic challenges the Akaitcho (specifically, the Yellowknives Dene) face as a community adjacent to the centre of political and economic settler activity in the territory have contributed to the resolve of the Akaitcho Nation to ensure their

[94] The agreement divides the land claim area into four different geographic regions. The Tlicho have different rights in each region: a traditional land use area; a resource management area (also part of traditional land use); land that the Tlicho own in fee simple; and land that is designated as of 'historical and cultural importance' to the Tlicho, but is not owned by them (McArthur 2009: 202).

treaty rights in these negotiations. The most recent dispute, in 2014, involved the signing of the territorial devolution agreement negotiated between the GNWT and the federal government, which the Akaitcho Nation, alongside the Deh Cho, refused to sign.[95]

While most land claims in the NWT have now been signed, they are most accurately conceptualized as a piece of the *ongoing* struggles for Indigenous self-determination, rather than the outcome of a completed process. Coulthard argues that, rather than a site of organizing separate from subsistence, the early land claims negotiated by the Dene Nation, and denied by the Canadian State, were informed by a place-based ethic that critiqued colonial sovereignty and capital accumulation (2014: 64), and sought to protect a subsistence orientation. The Canadian State approach to land claims, conversely, is implicitly capitalist in its approach to land-as-property and its assumption of the underlying sovereignty of the Canadian State. Irlbacher-Fox and Mills (2009) argue:

> Canada's approach to modern treaty implementation and negotiation continues to take a legalistic turn. Canada seeks certainty through treaties – certainty of rights, of access to resources, of ownership of lands. Indigenous peoples seek recognition and a basis for achieving psychological, spiritual and material well-being. It seems that for Canada, treaties are an end, a final definition of a relationship, secured by the extinguishment of rights through certainty clauses. For indigenous peoples treaties mark a beginning, the beginning of a better life for beneficiaries and their communities and of a new relationship with Canada (254).

Irlbacher-Fox and Mills are pointing to the strange marriage, in land claims, of the certainty – or aspired permanence – of land tenure desired by the Canadian State and private capital, and the commitment to recognizing specific Indigenous relationships to land.[96] As Irlbacher-Fox (2009) notes, recognizing claims to land conceptualized as property is not the same as recognizing the

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[95] While the Akaitcho Nation as a collective did not sign, the Deninu Kue of Fort Resolution signed as an individual community (CBC 2014).

[96] As I argue elsewhere (Hall 2015), the federal government's interest in securing certainty in land tenure was expressed contemporaneously in Harper's pursuance of conversion of Indigenous land tenure into fee-simple land. By establishing liberal private property ownership arrangements, Indigenous land can more effectively be exploited for capitalist accumulation.

right to self-determination, or self-government. With the exception of the Tlicho, recognition of self-government has been separate from land claims, a separation that, in and of itself, is antithetical to relational Indigenous ontologies of land (Coulthard 2010), and is potentially problematic for Indigenous communities' capacity for subsistence production in the mixed economy.[97]

Northern land claims, and their differing negotiations and implementation processes, are the subject of much contemporary northern scholarship (Dickerson 1992, DiFrancesco 2000, White 2002, Usher et al 2003, Fitzpatrick 2007, White 2008, Abele 2009a, Irlbacher-Fox 2009 Laforce et al. 2009, McArthur 2009). What is important to understand for the purposes of this analysis is that, for the most part, the government approach to contemporary land claims has been the extinguishment of Indigenous claim to resource rights and in particular, sub-surface rights (that is, rights to extractive resources). As Gibson (2008) explains, 'Land claims tend to be a central lever, and agreements tend to recognize that the lands have been occupied since time immemorial; however, federal control over mineral rights is affirmed. Precedence is always given to mineral rights, unless land claims are concluded and have provisions for protection' (126). The diamond mines are on the land that is now part of the Tlicho land claim. However, at the time of negotiating agreements between the original diamond mines and Indigenous communities, no land claim had been settled. Federal jurisdiction over mineral rights combined with Canada's free-entry mining regime – which gives extractive companies rights simply by literally staking a claim – tend to relegate Indigenous communities to the role of "interested

[97] As Irlbacher-Fox (2009) notes, 'although land claim negotiations and agreements are closely related to those of self-government, land claim and self-government rights and authorities as understood by the Canadian state are distinct and until the 1995 Inherent Right Policy were dealt with separately' (2).

party", rather than rights-holders.[98] Thus, land claims translate Indigenous place-based relational approaches to land through liberal capitalist ideology, and contract them into limited and alienable relations, relations compatible with the temporal capitalist imperatives of resource extraction.

The FIFO diamond-mining regime developed through the regional norms that emerged through the decades of land claims processes. It is not primarily the particulars of the specific claims of Indigenous groups in the NWT that shaped the varying forms of commitments to Indigenous communities that the diamond mining companies display today. Instead, it is the understanding – reinforced through decades of organizing, from grassroots community work to pan-territorial calls for self-determination, to the hard work of decades of government-to-government negotiation – that northern resource extraction cannot occur without consultation with, and participation of, Indigenous communities. Comparatively, the approach to Indigenous communities taken up by the gold mining regime was one of so-called "separate development". As a result of the decades of regional organizing, bolstered by new national commitments toward Indigenous rights, the diamond mines developed through an imperative for Indigenous consultation and participation. At the same time, that land claims primarily approached Indigenous people as "stakeholders" and a (de-materialized) cultural group, without acknowledging their distinct ontologies to the land and modes of production that are outside of the imperatives of capitalism, enabled the move towards Indigeneity as a floating "identity-marker" detached from land-based social relations. This stakeholder approach to Indigeneity, conducive as it is to capitalist accumulation, is evidenced in the FIFO diamond-mine regime and analyzed in the chapters that follow.

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[98]Dawn Hoogeveen (2015) offers an analysis of the free-entry mining system and its implications for northern settler colonialism.

Conclusion

This chapter offered a decolonizing FPE account of the modern development of the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife. In particular, I emphasized the relationship between subsistence production and social reproduction in the early mixed economy, demonstrating the emerging gender division between social reproduction and production for subsistence through Canadian State social policy and, less so, through the development of the gold mines. In demonstrating that social reproduction and subsistence became distinct through racialized and gendered Canadian State interventions, I laid the historical grounding for the argument that Indigenous women's activities contributing to social reproduction sit at the locus of the tension between subsistence production and capitalist production in the early, modern, and contemporary mixed economy, and, thus, social reproduction is a rich site for analyzing the mixed economy as a dynamic and shifting formation. The structural and embodied violence of residential schools, in particular, speaks to the location of Indigenous social reproduction as a site of settler colonial struggle. Consistently, the Canadian State has targeted Indigenous women as the symbolic and material agent of this site.

In moving to exploring the development of the new diamond extractive regime in the next chapter, it is worth noting the relative novelty and tenuousness of the settler social relations in Yellowknife. In many ways, Yellowknife is a town that was born nostalgic, residents warily eyeing newcomers a few years after they ceased to be "new" themselves, and each generation crying out for the authenticity of the decade past. In a very short time span, Yellowknife moved from mine camp to mining town to government town, in this way, establishing a "temporary permanence". However, in defiance of history, there was a local social assumption that things would always remain as they were (Interview 105: 2014). This assumption proved not to be the

case: as the gold mines ceased producing adequate profit margins in the 1990s, the mines turned to intensified labour exploitation, resulting in strikes, community unrest, and violence. It is in this context – the context of socio-economic rupture – that the diamond mines emerged.

Chapter Three: Time, Place and the Diamond Extractive Regime

'I mean, the biggest reason I wanted to talk to you is that, for me, the diamond mines coming in, it was like that cloud cover coming over [points to big dark clouds on Great Slave Lake], only not so drastic. We were like frogs in the water and it was heating up' (Interview 105: 2014).

Introduction

Diamond mining in the NWT appears, in some ways, as something novel; since the first diamond mine opened in 1998, both domestically and globally, Canadian diamonds have come to represent the "ethical" alternative to the "blood diamonds" of Africa. Indeed, in promotional materials, Canadian diamonds often appear emerging, as if by magic, out of the Arctic landscape. In Image 2, for example, a diamond rises out of a glacier – a pure gem emanating from an imagined empty land.[99]

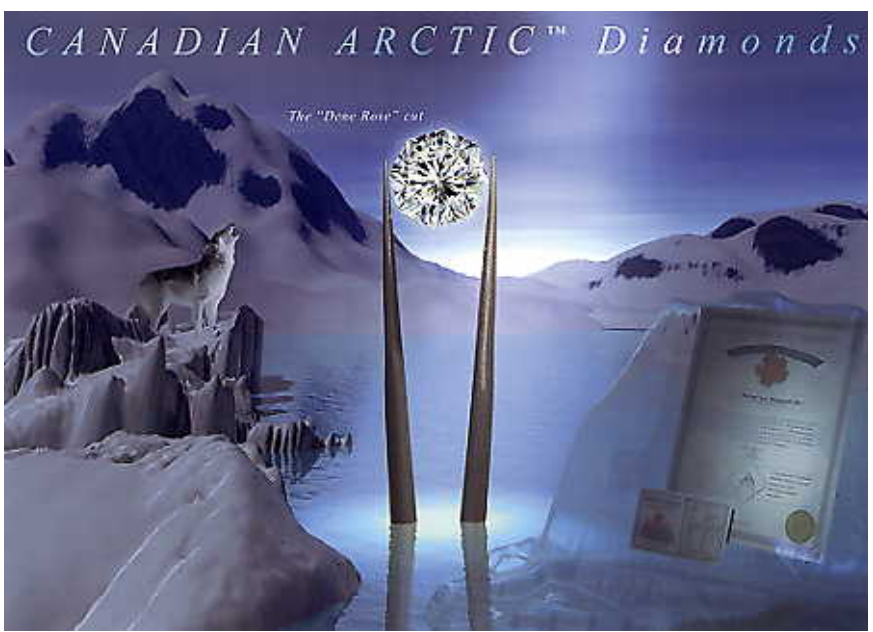

Image 2: Arctic diamonds advertisement (Canadian Arctic Diamonds 2012).

[99] Alongside these marketing schemes, the Canadian government spearheaded the Kimberley Process, an international certification initiative aimed at ending violent diamond mining practices around the globe and separating the "pure diamonds" from the "blood diamonds" (Santarossa 2004: 12), an initiative that has carved out an international economic space for Canadian diamonds. More substantively, analysts of extractive institutional regimes have explored the socioeconomic commitments made by diamond mining companies, asking whether these represent a new approach to resource extraction: significantly, a more responsible extraction (O'Faircheallaigh 2006, Fitzpatrick 2007, Laforce, et al. 2009, Caine and Krogman 2010, Mills and Sweeney 2013).

In this chapter, which analyzes the establishment of the FIFO diamond-mining regime in the NWT, I argue that there is, indeed, something new about this extractive regime, though it is not the sheen of imagined "purity" to which the industry professes. Rather, following contemporary trends in approaches to extraction (Pini and Mayes 2012), the diamond mines operate through a FIFO structure, wherein workers live at a distance from the mine and are flown in for shifts that range from four days to months at a time. Consequently, the FIFO diamond-mining regime[100] effectively emphasizes variable capital over fixed capital. Furthermore, the regime enacts a new tempo to labour that takes shape through a spatial articulation of capital's separation of (feminized) social reproduction from (masculinized) capitalist production. The particular enactment of the global FIFO trend by the NWT diamond-mining regime is shaped by the social relations of settler colonialism in the north, including the Indigenous movements described in the previous chapter. As such, the new regime also represents an approach to Indigeneity – as a racialized identity category developed through settler colonial processes – that is distinct from its predecessor, the gold mines. It is an approach oriented toward participation *by* Indigenous communities, if not any sort of fulsome responsibility *to* Indigenous communities, or acknowledgment of their relations of subsistence production that fall outside of, and are impeded by, the diamond mines. The combination of the gendered structure of FIFO mining and the racialized contradictions in the new imperative to recruit Indigenous people results in an uneven incorporation of Indigenous people along gendered lines. Thus, Indigenous women's participation and non-participation in the diamond-mining regime is characterized by both a racialized and gendered tension, a tension that is sometimes manifest in experiences of embodied and interpersonal violence at the mine site. At the same time that diamond mining introduces

[100] By regime, I mean the relations of production engaged in the extractive process and the political and economic institutional apparatuses that shape these relations.

new approaches to extraction (and, as a result, new political economic influences on the lives of those living in the NWT), it is also another iteration of something not at all novel. Diamond mining is one in a long line of northern settler extractive projects, from the fur trade to the Klondike gold rush to the uranium mines of the mid-twentieth century.

The ensuing analysis unfolds in four sections. In section one, I introduce diamond mining against the backdrop of the gold mining industry, and the turbulent decade – the 1990s – that saw the end of the gold mining era and the beginning of diamond mining. The gold mines instituted a "temporary permanence" in the settler experience of the mixed economy, one ironically characterized by the rupture inherent to boom and bust economies, culminating in a violent end to the gold mining regime that played out alongside the so-called "discovery" of diamonds. In section two, I situate the FIFO diamond-mining regime's new approach to Indigeneity, as a racialized subjectivity, in the local history of Indigenous organizing, as well as contemporary Canadian State and business approaches to Indigenous people. The diamond mines are an uneasy site of tension between place-based Indigenous demands for recognition and temporal capitalist imperatives for accumulation. In analyzing SEAs and IBAs as examples of the FIFO diamond-mining regime's approach to Indigeneity, I suggest that they represent a rhetorical attempt to resolve this tension. This is, however, a rhetorical resolution only, as the diamond-mining regime's attention to Indigenous participation is limited by a conception of Indigeneity rooted in liberal capitalist individualistic rights-based structures (i.e. the Indigenous person has the right to profit from the diamond mines, as long as they participate in ways dictated by the Canadian State and the needs of private capital). Like the new approach to Indigeneity, the FIFO structure of the diamond mines, which I discuss in section three, is novel, too, in its effect on day-to-day and intergenerational social reproduction: while day-to-day social reproduction at the mine site is

performed through a gendered and racialized employment hierarchy, the intergenerational social reproduction of Indigenous communities is feminized and externalized.

Thus, Indigenous women's labour at the mine site is shaped by the spatial and ideological separation between (masculinized) capitalist production and (feminized) social reproduction, as well as by the new emphasis on recruiting northern Indigenous people as a potential workforce. In section four, I argue that Indigenous women's experiences working in the diamond mines, and the violence some Indigenous women face at work or as a result of their work, are structured through a gendered and racialized settler colonial hierarchy. This hierarchy plays out through the contradictory imperatives for the diamond mining regime to, at once, target northern Indigenous women as a potential local workforce, and, at the same time, to feminize and externalize social reproduction, and racialize and marginalize subsistence, thereby limiting Indigenous women's capacity to engage in diamond-mining labour in a steady, long-term fashion. These contradictions are largely resolved for the FIFO diamond-mining regime by approaching many Indigenous women as what Melissa Wright (1999) calls '"untrainable" workers, a feminized and racialized category that allows for intensified exploitation of workers who are imagined as short-term employees.

Drawing on research participants' experiences to ground and bring nuance to this theoretical argument, I suggest that the violence faced by Indigenous women who attempt to work in the mine (and the relative failure of industry and Canadian State recruitment and training strategies geared at Indigenous women) speaks to the racialized and gendered gap between the Indigenous labourer/entrepreneur imagined and encouraged by the Canadian State and private capital, and Indigenous practices of social reproduction and subsistence in the mixed economy. In other words, the experiences of sexual harassment and gender discrimination described by

Indigenous women who worked at the mines are, I argue, embodied and interpersonal manifestations of the structural violence embedded in the shifts in the social relations of the regional mixed economy generated by the FIFO diamond-mining regime.

I. From Boom to Bust and Back Again: Modern History of Extraction in and around Yellowknife

a) Work at the gold mines

Gold mining introduced a particular form of extractive capitalism to the Yellowknife area, one characterized by a Western male-breadwinner/female-caregiver model. The gold mines were established without consultation with the Yellowknives or Tlicho Dene, and operated without sustained efforts to employ Indigenous people; thus, the steady employment offered by the gold mines was almost exclusively filled by settler men. In chapter two, I discussed the gold-mining regime in relation to the development of the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife. Here, I detail the organization of labour in the gold mines as a comparative case to the diamond-mining regime that would follow. The gold mines – emblematic of models of extraction in the north for most of the twentieth century – took an approach to resource extraction that emphasized fixed capital. By developing mining towns like Yellowknife, the extractive regimes invested in the fixed infrastructure that supported the mines themselves, and the daily and intergenerational social reproduction of the workers. Because of these sunk costs, there was a material imperative to encourage steady employment and worker loyalty.

However, as I demonstrate below, ultimately, the mining town model only mitigated the fundamentally temporary – and, indeed, arguably, violently temporary – nature of extraction. The violent breakdown of the gold mining regime and the rush to replace the industry with diamonds reveal that the social relations of the settler political economy built around the gold mines was only a "temporary permanence", and that resource extraction has an underlying

tendency toward emphasizing variable capital – that is, labour power – over fixed capital. This exemplifies the drive for the accumulation of new physical and geographic spaces that propels settler colonial capitalism. At the same time, the uneven and sometimes broken presence of capitalist production within the regional mixed economy belies the Western settler colonial teleological ideologies that imagine the development of liberal capitalism as the *end result.* Rather, the ruptures in social relations caused by shifts in capitalist production are often mitigated by the longer-standing relations of subsistence.

However, for a time, the gold mining regime offered a material stability for many of the new settlers in Yellowknife, or a certain subset of the new settlers: for male, generally white, workers, the gold mines offered stable, high-wage employment.[101] The high wages were, in part, in place as an incentive to attract workers to the north (Selleck and Thompson 1997: 6), but the employment conditions were also shaped by the strong unions that developed at the two gold mines. Workers at Con Mine and Giant Mine first unionized in 1944, and became members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in 1947 (NWT Union of Northern Workers 2014).[102] As Selleck and Thompson (1997) note, Yellowknife was largely isolated from the southern union politics. Instead, the workers 'learned to rely on themselves for contract negotiations, grievance hearings and health and safety meetings' (7). Particularly pre-1967 – when Yellowknife became the territorial capital and new home to a large number of government workers – union activists had a strong presence in local politics and community activities, from

[101] It is worth noting that, while I characterize the work as stable and well-paid, this does not negate the difficult, sometimes dangerous, nature of extractive labour. Indeed, while not all extractive jobs or mine sites are the same, the bodily toll taken for the pursuit of extractive capital is significant. This has been discussed, in particular, in relation to work at Fort McMurray and exists in relation to questions of violence and embodied impacts of colonial restructuring of reproduction and production.

[102] The United Steelworkers of America took over in 1968.

holding mayoral office to running local radio programs and community groups (Selleck and Thompson 1997: 7).[103]

The gold mining regime established a Western male-breadwinner/female-caregiver model that largely excluded settler women from capitalist production, while relying upon their labour for daily and intergenerational social reproduction. The mines hired some women for administrative positions above-ground, but a woman did not work underground until 1981. As Silke (2009) notes, women's interest in working underground was met with pushback from male workers. For example, Pam MacQuarrie-Higden, who would be the first woman to go underground, began her employment with the mines in 1975 working in security. She described walking into the Con mineshaft headframe and watching the other miners as they '"just walked out"', in protest of a woman entering the "sacred" shaft building' (Silke 2009: A20).[104]

While local women were kept above ground – and local Indigenous people were relied upon for temporary labour, but largely excluded from stable wage employment (discussed below) – the mines recruited male settlers from the Canadian south. As the decades wore on, settlers racialized as "immigrant" began to fill employment positions at Giant Mine and Con Mine. For example, in 1951, as part of a federal program to draw on new immigrant labour to meet the needs of extractive operations, 21 Italian immigrants began working at Con Mine. Silke (2009) writes, 'Labour turnover haunted the mining industry in the 1960s, especially in Yellowknife, where it was difficult to attract and keep miners. Immigration policy brought

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[103] I focus on union organizing, in large part, to offer a comparative between the gold mining extractive regime and the diamond mining extractive regime, which, as is discussed below, has much lower rates of unionization and a much less activist union.

[104] Today, the Con Mine head frame, or shaft, towers above Yellowknife surrounded by controversy over whether it should be preserved using city tax dollars. Those in favour argue that the head frame is an irreplaceable piece of the city's history, an interesting debate given who was and was not given access to the head frame during its years of use.

men…to Con Mine, and they became faithful and reliable employees at a time when the mine needed all the support it could get to succeed' (13).

In fact, sources vary on the extent of mine work turnover;[105] however, government and private initiatives to hire "immigrant labour" speaks to the ways in which extractive labour is structured through an employment regime that relies upon transnational labour mobility, but also uses racialization and borders as a means of hyper-exploiting particular worker subjectivities. Indeed, one must trouble the category of "immigrant labour" here, remembering that it is an expression that locates subjectivities inside or outside of the imagined national citizen (Thobani 2007) according to shifting social relations of a given time and place, all as expressions of racialization (Hall 1986). While all of the settler workers were new to the north, and many had life or family histories that were fairly newly located in Canada, it is specific workers who, based on racialization, language, and social location, were deemed "immigrant". Based on interviews with people who immigrated to Canada in this time period to work in the gold mines, Silke (2009) notes that those workers who could not speak English were paid less than their English-speaking counterparts, and that the mine culture was one that favoured assimilation to dominant Anglo-settler culture. While English as a shared mine-site language offers an operational and safety rationale for why non-English speakers tended to work in lower paying jobs, in northern extraction – as with other industries – language and education requirements tend to reproduce and reify racialized inequalities.

The gold mining industry was far more proactive and successful at attracting workers from southern Canada (whether the worker was perceived as immigrant or not) than it was at attracting northern Indigenous workers. Indeed, while the social reproduction of northern

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[105] Recall Jack Lambert's story referenced in chapter two on the stability of the mining workforce in the 1930s and 1940s. The divergence in characterizations speaks to political economic shifts over time, as well as the ways in which characterizations of mining employment are shaped by social location and subjectivity.

Indigenous people was the subject of heightened Canadian State presence in the north throughout the mid-twentieth century, recruiting northern Indigenous people as full-time mine workers was not a predominant labour strategy for either of the gold mines, nor was it a goal of the Canadian State, apart from minor recruitment initiatives. The first survey on Indigenous employment in the northern extractive industry – conducted by the then-Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND 1968) – shows that 3.4% (or 14 people) of Giant Mine's labour force was Indigenous, while 4% (or 9 people) of Con Mine's labour force was Indigenous. These numbers include Indigenous people from other parts of the north who relocated to Yellowknife to work in the mines; thus, it is an understatement to say that the local Tlicho and Yellowknives Dene participation in the gold mine labour force was minimal. However, it would be wrong to suggest that Indigenous women and men were not involved in the beginnings of extractive labour in Yellowknife. While it is true that few Indigenous women or men undertook steady employment with Con Mine or Giant Mine, much like their fur-trading predecessors, the mine companies and early settlers relied on Indigenous people's knowledge of the local land and resources. From early settlement onward, Indigenous women were hired to cook and clean for pay (Price 1974). Indigenous men were hired to do what was called bushwork: usually short-term operations that included the preparation, building, and maintenance of camp sites that required knowledge of the land and expertise in skills like trailblazing, hunting, and building fires (Interview 2014: 105). Thus, the gold mining industry built a "temporarily permanent" regime with labour "from away", an ever-shifting settler subjectivity. This temporary mode of production was established in relation to the place-based – and, thus, more "permanent"[106] – orientation of subsistence-oriented production in the early mixed economy (Abele 2015, Parlee 2015).

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[106] While I am aiming to signal the real distinction between time-based capitalist production and place-based subsistence production, and, at the same time, highlight the irony of the notion of a "temporary permanence", I am

As Kenneth Rae (1976) notes, post-World War II, Canadian State development policy increasingly shaped private extractive ventures, rather than the reverse. In the NWT, from the mid-1960s onward, government and extractive companies began recognizing northern Indigenous people as a potential source for a steady, local workforce – one that might be relied upon to stay in the north, unlike some of the southern transplants. At the time, Canadian State efforts to engage Indigenous people with the market economy largely concentrated on promoting market exchange of traditionally subsistence-based activities (Rae 1976: 125-126).[107] However, government and extractive companies also began exploring strategies to recruit Indigenous people into mining, including attempts to relocate Indigenous families from other parts of the NWT to Yellowknife to work at the mines (Collymore 1980). Unlike the relocation efforts tied to social reproduction (in the form of treaty payments and residential schools), attempts to incorporate local Indigenous people into the mining workforce were largely unsuccessful. At the time, both the government and the gold companies characterized the problem as one of human resources, rather than coming to terms with the complete lack of Indigenous engagement that characterized the gold mines; that is, that the gold mines were established on the land of the Dene without any form of consultation, remuneration, or even acknowledgment.

This settler regime, however, was not to last. In the next section, I discuss the rupture and ultimate breakdown of the gold mining regime, arguing that it exemplifies the potential for violent rupture within the tendency toward the exploitation of variable capital inherent to resource extraction.

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also problematizing the concept of "permanence" (Vosko et al 2014), insofar as it masks the dynamism of both capitalist (Peck 2013) and non-capitalist production (Kuokkanen 2008).

[107] This approach to economic development is noteworthy, in particular, as it emphasizes the political and social nature of the shift toward economic development-as-capitalist-employment that occurs through the diamond-mining regime. Given government's activist role in the development of the regional political economy around Yellowknife, there is nothing "natural" about the new recruitment of Indigenous people into the extractive industry.

b) The end of an era

The uneven, cyclical nature of economies dependent on the extraction of raw materials from the earth is a well-trodden subject. It has been explored by world systems theorists (Kolhl and Farthing 2012), as the 'resource curse' (see, for example, Karl 1999, Le Billon 2001),[108] and, notably, in the Canadian political economy context, as the 'staples trap'. The 'staples trap' refers to the concern that the Canadian economy is an unbalanced, export-led economy that has failed to develop industrially and, for some theorists, consequently developed as a dependent nation (see Watkins 1963, Levitt 1970, Naylor 1976, Williams 1979, Watkins 2007).[109] Drawing on the Dene concept of rupture, I characterize the place-based experience of the breakdown of one extractive regime and the subsequent development of another as a series of multilayered ruptures: there is the inherent rupture of a boom and bust regional political economy, experienced primarily by the settler population engaged with the gold-mining regime. The boom and bust of extraction is set against the backdrop of the *ongoing* and shifting tension in the relationship between subsistence and capitalist production. It is the boom and bust cycles to which I now turn, and the second rupture (i.e., the tension evident at the site of social reproduction) that chapters four and five investigate.

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[108] Bellamy Foster and Clark (2004) argue that, rather than linking instability and violence to extractive economies specifically (an analysis that one could argue is commodity fetishism), resource extraction must be linked to what they call ecological imperialism and capitalism itself.

[109] Albo and Jenson (1989) write 'The new political economy subtly transformed the staples theory from an account of Canada's industrial development to an interpretation of how Canada has failed to develop industrially, and, indeed, showed that the regression to dependency was a cumulative process' (189). The staples debate is a particularly interesting one for scholars concerned with issues of colonialism, as 1970s new political economy scholars posited Canada as, variably, dependent (on the USA) or a colony (of Britain). Settlers, then, are written of as the population "Indigenous" to Canada, whereas Indigenous people are ignored. As Abele and Stasiulis (1989) note, the staples debate was premised on the myth of the empty land, or at least an ignorance of Indigenous people living and producing in their own time. Indeed, they write, 'Innis's obituary for indigenous peoples was premature; he mistook social distress and change for social and cultural collapse. Both Innis's weaknesses and his strengths are replicated many times in later scholarly work' (247).

The development of the FIFO diamond-mining extractive regime occurred in the context of a crisis with its predecessor, the gold mines. A successful strike at Giant Mine in 1980 and the proliferation of high-paying government jobs in Yellowknife had bolstered the high-wage model of mine employment at both Giant Mine and Con Mine. However, gold prices fell in 1981 and 1982, and the mines became increasingly run-down (Selleck and Thompson 1997: 9). Giant Mine, in particular, struggled to turn a profit, and in 1990 it was sold to Royal Oaks, a small company that implemented a lean, neoliberal approach to operations. Indeed, Selleck and Thompson write that the Royal Oaks business model was 'to buy mines with high operating costs when the price of gold is low, slash costs, survive until the price of gold rises, rake in profits and shareholder praise, and then buy something bigger' (1997: 13). The new ownership and their management style had enormous implications for the town of Yellowknife. Almost immediately, long-time supervisors were let go and labour conditions changed dramatically. The new model, an expression of capitalism's drive toward the expansion of the exploitation of variable capital, introduced an intensified temporariness to employment that foreshadowed the diamond-mining approach to extraction that would follow. In bargaining, which occurred less than a year after the change of ownership, the employer's attempts to roll back 20 years of membership gains were met with staunch refusal by the activist union. A 7-month strike ensued, a time that is remembered by residents of Yellowknife with sadness and bitterness (Interviews 105, 115: 2014). The employer immediately initiated strike-breaking tactics, including hiring replacement workers. The replacement workers were often unemployed people, flown from Ontario into violent working conditions wherein they would work and sleep at the mine for a month and then fly back to their homes for two weeks off (Selleck and Thompson 1997).[110]

[110] The workers slept at the mine because, at this point, the strike had become violent and it was too dangerous for them to leave the mine site and enter Yellowknife. This is a bitter and often-forgotten first taste of FIFO work in

In a small town reliant on mining jobs, the employer tactics had devastating consequences. Throughout the course of the strike, violence escalated: the employer brought in private security and consistently petitioned the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Department of National Defence (DND) to use force against the strikers. Some of the strikers used tactics of sabotage, including setting off small bombs to halt production and intimidate the replacement workers hired by the mine. On September 18, 1992, a planted bomb exploded in a mineshaft, killing nine workers. The deaths of the workers and the murder trial continue to be a source of tension and pain in Yellowknife.[111] Heather, who lived in Yellowknife at the time, but worked outside of the extractive industry, described town life during and after the strike as follows:

> I heard the level of bitterness. And the stuff, the level of hatred, it was absolutely, I don't know how this town got to be the way it was. And after that bomb went off that day, there was an eerie fog that came down that night…because we couldn't, and you couldn't go uptown that whole year because they closed, there were people who would actually go out scab hunting…And I don't think that we knew how to heal properly in those days. We really didn't (Interview 105: 2014).

Jenny, a young woman who had worked for the diamond mines, said that, while the breakdown of the gold mines is recent history, it is rarely discussed in Yellowknife today:

> [T]here's this chunk of history that exists that not a lot of people really like to talk about, but it was pre-diamond mine that Yellowknife was a wild, unlawful, depressive place. And that came out of a strike and murder situation, but you know a lot of the economy tanked. People lost jobs. There were a lot of hard feelings. And you kind of get this picture of what the post-gold, pre-diamond picture would have been like, and it's scary…Where a lot of people have very dark memories. And all of a sudden, that became a memory. And that feeling just doesn't exist. It was very quickly forgotten (Interview 115: 2014).

Yellowknife.

[111] I discuss the deaths of the nine workers here to stress the severity of the violence through which the gold mining regime ended. I do so with respect to all the people in Yellowknife impacted by this violence, recognizing that the strike and the deaths of the workers continues to be a source of pain for many. The purpose here is not to weigh in on the different factions of this time, nor the different interpretations that have emerged.

Both Heather and Jenny's colourful articulations of Yellowknife's recent history speak to the immediately temporary nature of the boom and bust cycle, and to the way in which it imposes a social dependence on resource extraction. The 1990s began with intensified levels of capitalist exploitation and violence, and persisted with the gaping wound of unresolved conflict paired with the financial insecurity associated with an industry on its way out. The fear and desperation settlers felt as they saw their source of employment vanish before them is a reminder that one cannot dismiss the clamour for resources as a movement emanating from elite interests alone. Rather, the NWT mixed economy had grown with resource extraction as one of its pillars (Parlee 2015). The role of resource extraction in the lives of NWT residents is particularly pronounced in the area around Yellowknife.

However, while for many settlers the decline of the gold mines was the end of a time of abundance, for the Yellowknives and the Tlicho Dene, the gold mines had been a violent imposition on their land, and on their subsistence orientation. This was not an imposition that would soon be forgotten. Jenny put it this way: 'Now you have 237,000 tonnes of Arsenic Trioxide that people carry as the scar' (Interview 2014: 115). During the lifespan of the gold mines, northern Indigenous people had organized and made significant gains that would shape the FIFO diamond-mining regime. As the gold mines closed and the possibility of diamond mines materialized, it was clear that neither private industry nor the Canadian State would be able to develop an extractive regime without Indigenous consultation and participation. Thus, the development of the diamond mines was shaped by the contradictory influences of an intensified emphasis on variable capital over fixed capital (foreshadowed in the late days of the gold mines), and the political imperative to consult Indigenous communities and recruit Indigenous workers.

c) A new extractive regime

Figure 6: Diamond mines in the NWT (CBC 2014).

It was in 1991 that diamonds were officially discovered in the NWT. I write, "officially discovered" because it is very likely that Dene peoples "discovered" diamonds, but chose not to mine them because of the difficulty and their lack of practical purpose. Chuck Fipke, a prospector, found a deposit of diamonds approximately 300 km northeast of Yellowknife (see Figure 6 for a location of the diamond mines). The deposit held diamonds of a quality and quantity worth pursuing, so in order to develop the extractive site Fipke partnered with Broken Hill Proprietary (BHP), an Australian resource giant with over 40,000 employees working in 25 countries. On October 14, 1998, after a fast-forwarded consultation process, BHP opened Ekati Diamond Mines (now 80% owned by Dominion Diamond Corporation, a Canadian diamond mining company, it is newly named Dominion Diamond Corporation Ekati Mine). Diavik Diamond Mine, just southeast of Ekati and the larger diamond producer of the two, opened in 2003 (GNWT 2010). Diavik is 60% owned by Rio Tinto, an international mining company based in Australia and the UK and operating in more than 40 countries, and 40% owned by Dominion Diamond Corporation. Snap Lake Mine, owned by De Beers Canada, was the third diamond

mine in the region, and De Beers' first diamond mine outside of Africa. Opened on July 25, 2008, south of both Diavik and Ekati, it was the first entirely underground diamond mine in Canada (NWT and Nunavut Chamber of Mines 2008: 7). However, Snap Lake closed suddenly in December 2015 due to insufficient profits, laying off 434 employees (Gilbert 2015). Gatcho Kue, which opened in the fall of 2016, is the newest diamond mine. It is a joint venture between De Beers Canada and Mountain Province Diamonds. The mine is projected to have a 12-year mine-life and will provide approximately 400 jobs a year (GNWT 2014: 13-14).

While Canadian political economy literature has debated the extent to which Canada may or may not be a 'rich dependent' nation and what a reliance on resource extraction means for the strength and autonomy of the Canadian economy, the concern for (mostly settler) northerners is that the NWT is simply a depository of resources for the benefit of the southern metropole (as some would argue, an internal colony).[112] Rae argues that the 'monopolistic, large-scale, and externally-directed character of the businesses which have shaped the economic history' of the north is paralleled by the southern-driven governance of the area that has 'shared these characteristics to a remarkable extent' (1976: 75). And, indeed, up until April of 2014, the federal government was the recipient of all of the revenue generated by royalties on the diamond mines. Given the Canadian State's financial interest in the diamond mines, it is no wonder that Ellen Bielawski (2003) characterizes the department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs (INAC) as 'the two-headed beast with conflicting mandates…Specifically, DIAND [now INAC] is responsible for encouraging, monitoring and regulating the miners. It is equally charged with acting as fiduciary for the First Nations – a legal trustee that acts in their "best interests."' (80). Under this arrangement, the GNWT received transfer payments from the federal government.

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[112] Recall the discussion in the introduction of the multiple concepts of "colony" as they relate to the north.

The only revenue they received directly from the mines was through fuel taxes and property taxes. The GNWT estimates that, since 2000, 'the three mines have collectively paid over $89 million in fuel taxes and over $165 million in property taxes' (2014: 9). This is in comparison to approximately $1.6 billion generated *annually* in export profits by the mines (Government of Canada: 2014).[113]

As a result of devolution, however, the GNWT now keeps up to 50% of royalties generated through resource development, with the remaining royalties continuing to go to the federal government. In 2012-2013, this would have amounted to approximately $70 million (GNWT 2014). While some research participants – most notably, those in government or private positions related to the administration of the mines – argued that devolution was an important move toward northern autonomy from federal control, other research participants expressed concern that the nature of the devolution agreement ties territorial politics more tightly to resource development, making a northern post-extractive future more difficult to pursue.[114] This concern articulates not just at the territorial level, but the community level, as extractive companies increasingly approach Dene, Inuit, and Métis in the NWT as potential business stakeholders and investors in extraction. This development is discussed in more detail in the next section.

The concern for the post-diamond future is of some prescience given the short life of the diamond mines. Ekati and Diavik generate more revenue and employ significantly more people than Snap Lake did or that Gatcho Kue has the capacity for, and both Ekati and Diavik have

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[113] This is the value of exports from the NWT in 2013, 99.8% of which was accrued through the sale of diamonds.

[114] And, indeed, as evidenced by the *NWT Mineral Development Strategy* (GNWT and Northwest Territories and Nunavut Chamber of Mines 2014), a cross-departmental guiding policy document that was researched and written in collaboration with the primary mining lobby group, mining is the cornerstone of the current Territorial government's economic development plan. DiFrancesco (2000), writing 14 years before the devolution of resource revenue, makes the important point that devolution processes are occurring in a climate of federal fiscal constraint, pushing the GNWT toward a reliance on mineral development to fill the gaps left by decreased federal transfer payments.

passed the half-way point in their mine life.[115] While Gatcho Kue was marketed by Mountain Province Diamonds as the largest diamond mine in construction globally (Mountain Province 2014), according to the GNWT (2014), 'Gatcho Kue will not offset the lost benefits from Ekati's projected closure in 2019. The workforce at Ekati is approximately 1,400 workers, while the Gahcho Kue workforce is only 400' (14). As such, a common theme that was not solicited, but emerged, from interviews and talking circles was the temporariness of the FIFO diamond-mining regime.

Not even twenty years since the first diamond mine opened and the subsequent rush of socio-economic changes flooded into Yellowknife, the community must already look to the inevitable rupture of mine closure. Some participants discussed ways of extending the existing mines or developing new mines; others explored ways of creating a post-extractive economy. But all shared concern for the potential structural and embodied violence of yet another socio-economic rupture. Many also articulated a curiosity about what might fill the space left by the fleeting, and yet dominating, presence of the diamond mines. For workers, the *temporariness* of the diamond mines is experienced through the two-week in/two-week out *tempo* of the FIFO regime. Both the tempo and the temporariness of the diamond-mining regime sit in tension with the day-to-day and intergenerational social reproduction of a place-based subsistence orientation in the mixed economy. This tension is shaped by the diamond-mining regime's new approach to Indigeneity, which I turn to now.

II. The Diamond-Mining Regime and Indigeneity

[115] The length of a "mine life" is not fixed and can shift based on local and global political economic developments; most significantly, market value of the mineral. For example, the 2008-2009 financial crisis led to temporary camp closures at both Ekati and Diavik and concerns that the two mines would have significantly shorter lives than expected. Currently, however, developments of new sites at Ekati are expected to extend the mine another 10 years.

In examining the new way in which Indigenous people are approached by the FIFO diamond-mining extractive regime, I focus on the dialectic between Indigenous calls for place-based rights, and the FIFO annexation of place through time. The outcome of Indigenous organizing and the resulting land claims and Indigenous participation in local, territorial, and federal northern governance is an extractive regime that cannot ignore northern Indigenous communities. As a result of the land claims discussed in chapter two, the Gwich'in, Sahtu and Tlicho are entitled to a percentage of resource revenue collected on public land in the Mackenzie Valley portion of the NWT,[116] which is where the diamond mines are located. According to the GNWT Communities and Diamonds Report (2014):

> To date, $39 million of diamond royalties have been shared with the three Aboriginal groups, with the Gwich'in and Sahtu receiving over $12 million and the Tlicho over $14 million. Royalty sharing with Aboriginal groups will be increasing as the NWT Government has committed to share 25% of the royalties they collect with Aboriginal signatories to the Devolution agreement (10).

Given that the diamond mines make an annual profit of $1.6 billion and the federal government receives 13-14% of these revenues as royalties every year,[117] a *total* profit of $39 million for all three First Nations groups combined over an almost twenty year period is minimal, to say the least. Indeed, in analyzing the impact land claims negotiations have had on resource extraction projects – and, specifically, the diamond mines – a strange irony emerges. While the land claims processes have been resource-heavy legislative endeavours, ultimately, it is not land claims that provide the primary legislative or policy structure for the diamond mining extractive approach. The land claims do ensure a base level of redistribution, but the agreements made between the

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[116] Specifically, the Gwich'in and Sahtu are each entitled to receive annually 7.5% of the first $2 million of resource revenues collected, or $150,000, and 1.5% of any additional resource revenues collected, while the Tlicho are entitled to 10.429% of the first $2 million of resource revenues collected, or $208,580, and 2.086% of any additional resource revenues collected (GNWT 2014).

[117] In citing 13-14% as the resource royalty percentage garnered by the federal government, I am drawing on private legal analysis (Webster and Baldwin 2005). The federal government does not release royalty revenue from resources. I requested this information from the Federal government, but my request was not granted.

diamond mines and the territory (SEAs) and the diamond mines and the Indigenous communities (IBAs) are the primary policy instruments shaping the ongoing engagement between Indigenous communities and the diamond mines.

The SEAs and IBAs – as the institutionalized articulations of an attempt to rhetorically resolve the tensions between Indigeneity and extraction – exemplify a two-pronged approach to Indigeneity. As a community, Indigenous people are approached as stakeholders, as a group who should be compensated, consulted, and monitored for potential social "impact". As individuals, Indigenous people are approached as potential workers, or as small-business owners in auxiliary industries. These approaches represent "Indigeneity" as a racialized identity separated from subsistence production or ideologies that may conflict with the requirements put upon the capitalist extractive worker. De-historicized and de-materialized in this way, "Indigeneity" is a group or identity-marker of people who can be trained, targeted, and retained in the diamond-mining regime as workers or business operators. The settler colonial racialization of "Indigeneity" as a group tied to specific places, discussed in the introduction and chapter one, takes a new form here. While the relationship between Indigenous groups and the land explains the violent impulse for (literal or social) genocide (Wolfe 2006), in general, in the contemporary political economic context, the relationship between Indigenous people and the land is reinterpreted as that of a "stakeholder": a not-quite owner, in the sense of private property, but a relationship compatible with the liberal capitalist mode of organizing land, nonetheless. Thus, Indigenous relationships to the land are redefined in terms amenable to Canadian State sovereignty and the structures of alienable and discrete private land holdings, the bedrock of capitalist accumulation. As such, the diamond-mining regime offers targeted opportunities for Indigenous individuals and Indigenous businesses to "succeed", but in terms constrained by

capitalist imperatives. Significantly, this model has resulted in new access to high-wage labour for many northern Indigenous people; however, the capacity and the desire to access this model of prosperity is highly unequal and structured – along racialized and gendered lines – in opposition to subsistence and social reproduction.

The SEAs are the territorial policy instrument for shaping and monitoring the impact of the mines on Indigenous communities. Up until 2014, the land upon which the diamond mines were established was the jurisdiction of the Crown; as such, the GNWT could not legally establish terms for resource development (GNWT 2014). However, through extending the scope of environmental assessments (which are territorial jurisdiction) and the resulting agreements, the GNWT and the diamond companies developed the practice of establishing SEAs that cover corporate assessments of the potential socio-economic impact the mines may have on communities, and the ways diamond companies might mitigate impacts designated as harmful while extending impacts designated as beneficial (largely, employment). The SEAs have resulted in a limited practice of monitoring the socio-economic impact of the diamond mines. The *Communities and Diamonds Report,* published annually by the GNWT, tracks communities through a designated set of quantitative socio-economic indicators that are presented as related, though not exclusively so, to the diamond mines. Gibson (2008) provides a pointed decolonizing critique of the SEA process. She writes:

> The government account is a forensic audit, protecting state interests. The accounting never probes deeply enough to uncover unique vulnerabilities, nor does the mitigation ever truly engage the impacts raised by communities…The *Communities and Diamonds Report* seems bent on making people over in the image of settlers, adapting to market forces, improving housing status, and reducing the dysfunctions of "transitions" that settler society deems inevitable in their narratives of change (119).

As Gibson (2008) argues, the quantitative model of assessment focuses on community deficits, approaching Indigenous communities as marginalized "Canadians", rather than people

tied together by a distinct set of historical and contemporary social relations of production, thereby obscuring processes of settler colonialism. In this way, Indigenous "poverty" is pathologized – a social problem to be fixed through employment and state benevolence (Adams 1995). Contrary to the gold mining regime, Indigenous engagement in capitalist production has been a central tenet of the new extractive regime from the beginning. The SEAs map out specific targets for northern hires[118] and northern Indigenous hires, and IBAs identify company commitments to training and job development for specific Indigenous communities. The *Communities and Diamonds Report* communicates annual northern and northern Indigenous employment as it measures up to company targets. Thus, while the community "stakeholder" approach to Indigeneity is relatively limited, the individualized "participant" approach is emphasized in both the SEAs and the IBAs.

While the SEAs are governed through the relationship between the GNWT and the diamond companies, IBAs are bilateral agreements made between diamond companies and individual Indigenous communities. I stress that it is *individual* communities who make these agreements. The diamond companies insist that the IBAs are both negotiated and implemented confidentially, making it nearly impossible for Indigenous communities to collaborate in negotiations, or learn from and build on past negotiations by other communities. Indeed, Alica, a young Indigenous woman and community organizer characterized the effect of confidentiality in the following way:

> I don't understand why these agreements are confidential. Why did we agree to confidential agreements when the other Dene groups, it basically made them all fight with each other? Because they couldn't tell each other what they were getting and all

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[118] As noted by some interview participants, the definition of "northerner" is a site of contention, particularly for those who view the north as an internal colony, as discussed in chapter one and articulated by Coates (1985). The concern is that loose definitions of northerner enable both transient northern residents – who come to the north for a job in the mines and leave quickly – and people who work at the mines but move to southern Canada to benefit from northern preferential hires.

> these rumours were going around, like, this group got way more than us. It caused a lot of fighting between groups and tension. And I felt it puts the First Nations group at a really big disadvantage when you're already going up against a huge international mining company. So I said, "I don't understand why we agreed to this." And the response I got was, "Well, to be honest, when they came in the nineties, we didn't have any experience with the mines or international corporations like that. We didn't have any experience with IBA agreements. So we were kind of like little kids up against these big guys and we just kind of went with it because we didn't know any better." And only now we're learning (Interview 119: 2014).[119]

IBAs are not legislated, but they are expected practice; a new mine in the NWT would not begin operations without negotiating IBAs. IBAs provide socio-economic commitments to Indigenous communities and local "buy-in", thereby giving diamond companies a greater chance at accessing a local workforce and enjoying political stability. Gibson (2008) writes, 'From the mining company's perspective, the IBA represents decreased political risk. With communities on side, the risk of project failure or disruption through protest is eliminated' (129). More than the SEAs, IBAs have attracted international attention as an innovative approach to community consultation in the extractive industry. Indeed, Caine and Krogman (2010) argue that northern Canadian IBAs are an important historical development, representing an 'opportunity for Aboriginal people to not only gain economically from resource extraction but also affect the trajectory and scale of development' (77).

The role of IBAs in community consultation, the substance of their negotiation and implementation, and the extent to which they actually represent a new, more "responsible" development is a rich space of on-the-ground policy work and academic inquiry (see, for example, O'Faircheallaigh 2006, 2007, Laforce et al. 2009, Caine and Krogman 2010). Here, I

[119] In her account of the Lutsulke community experience of IBA negotiations, Bielawski (2003) illustrates the ways in which the confidentiality of agreements enables diamond companies to isolate communities in negotiation, and thereby present the "choice" to consent to diamond mining as a choice between mining occurring and a community receiving benefits or mining occurring with no benefits going to the community. However, as noted by Gibson (2008: 134) and some interview participants, arguably, the confidentiality of IBAs protects Indigenous communities from government claw-backs of transfer payments based on their resource revenue sources.

focus specifically on how IBAs shape Indigenous participation in, and experiences of, capitalist production in the diamond mines. In exploring the ideology behind IBAs, and the substance of them, it is clear that Indigenous people are approached as potential sources for variable capital, both in the form of potential workers or business operators. This approach to Indigeneity obscures the tension in the northern mixed economy between Indigenous place-based modes of subsistence production and the annexation of place by time inherent to resource extraction (and, indeed, capitalism), and intensified in FIFO resource extraction.

As with the SEAs, employment targets are a central component of IBAs.[120] However, as noted by a number of research participants, IBA commitments demonstrate a contingency and variability in the ways in which companies prioritize Indigenous participation in the mines. While the first and most common way to involve Indigenous communities in the mines is to employ Indigenous people in the mine labour force, Indigenous people and governments are increasingly being approached as potential entrepreneurs, business owners, and investors. James, a northern man in diamond management, noted that:

> [T]he Tlicho will say that with Ekati, they were looking for jobs, and when Diavik came along they were looking for business. Business involvement. And then I think when Snap Lake came along, there were already businesses in places that Diavik helped support that were already demonstrating capability and knew the game and how to play…So there's been a real step change there (Interview 401: 2014).

These businesses are one of the major ways diamond revenue flows into Indigenous communities. In 2013, for example, the three operating diamond mines paid $250 million to NWT Aboriginal businesses and $375 million to NWT, non-Aboriginal businesses (GNWT 2014: 6). Compare this number – $250 million in one year – to the $39 million in resource

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[120] Because IBAs are confidential, mapping out their precise substance is difficult. However, according to Gibson (2008), the agreements tend to cover, 'Provisions on training, employment and business, and funds through a variety of models, as well as scholarships; terms for how the community may be involved in the project; the intent of an effective working relationship; the goal of respecting the economy, culture and environment, and the intent of minimizing disruption and impact' (124).

royalties paid to the Gwich'in, Sahtu, and Tlicho over the *entire diamond mine life* and it becomes clear that the diamond extractive approach rewards a particular form of Indigeneity: the Indigenous entrepreneur/business owner and the Indigenous labourer, where labour is synonymous with capitalist production. Indeed, the promotion of Indigenous business and the "Aboriginal Entrepreneur" is far from unique to the diamond industry. This is a strategy promoted by scholars and policy makers in the US and Canada and taken up by both the US and Canadian State.[121]

Emma, a northern woman who had been involved with IBA implementation in Indigenous communities, echoed James and other research participants in noting that there has been an explosion of Indigenous-run businesses since the first diamond mine opened. However, unlike James, who characterized the approach to Indigeneity as an evolution from Indigenous workers to Indigenous business (the imagined capitalist trajectory from workers to owners of the means of production), Emma saw the approach to Indigeneity as contingent, rather than progressive. She said:

> Training and employment; business; and financial payments: those are the three big parts of the IBA. So the business provisions have been scaled way, way back with Gatcho Kue. Before there were preferential contracting opportunities and evergreen contracts, which means that, for the life of the project, a specific contract was linked to a specific Aboriginal government. So, for example, at Diavik the catering contract goes to the Yellowknives Dene. No matter what happens…So evergreens are so past done…. Because when the mines were first set up, you have to remember that there were, like, fifteen Aboriginal businesses. Now there's 250 or whatever there is. It's like an explosion of business. So part of it's reflecting that there was a time when you needed a lot of active inducement and now it's like, meh. It's already happening. The other part of it is the financial market and the viability of projects is completely different. So Ekati was like a slam dunk…Other projects like Snap Lake, the economics were always marginal. (Interview 402: 2014).

121 See Cornell and Kalt (1998) and Anderson et al. (2006); and Altamarino (2004) for a critique of a neoliberal market approach to Indigenous development.

Emma's observations point to the conditionality of IBA commitments (conditionality based on the needs of the owner and the market at any given time), a characteristic facilitated by their confidentiality. Indeed, because of the confidentiality of IBAs, community expectations cannot be set on a baseline established by previous negotiations. Rather, confidentiality allows diamond-mining companies to negotiate community benefits and participation based on the market and the needs of the mine at the time of negotiation.[122] As such, research participants noted significant variation in IBA approaches to Indigeneity and "community impact" through time, between the different mines, and between different communities. In the community workers' focus group (Focus Group: 2014), for example, participants agreed that availability of funds from the diamond mines for community projects, a feature of both SEAs and IBAs, were inconsistent and seemed to shift based on the profits of the mine and their public relations goals at the time.

The inconsistency in the FIFO diamond-mining regime's approach to Indigenous participation and community development is the result of the shifting temporal demands of capital, and the emphasis on variable capital (and variability in *investment* in variable capital as a response to the demands of the market and constraints of mine operators), rather than any sort of ambivalence toward Indigenous participation in and of itself. Indeed, prioritizing jobs for Indigenous people and hiring Indigenous businesses provides a number of benefits to diamond companies. Significantly, hiring Indigenous companies promotes the "responsible development" image of the diamond mines while also enabling companies that are new to the north to rely on local expertise and cut down on transportation costs. Perhaps most saliently, by newly implicating Indigenous communities in the management and investment side of the extractive

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122 Compare this enforced individualized approach to the community solidarity exhibited during the 1970s resistance to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

regime, diamond companies significantly reduce the likelihood of community-level resistance. James explained the benefit of this strategy to the industry with the following anecdote:

> When Diavik went forward, of course Diavik also had a socio-economic plan…And of course they hire Tlicho Logistics to work on site and the Grand Chief had this line and it was kind of like, "We issued the challenge to you, the mining company, to hire our people, the northern people. You've now hired us [Tlicho Logistics] to work on your mine site and that means we have to do it, too. And we accept the challenge." So it's an interesting turnabout. So rather than the old pointing the finger, you know that old saying – when you point one finger at someone, there's four pointing back at you' (Interview 401: 2014).[123]

Thus, in contrast to the "separate development" of previous extractive regimes, Indigenous communities are newly implicated – and thus, newly constrained – in their efforts to challenge, or halt, the FIFO diamond-mining regime. The push for Indigenous businesses can thus be criticized as both an attempt to fix the inequalities of colonial capitalism with more capitalism, as well as a tactic for silencing dissent by tying the well-being of Indigenous communities to the success of extractive capitalist production.

However, while the emphasis on Indigenous participation in the FIFO diamond-mining regime emerges from the contradictory imperatives of recognizing distinct Indigenous relationships to land and the capitalist drive for accumulation and exploitation, this does not deny the benefits Indigenous people have experienced working in community-run companies. For some, Dene businesses offer an opportunity to work with people from their own community, and to feel more autonomy over their engagement in the capitalist system that has been imposed upon them. Furthermore, working in the mines is a chance to gain local employment at a time when neoliberal retrenchment of services, a high cost of living, and deepening capitalist

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[123] New mining operations currently under development are discussing the option of offering Indigenous communities company equity rather than cash payments or socio-economic commitments to the community (Interview 402: 2014). This is a step further in the direction of tying Indigenous community material interests to the success of extractive projects.

penetration into northern spaces is making living in the north without engaging in capitalist wage labour increasingly difficult.

For others, however, the FIFO extractive regime is antithetical and, indeed, destructive to Indigenous ways of being, regardless of whether an extractive business is managed by an Indigenous or non-Indigenous group. Angus, a young Métis man who participated in a community talking circle, said:

> I feel like the diamond mines places this thing over their head, this exit out, this easy answer to things. And it's almost like the vampire disease. Once we have it, we just keep chasing mine sites. And once a mine starts getting low, we start searching for the next one. And I think it's counter-intuitive to our philosophy of being here to co-exist on this land, you know, and maintain it for future generations. We end up making a deal with the devil (Talking Circle Two: 2014).

Angus raises concern for the attachment formed between Indigenous communities and the extractive economy as Indigenous businesses are built around the diamond mines. For him, rather than a short-term economic opportunity, the diamond mines represent a larger threat to the reproduction of a subsistence orientation and Indigenous ontologies. Arlene Hache,[124] for her part, articulated the concern that Indigenous organizations are taking up Western labour practices, noting the implications this creep towards a capitalist orientation has for intergenerational Indigenous social reproduction. Arlene first acknowledged the potential benefits of Indigenous businesses and then said:

> On the other hand, I find it a sort of sad thing because there are real values that will be lost. Or is not acknowledged, or will just change the nature of community over time. So one of the values is, "I will be there for family and the community". And, you know, the Western wage economy kind of way is, don't bring family to work. Don't bring problems to work. You're here to work for me from 9-5 or whatever. So I think there's a real sadness about real community values that are so important being lost and not accepted and, soon, not accepted in the community itself.

[124] Hache, an interview participant, is quoted using her real name, as she indicated she did not wish to be quoted anonymously.

> So sometimes it's very tough when Indigenous organizations, business organizations, follow the same model as Western organizations. And now, all of a sudden, community expectations and family expectations also are not welcome in Aboriginal businesses and models. So it's something to think about, anyways. (Interview 110: 2014).

Angus and Arlene's concerns were echoed by many talking circle and focus group participants, who asked what steps could be taken to build an extractive-free future. In contrast to the IBAs and SEAs, wherein Indigeneity is approached as an identity group separate from the social relations of the mixed economy, Arlene and Angus's concerns point to the dangerous potential for the material and ontological reorganization of Indigenous labour as a result of the imperatives of the diamond-mining regime. This is not to say that Indigenous people cannot, should not, or do not participate or benefit from the diamond-mining regime. Rather, it is to acknowledge a real tension between subsistence-oriented production performed by Indigenous people and the capitalist imperative for accumulation, intensified by the FIFO extractive structure. Indeed, the pressures of the FIFO diamond-mining regime, as a particularly intense form of capitalist production, represent a threat to the reproduction of the regional mixed economy. It is in approaching capitalist production in the FIFO diamond-mining regime as one department of production in relation to subsistence and social reproduction in the mixed economy that the violent gendered and racialized de/colonizing effects of this reorganization are made manifest. The next section characterizes the diamond-mining FIFO regime as a new extractive approach to time and place, contextualizing this extractive structure in the scope of capitalist employment in and around Yellowknife, and further analyzing the racialized and gendered contradictions at work in the intensified capitalist imperatives of the FIFO extractive structure.

III. FIFO in a Newly Mixed Economy

By the early 1990s, mining settlements with little to no infrastructure or services were no longer the order of the day, even in the north. Workers expected more infrastructure than the mining

generation of early-settler Yellowknife. As such, building mining towns became an even more expensive investment in fixed capital on the part of private capital and the Canadian state, and a risky one at that. Thus, a new extractive model began replacing the mining town – the FIFO mine. Keith Storey (2010) writes, 'Over the past twenty-five years, and in Canada and Australia in particular, the "no town" model has replaced that of the "new town"' (1161). Storey explains that the FIFO model has become increasingly attractive to companies looking for '"lean" and "flexible" modes of production' in remote areas (1162). Notably, the move to a FIFO extractive model represents a neoliberal move toward investment in variable capital over fixed capital, a move that facilitates the intensified flexibility of the diamond mines. In the NWT, the first large-scale FIFO mine was Polaris, a zinc mine in Nunavut that operated from 1981 to 2002. In an interview, James said that the choice to make Polaris a FIFO mine was a reaction to the massive expenditures throughout the mid-twentieth century in building mining towns and handling the town infrastructure once the mine closed. James explained:

> I say that Nanasivik was the last mining town to be built, up in Nunavut.[125] If you look at Nanasivik when it was built, the federal government had a 20 percent stake in it when it was built. And what they did was…community services. So they put in the airstrip and they paid for the dock. They paid for the roads and they paid for the community roads and the RCMP. They paid for a town centre that had things like a post office, a store, and a nursing station. They had a fire hall. And school. And I can remember, I was there when it was built. And they paid for the water sewer. There was a whole utility system and for maintenance. So that was their contribution. So there you've got a case of government getting a financial burden for having a mining town. Because they also have to clean up their stuff…A mining cost. So with fly-in/fly-out, there's an elegance to that. There's a cost saving. There's a "We don't have to go through that", you know? (Interview 401: 2014).

The FIFO model was an obvious choice for the northern diamond mines. As Figure 6, above, illustrates, all of the NWT diamond mines were developed at significant distance to

[125] Nanisivik was a zinc-lead mine with a company town in Nunavut (what was the NWT at the time of the mine opening). It operated from 1976 to 2002.

Yellowknife.[126] The mines are remote (in settler terms), even by northern standards. Extending existing infrastructure and transporting all the material resources required to build a town would have been far more of an investment than anyone (government or private capital) was willing to bestow on this project. Furthermore, the cost of flying has significantly decreased, making the constant flights taking off from the diamond mines and bringing workers to their homes – which range from communities around the north to locales as far as the Maritimes – a reasonable expenditure for the mining companies. As James noted, the FIFO structure allows workers to take a job at a mine without having to relocate themselves or their family. This, he argued, is particularly important for recruiting northern Indigenous people who do not want to leave their home community (Interview 401: 2014).[127]

While industry has accepted FIFO as the standard for northern extraction, northern people have mixed experiences with, and responses to, the new extractive structure. Home communities remain geographically in place, but their social relations have undergone a significant shift under the FIFO diamond-mining regime. Namely, FIFO introduces a spatiality to the assumed separation under capitalism between productive labour and social reproduction. That is, while capitalist production is separated from social reproduction in Western liberal ideology (the public/private realm; the work/home divide; the masculine/feminine) and materiality, FIFO spatializes this separation, placing hundreds of kilometres of sub-Arctic land between the site of capitalist production and the site of social reproduction.[128] This separation has multiple implications for Indigenous women's labour, both on and off the mine site. Because

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[126] There is a short-term winter ice road connecting Diavik and Ekati to Yellowknife (Gibson 2008: 17), used for the transportation of heavy equipment and resources to the mines. However, people are transported to the mines almost exclusively by air.

[127] Storey makes the same argument (2010: 1169).

[128] This structural approach to capitalist production and social reproduction obscures subsistence production, as discussed in chapter five.

FIFO diamond-mining labour usually involves workers living at camp for two weeks at a time and working twelve hours a day for fourteen days straight, the daily social reproduction of workers is made possible by paid labour at camp (cooking and housekeeping, for example, most often performed by Indigenous women), labour that is largely obscured, and, consequently, devalued. While (predominantly, male) workers are at camp, daily social reproduction – especially childcare – is feminized and naturalized, whereas subsistence is largely invisibilized. This restructuring is facilitated, in part, by the programs and policies aimed at restructuring social reproduction performed by Indigenous women discussed in the previous chapter. And, as the following chapters shall show, the work of intergenerational social reproduction of Indigenous communities is hampered by the new long-term separation of mine workers from their home communities, while the workers' responsibilities to their community and kin are, out of necessity, taken up by other family members or friends. Thus, due to their intensified community and household responsibilities, many women are unable to access or, if accessed, sustain employment at the diamond mines.

Gendered lack of access to diamond-mine employment is particularly salient given the status mine employment has in the regional political economy. As with many industries in more rural or remote jurisdictions, in debates around northern extraction, jobs are often the carrot used to stop debate about an industry's existence. This emphasis on wage labour denies subsistence production its role in providing for northern Indigenous communities. However, even within the sphere of capitalist employment, the powerful rhetoric around job creation through mining obscures the diversity of employment in and around Yellowknife. While Yellowknife is adorned with flags identifying the town as the 'Diamond Capital' (see Image 1), a surprisingly small proportion of the people of Yellowknife, and the NWT, at large, actually work for the diamond

mines. Indeed, Gibson (2008) characterizes the linkages between the production of diamond mines and local employment as weak. She writes, 'Since remote mines use 12 hour schedules for workers, workforce needs are reduced, resulting in decreased capital costs, and decreased risk associated with commodity price changes' (Gibson 2008: 14).

The mines measure employment in person-hours, counting the number of hours worked, rather than the amount of people employed. This mode of data collection, which tracks labour-power and not people, is in itself an articulation of an intensified approach to variable capital. Because the person expending their labour is lost in this form of data collection, the nature of employment is obscured (that is, who is working what hours? What is the duration of their employment?), a pernicious gap in an industry that, based on research participant observation, is increasingly characterized by contract employment, rather than stable, full-time work. Based on the person-hours data, the GNWT and Chamber of Mines (2014) can only estimate that in 2013, the total employment of the mines – that is, both northern workers and workers flown in from the South – was 3,109 people. Of this group, 1,430 were classified as northern.[129] And, of those 1,430 northerners, 752, or 53%, were Indigenous (2). The reports from which these data were gathered do not disaggregate by sex, nor do they identify non-Indigenous minorities.

In order to contextualize these numbers in the capitalist labour market of the NWT, Figures 7 and 8 draw on GNWT data to compare the mining sector's share in territorial GDP distribution and labour market, respectively.

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[129] This classification is not deployed consistently, but tends to denote a person who has resided in the north for six months or more.

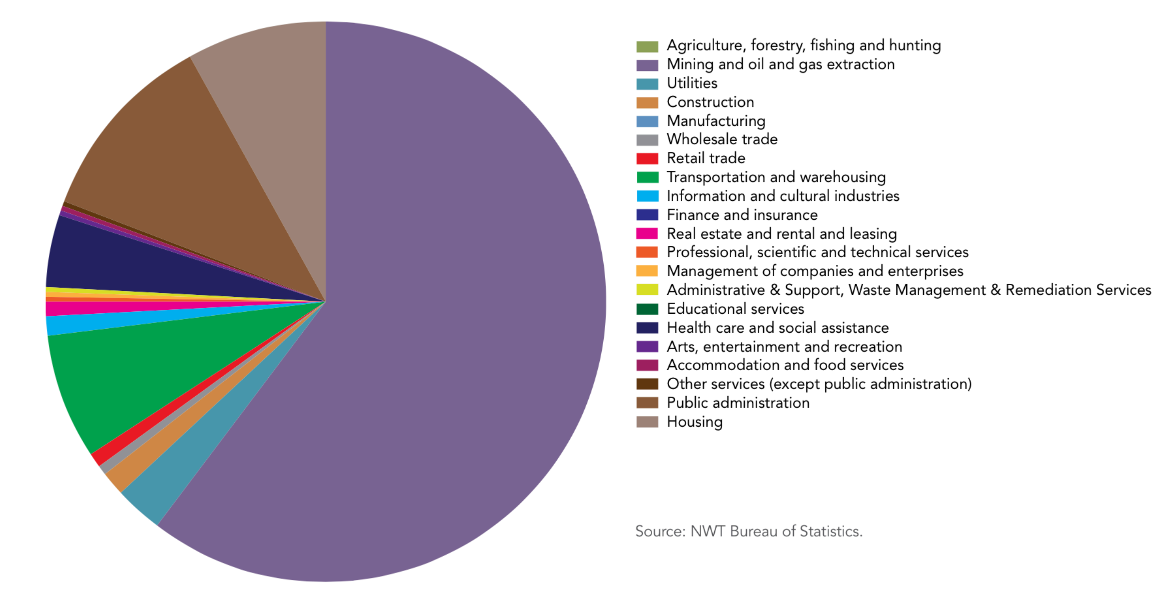

Figure 7: NWT GDP distribution (GNWT 2014)

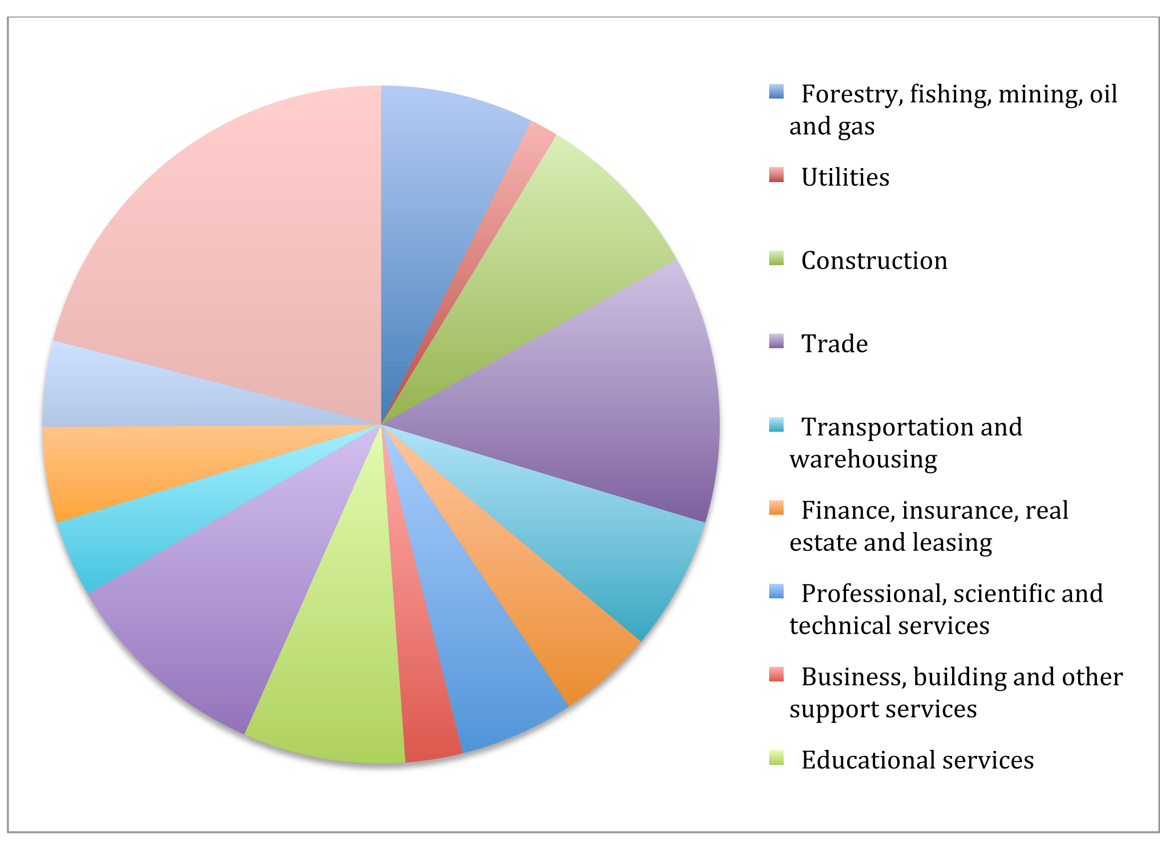

Figure 8: NWT labour force participation by industry (GNWT 2014).

As Figures 7 and 8 illustrate, while mining and oil and gas industries (the vast majority of which is made up of the diamond mines) dominate GDP distribution, extractives employ a relatively small proportion of the population of the NWT. Figures 7 and 8 represent territorial statistics, as these data were not available at a municipal level. However, it would be safe to assume that in Yellowknife – where most non-mining related wage labour is performed – the proportion of people working in mining compared to other forms of wage labour would be even less. Figure 9, below, which does disaggregate Yellowknife's data, tracks employment rates through the development of the diamond mines.[130] Recalling that the first diamond mine opened in 1998 and the second in 2003, it is notable that the level of employment remained relatively stable

[130] This picture, of course, only covers capitalist production. Those who are characterized as "not working" because of their exclusive engagement in social reproduction or non-capitalist subsistence work are discussed in chapter five.

throughout this time period, challenging the notion that the NWT "needs" the diamond mine jobs.

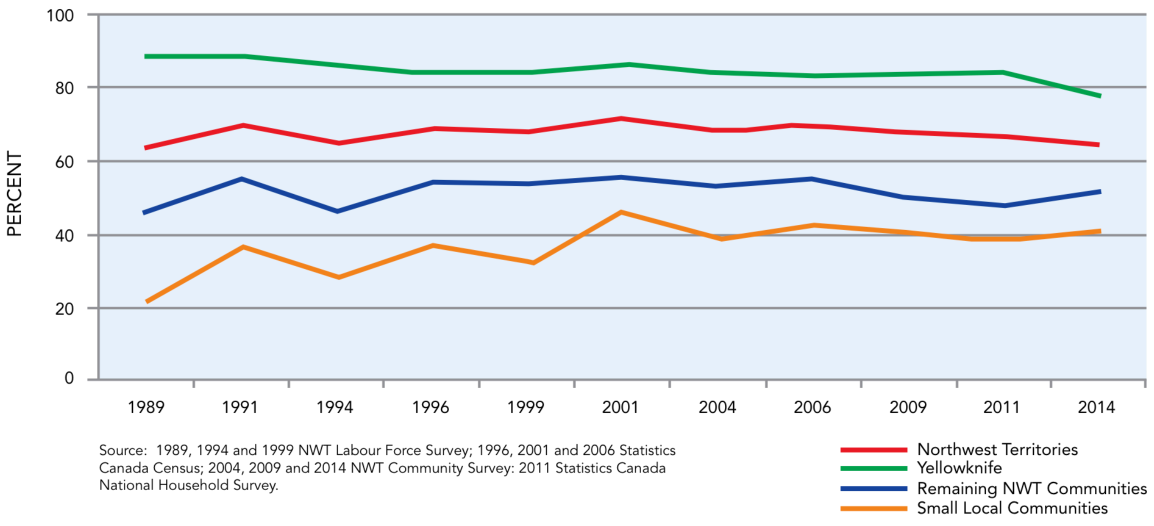

Figure 9: Rates of employment (GNWT 2014)

While significantly more NWT residents work in non-mining jobs, the numbers are not reflected in community perception. The diamond mines provide employment that was characterized by research participants as high-wage or, at least, "higher than I would have gotten somewhere else".[131] Research participants often spoke of the importance of training more young people for the diamond industry, and even participants who were critical of and unhappy with the mines expressed concerns around employment after the diamond mines closed (Talking Circle One, Talking Circle Two: 2014). The diamond mines have extended the expectation for extractive employment initially established by the gold mines, while introducing a new insecurity to mine employment, as a result of the FIFO, flexible approach. The emphasis on variable capital under the FIFO diamond-mining regime has not translated into more jobs, but

[131] For example, Iris had done housekeeping work in town before being hired as a housekeeper up at the mines. She said she started working at the mines because the pay was better (Interview 101: 2014).

into an *affective concern* for extractive jobs, one that privileges masculinized forms of work over feminized forms of work.

In her analysis of Blair, a coal-mining town in West Virginia, Rebecca Scott (2007) identifies a similar socialized reliance on extractive employment. Like Yellowknife, the town of Blair, West Virginia, sees itself as a mining town. Scott writes:

> Despite the fact that, as of 1990, retail made up almost as large a percentage of total employment in Boone, Logan, and McDowell counties as coal mining and WalMart is the fourth largest employer in Logan County, this type of low-wage employment was not discussed in my interviews. When people talked about work, they were talking about men, particularly family men-breadwinners (2007: 489).

Scott's observation speaks to the way in which (predominantly male and entirely masculinized) extractive employment exacerbates a male-breadwinner ideology and the consequent invisibilization of women's paid and unpaid labour. Like the case of Blair, many of the female partners of male mine workers in the Yellowknife region hold jobs of their own (in fact, *all* of the research participants whose partners worked in the mine were employed in wage labour). Unlike Blair, many women working in non-mining jobs in Yellowknife hold high-paying government jobs, a dynamic obscured by the over-representation of mining jobs in regional perception. The over-representation of mining jobs also obscures the burgeoning service sector in the area around Yellowknife, and, through NWT participation in the temporary foreign worker program (GNWT 2015b), its increasingly racialized character. The emphasis on work connected to diamond mining at the expense of the many forms of wage labour within the mixed economy speaks to the concerns outlined by Angus of the "vampire curse" of the mines, or the perceived need for the diamond industry. Indeed, in interviews, research participants noted that the expectation that men "provide" for their families has intensified in many Indigenous homes and

is increasingly synonymous with engaging in wage labour, rather than contributing more interdependently through subsistence or social reproduction.

Furthermore, while there is an assumption that mines bring “good jobs”, for those who do work in a mine, there is significant variety in job type, form of employment (contract or full-time, with varying levels of security), and wages, variations that are grafted upon gendered and racialized social relations. The discrepancy in job types is exacerbated by the limited union presence in the diamond mines, a major difference between the gold mines and the diamond mines. Even amongst those workers who are unionized, the union does not play the activist role it did during the gold mining days. When asked about the difference between union organizing during the gold mine era and union organizing at the diamond mines, Mary Lou Cherwaty, the President of the Northern Territories Federation of Labour, said,[132]

> From a union perspective, there’s a huge difference. Because you don’t have access to the worksite. If you go out to Giant or Con or something where your family and community live close to the worksite. And people drive or walk to the workplace. As opposed to now, where people get on an airplane to go. So the only contact you can have with those workers is to go to Yellowknife to the airport or wherever they’re flying from. Some of those workers, even though they’re your members, you don’t even get contact with them. Unless you go in on a visit through the employer’s permission. On their flight to the mine.
>
> R: And it [the flight] would have to be through the employers?
>
> M: Yes, because you need to be on their flight manifest through the airline. But even then you have construction contract workers and you’ve got your housekeeping services, which is a separate employer. They’re all broken out. So you get an airplane of people going to work on a shift and they all could work for eight different employers (Interview 204: 2014).

Cherwaty’s discussion of the challenges of union organizing is a spatial argument: when the site of capitalist production in the form of diamond mining is separate from the site of social reproduction and access is limited to those invited (onto the flight manifesto) by the company

[132] Mary Lou Cherwaty did not wish to be quoted anonymously.

themselves, the site of capitalist production arguably becomes exempt from certain socio-political norms. Separate from the social and political structures and norms built in and around Yellowknife that condition capitalist production – and that developed through the mixed economy and the influence of Indigenous political organizing – the exploitation of variable capital in the diamond mines is afforded a wide berth. Indeed, Cherwaty speaks to the near-impossibility of union organizing at a FIFO site, noting the lack of knowledge of and engagement with the unions on the part of the membership. This sentiment was illustrated by research participants who did not know whether their position at the mine was unionized or not, sometimes due to uncertainty over whether they were employed by the mine itself or by a sub-contractor.[133] As noted by research participants, this lack of clarity in employment relationships makes it difficult for workers to lodge complaints or to access their rights.[134]

Indeed, unlike the gold mines, where jobs were housed under one employer, under the diamond-mining regime, a great deal of work is farmed out to sub-contractors. Because sub-contractors are not party to SEAs or IBAs, they are not under the same labour obligations as the diamond mines. A number of participants described working directly for the diamond mine as the "good job" compared to working for sub-contractors.[135] Work that is employed directly

[133] In an interview, two community workers explained that it's difficult to help workers access their rights because it's often not clear who employs them. Jane said, 'And we also have the big problem with the sub-contracting. The issues around work…it's hard to know who they work for, who's HR' (Interview 201: 2014).
[134] For example, when Clarice, an Indigenous woman working at the mines, experienced harassment at the workplace, she did not know she was a union member and that she could access union resources (Interview 103: 2014).
[135] For example, Jenny, who worked for a sub-contractor, described the disparity between contract work and working for the mine, saying,

'Basically all the people who were doing contract work…we were kind of separate from actual Diavik.

R: That's interesting. So your trailer was separate. Did you eat separately?

J: We eat separate from the Diavik staff. We ate with the contractor staff….It was actually a separate cafeteria…The only reason why I knew that is that I actually knew people at the time who were working for Diavik so I would occasionally try and sneak in. Yeah, because the contractor side was a little bit rougher and there were virtually zero

through the mines tends to be "high-skilled" trades work, while work that is sub-contracted ranges from high-skilled, professionalized consultant work to housekeeping work, and short-term construction projects.

Given the history of stable, high-paying employment in the extractive industry for – predominantly – white settler men living in Yellowknife, for some residents of the region, the diamond mines offered a relieving and welcome continuation of this form of employment at a time when the region's political economic future was violently uncertain. And, indeed, the diamond mines provide employment with wages that, for the most part, well surpass any other form of employment available in the territory, aside from some government jobs. At the same time, the diamond mines are marked by new forms of flexibilized labour as a result of increased sub-contracting, short-term contracts, and non-unionized jobs. Furthermore, because of the FIFO structure, the daily social reproduction of workers must now occur at the mine site. As such, the diamond mines employ FIFO workers to perform this labour (largely cooking and cleaning). This is employment of a different quality, pay scale, and gendering from construction, pit work, or trades. Certainly, women – particularly, Indigenous women – participate in the diamond-mining regime far more than the gold mining regime, but where and how do Indigenous women fit (and not fit) into the extractive employment structure? And what do their location and experiences within the diamond-mining regime tell us about the material and ideological contradictions at play in the restructuring of labour to meet the demands of the diamond-mining regime, and the violent implications of these contradictions?

IV. Indigenous Women and the FIFO Diamond-Mining Regime

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women. It will honestly be a memory I carry with me till the day I die. A sea of men and there was only myself and one other woman who worked on my cross-shift' (Interview 115: 2014).

Recall that the primary group recruited for personal interviews was women living in the Yellowknife region with a relationship to the diamond mine (either women who had worked in the mine themselves, had a family member who worked in the mine, or both, or women who felt strongly impacted in other ways), most of whom were Indigenous. The majority of talking circle participants also fell into this group.[136] The insights and observations these women shared demonstrate that the experiences of working for the diamond mines are divergent, within and across subjectivities. Some research participants spoke of the financial stability afforded to them by working in the diamond mines, while others spoke of the deep insecurity. Some spoke of the empowerment they felt as the diamond mines offered new employment opportunities,[137] whereas others spoke of their struggles to move out of low-wage, insecure jobs at the mines. For example, Doris, who worked as a housekeeper at the mines, said, 'It's not a high paying job being a housekeeper. I wanted a job like everybody else was doing. I mean, why can't I get hired? You know? And I would have got a secure person to sit with the kids, if I could afford it' (Interview 111: 2014).

Acknowledging and exploring nuance and variety is important; however, variety should not be conflated with a horizontal plurality of experience. In mapping divergent relationships to the diamond mines upon people's subjectivities and social locations, a clear hierarchy emerges: a hierarchy that cuts – sometimes violently – along the lines of gender and racialized relations as they have developed in the mixed economy. Indigenous women's employment and experiences

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[136] As noted in the introduction, the number of women interviewed with a relationship to the diamond mine is an underrepresentation as it does not capture participant's multiple locations to the diamond mines: for example, a significant proportion of interview and focus group participants recruited as community workers were also Indigenous women who had family members working in the mines.

[137] For example, Jillian, a white northerner, said, 'I made enough money to buy my own place before I was in a relationship with my husband and be really independent that way. It allowed me to travel all over the place and really enjoy my time like that. However, as I got older, my priorities changed and then you have to make decision about whether you want to stick with it or do something else in town' (Talking Circle Two: 2014).

in the diamond mines are structured through the competing political and ideological imperatives that shape the diamond-mining regime. To some extent, Indigenous women are recruited for employment through the same imperatives as their male counterparts, as constituents of the new approach to Indigenous participation, outlined above. At the same time, the FIFO diamond-mining regime relies upon a racialized marginalization of subsistence, and an externalization and feminization of social reproduction, aside from day-to-day social reproduction performed on site. As a result, recruitment of Indigenous women for long-term employment has been marred by the newly individualized responsibilities for social reproduction that these women face, discussed in the next chapter. These processes, however, have not resulted in non-participation, full stop. Rather, I argue that the diamond mines rely upon some Indigenous women's labour – and the real and imagined temporariness of their employment – to fill the least desirable and lowest paid jobs at the mine, while non-Indigenous and Indigenous women hired for "good jobs" serve as markers of "responsible extraction".

In interviews with both government and business industry officials, a common theme emerged in discussions of gender and the mines: northern women, and in particular, northern Indigenous women, were referred to – not ironically – as the untapped resource of the north, or, as James put it, 'a big opportunity' (Interview 401:2014). As discussed above, a local workforce has many potential benefits for the mining companies – more loyalty, lower transportation costs, and positive public perception, and the consequent avoidance of potential protest or legal trouble. However, the existing diamond mines have largely exhausted the segment of the northern population that both wants to work for the mines and fits its model of "employability". As Emma put it, 'it's time to have an honest conversation. Because there's normally a reason people aren't working in the mines. It's normally a criminal record, addictions, or a life skills issue. Or they

don't want to be there' (Interview 402: 2014). Thus, recruiting Indigenous women is a way to access a new pool of local people who aren't currently employed by the diamond mines. Furthermore, for an industry that relies, to a certain extent, upon a perception of "responsible extraction", recruiting Indigenous women to work in the trades is a quick way to achieve this.

Recruiting Indigenous women to work in the diamond mines is not a new concept. Strategies for recruiting, training and hiring women have been in discussion for the past ten years. The Northern Women in Oil and Gas Project, for example, was a project funded by the diamond mines and administered by the Status of Women Council of the NWT. While it provided comprehensive and free training, the project was largely unsuccessful in training women who then retained jobs in the diamond mine (Carey Consulting and Evaluation 2011). In reflecting on the difficulties this project faced, community workers noted that, prior to the project, the participants identified the barriers for entering the mining workforce that they perceived. Before beginning their training or jobs in the mine, participants identified gendered stereotypes about mining labour (for example, mining is a "man's job") as the biggest barrier. After the project was completed, in discussions with participants about the training program and the employment that followed, the experience of discrimination and sexual harassment had indeed proved to be a common experience. In a joint interview, two community workers had the following discussion:

> Jane: So that was a big factor for, even if they were single, why they didn't want to go there. So not only were they in a men's world, what they perceived as a man's culture, but it was not safe for them.
>
> Hilary: And going home, as well. A lot of women felt that they were stigmatized by that. "Why would you want to go work with all men? What kind of girl are you, anyway?" So I think they got a lot of that, even from their own families, thinking it wasn't a proper's place…

Jane: There's also issues, you know, all different issues, clothing not fitting. Bathrooms not fitting, you know. Just the culture of, I don't know how to explain it.

Hilary: Some of the women felt they just weren't wanted there. And that, you know, the old-school trades people, the people working there, were just going to make it as miserable as they could for the women working there. They knew they had to accept them, but they knew they also had the power to make it as unpleasant as possible so they might just leave (Interview 201: 2014).

While gender discrimination was an expected barrier at the outset of the project, women's responsibilities for community and household social reproduction was not identified as a potential barrier for women working in the mines. However, upon *completion* of the training and working at the mine (or attempting to work at the mine), participants felt that the primary barrier to diamond mine employment was that working at the mines was incompatible with their responsibilities for social reproduction (Carey Consulting and Evaluation 2011).[138] Indeed, the FIFO structure requires the worker to be highly unattached, or at least, periodically detachable from her home responsibilities. While the worker's immediate needs are met at the mine site, broader and more long-term social reproduction, including the work to sustain kin and community social relations, are externalized.

While research participants' particular experiences working at the diamond mines diverged (along racialized lines, and also based on the professionalization or status of a person's position at the mine), all of the women interviewed identified their gender identity as shaping their work experience significantly. For example, one research participant said, 'If you're a woman, it's very apparent you're a woman' (Interview 118: 2014); and another said, 'I just think as a woman you can't BS. There's less room because people are scrutinizing you a lot more' (Interview 117: 2014). Women's experience of their gender location at the camp ranged from

[138] In chapters four and five, it will become clear that these responsibilities for social reproduction extend beyond the household and, rather, involve community-level social reproduction oriented towards subsistence, labour that is a resistance to the totalizing impulses of capital.

discrimination that they felt they could "handle" to sexual harassment and discrimination that led to job loss, ill health, and high degrees of emotional and interpersonal distress. Jillian, a non-Indigenous northerner who worked as a tradesperson in the mine, largely spoke positively about her experience working at the mine. At the same time, she noted that there were no women's bathrooms in the underground pits, offering this as an example of the limited structural accommodations for women. Similarly, a few research participants discussed the problem of speaking to their male supervisors about medical problems or going to the all-male nurse practitioners for medical attention. The few women who articulated their gendered treatment as an issue, but not a particularly difficult one, all recognized themselves as aberrations. For example, Jillian, who, notably, was a white woman who worked in skilled trades, said:

> Thankfully I worked with a really respectful group of men. There were some that would make the odd comment once in awhile, but I never felt threatened by them. But I'm really kind of bossy and loud, so I wouldn't put up with a lot. But even with my personality, it's really intimidating. In some situations, you don't want to speak up. Like I said before, you want to be accepted and respected by your male co-workers, so there are times when you sort of choose your battles and sometimes that's a good thing, but sometimes you don't say things you want to say (Talking Circle Two: 2014).

For many Indigenous women, the result of discrimination and harassment at work, and/or the incompatibility of diamond mining work with their community and household responsibilities was a history of on-again/off-again temporary employment at the mines. It is of note that many of the research participants who originally identified themselves as women whose partner or family member worked for the diamond mines had also worked in the mines themselves. Most of them had been employed for short, sporadic periods of time. Usually they were employed either through short-term contracts, or work that was terminated because they were fired or laid off, because they felt unsafe, unwelcome, or unhappy at the mine site, or because of their community and household responsibilities. For example, Iris had worked at a

few of the northern diamond mines on and off for over a decade. Her work history at the mines was consistently interrupted by responsibilities in the home or community, or illness. She left her first job at a diamond mine after six months to look after her sister and her sister's child in a time of need. Iris's commitments to kin and community at the expense of her engagement with capitalist production are an example of an orientation towards subsistence to be discussed in chapter five. When we spoke, she was planning to reapply to the mines and she joked:

> This time, I'm gonna stick with it. I tell all my relatives and my friends, you guys can't die, I'm gonna go to work. And they say, "Okay, we won't die." And I say, "Let's see how long you can hold out." I say, "Something can happen, but not while I'm working." But I know that won't work (Interview 101: 2014).

While short-term, insecure labour is characterized as an aberration from the extractive employment model, with diamond mines priding themselves in offering "good jobs", I argue that the FIFO diamond-mining regime operates through a gendered, racialized hierarchy of ideal types, or "ideal workers". Visibly, there is the high-to-medium-skilled, unattached, or detachable, worker. These tend to be young men (and sometimes women), who are able to adjust their lives to FIFO work, and who can withstand the long hours, and, slightly older, professionalized men (and, more rarely, women) who are very highly paid and often have engineering degrees and decades of experience working in different mining operations. Management, for example, is almost exclusively white, imported from the mining company's primary site or recruited from southern Canada.

The worker identified as "low-skilled" and destined for precarious employment is not a failure for the diamond-mining regime, but rather is equally, though differently, desirable in its pursuit of highly exploitable form of variable capital. In making this argument, the work of Wright (1999) is instructive. Discussing export-processing maquila factories in northern Mexico,

she argues that maquiladoras operate through a two-tiered classification of workers as "trainable" or "untrainable". She writes:

> The principal marker of the untrainable subject is femininity. As feminist histories of industrialization have noted, the notion of women's untrainability has a genealogy that reaches far beyond the maquila industry (Fernandez-Kelly 1983). The specificities of this untrainable condition vary depending on how the relations of gender unfold within the matrices of other hierarchical relations found within the workplace: the family, heterosexuality, race, and age, to name but a few (Wright 1999: 463).

In Wright's characterization, the "trainable" worker is a worker in whom investments should be made. This worker is approached as a long-term, stable employee, while the "untrainable" worker is a temporary, and potentially disposable, worker who should be used for low-skilled, low-paid insecure labour. Wright argues that the maquila industry marks the Latina women as "untrainable" and thereby exploits them at a greater intensity than their male counterparts. Characterizing women workers as "untrainable" absolves the maquila industry from the costs of higher wages, worker benefits and protections and training.

Some of Wright's characterizations are not generalizable to the extractive regime. The diamond mines are distinct from the maquiladora industry – and many other industrial regimes globally – in that there is an attempt (however marginally successful) to incorporate women, and especially Indigenous women, into work seen as "high-skilled". Furthermore, given the limited number of northern residents and diamond companies' desire for a local workforce, the level of "disposability" Wright describes in the maquiladora industry cannot accurately be applied to the diamond industry. However, Wright's conception of the (extractable and exploitable) value of workers marked as temporary and, therefore, "untrainable", helps to explain the capitalist imperatives for a temporary labour force, the ways in which gender ideology can justify and facilitate this temporariness, and the potential gender and racial violence inherent to

temporariness or disposability in an employment regime.[139] In the diamond mines, for jobs labeled as low skilled, like housekeeping, the primary criterion for employment is flexibility. The work is not desirable or, arguably, safe (the intensity of sexual harassment of women performing housekeeping work at the mines is discussed below), and requires a detachment from community and household social reproduction without adequate compensation for workers to pay someone to take on responsibilities that they cannot attend to while at the mine site.[140] For these reasons, people with greater levels of material insecurity have been recruited for these positions.

In practice, housekeeping jobs have fallen almost exclusively to local Indigenous women. Arlene Hache, founder of the Centre for Northern Families, said in an interview that in the early days of the diamond mines, the companies would call her to see if women accessing the Centre would like to work in housekeeping. The Centre for Northern Families is a women's shelter that houses street-affected women, mostly Indigenous women. Hache said:

> We would say, "We've got seven women that are interested in the job. Can you hire them for this rotation?" So it used to be based on rotation. And they would say, "Yeah, we can take seven women. Send them up." And those mining people used to say that these women were the hardest workers they'd ever seen. Really hard workers, really thorough. Knew their work, did really well. When they came back [from the rotation], all of that money was blown on alcohol and drugs and they could not sustain their sobriety passed that…But, again, these women were not living with partners. They were living with a lot of street violence with partners who were on the street. So it also freed them from that violence (Interview 110: 2014).

Hache's observation that the mines offered a reprieve from street violence for some women is an important one. However, of the women interviewed who had worked at the diamond mine, most

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[139] And, indeed, Wright (1999) makes the link between the "disposability" of "untrainable" women workers in the maquiladora sector and the abhorrent rates of murder against women in northern Mexico.

[140] Doris quit her housekeeping job, in part because her wage was not sufficient to pay someone to look after her children while she was at the mine site (Interview 111: 2014).

– and *all* of the racialized and Indigenous women interviewed – had experienced some form of embodied violence at the mine site.[141]

Interviews, talking circles and the focus groups suggest that experiences of violence (in the form of sexual harassment and discrimination at the mine site) are embodied examples of gendered and racialized inequalities exacerbated by the diamond-mining regime. Sexual harassment at the mine site was the form of violence that was identified by research participants with the most associations of personal pain and hardship. Sexual harassment led to feelings of isolation, lack of safety, pain, and anxiety. For example, Asha, a northern woman of colour, explained to me that in her first weeks working in administration at the mines, she wore skirts. She called this 'a big mistake' (Interview 118: 2014). Since that time, she has worn baggy clothing and isolated herself to avoid sexual harassment. In describing her schedule, she explained that she wakes up at 4:30 am to exercise so as to avoid being sexualized by her co-workers at the gym, and spends her evenings alone in her room:

> I eat in my room every night…I work in the office part so I don't have to interact with certain people if I don't want to. I don't eat in the lunchroom because every time I have, I just get hit on so much and I don't like that. And even one of my supervisors, he says, "Hello, dear sweet thing," and another one, "Hey, good looking"…There's so much sexism, it's disgusting (Interview 118: 2014).

Comments and experiences like this were expressed at their highest extremes and with the most frequency in relation to jobs in housekeeping. For example, when Doris was hired as a housekeeper, she did not stay in the job long because of the work environment at camp. She felt disrespected by her supervisors and by the way housekeeping staff – all women, mostly Indigenous women – were treated by the men workers. Housekeeping is sub-contracted, so is not afforded the labour protections that so-called "real" mine workers are given, and housekeeping

[141] Recall that embodied violence is defined in chapter one as 'deliberate behavior in which one person chooses to dominate, control or harm another' (Weaver et al. 2007: 5), including, but not limited to psychological, physical and sexual abuse and harassment.

workers are paid significantly less than most people working at camp. Furthermore, the imaginary of sex work shapes the social conditions of work *and home* for housekeeping staff. At work, sexual harassment is permissible. At home, many of these women experience social shaming for the assumptions about what goes on at camp (Interview 202: 2014). Indeed, community rumours were rampant: rumours of housekeeping staff engaging in sex work were brought up at the two talking circles and the focus group, as well as in a number of interviews. For example, at the community workers' focus group, a community service provider said, 'I heard they had to take out the ATMs at camp because the men were taking out too much cash for gambling and sexual favours from the housekeepers' (Focus Group One: 2014).

Doris, as someone who had experienced sexual harassment as a housekeeper, addressed the rumours of sex work, saying:

> You know what? I found that as a housekeeper, the guys always kind of give you hints. Like, "You want to come over?" Like, housekeepers are good to sleep with or easy to sleep with. You know, like, that's the kind of feeling that you get...I got a lot of that and I got mad. And one time, I told him, because he's married and he has two small kids, I told him, "You know, if I do that to every guy that asks me, I would have covered maybe half the mine". It just gives you a sick feeling. Because a lot of those guys who do that, they're in a relationship. (Interview 111: 2014).

Unsafe and violent working conditions as a result of sexual harassment were noted as the reason some women left work at the mines. For others, it was the – related, but distinct – experience of discrimination and harassment. Clarice, a Dene woman who was in a trades training program at the mine, explained that her co-workers resented her success in the program because she was an Indigenous woman. This led to extreme levels of harassment. She explains:

> Yeah. They didn't like that I was climbing this ladder
>
> R: How could you tell they didn't like it?
>
> C: Because they started acting funny towards me. Like, they would, towards the end it just got worse. Where they were just talking about me and they would do things to the

> point where it just got really bad. Where we had to all sit down in this room and there were all these men against me.
>
> R: How did you sit down in the room? Did someone mediate it?
>
> C: No. There was nobody that helped. And I didn't know that the union, at the time, could have been there. I didn't know the ropes and stuff…Those two weeks that I had [off], I was drinking. I was drinking, I was smoking pot…Just to relax. Just to not think of it. I didn't realize how much it took a toll on me until it was too late' (Interview 103: 2014).

Clarice explained that she began to drink and smoke marijuana to relax after the two weeks of harassment at camp, but that the drinking and smoking led to her missing flights and shifts, which further increased the harassment and shame at work. Eventually, she said, 'There were times when I just didn't want to live anymore' (Interview 103: 2014). Clarice's experience led to her taking a medical leave of absence, seeking addictions support and taking anxiety medication.

The violence experienced by research participants was exacerbated by a lack of social supports, and the gendered and racialized colonial ideologies that enabled both harmful acts and impunity for these acts. A few participants explained that, as Indigenous women working in lower-wage work at the mines, they felt they had nowhere to go with their complaints. While working as a housekeeper, Iris spoke of the racist assumptions management made about her because she is Inuit. She recounted a time when she had hit her head on a broken cabinet at camp and sought out medical attention. She said:

> They broke one of the cabinets and the door is really heavy and I tried to open it and it landed on my head. I've got the scar from it. And those people that work at the mine, they told me I had to go for a blood test for drugs. I said, "You're not going to look at my head?" And they said, "Oh no, we're going to see if you were doing drugs"…And here I am, bleeding (Interview 101: 2014).

For Iris, the racism and lack of care displayed when she hit her head was experienced in continuity with violence from other times in her life that was met with impunity. These specific experiences of embodied violence must be understood in the context of a gendered and racialized

hierarchical employment model, one wherein Indigenous women are often employed in relatively lower-wage precarious jobs wherein sexual harassment is permissible and avenues for support are almost non-existent. In the diamond-mining regime, where the temporal imperatives of capital are intensified through the temporariness of extraction and the FIFO tempo, Indigenous women – often made responsible for childcare and therefore less available for long-term work – tend to occupy the most temporary of employment locations. Research participants, many of whom moved in and out of mine employment, expressed the violence of this location, experienced as it was at the racialized and gendered site of tension between departments of production in the mixed economy.

Conclusion

The FIFO regime is a form of capital accumulation that is both spatially fixed and temporally fleeting, a contradiction that plays out against the larger racialized and gendered tension between place-based subsistence and capitalist production. I began this chapter by contextualizing the diamond mines in the regional history of gold mining. In contrast to the diamond mines, I suggested that the gold mines established a “temporary permanence” for the settlers of the region. This “temporary permanence”, in its breakdown, resulted in a violent social rupture in the form of community-level violence, and even death. The diamond-mining FIFO regime emerged in the context of this rupture, and was structured both through the neoliberal imperatives to emphasize variable over fixed capital, and through the legislative, policy and ideological gains made through Indigenous organizing of the twentieth century. While northern Dene, Inuit and Métis women and men are significantly more involved in diamond mining than they were in gold mining, the extractive regime’s approach to Indigenous people as either potential stakeholders or workers is based on an individualistic capitalistic approach to Indigeneity wherein Indigenous

people and groups are invited to "benefit" from diamond mining so long as they do so as Aboriginal Entrepreneurs or Aboriginal Workers. This critique does not deny the real material benefits some Indigenous people have gained through the diamond mines; rather, I suggest that the benefits of the diamond mines are accessed through the inherent capitalist imperative for exploitation, and through the specific racialized, gendered hierarchies of the settler colonial context.

In particular, the FIFO mine structure requires a detachability from labour outside of the mine site: specifically, a detachability from social reproduction and subsistence labours, and community and kin relations. This detachability is made possible by an intensified feminization of social reproduction, and community and household responsibilities, and a racialized marginalization of subsistence, discussed in the following chapters. As a result, while there is a desire on the part of capital and the state to recruit and retain Indigenous women as mine workers, Indigenous women have experienced a number of difficulties in accessing and retaining mine employment, due to the incompatibility of the work with their other non-capitalist work responsibilities. Indigenous women have also experienced discriminatory behaviour and attitudes, and even violence, at camp, examples of embodied and interpersonal manifestations of the structural violence through which the diamond mines have developed, including the restructuring of social reproduction and subsistence. These two departments of production are the subjects of the chapters that follow.

Chapter Four: Social Reproduction and the Diamond Mining Regime

'[Diamonds] are said to be a girl's best friend. I'm not sure which girls they are because it's certainly not anyone in here' (Talking Circle One: 2014).

Introduction

The subject of this chapter is daily activities integral to social reproduction performed by Indigenous women in the region around Yellowknife. As a grounded way of introducing this site of analysis – and its racialized and gendered specificities – I begin by recounting an experience shared with me by Doris, a Dene woman living in Yellowknife. In chapter one, I introduced Doris, and characterized her engagement in subsistence – specifically, beading and sewing – as an act of resistance, a day-to-day example of prioritizing a subsistence orientation. Here, I share a more fulsome account of her experience with the diamond-mining regime, as I argue that it is through the relational totality of her labours that one can grasp, on the one hand, the interconnected structural and embodied violence of social restructuring as a result of the diamond mines, and, on the other hand, the ways in which the daily labours of Indigenous women can resist the totalizing impulses of capital (supported, as they are, by the state). Doris's story – a story of both violence and resistance – exemplifies social reproduction as a site of tension between the attempts to retain a place-based subsistence orientation, and the temporal emphasis on variable capital in the FIFO diamond-mining regime.

When I asked Doris about the diamond mines, she began by speaking about her husband's illness. Approximately ten years ago, while on holiday from his work at the diamond mines, Doris's husband, Norman, contracted a virus. It quickly grew serious, and Norman descended into a coma. Doris was asked to decide whether or not to send Norman to Edmonton, where he could receive the care the doctors recommended, even though they informed her that he

might not survive the airplane ride. Doris recounted his illness as though it were yesterday, detailing the weeks he was in a coma. She said:

> I used to just lay at his feet, just hold on to his big feet. It was cold, so you know sometimes I would just lay at the end of his bed and have his big, cold feet upon my stomach because his body was so cold. Just bloated. Just one big huge guy sleeping on the bed (Interview 111: 2014).

While Norman lay in a coma, the doctors told Doris that she should prepare for his death. Thankfully, this was not to be. Norman recovered and the two returned to the community where they were living: a Dene community in the NWT. Soon after, Norman resumed work at the diamond mines.

While Norman was away for his two-week shifts at the mine, Doris took care of the home and their young children on her own. Alongside the day-to-day activities integral to the social reproduction of their household, she engaged in beadwork and sewing, both to fulfill the immediate needs and well-being of family and kin networks, and for sale to fill in the gaps left by Norman's paycheque. However, their routine was soon interrupted. Two months after he recovered from his illness, Norman left Doris for a woman with whom he had been having an affair at the mining camp. Norman moved out, and Doris took on full-time care of their children. Because he was no longer living in the home they had just bought, Norman told Doris that he could not afford to pay the bills. Doris did not have an income at the time, and was not eligible for social assistance, as they were still technically married.

Soon, Doris was not able to pay for household expenses. In a territory where temperatures regularly dip below -40 degrees Celsius over the winter, fuel costs are a major expense, and a necessary one. That winter, Doris was paying $500 every two weeks to keep her house warm, a cost she was not able to sustain. She explained:

> By that time we had run out of fuel for four days and the house is just solid cold. It was -40 something outside…I had a woodstove, but I had no wood. I didn't know who to ask to go get wood for me. So the only thing I could do is, I told my kids that we were going to be staying in my room now. So I had a little house heater, just a little tiny one. So I covered the door with cloth and then I had that little heater running.
>
> And then my sister comes in the front door…And she said, 'Hello? Hello? Is there anybody alive in here?' And she comes in and she nearly flipped out because the floor was just solid frozen. So cold. And I told her, 'Yeah, we're in here.' 'I don't know why you were living like this. You could have told somebody.' And she started crying. And then she left…She chased her son to [town] and told him to buy me fuel right now. And then she went to the grocery store and bought me a whole bunch of bags of groceries (Interview 111: 2014).

While Doris managed to sustain herself and her children that winter through the help of her sister and brother, she described the next few years as ones of trauma. I asked her what had been most helpful for her in this time and she said, 'My family. Mostly my family. Like when I was struggling so bad, they would help me out here and there. I've always been a self-supporting person. So I didn't like to ask' (Interview 111:2014).

In the years that followed, Doris battled with extreme financial and emotional duress, and the court system. Because the state deemed her home life unstable, her children were apprehended and placed in foster care, an example of the high rates of apprehension in Indigenous homes. During this time, Doris took a number of steps to rebuild a stable home, including pursuing education and training programs, and a variety of jobs. She ended up working as a housekeeper up at the mines, but left the job quickly, in large part because of the sexual harassment (as described in chapter three). Furthermore, the FIFO schedule was incompatible with Doris's responsibilities for her household and extended kin. By the time she was hired by a mine company, her children were teenagers, and one of them had a child of their own, for whom Doris was a primary caregiver. Because housekeeping salaries are significantly lower than the average salary at the diamond mines, as noted in chapter three, Doris could not afford to pay

someone to look after her children, and she was concerned for their well-being when she was at camp. It was for these reasons that she left her job at the mine and made the decision to try to make a living through sewing and beading, craftwork she had learned as a child and developed as an expertise. This was the work she was doing when she told me her story in 2014. Thus, ultimately, Doris was able to rely on her traditional knowledge and skills to meet her daily needs and the needs of those who depended on her, and thereby divorce herself from her engagement with the extractive regime.

In listening to her story, it seemed that Doris began with her husband's illness to express the significance of their bond, and the later loss of their relationship and disruption to her household. Relationship dissolution was an experience shared by a number of research participants whose partner worked in the mine. Indeed, Doris's story touches upon many of the common experiences expressed in interviews and talking circles by Indigenous women whose partners worked for diamond mine companies. Like other research participants, Doris's experience of the intensification of feminized responsibilities for social reproduction as a result of the diamond mines was grafted upon newly marketized structures of social reproduction, unequal gendered access to resources, and the racialized marginalization of subsistence. These processes are in continuity with – and, indeed, made possible by – the mid-twentieth century processes of state restructuring of social reproduction discussed in chapter two, while they are in *discontinuity* with the fluidity and interdependence to gendered divisions of labour oriented towards subsistence.

As a result of Norman's work, Doris's household labour was reoriented towards socially reproducing the capitalist wage labourer: that is, Norman. As this reorientation took place, a new household-level "need" for wage labour emerged as their day-to-day resources were marketized,

most notably, when they took on a mortgage. As many research participants noted, mortgage and other forms of debt ties people to work at the mines. With Norman at the mines, household labour performed by Doris was assumed and subsumed. The separation between (capitalist) production and social reproduction, not total in mixed economies, became both an ideological construct – that is, Norman became cast as the "breadwinner" and Doris became cast as the "caregiver", regardless of the forms of labour with which she engaged – and a temporal, spatial, and material reality, with Norman spending more than half of his time 270 km away from their shared home. For Doris, there was a violence to this shift: a structural violence and an embodied violence (environmental, financial, sexual, and physical).[142] While it was Doris's kin who helped her keep afloat, the isolation she described in recounting the winter Norman left is telling. Doris's brother and sister helped with providing food and firewood, but Doris was also struggling with the new demands of a mortgage, a household-level responsibility that is not easily accommodated by inter-household social relations.

Throughout, Doris engaged in subsistence to manage the ruptures in her life. The role of subsistence is complex here, in part because of the mutability between social reproduction and subsistence in this Indigenous context. Doris engaged in beadwork and sewing for different purposes, and through different locations to capital. However, there was a continuity that persisted through Doris's labour over time: a subjective and place-based meaning she ascribed to beadwork and sewing, rooted as it was in the knowledge and traditions of her kin and community. Belying the settler colonial history of devaluing Indigenous women's subsistence labour, ultimately, it was Doris's expertise in beadwork and sewing that enabled her to be free

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[142] While I discuss embodied violence in this chapter, and the context of this violence and insights that emerge from research participants, I omit details of research participants' actual experiences of physical violence for ethical reasons: that is, I do not believe *specifics* of personal experience of physical or sexual violence will significantly strengthen the analysis here and I believe there is the potential to re-traumatize research participants, or other readers of this project.

from the need for employment in the extractive regime. Most of the stories that women shared did not conclude with such a clear shift towards place-based practices. However, the general experience of violence and resistance at the site of social reproduction, and the choices Indigenous women made to reproduce the social relations of their community, were common and powerful themes in interviews. It is the characteristics of this restructuring and resistance at the site of day-to-day social reproduction that are the subject of this chapter.

In analyzing processes of social restructuring that occur outside of the physical sites of capitalist production, I argue that the diamond mines are predicated on violent processes of restructuring, both materially (for example, access and in-access to resources, corporeal violence and environmental destruction), and ideologically (the violent processes of racialization of Dene, Métis, and Inuit people that justifies and perpetuates new accumulation and restructuring for the pursuit of resource extraction, and the intensification of a Western male breadwinner/female caregiver model for gender relations). I approach this restructuring as a contested and uneven movement responding to the demands of capital in the form of diamond mining, wherein social reproduction is at the locus of struggle between settler capitalist and Indigenous materialities and ideologies of being and labouring.

In analyzing these shifts at the level of social formation (Jenson 1986, Vosko 2002), I take up ideological and material relations of restructuring dialectically. That is, rather than approaching the extractive regime as the agent of change and Indigenous women as the bodies upon which change is enacted (passive victims, or recipients, of a colonial process), I approach Indigenous women as actors with agency and power who shape, and are also shaped by, the material and ideological structures described herein. At the same time, I suggest that the location of social reproduction as a site of tension between subsistence and capitalist production helps to

explain the contemporary (structural and embodied) violence against Indigenous women in the area of study.

In section one, I emphasize the temporal and qualitative proximity between the racialized and gendered interventions in social reproduction of the mid-twentieth twentieth century, and the contemporaneous restructuring as a result of the FIFO diamond mining regime, the latter, I argue, being predicated on the former. In sections two and three, I characterize the reorganization of social reproduction performed by Indigenous women under the FIFO diamond-mining regime as a reorientation and a restructuring, respectively. In section two, I argue that the intensified engagement with the diamond-mining regime and the particular demands of the FIFO tempo have resulted in a *reorientation* of social reproduction toward capitalist production and away from subsistence. This reorientation emphasizes the nuclear family to the detriment of inter-household relations. In section three, I argue that this reorientation has been accompanied by a *restructuring* of social reproduction as a result of the spatial, material, and ideological separation of capitalist production from social reproduction. Both of these processes, and particularly the attempted separation of capitalist production from social reproduction, are facilitated through an (again, incomplete and divergent) *redefinition* in gender roles, and a racist devaluation of subsistence-oriented daily and intergenerational social reproduction, or, to put it another way, the colonial devaluation of Indigenous people as minority communities within the settler state.

While these are not discrete subjects, this chapter focuses on day-to-day processes of social reproduction, and the following chapter analyzes the intergenerational community-level reproduction of a subsistence orientation in the regional mixed economy in and around Yellowknife. Both chapters are concerned with the tension between place-based and temporal modes of production; however, this chapter focuses on the FIFO tempo and its impact on day-to-

day social reproduction, while the next chapter emphasizes the diamond-mining regime's temporariness and its impact on intergenerational social reproduction.

I. Contemporary Social Reproduction in the Area around Yellowknife, or the Fallacy of an Imagined Northern *Tabula Rasa*

In this section, I locate the effects of the FIFO diamond-mining regime on the social reproduction of local Dene, Métis, and Inuit communities in the context of the rapid and profound shifts in social reproduction performed by Indigenous women in the Yellowknife region in recent history. In so doing, the reach of the diamond mines is both narrowed and broadened. It is narrowed in the sense that we are reminded of the erroneous notion that shifts, or struggles, in social reproduction are simply the result of the diamond mines. By precluding the possibility of isolating the diamond-mining regime from its historical and social context, and thereby divorcing contemporary reorganization of labour from the colonial continuities across time, however, the analysis is also broadened.

The ruptures in day-to-day social reproduction as a result of the FIFO diamond-mining regime are shaped – indeed, enabled – by the longer-standing processes of restructuring intergenerational community and household social reproduction as a result of Canadian State interventions. In chapter two, I demonstrated that the regional mixed economy developed through an extractive regime that was ostensibly "separate" from the local Indigenous populations, and Canadian State programs that targeted social reproduction performed by Indigenous people, especially Indigenous women. These programs, which included the forced resettlements of Indigenous peoples into permanent communities, tied-welfare payments, and mandatory schooling and residential schools, were settler colonial initiatives aimed at disciplining Indigenous populations, instituting Western norms, and training potential workers. The social relations of the region have been shaped by these processes: as a result of rapid

restructuring in a boom and bust extractive economy, the Yellowknife region is characterized by high levels of inequality. Thus, residents of the region navigate the imperatives of the FIFO diamond-mining regime from a wide range of socio-economic locations. And while Canadian State programs were not always successful at guiding local Indigenous people into wage labour, they did result in painful ruptures in the daily and intergenerational social reproduction performed in Indigenous communities, ruptures that people are seeking to heal at the same time that they face the new demands of the FIFO diamond-mining regime. In discussing the social relations of the mixed economy through which the diamond mines developed, I first describe socio-economic inequality, and then explore contemporary implications of racist Canadian State programs that target Indigenous social reproduction.

Official poverty rates are high in the NWT. However, I approach the concept of poverty with caution. Particularly in the cold geography of the territory, lack of material resources can be deeply damaging (physically, interpersonally, and emotionally) and must be addressed. At the same time, state (particularly federal) economic indicators often perniciously equate a disengagement from capitalist production with poverty, thereby obscuring the ways in which subsistence production can meet the day-to-day needs of people living in and around Yellowknife.[143] Far from painting the NWT as a place of some sort of inherent or ahistoric *lack*, I focus on *inequality*, conceptualizing material inequality in the mixed economy, and the gap between financial assets and the currently high cost of living in the north.

The NWT's GDP – twice the Canadian average – flows from the diamond mines (and, previously, to other extractive regimes) and high-paying government jobs; consequently, household incomes are vastly polarized. In Yellowknife, a full 50% of households have an

[143] To this point, the GNWT measurements of subsistence discussed in the previous chapter are not included in territorial economic reports.

annual income of $100,000 or more, while 12% have a household income of less than $30,000, and 3% have an income of less than $10,000 (Wilson 2009: 9). The proportion of households living on incomes below $30,000 and $10,000 is less than the Canadian averages, but the cost of living is significantly higher in Yellowknife compared to other Canadian cities. Indeed, the GNWT estimates that the cost of living, when compared against Edmonton (as a marker for an average southern Canadian city), is 120-125% that of a southern Canadian city in Yellowknife, 125-130% in Behchoko, and ranging between 140-180% that of a southern Canadian city in smaller communities (GNWT 2013). Given that the GNWT economic data does not disaggregate Dettah and N'dilo from Yellowknife, their distinct socio-economic conditions are not reflected in Territorial socio-economic data. In Behchoko, 6% of households have an income under $10,000 and 30% of households have an income under $30,000; while 31% of households have an income over $100,000 (Wilson 2009:9). Given that Behchoko is a community with both high participation in the diamond mines and a strong engagement with the mixed economy, it is not surprising that income inequality in this town is very high.

Given that the settler high-wage model developed in and around Yellowknife through the gold mines, and was bolstered with the introduction of government jobs in the 1960s, wage inequality is not new to this region. However, in Yellowknife, the diamond-mining resource boom has only made things harder for the segment of the population that does not fall into the "50%", that is, the 50% of Yellowknife residents with annual salaries over $100,000. Northern store-bought food costs, for example, can be prohibitive (a much greater concern in smaller communities, but an issue throughout the territory).[144] And average rent for an apartment in

[144] Indeed, a community-built facebook group, entitled 'NWT Cost of Living is Out of Control' chronicles exorbitant food prices across the territory (https://www.facebook.com/groups/264091951563/).

Yellowknife increased by 50% after the diamond mines opened (Falvo 2011: 249). As Julia Christensen (2014) notes:

> Recent economic growth due to resource development has meant an unprecedented private rental-housing crunch; low vacancy combined with the high incomes from government and industry employment motivates an expensive, exclusive private rental market. Meanwhile, efforts to move away from its role in public housing provision has led the GNWT to increase its scrutiny of public housing residents, including the recent implementation of a "no tolerance" policy on arrears that led to widespread public housing evictions in 2012 (CBC 2012) as well as selling off some of its stock in larger market communities, [like Yellowknife] (813).

In Yellowknife, the city where most of the territorial wealth is concentrated, the strain of high-cost rentals is more acute than in smaller NWT towns, where housing is almost exclusively government owned and operated.[145] The rates of street-affected people in Yellowknife demonstrate the intensity of the inequality experienced in this town of 20,000 people. Christensen (2014) argues that visible homelessness first appeared in Yellowknife at the same time as the diamond mines (805). Currently, 5% of the municipal population uses a shelter at least once a year. This rate is five times higher than the average Canadian city (Falvo 2011: 5). Rates of homelessness for women are also significantly higher in the NWT. The 5% rate holds for women as well as men (YWCA 2007), whereas in most of Canada, rates of homelessness in men are higher than rates of homelessness in women.[146]

The division between the "haves" and "have-nots" does not fall neatly along Indigenous/settler lines: many Dene, Métis and Inuit people in the area around Yellowknife hold middle-to-high income jobs in government offices, the diamond industry, or auxiliary industries. However, poverty is a racialized phenomenon. The number of visible minorities in Yellowknife has risen steadily over the past ten years (Little 2010) – in large part due to enthusiastic

[145] This characterization does not refer to the medium-sized towns of the territory: Hay River, Fort Smith, Inuvik or Norman Wells.

[146] It is worth noting that the category of 'homelessness' does not account for the transience of many northern Indigenous people.

participation by the region in the temporary foreign workers program, which has been used to fill high vacancy rates in low-paying service sector jobs. The high cost of living in and around Yellowknife makes living on low wages a challenge. Unlike other visible minorities who are more likely to fall into the category of "working poor", Indigenous people make up the majority of those experiencing high levels of poverty and homelessness. For example, 90-95% of shelter users are Indigenous (Christensen 2014: 806). This racialized inequality shapes experiences of the diamond mines, as well as experiences of the structural and embodied violence associated with the mines.

While inequality is a concerning issue in the region, Indigenous people are diversely situated within the wide range of incomes in the region. Amongst these diverse socio-economic locations, however, Indigenous people share the common experience of the recent violent settler colonial policies and programs targeting social reproduction of their communities. In an interview, Martha, a community worker, discusses the temporal proximity of residential schools in the NWT. She said:

> We're talking about people who are alive today who were in residential schools, some who were in the first residential schools. So this is all recent. Very. And there's a really big disconnect and I don't think any [diamond mining] corporations take that stuff into account. Because they're like, 'oh no, it's [mining] been done forever.' And it hasn't. In a span of someone's life, it's only a few people. A few people having kids that we're talking about. And I think failing to take those things into account, it's created a lot of jobs, a lot of education, but socially there's going to be a lot of ripple effects to it (Interview 202: 2014).

Martha's point is a reminder of the speed at which shifts in social reproduction in the region have occurred throughout the past century. Today, most of the people who attended residential school are now middle-aged or older, though there is no easy demarcation of an "end" to the schools, as

Akaitcho Hall did not officially close until 1996.[147] Indigenous people who attended residential school, or whose parents or grandparents attended residential school, express the experience as a primary factor in their lives and relationships. Though the interview schedule I used included no questions about residential school, the experience was frequently referenced by research participants. Christensen's recent (2014) field research on Indigenous homelessness in Yellowknife and Inuvik, NWT, delivered a similar finding: Christensen named residential schools as the colonizing process with the biggest impact for the people with whom she spoke. Research participants in this project explained that residential schools broke interpersonal, community, and cultural ties. Children were separated from their parents, elders, and community, and taught that the ways of being, knowing, and learning of their people were wrong. When these children became parents themselves, many felt they were without the intergenerational tools and skills required to build a home. For example, Della Green, whose mother attended residential school,[148] expressed the complex, and sometimes contradictory, experience of being raised by a residential school survivor, and the difficult labour her mother performed as she engaged in the daily and intergenerational reproduction of a home and community that she had been taught was wrong. She shared the following story:

> I was preparing a presentation for the Residential School survivors, and my co-worker and I were searching for some photos to use for our presentation, and I came across this photo of six students. My heart stopped when I saw the photo, as I recall my Mother having a photo on her wall in the dining room of her home. It was of the six oldest of her children (that included me). It was actually almost the same as the one I saw on the computer screen.
>
> All three girls [in the residential school photo] had the same haircut as the photo [in my dining room], and we all dressed the same. The boys all had checkered shirts on, and blue jeans with suspenders, and they also had the same haircuts in the photo. I asked my

[147] It is worth remembering, however, that though the last residential school did not close until 1996, the majority of Indigenous people in the NWT who were separated from their family through residential school had this experience between the 1950s and the 1970s.

[148] Della's name has not been changed as she asked that her own name be attached to this story.

> husband to send me that photo, as I recall him taking a photo of that photo at our Mother's house, so he did. And sure enough, there we were! We could have been the same students in that photo!
>
> I knew right then and there, even though my Mother said she was not affected by the Residential School, she dressed us just like the students in that photo! I felt sad and emotional about the whole ordeal, for my Mother who gone now. I often wonder if she really knew (Green 2015).[149]

Della's story illustrates the structural violence residential schools acted upon day-to-day and intergenerational Indigenous social reproduction. However, at the same time, she characterizes her mother, not as a passive recipient of this violence, but as an actor navigating her roles and responsibilities and drawing upon the resources she has through the contradictions of de/colonizing processes of social reproduction.

Yellow Horse Brave Heart (2003), Hawkey Robinson (2006), and Christensen (2014) link analyses of the impacts of residential school trauma to longstanding experiences of colonial trauma: a 'collective emotional and psychological wounding that occurs over the lifespan and across generations' (Christensen 2014: 811). And, indeed, participants in this research often expressed fluid experiences of residential school and other forms of settler colonial violence. This fluidity extended to relational interpretations of the impact of residential schools and the impact of the diamond mines. For example, when discussing the diamond mines, Jenna, a Dene woman living in one of the communities just outside of Yellowknife, questioned whether she was describing the effects of residential schools or the diamond mines, moving back and forth on the matter in conversation. She said:

> They always blame residential school. You know, [for] drinking and what not. And I'm not putting it down. But maybe they don't see the whole colour or the whole picture. But some of them don't realize it's mining, too, that affects them. Because, you know, they're working, they're working and then they save enough money to put a down-payment on a house. And then they get laid off. And they were getting a chunk of money. Like,

[149] Della first told this story in 2014 when we were preparing a presentation on residential schools. When I asked Della for permission to share her story in this venue, she agreed and generously wrote it out in her own words.

> sometimes, I'd be getting $1800, roughly $1800 every two weeks when I was doing four and three. So can you imagine what they're getting? The ones who work underground? A lot more than me. Maybe $3600. Every two weeks. Yeah. And then whoosh, you get laid off. And maybe it's affecting them, but they're not really sure. And here they say residential, residential, but who knows? Maybe it's the mine. You just can't always blame residential. I mean, it did impact a lot of people. I don't put it past them. It might be just that, too. But, you know, it really affected a lot of people. It's so common. It's pretty sad (Interview 109: 2014).

In articulating a blurriness between the effects of residential schools and the diamond mines, Jenna is expressing a revealing ambivalence in the causative boundaries between different impositions into Dene relations of production, wherein (different) time is collapsed as settler colonial experiences that share the same place. Though her point is distinct, in some ways, Jenna is echoing Martha's contribution, quoted at the beginning of this section, in that she does not see the impacts of the diamond mines and the impacts of residential school as easily separable.

However recent, thankfully residential schools are no longer the order of the day. Indigenous children in the NWT attend public day schools run by the territorial government. While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation, northern public schools remain a rich site for analyzing community-level social reproduction. As Heather MacGregor (2010) notes, since the 1970s, there have been important decolonizing gains because of decades of work by Indigenous people and their allies working outside and inside of northern government offices and schools. In the NWT, public school curriculum now includes significant Indigenous content, and engagement with community elders as teachers (see, for example, GNWT 2014c, GNWT 2012b, GNWT 1996, GNWT 1993). At the same time, within northern schools, tension remains between the public school model – focused as it is on preparing students for engagement in Western, capitalist society – and the transmission of Indigenous knowledge (Macgregor 2010: 24).[150]

[150] MacGregor (2010) is analyzing education in Nunavut. The context is different in Nunavut, as education is governed by the Territory, which is Inuit. However, I suggest that the tension MacGregor outlines exists in the NWT, though it plays out through distinct multi-level governmental structures.

Fortunately, it is no longer practice to remove Indigenous children from their homes to attend government schools. However, some see the apprehension of Indigenous children by child services as the “new residential school”, a term thrown around with the casual gravity that comes with a story told too often, across too many generations. The “new residential school” refers to the staggering rate at which Indigenous children are taken from their home by the Canadian State and placed in foster care. Christensen (2014) writes that in Canada today there are more Indigenous children in foster care than there ever were in residential school (812). Nationally, Indigenous children make up 40 percent of the Canadian children in foster care (Trocmé et al 2004), a huge overrepresentation when the Indigenous population is currently counted at 3.75 % of the Canadian population as a whole. In the NWT, in the 2012-2013 fiscal year, for example, 1,042 children received services form Child and Family Services. Of these, 372 children received voluntary services aimed at mitigating child protective concerns, while the other 670 children received other forms of “protective services” (this means they were either removed from their caregivers and placed under the temporary care of the Director of Child and Family Services (266 children) or were taken under some other form of protective services) (Office of the Auditor General 2014). Given that 95% of children receiving services are Indigenous (Office of the Auditor General 2014), the 670 children under protective services, and the 1,042 receiving services, in general, represent a full 3% and 5% respectively, of the approximately 22,000 Indigenous people (GNWT 2013c) living in the Territory.[151]

There is a continuity between the systemic racist interventions into Indigenous social reproduction in the mid-twentieth century, and the levels of apprehension today. The surveillance of Indigenous households and apprehensions of Indigenous children is wrapped up in both

[151] It is noteworthy that 22,000 is the number of all Indigenous people in the Territory, not of Indigenous children. As such, the percentage of Indigenous children who are receiving services would be significantly higher.

longstanding settler colonial ideologies, and contemporary material inequality, which, as we have seen, is also colonial. Madeline, a white northern woman who had worked in government frontline and management positions, described the discrepancies in social service approaches to non-Indigenous and Indigenous households. Noting that most government social service workers are non-Indigenous and come from southern Canada, she described the challenges and limitations they face in engaging with, and assessing, care in Indigenous households.

> So right now we don't have anything forced into our system about how to deal with First Nations families. So it really relies on each worker's approach to decide to build those networks…people talk about community standards all the time, but you walk into the house and there's no food and a mattress on the floor, and a 60-inch TV, and someone screaming at you and you're trying to be culturally appropriate and you don't even know what you're supposed to be looking for. And when is it poverty and when is it neglect? (Interview 302: 2014).

As a frontline worker, Madeline is commenting on the difficulties she has experienced in assessing observations of poverty and concerns for neglect or safety, in the context of a settler colonial program working with Indigenous populations with unique ideologies and structures of care and child-rearing. Certainly, providing thoughtful and appropriate services that prioritize children's safety, but at the same time valuing the integrity of care relationships, is difficult for frontline workers in child protection services in any context.[152] That said, there is a racialized tension informing this concern given the longstanding history of Canadian State interference in Indigenous households, the racialization of poverty in the region of study, and the disparity between Western and Indigenous norms of "home".

Thus, the overrepresentation of Indigenous children apprehended by child and family services in the NWT is extremely significant, not just in terms of the children they represent, but

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[152]Frontline child protection work is enacted through the difficult mandate of ensuring safe homes for children; this has the potential in both non-Indigenous and Indigenous homes to manifest as the punishing of poverty. And, certainly, given unequal material relations in the NWT, this is an aspect of the northern child protection dynamic, which I speak to below; here, however, I am speaking specifically to the racialized colonial subjectivities through which Indigenous women's parenting labour is read.

in terms of their indication of an ever-present possibility of surveillance and apprehension in Indigenous communities. Displacing Indigenous children from their households performs the dual goals of inhibiting Indigenous intergenerational knowledge transmission – and thus breaking potential subsistence practices that would free a person from the necessity of wage labour – and training future capitalist wage labourers. Child apprehension also serves as a 'stick' to discipline Indigenous women and men into model 'Aboriginal (Canadian) Citizens'. Women who have been separated from their children are given criteria they must meet before any reunifications. In continuity with the racist settler logic that informed Canadian State programs discussed in chapter two, Indigenous women are made responsible for social reproduction, while at the same time ideologically connected to symbols of "bad mothers" through violent colonial tropes denigrating Indigenous women (Anderson 2003). Those who do not meet the criteria are "bad parents", or, most often, "bad mothers".[153] Indeed, in practice, the surveillance and judgment of child welfare lands at the feet of Indigenous women, not in Indigenous homes, broadly. Because it is women who, for the most part, are deemed responsible for children's wellbeing, it is women whom the state requires to demonstrate the qualities necessary for a safe and healthy environment. For example, Madeline noted, 'We don't even really work with dads right now. If we did, maybe we'd be more up in arms about the fact that there's nowhere to refer our clients' (Interview 302: 2014). This gendered responsibility for care perpetuated by past and present state social programs both underpins and exacerbates the gendered care expectations that facilitate FIFO labour: that is, that (usually, male) FIFO workers are free – or able to free

[153] The argument I make about the neo-colonial nature of the contemporary foster care system is one that I make at the macro-level, with the understanding that state policy is enacted in myriad and contradictory ways on the ground. This is important in that the front-line workers of the NWT – most often, northern women and sometimes northern Indigenous women – take up a number of supportive and progressive roles in the community and to obscure their important contributions to the communities in and around Yellowknife by simply painting their positions as an arm of a colonial apparatus would be to do a disservice to the nuance of social reproduction in Yellowknife.

themselves – of responsibilities for day-to-day community and household social reproduction because of the assumed and naturalized labour of (usually, female) partners and female members.

Thus, contemporaneously, the mixed economy is characterized by a gendered and racialized settler colonial hierarchy that has made Indigenous women's lives, bodies, and labour a site of surveillance, tension and de/colonizing struggle. The reorientation and restructuring of social reproduction performed by Indigenous women under the FIFO diamond-mining regime – the subject of the remainder of the chapter – are occurring in the context of a social landscape that has undergone rapid-fire shifts in social reproduction and production from the mid-twentieth century onward. At the same time, the mixed economy is also characterized by a material resilience and cultural wealth that emerges from its place-based subsistence orientation, and the creative, unique ways in which the northern mixed economy has developed throughout the past century (Southcott ed. 2015). In what follows, social reproduction emerges as a dynamic site of de/colonizing tension in the shifting mixed economy.

II. Reorienting Social Reproduction

The impact of the diamond mines on relations of social reproduction in the area around Yellowknife is grafted upon the persistent tension between place-based subsistence-oriented production and time-based capitalist production. For some – namely, settlers who had relied upon the gold-mining regime for wage labour – the diamond mines represented a welcome continuity: a re-instalment of the "temporary permanence" of high-wage extraction, albeit through a new work tempo and an intensified temporariness. Indeed, because of the violent and abrupt end to the gold mines, for some parts of the Yellowknife community, the diamond mines were a way of resolving past rupture, a means of maintaining a regional extractive political

economy. For example, while Jenny's personal experience working at the diamond mine, described in chapter three, was characterized by a sense of alienation which she felt was largely the result of a masculinized workspace, she noted the ways in which diamond companies had contributed to the social economy (Southcott ed. 2015) of the Yellowknife area. She said:

> Eventually I was [working for]…the film festival. And I think it was Ekati, they gave us $10,000 of multi-year funding, which was great. So $10,000 every year to do youth workshops during our festival. So that's what it is, right? They have these large amounts of cash that they can drop on things. And make things happen.
>
> And that's actually very in line with the whole trajectory of how Yellowknife came to be in the first place. If you look at Stanton Territorial Hospital and some of the sporting infrastructure, [it] came about through Con Mine and Giant Mine. Those direct infusions of large amounts of cash, which have absolutely benefited the community of Yellowknife…Who knows, but for sure, in this place, it's definitely made a huge mark (Interview 115: 2014).

Jenny's observation illustrates the contradiction and discrepancy at play in the effect that the FIFO diamond-mining regime has had on social reproduction in the area around Yellowknife. At the community level, for some local organizations, networks, and people, the diamond mines maintained a continuity of a local socio-economy built (albeit, in fits and starts) by extractive dollars.

The continuity in settler "temporary permanence" contrasts with the tension at the level of day-to-day social reproduction in and between Indigenous households and communities, as a result of a shift toward the imperatives of the diamond-mining regime. As the first extractive regime to engage the Dene of the region in large-scale, sustained employment, the FIFO diamond-mining regime exacted a new pressure upon social reproduction in Indigenous communities. While I aim to challenge the supposition that the diamond mines have brought much-needed employment to "unemployed" communities, it does not follow that employment in the diamond mines was simply another job in a series of engagements in capitalist production, or

just an intensification of engagement in capitalist production. Instead, I argue that the diamond-mining regime instigated a social rupture characterized by the *reorienting* and *restructuring* of social reproduction performed by Indigenous women. In this section, I first discuss the experience of rupture, and then analyze the process of reorienting social reproduction away from production for subsistence and toward production for surplus (capitalist production). I approach this contention through the understanding that these are processes in contestation, created incompletely and through resistance.

Research participants, who were primarily Indigenous women, came from a diversity of social locations, and expressed a wide range of experiences with the diamond mines. Among research participants, in many cases, the Indigenous people who were hired for the diamond mines – and, in particular, those who were hired for longer-term, "higher-skilled", and higher paying jobs – were the same people who were already engaged significantly in capitalist production. For other Indigenous households, employment in the diamond minds represented a significant move towards capitalist production. However, there was a continuity across interviews and talking circles in participants articulating their experiences and observations of the diamond mines as a rupture (recalling from chapter two the Tlicho concept of ruptures in social relations that must be negotiated and resolved), a force which interrupted processes of social reproduction on both an interpersonal and community level. For example, Dana, a community worker, described the early years of the diamond-mine regime, saying, 'The wellbeing of the family was in disarray. Because this was a time when you got an income, you're going to make a life that's going to be good, and yet everything is turned upside down. And it's the women, the women and the children, that have the worst part of this craziness' (Talking Circle One: 2014). While the experience of rupture involves challenges, and, potentially,

violence, recall that the concept does not solely denote harm. Given the high cost of living and the limited government provisioning of day-to-day needs, retrenched under neoliberalism, a significant number of research participants – even among those most critical of the diamond mines – pointed to the potential benefits a high income could offer a family. Research participants noted the possibility of material stability, and access to resources and experiences that were previously unavailable. As Madeline put it, describing her observations of Indigenous families wherein someone was employed by the diamond mines:

> The money was definitely a very positive thing. Oftentimes, it pulled them out of poverty. It was a matter of poverty or a somewhat good standard of living. You know, providing for the kids. Maybe having a vacation. Maybe having a vehicle. These were all things that were not accessible without that mine job. You know, the level of income jump is just so drastic (Interview 302: 2014).

Acknowledging the very real material benefits some have gleaned from work at the diamond mines, it is notable that there was consensus among research participants that financial benefits of the diamond mines came with caveats attached.[154] A number of research participants delineated a distinction between the material rewards of high-wage work and emotional or social well-being, noting that the former does not secure the latter. For some, an increased income as a result of the diamond mines simply amplified existing household dynamics, whatever they may be. For others, the increased income created new inequalities, new and unwelcome capitalist imperatives in the community and household, and the possibility of intensified embodied violence. Across experiences, however, most research commented on the reorientation of social reproduction towards the demands of capital at both community and interpersonal levels.

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[154] Certainly, it is notable that no participants described the benefits of diamond-mine employment without qualifying these benefits, or also discussing the negative impacts or dangers. However, it is worth noting the selection bias of the interviewees: research participants volunteered to be interviewed or to participate in a focus group or talking circle, and, as such, it is possible that those who came forward were people with issues the diamond mines that they wished to voice.

Indeed, as a result of the new domination of this particular form of wage labour – domination, because, as noted in chapter three, the diamond mines are not the primary source of capitalist wage labour in the region in and around Yellowknife – there were pressures for Indigenous women to reorient their daily activities contributing to social reproduction toward the demands of capital. For many Indigenous research participants, the new orientation toward capital displaced community resources and interrupted community networks. Beth, a Dene woman living in Behchoko, put it this way:

> It's different now from way back when I was younger. It's really different. Because back then everyone was always in the community. There were always things happening. And people, they were like a community. And right now it kind of seems like everyone's separated. And it's not a community, the way it used to be when we were younger. We had things to do. We had a sports complex where we could play sports. They still have the occasional summer baseball, kids play in the basketball court there. They go swimming at the t-bridge. That's still happening.
>
> But back when we were younger, we had more places to go. Like, there was a restaurant there. We used to have a restaurant here. Just right across behind the firehall, across the street. There was like an arcade-restaurant, they had games and pool tables and they served food. And that was our main hangout. We would either hang out there or else go to the sportsplex. Those would be the two main areas. And then we'd just walk around here, this whole area, this one little loop. You would just see people wandering around. Like, I don't know how many times we would go around the loop. Like, during the evenings. You'd go with friends and talk. Or meet up with other people. But right now it's really different (Interview 107: 2014).

For Beth, the loss of community resources was due to both the FIFO work – and the requisite time away from the community for diamond-mine employees – and the reorientation of social reproduction toward the needs of capital.

The move from public (government-subsidized) housing to private housing – a marketization of household resources – is a particularly pernicious example of this shift in orientation, and was one of the most common stories shared by research participants. As noted above, in the area around Yellowknife, the development of the diamond mines was accompanied

by a decline in public housing through increased requirements and criteria for public housing tenants and a rise, both in price and quantity, of market housing. For those Indigenous households for whom engagement with the diamond mining regime marked a move from public housing to market rent, a new "need" for wage labour formed as their daily household needs were marketized: most notably, when they took on a mortgage. Particularly in the early days of the mines, workers were targeted by banks as potential new homeowners and encouraged to financialize their assets through financial literacy training sponsored by the diamond mines. As many participants in the research project noted, mortgage and other forms of debt ties people to work at the mines. Clarice, who shared her experience of harassment by her all-male co-workers, discussed in chapter three, made the following point:

> I wouldn't mind a change of career. It's just that I, in the process [of working in the diamond mines], I ended up buying a trailer. And I have a vehicle and all these bills. So it's kind of like I'm stuck there, unless I find something really similar to the pay. Because the pay is good. But I shouldn't let it affect my health. Like I said, it's like a touch and go thing. It's an in-between thing. It's like you don't have a choice (Interview 103: 2014).

For many research participants, the experience of feeling bound to wage labour by debt was new. For significant numbers of northern Indigenous people across the NWT, public housing is the only form of housing they have known since being relocated to permanent settlements. In public housing, rent is collected on a sliding scale determined by household income. Three-quarters of tenants in public housing in the NWT pay less than $500 per month (Falvo 2009: 253).[155] Rent payments at these levels make it possible for people to meet their needs in mixed economies oriented toward subsistence, as consistent, high wages are not required for access to housing. Thus, while public housing emerged through the settler colonial

[155] Through the NWT Housing Commission, subsidized housing is offered on a sliding scale (ranging from a person with an income of less than $1,667, who will pay $70/month a rent, to someone with an income higher than $8,334/month, who will receive no subsidy and will pay up to $1,625 a month) (NWT Housing Commission 2015). In many small communities, government housing is the only housing there is.

drive to move Indigenous people into sedentary settlements, contemporaneously, it plays a role in socially reproducing the mixed economy. With a person in the household working at the diamond mines, however, households no longer qualified for reduced rent in public housing. Many families remained in public housing, particularly in Behchoko, N'dilo and Dettah, where market rentals are virtually unavailable. What this means is that, for families who remained in public housing, their quality of life stayed the same while their rent skyrocketed. As Arlene Hache described:

> This one family…this guy just wouldn't pay his rent. He was in government housing, again. So you go for years not paying rent, or paying totally minimal rent, to paying massive amounts of rent…So we're not talking about huge amounts of rent for a house…Their rent goes from $32 a month to, like, $2400 a month for the same shack. That's not even like, "I moved into a three-bedroom house. I have to pay more." It's the same shack they've lived in for the last twenty years and all of a sudden they have to pay massive amounts of rent for that. So he didn't pay that. So eventually he would get into trouble and she would go to income support and say, "Help me pay my rent." And they're looking at all this money coming into the family, saying that's not going to happen (Interview 110: 2014).[156]

Arlene's narrative speaks to the rupture experienced when housing requirements are newly dependent on a high wage. A significant number of participants observed this shock in their own households and community, at large (Talking Circle One: 2014). Taking out loans was not limited to housing, either. Many participants discussed the "big toys" that came along with the diamond mines: specifically trucks and boats. Ford opened a dealership in Behchoko shortly after the first mine opened, catering to community members newly employed by the mines (Interview 110, 303: 2014). A number of participants, particularly those living in N'dilo, Dettah or Behchoko, or those from smaller communities living in Yellowknife, discussed the tensions and resentments that emerged in reaction to the "big toy" culture, a sharp display of new inequalities, indeed polarization, within communities.

[156] It is notable that some participants spoke about their ability to move into a nicer home as a result of the diamond mines, or to move from their home community to Yellowknife.

Not only does the acquisition of a mortgage or other forms of debt tie people and households to wage labour in new ways, buying a home or switching to market rent in public housing has the potential to introduce new insecurities, stresses, and inequalities within and between households. Telling another story about a family with whom she had worked, Arlene provided a further illustration of the particular experience of newly entering into market-oriented social reproduction in a place like Yellowknife, where cost of living is high and the cold makes the consequences of an inability to pay for services like utilities dire (echoing Doris's story, above):

> The other thing I thought about is this family of ten kids I know where they have a ton of money come into their house and they got a mortgage from the GNWT to get a house in Yellowknife. Which is very expensive…They were living in a very small community. So they lived in a tiny community. I think the couple lived with his family, so they hadn't paid rent ever. And I don't even think his family had paid rent, really, because it was government housing. So all of a sudden he comes to Yellowknife and he has a big job and he bought a house with this mortgage. Tons of utilities because utilities are through the roof. Lots of new furniture. Like, he really stocked up.
>
> And eventually, I mean, it's good for the first while because everything works. But…they just got into a horrible situation with their bank. And…the woman was running around with ten kids not really knowing what to do. And her house froze and it was horrible. Because essentially they lived in an unheated house with water pipes busted for months and months and months. Put themselves at risk health-wise. And their family at risk. And their kids at risk. With no real resource to figure it out.
>
> And nobody felt a great deal of sympathy for them because they were getting a huge amount of money into the house [from his employment with the diamond mines]. So everybody would say, 'Well, I'm not helping you.' So, anyway, this couple did try to do a heck of a lot to mitigate everything and in the end, I think they slowly dug their way out under tremendous stress (Interview 110: 2014).

Arlene's story speaks to the experience of reorientation in a number of ways. It is an example of the migrations from small communities to Yellowknife, which often came with a marketization of not just housing, but food, and household goods, as well. Indeed, a number of research participants discussed the tendency for families to move from smaller communities to

Yellowknife when someone in the household got a job with the diamond mines. In Arlene's story, by moving to Yellowknife from a smaller community, this family was separated from kin and community networks at a time when they were struggling to manage new financial requirements for their daily maintenance. For those who have left community networks behind, the consequences of being unable to make rent, for example, can be severe. One participant suggested that some of the homeless population in Yellowknife were people who worked in the diamond mines who abruptly lost their jobs (Interview 109: 2014). The observation points to the loss of the security of kin and community networks through the move from smaller communities to Yellowknife, in the context of higher cost of living and decreased public housing, as noted by Christensen (2014). At the same time, the smaller communities lose people to Yellowknife, a concern outlined by Beth, as well as other research participants. Certainly, moving to Yellowknife is an understandable choice – for some, it lowers the commute time from the diamonds; for others, Yellowknife's allure has more to do with the resources of an urban centre, including more schools, social services, and activities. However, the move from smaller communities to Yellowknife is a reminder that the reorientation of day-to-day social reproduction towards the demands of capitalist production is accompanied by rifts in intergenerational community-level social reproduction, discussed further in chapter five.

The family that Arlene described had previously not required a steady high income to meet their daily needs. Rather, like many households in the territory, formerly they met their needs through a combination of wage labour, subsistence, interdependence achieved through supports from their kin and community, and, perhaps, financial support from the Canadian State. Many participants described the new, or deepened, need for wages as a source of stress, tension, insecurity, and/or embodied violence; characterizations based, in part, on the instability of

diamond employment, but also by the new hegemony of wage labour within the triad of social reproduction, capitalist production and subsistence. This insecurity is gendered, both because of the different roles women and men in a household might take up in a time of crisis,[157] and because of gendered inequality in responsibility for social reproduction, and in access to household finances.

Indeed, a number of research participants noted with concern that the majority of the diamond mine workers are men, and that, in a significant number of households, it is men who have access and control over the diamond mine salary. In Yellowknife and Behchoko, given that most Indigenous diamond mine workers are men, and Indigenous women are more likely to find employment in government offices (municipal, territorial and federal in Yellowknife, and national (Tlicho Nation) in Behchoko), the effect of the diamond mines should be characterized less as a greater accessibility to wage labour, but rather as a gendered shift in access. For some Indigenous women, this has resulted in a new household-level material inequality, while for others, the primary impact has been increased responsibilities for social reproduction alongside their wage-labour. Indeed, a number of research participants were workers in government or government-related offices who were then ideologically and materially reconstituted as the primary caregiver in their household as a result of the diamond mines, a shift in responsibilities that was not accompanied by a change in their personal engagement with wage labour. The relationship between Indigenous women's wage labour and their newly individualized household responsibilities is discussed further in section three.

In discussing the marketization of household resources and shifts in gendered access to household finances, many research participants expressed concern for the implications a lack of

[157] In pointing to this tendency, I am drawing on place-specific observations from interviews (Interview 202: 2014), and also feminist literature on heightened gender inequality in times of crisis (See, for example, Rai 2002, Kuokkonen 2008)

access, or unequal access has for women with partners who use violence. This theme was particularly strong in the community worker focus group. With or without access to social services, the small populations and distances between towns makes leaving a physically violent partner in the Yellowknife region difficult, a difficultly made far greater by limited financial resources. For a survivor, social services, like separate housing from a partner, can become much more difficult to access when a partner works at the diamond mine and the household is no longer designated as low income. Rose is a young Indigenous woman living in Yellowknife who had been in a relationship with a man that became violent after her partner started working at the diamond mine. In an interview, she said that the reason she stayed in the relationship was financial: 'It was financial. That's what it was. I had a household to support. I needed things for my [child]' (Interview 102: 2014). Rose's material insecurity as a result of a reliance on her partner's wage labour was coupled with taking on sole responsibility for the day-to-day social reproduction of their household (including their infant), a shift related to the new, or newly deepened, separation of social reproduction from production as a result of the diamond mines. Like Doris, Rose cited her kin and family networks as the resources that helped her leave her partner. Indeed, community and kin networks emerged as a common theme in discussions of resisting violence.

However, community-level spaces and relations were not exempt from the embodied implications of the structural reorientation as a result of the diamond mines. At a community level, research participants – both community workers and women who self-identified as being impacted by the diamond mines – commonly expressed concerns regarding the relationship between primarily male access to newly high income, problematic substance use, and embodied violence. Indeed, while comments on problematic substance use were not solicited in interviews,

talking circles or the focus group, concerns about the impact of new street drugs that came with the diamond mines were a common theme. Eloise, a Dene woman living in Behchoko, made the following observation, which was echoed by a number of research participants:

> Drug dealers are coming this way, coming to make money, I guess. Because the diamond mines are here. The money's here. So not only companies are coming up here, and businesses, but drug dealers are coming up here (Interview 106: 2014).

As scholars have noted (Tsetta et al. 2005, Government of Australia 2014,), mine work, in general, and the psychosocial pressures and uneven schedules of FIFO work, in particular, can contribute to substance abuse and depression. Such problems would have major social implications anywhere. However, in the area in and around Yellowknife, the psychosocial impacts of the mining regime is helpfully approached through the historical and contemporary processes of settler colonialism, and the experiences of rupture resulting from the intensity of capitalist and Canadian State-driven restructuring since the mid-twentieth century.

Articulating the relationship between problematic substance use and the use of embodied violence is a difficult endeavour, because emphasizing this relationship is often used to individualize responsibility for violence, usually along racialized lines (Davis 1981, hooks 1984, True 2012). However, when substance use is approached as a social shift supported by the FIFO diamond-mine regime, it is possible to link embodied violence and problematic substance use as tendencies related to, and exacerbated by, the diamond-mine regime, without expressing an individualized correlative relationship between substance use and violence. Research participants discussed increased street violence in Yellowknife and smaller communities as a result of the new hard drugs that came north along with the diamond mines. Speaking about the new presence of drug-related street violence in Yellowknife, Annie said, 'There's times with the snow on the sidewalk, I see blood. I see blood trailing and people are really violent to each other' (Interview

208: 2014). Research participants brought up drugs and alcohol most often when asked questions about the ways in which diamond mining is related to the dissolution of relationships and violence against Indigenous women in northern communities. Elizabeth, a white long-time northerner, gave a detailed account of her partner's struggle with substance use. He was a Métis man who had worked at the gold mines. While he drank during the gold mining era, a habit that she described as harmless, he began using crack cocaine when he began working for the diamond mines (Interview 104: 2014). For Elizabeth, her partner's problematic substance use was an example of the new brutality that accompanied the diamond mines. Jenna, for her part, made the following comment:

> Well, again, drugs, right. That's how it happens. There was a lady here today who was just blue. She said, "I was dragged out of my house by my hair". And I was so sad for her. They don't know how it affected them. Not for the guys as well as women. Like in the two weeks off from each other and they come back to violence. Drugs and alcohol, you know? They're working so hard for twelve hours a day for two weeks and then it's all gone. They've got nothing to show for it. It's ever sad (Interview 109: 2014).

The violence associated with substance use is tightly wound up with unequal access to financial resources, a characteristic of the region intensified by the diamond mines. However, for most research participants, the diamond mines did far more than magnify existing experiences of embodied violence and substance abuse. A number of participants who spoke about drugs, for example, noted a *qualitative* shift, describing the new forms of embodied violence – both intimate partner violence and street violence – since hard drug dealers came to Yellowknife. And, while it would be inaccurate to reduce this violence simply to a result of the impacts of the diamond mines, Indigenous women's experiences of violence are related both to the reorientation of labour toward the demands of capital and away from subsistence, and the structural and ideological separation of social reproduction from capitalist production.

III. Restructuring Social Reproduction

Before discussing the separation of processes of social reproduction from capitalist production as it relates to the diamond-mining regime, I review the theory of this process at the general level of the capitalist mode of production to highlight how integral this separation is for the creation of surplus value and, thus, capital accumulation. While capitalist production is inseparable from the daily and intergenerational reproduction of labour power (i.e., social reproduction), the creation of new (capitalist) value through the underpaying of living labour is facilitated, in part, by the racialized invisibilization of subsistence and naturalization of social reproduction, and through the ideological conflation of "work", writ large, with capitalist production. The creation of new surplus value requires a division between capitalist production and the non-capitalist forms of labour upon which it relies, a division that is both real and abstract. This division is abstract in the sense that it is an ideological division between capitalist (seen as "real") labour and non-capitalist labour. However, much like Colletti (1972) uses the term 'real abstraction' to denote that the subsumption of use value under exchange value is a *real* (material) subsumption, the ideological separation of capitalist production and social reproduction has myriad – and dialectically shifting – material consequences. Indeed, accumulation under capitalism relies upon the exploitation of workers' unpaid labour to create surplus value. This exploitation is something that occurs not only through methods of exploitation *in* the workplace, but through the assumption that workers will be reproduced free of charge to the capitalist. One is reminded here of Federici's (2004) argument that the accumulation of new spaces of capital is also the disciplining and restructuring of social reproduction.

The separation of capitalist production from social reproduction, and the hierarchical ordering of the former over the latter persist in relation to patriarchal ideological relations that

masculinize capitalist production and feminize social reproduction. However, just as Federici's (2004) argument does not account for the historical specificities of different racisms and their role in the accumulation of new spaces, it is not enough to argue that the separation of capitalist production from social reproduction is a gendered restructuring. This separation is made possible by the historical and contemporary processes of racializing and marginalizing subsistence (for example, the resettlement of Indigenous populations that separated communities from their means of subsistence, and thereby partly restructured social reproduction according to Western norms), undertaken through the liberal capitalist assumption that production is separate from social reproduction, or at least the tacit ideological valuation of this separation. The separation between production and social reproduction is not natural, but rather is a social necessity for accumulation that is a general tendency in capitalism, but is deployed unevenly in different times, different places, and in relation to differently signified bodies. Recall that, without the activist role of the settler state responding to the demands of capital, there is no real separation between subsistence and social reproduction. It was racialized restructuring processes that feminized and made distinct social reproduction in the regional mixed economy.

The FIFO extractive structure uniquely (in the region of study) imposes a spatial expression of the division between capitalist production and social reproduction. This structure, which distinguishes diamond mines from the gold mines, and other earlier NWT extractive projects, has profound – and, perhaps, the most readily visible of the extractive regime's characteristics – implications for the relations between departments of production, and Indigenous women's (potentially violent) experiences of these relations. The assumption that the capitalist wage labourer is an unencumbered individual free of care responsibility is made manifest when workers must agree to live away from their home, family, and community for half

of their lives in two-week shifts wherein they are worked so hard (twelve hours a day for fourteen days straight) that they come home exhausted, in need of rest and replenishment at the precise moment many of their partners are desperate for a reprieve from – effectively – single-parenthood.[158] Of course, as discussed in chapter three, the day-to-day social reproduction of workers is undertaken by paid staff at the mine camp, but beyond having one's food delivered in a cafeteria, having one's bed made, and enjoying site-specific perks, like a gym or an ice cream bar, social reproduction is entirely externalized. To put it another way, the day-to-day social reproduction of workers is performed on site, but their more complex, interpersonal, community-based and long-term needs are divorced from the work site. For example, workers' responsibilities and contributions to subsistence, and to daily and intergenerational social reproduction in households and communities are structurally obscured. This separation means that women are made responsible for both socially reproducing the household, and broader inter-household and community-level social reproduction (the latter is discussed in more detail in the next chapter). The FIFO structure facilitates workers as the embodiment of variable capital, vessels of living labour that can be flown in, drawn upon as much as possible and, once they are depleted, flown away for temporary replenishment, or until they're needed again.

The other half of the FIFO equation is the assumption that day-to-day social reproduction can and will take place, regardless of this disruption, at "home": the site of non-work, restructured toward the very heavy demands of FIFO labour. One of the strongest themes that came out of interviews with Indigenous women was the material burden of day-to-day social

[158] I use the term, "single-parenthood", here because it was commonly articulated in interviews by participants as a way of expressing the extremely imbalanced social reproductive responsibilities imposed by the FIFO structure, as well as the loneliness and isolation experienced by many women as they performed reproductive labour for two-week stretches (and sometimes more) without the companionship and support of their partner.

reproduction as a primary caregiver of children with a partner doing FIFO work.[159] When discussing her work with women in the Yellowknife community, Madeline said:

> This is the biggest impact I see on the family unit…These women are single parents…I knew someone would come up to do this research because I feel like I live in a community where families are fragmented on purpose. We choose to remove half of the caregivers half of the time. How can this not have a significant impact on raising a family or being in a marriage? (Interview 302: 2014).

All women who had partners working in the diamond mines and, as a result, were the primary caregivers in their household, expressed some level of fatigue from their daily household labours, ranging from minor frustration to extreme exhaustion. For well over a decade, Tina, a Dene woman living in one of the First Nations communities in close proximity to Yellowknife, had worked as the primary caregiver while her partner worked at the diamond mines. She said:

> Yeah, fourteen years and I am just so tired of it. Keeping the kids for myself, and when they're sick, I have to deal with it. And then he misses out on the things that they do. You know what I mean? He missed out on her graduation, when she graduated from kindergarten. Missing her [sports] tournaments, and speeches that my son just did. He missed that. And my baby misses him. He's constantly asking for him, nightly. It's hard (Interview 112: 2014).

Tina's experience was echoed by a number of women. For example, Rose spoke of her partner's initial employment with the diamond mines, saying:

> He went away for his first rotation when my child was three weeks old…It was emotional. Because obviously having a baby in the first place is a huge transition. And then having him go when the baby was three weeks old was terrifying. And being a first-time mom, and being young, I was terrified (Interview 102: 2014).

Beth, an Indigenous woman living in one of the communities outside Yellowknife, said:

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159 This finding emerged in cases where a male partner was working in the diamond mines and had a female partner taking on the primary caregiver role. All research participants interviewed were in male-female domestic partnerships, though this should not be taken as representative of coupling trends in the Territory. It is important to note that, when the roles were reversed – that is, when women worked at the diamond mines while men stayed at home – the trend did not remain the same (though it is important to note that almost all research participants were women and the dynamics in households wherein women worked at the mines and men stayed at home, or in same-sex relationships, were not investigated). Indeed, research participants who had both worked at the diamond mines and acted as primary caregiver while their partner worked at the mine spoke of a continuity of a responsibility for care, which demonstrates that the feminized responsibility for care is both an ideological and a material process.

> Because he's out there for the whole two weeks, sometimes my kids would get sick and sometimes I would get sick. And those times would be the most difficult. And a few times I really wanted him home with me to help me…I wanted him to come home. But they said they didn't have enough people up there to take on his role, so he couldn't (Interview 107: 2014).

Notably, while 24-hour care responsibility during the two-weeks while the diamond mine worker was away was expected, most of the women interviewed who were primary caregivers with partners working at the mine also expressed difficulties shifting divisions of household labour once their partners returned. For some, this was expressed simply as a bumpy transition in living arrangements, with shifting household routines, habits, and rules. For example, Rose said:

> So it was this constant flip-flop, going back and forth. And you're not used to living with someone. So even him being around, like, I'm used to managing me and our child. Then him coming around and I'm like, "I don't know how to do this. Get your socks out of here" (Interview 102: 2014).

For most research participants, however, the difficulty in shifting toward a more equitable distribution of care work upon their partner's return was much more than simply adjusting to a new body in the house. As many research participants explained, diamond-mine workers tend to return home exhausted, depleted and in need of rest, and often feeling that they should not have to do work in their "time off". Bodily and emotional exhaustion is coupled, for some, with the ideological justification of "women's work" and "men's work"; thus, the materiality of women's responsibility for social reproduction does not change significantly when the man is home. As Beth said, 'even when he's home, I still feel like I have to do everything' (Interview 107: 2014).

The increase of women's responsibility for household-level social reproduction is, certainly, mitigated by inter-household kin and community relations. These relations are an example of a subsistence orientation (which will be discussed further in the next chapter), and of decolonizing resistance. Specifically, inter-household structures of social reproduction resist the pressure – at work from the mid-twentieth century to today – for Western household-focused

social reproduction. Employment in the diamond mines, and thereby engagement with its associated male-breadwinner model and accompanying pressures for marketization of household (not community) resources, intensifies demands on households. The shift towards a nuclear heteronormative male breadwinner/female caregiver model fostered by the FIFO diamond-mining regime is a structural violence particular to the Dene, Métis and Inuit of the region – and, thus, a racialized violence – as it impedes their social relations. Thus, one should read the analysis herein with the understanding that research participants' focus on household-level demands is not because their understanding of social reproduction stops at the walls of their home, but that it is their work and responsibilities within the household that has intensified.[160]

In interviews with women who worked at the diamond mines, it was clear that their experience – and the experience of their partners – did not correspond with men who worked at the diamond mines with women partners who were primary caregivers. Instead, for the women who worked at the diamond mines who were interviewed, day-to-day social reproduction continued to be a significant responsibility, and juggling this responsibility alongside wage labour in the mines was a major challenge, one that, for some research participants, meant that their mine work was short-lived. Indeed, what emerged in interviews was a pattern of shifting gender roles wherein women were ideologically deemed responsible for social reproduction, which was newly concentrated at household levels. As noted in section one, household gender roles are built through historical and contemporary processes far broader than the diamond mines themselves, and my purpose here is not to suggest a simple causative shift, nor to suggest that households had equal gendered divisions of labour prior to the diamond mines. Instead, I suggest

[160] As I discuss in the next chapter, roles in community-level reproduction have not been exempt from gender restructuring either. However, because the very nature of community-level social reproduction is working with kin and community relations, there is an individualization and intensity to the feminization of social reproduction at the household level that is not at play at the community level.

that the social effects of the spatiality of the FIFO diamond-mining regime have been bolstered by an intensified male breadwinner/female caregiver model supported by the mine camps, a site of hypermasculinity.

For example, Rose noted the impact of the hypermasculine culture at camp on her relations with her former partner at home. She said:

> When he'd come back, I'd ask him simple things to help me around the house and he felt like – and that was the difference between us, our ideas, like gender roles, all that stuff. I thought it was like, "Let's share stuff. We'll both build a household," and he was like, in "You're trying to make me a housewife" (Interview 102: 2014).

Rose felt that her partner's attitude was newly developed through his work at the diamond mines. In the following, she discusses his shift in beliefs through working at the mine:

> I was expecting shared. Like, sharing household duties. I understood that he went away. But my intention was always, after my year of mat leave, I would return to work. So that was really challenging. And then, him. He was young, too. Around my age. And as time passed on, as months and years passed on, I became really resentful of even the men he worked with at the mine. Because I definitely saw a shift…
>
> R: What was the shift?
>
> P: And it was gradual, right? But I always felt, like, it makes me feel, because these are my personal feelings. I really felt like the men he worked with up there were sexist, were racist, were old, were jaded, were bitter…I think they were racist against all races. Not even just First Nations people. Because he would come back with these ideas. I'm like, 'Are you crazy? You're Aboriginal. What are you doing?'
>
> But I would say they were older white men. Not always. But these were the journeymen when he was an apprentice. They were training him. He looked up to them. And they had twenty, thirty years experience. And relationships and divorces and all kinds of things. And so I know, even at that time, I was like, 'What are you thinking?' From where we were, our ideas when we were pregnant, to him being away literally half the year (Interview 102: 2014).

As Rose articulates, the new gendered expectations her partner learned through his work at the diamond mines were racialized. The – tacitly white – hypermasculinity encouraged by senior mine-workers lacked respect for minority communities (Indigenous and non-Indigenous), and

the new expectations and judgments her partner brought home directly assaulted the practices of interdependent gendered household roles she had learned through her Dene kin and community.

The ideological nature of the shifting roles in Indigenous households – that is, that shifting roles were more than a reaction to high levels of male employment in the diamond mines – is made evident by the fact that all of the women who participated in this research who initially self-identified as women whose partners worked in the diamond mines *also* worked in wage labour themselves on top of their primary roles in social reproduction and subsistence. Of these research participants, by far the majority worked full-time jobs of their own in Yellowknife or Behchoko, with the remaining employed in temporary wage-labour positions. As Rose noted, 'I worked full-time, straight through until I returned to school. Like, I never had a break. Which was fine, because I never wanted to be a stay-at-home mom' (Interview 102: 2014). Beth, for her part, explained that she felt individually responsible for household social reproduction – including when her partner was home from the mines – even though she also worked full-time in a demanding job with a First Nations government. When I asked her how she managed both her wage labour and the work of social reproduction, she said:

> My daughter goes to school so she's in kindergarten and my son is in daycare all day. So I drop them off at daycare, pick up my daughter at lunch hour. Then have lunch with her. Drop her back off at school. Pick her up at 3:30. Bring her to daycare. And then pick them up at five. And when I get home I have to do to do all the laundry, all the cleaning, the supper. Bathe them….
>
> [I ask her to mark out in a pie chart how much unpaid work her partner does and how much she does]
>
> This would be the whole year [points to chart]. And this little chunk, that's 1/6th of it, that's him. And this is me [points to 5/6ths of chart]. Because even when he's home, I still feel like I have to do everything. (Personal Interview 107: 2014).

Accounting for Indigenous women's practices of social reproduction in relation to their own wage labour brings a specificity to their social location in the shifts in departments of

production as a result of the diamond mines. As with the findings of this project, Kuokkanen raises the important point that, in many contemporary Indigenous communities, women are often more involved with wage labour than men (Kuokkanen 2011: 224). Indeed, Nahanni (1992) documents Dene women's multiple roles in the region of study, noting that their engagement with capitalist production in the 1980s and 1990s was accompanied by shifts in relations of social reproduction, as well as sustained efforts to honour traditional Dene ways of being. I suggest that, in and around Yellowknife, the tensions between Indigenous women's central role in social reproduction and subsistence, and their extensive engagement in capitalist production – both of which were discussed in almost all interviews – persist, and point to two insights. First, northern Indigenous women's engagement in capitalist production alongside social reproduction and subsistence should be approached through the specific way in which Indigenous people in the region have been incorporated into Canadian capitalism; namely, that the communities in and around Yellowknife do not have a history of engaging in social reproduction under the male breadwinner model, as discussed in chapter two. Indeed, prior to the diamond mines, while Indigenous men and women engaged with capitalist production in the mixed economy in different ways, there were not significant differentials in gendered rates of participation or remuneration. Second, Indigenous women's socialized responsibility for the household should be approached through the neoliberal moment of capitalism and, specifically, the reprivatisation of social reproduction (Bakker 2003),[161] a broad shift that interacts with the local pressures contributing to an intensification of household-level responsibilities, or the "making nuclear" of Indigenous women's social reproduction.

[161] Wherein social reproductive work is, arguably, reprivatized (Bakker 2003: 19). Certainly, state retrenchment of social services has increased social reproductive labour for northern women (both Indigenous and not), as I allude to here; but, as I argue above, it is important not to conflate the experiences of retrenchment by non-racialized and racialized women, given that Indigenous women continue to feel a heavy state presence in their lives, often in the form of surveillance over their modes of social reproduction.

The tendency under the FIFO diamond-mining regime to feminize and "make nuclear' social reproduction also speaks to the ways in which capitalist ideology and materiality are contradictory, in practice, even as they develop in support of one another. The new FIFO diamond-mining male breadwinner model that makes women responsible for caregiving does not match the history of Indigenous women's engagement in subsistence and capitalist production, nor does it correspond to the contemporaneous material need for women to continue this labour.[162] As will be discussed in the next chapter, Indigenous women's subsistence production continues to play an important role in providing for communities. And the wage labour performed by Beth and other research participants points to the material fallacy of the "male breadwinner" model in the area around Yellowknife. However, it is undeniable that women take up the role as primary caregiver, both out of necessity and out of social and interpersonal obligation. Scott's (2007) work on dependent masculinity in coal-mining towns, first discussed in chapter three, is useful here in understanding the contradictory dialectic between materiality and ideology. Scott takes up the local understanding of "work" in a community with a long history of coal mining, but wherein retail takes up approximately the same proportion of employment as the coal mines. Scott problematizes the naturalized understanding that (usually men) workers at the coal mines will make wages significantly higher than (usually women) retail workers, as well as the understanding that "real" work is the male breadwinner's work, writing,

> A gendered understanding of work, embodied in the heterosexual white male breadwinner, gives shape to a specific configuration of masculinity that gains moral worth from family-wage employment. I am calling this formation of masculinity "dependent" in order to problematize dominant constructions of independence and dependence, public and private, that reproduce gender inequality (486).

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[162] As discussed in chapter three, this contradiction is made manifest in the failure of the diamond-mining regime's efforts to recruit, train and retain Indigenous women as mine workers. They are seen as a valuable source of low-cost labour, but, because their social reproduction responsibilities are not taken into account (the responsibilities that have been intensified by the same regime that wants to hire them), they are often unable to participate in the diamond-mining regime for long periods of time.

Scott (2007) offers insight into the ways the masculinized resource economy is a particularly intensified manifestation of the male breadwinner/female caregiver model, even when women engage in wage labour at similar rates to men. However, it is worth remembering here that, unlike the predominantly white community who had engaged in coal mining for generations in Scott's study, the diamond mines are something new, and the integration of Indigenous workers into the northern mining community is also new. Thus, the gendered hierarchy that accompanies the male breadwinner model is made possible by the racialized settler colonial state interventions into social reproduction and subsistence. These hierarchical and rigid roles are entirely antithetical from the interdependent labours of the mixed economy outlined in chapter two, and that characterize subsistence.

The violence of this restructuring was discussed by a number of research participants, and approached in varying ways. For example, in one talking circle, research participants brought up their concerns about the new Western versions of masculinity that accompany the FIFO diamond mines; in particular, pressures upon young Indigenous men to enact a newly individualized responsibility for "providing" for the family and the potentially violent implications of this pressure, both in terms of men using physical violence against women partners and men engaging in self-harm. Angus said:

> I worry about young men. There's a lot of conversations about other groups of people because young men come off as proud and as though they're getting things out of this and having fun, but really, they're not. It hits someone at my age. I've had two suicide attempts and two full suicides of young men in the last seven or eight months. And it's almost like this hopelessness. And what's the long-term perspective? What's the great thing that I'm going to do? There's always this "be a man" kind of thing. It means that you're supposed to have an impact in some way, be important to somebody else. And we don't have these things. Maybe the language isn't there, things that people want to fight for (Talking Circle One: 2014).

Angus is speaking here to the pressures on young Indigenous men to perform their role (as Indigenous people, as men, and as family members, partners, and members of their community) through a Western ideology of masculinity underpinning the diamond-mine regime. While northern Indigenous men have always had specific roles in the community, the new – and newly masculinized –focus on capitalist production repositions "providing" for a family as individualized, rather than relational, labour. Angus followed up his first statement by discussing the potentially violent implications of men "failing" to enact the diamond-mining regime's construction of masculinity successfully. He said:

> My biggest worry is that when men are failing, they damage other people. They can ruin people's lives really easily by being careless, by being greedy, selfish. And it's easy for men to fall into that because they have the power to have an impact on other people (Talking Circle One: 2014).

Other participants in the talking circle echoed Angus's concern. Debbie said:

> I've also seen people with good jobs go out and get a nice pay cheque and after a few pay cheques, they buy a vehicle and then they get big shot-ism. And then they lose their job. And they're worse than when they first started because their esteem is affected. And then they give up and don't want to do anything, so they take it out on the ones that they love most. Women are being brought to the hospital every day because of violence. And then that is transmitted to the younger ones. You see this violence, you know? (Talking Circle One: 2014).

Debbie and Angus both articulated the potential for violence in circumstances of "failure", wherein a person loses the dignity they garnered through contributing to their community and household. The FIFO diamond-mine regime reshapes the notion of "providing" into a hierarchical male breadwinner/female caregiver model, thereby inhibiting traditional Indigenous social relations by intensifying both male power over household resources and individualized pressures on both men and women to "succeed" in their roles. The specific instances of violence described by Angus and Debbie – suicide and gender violence – are

embodied expressions of the racialized structural violence against Indigenous social relations, and their social reproduction.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the ways in which social reproduction performed by Indigenous women in and around Yellowknife has been restructured by the FIFO diamond-mining regime, a restructuring that occurs dialectically through the constrained choices of, and labours performed by, these women. I have argued that the FIFO diamond-mining regime demands an intensified orientation of social reproduction toward capital, facilitated by the historical processes of separating social reproduction from subsistence, and the new spatial separation of social reproduction from capitalist production. And, while shifts in departments of production are best characterized as a contradictory set of processes – given that there is divergence from and resistance to the settler colonial male-breadwinner/female caregiver model – these ideological and material shifts are significant, and can be linked to interpersonal and embodied experiences of violence in devastating ways.

Through a focus on day-to-day labours, the preceding analysis sought to highlight the ways in which some Indigenous women's social reproduction has been "made nuclear"; that is, how the reorientation and restructuring of social reproduction toward the demands of the FIFO diamond-mining regime operate through a presumption of the (heterosexual) nuclear family, a presumption with material consequences. However, it also aimed to demonstrate that social reproduction at the inter-household, or community level, remains a key site of not only restructuring, but also resistance in the regional mixed economy. Thus, in the final substantive chapter of this dissertation, I turn to analysis of the ways in which community social relations

oriented towards subsistence are being restructured by the FIFO diamond-mining regime, as well as corresponding processes of resistance.

Chapter Five: Diamonds, Subsistence, and Resistance

'Well, imagine. Our economy is based on something nobody needs.'
(Talking Circle One: 2014).

Introduction

The NWT skyline is streaked with flights moving mine workers from place to place through the work/home tempo of the FIFO regime. FIFO modes of extraction are a means of managing the tension between the fixity of resource extraction – in that, unlike in other industries, production (or at least the extractive portion of production) must be rooted in a particular place – and the capitalist preference for spatial flexibility that can be shaped toward the temporal demands of capital (Rainnie et al. 2014). This tension, however, is just one layer of the contradictions between place and time that structure the FIFO diamond-mining regime. The more fundamental contradiction is between the intensified temporal capitalist imperative to annex place with time and place-based subsistence production performed by northerners in the regional mixed economies of the NWT.

Indigenous women's experiences of the – sometimes, violent – tension between diamond mining and subsistence are the subject of this chapter. I argue that, as a result of the diamond mines, there has been a shift in orientation away from subsistence; albeit, a shift that is incomplete, contested, and shaped through resistance. Indeed, while the impact of the diamond mines on the land and labour in and around Yellowknife erode their capacity for subsistence production, Dene, Métis and Inuit women continue to deploy creative labours in an orientation towards subsistence. While chapter four analyzed Indigenous women's labours primarily at the level of day-to-day household social reproduction, in this chapter, I approach these labours primarily at the site of community-level social reproduction – noting that there is not a firm boundary between household and community social reproduction, and, indeed, the intersections

between these levels is indicative of the non-Western approaches to social reproduction in the region of study. In focusing on social reproduction at the community level, I demonstrate that, more than providing for daily social needs, Indigenous women's labour reproduces the social relations of the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife, thereby resisting the totalizing impulses of capital and settler colonialism. This resistance is neither natural nor inevitable; instead, Indigenous women contribute to the reproduction of the mixed economy through constrained – often difficult or messy – choices and labours, shaped through the shifting structures of capital accumulation in the region.

While the tempo of the FIFO diamond-mining regime puts new pressures on day-to-day social reproduction, as evidenced in chapter four, the temporariness of the regime disrupts the intergenerational community-level reproduction of a place-based subsistence-orientation. These labour processes (of daily and intergenerational maintenance) are by no means distinct; rather, by extending the sphere of analysis to the community in this chapter, I locate the violent shifts in social reproduction at a household level *within* the struggle over the continuance of Indigenous communities' social relations in the mixed economy. In section one, I characterize my approach to subsistence in the region of study as relational and qualitative, analyzed through its location as a department of production in the regional mixed economy. Furthermore, building on Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen's (1999) suggestion that there is a gender violence to the erosion of subsistence production, I argue that the location of Indigenous women's bodies and labours at the site of tension between subsistence and capitalist production in the NWT helps to explain the intensity of their experiences of gendered and racialized structural and embodied violence.

In section two, I take up the relationship between the diamond mines and subsistence, exploring the FIFO diamond-mining regime's approach to subsistence activities, and contrasting

this with research participants' analysis of the relationship between FIFO and subsistence. The extractive regime takes an individualized, dehistoricized approach to subsistence, which enables the industry to claim that the work tempo of FIFO can support, and even facilitate, subsistence (GNWT 2014). I suggest, rather, that the FIFO tempo interrupts and disrupts the intergenerational transmission of the knowledge and social relations required for subsistence. In section three, I explore the extractive regime's pressure to orient Indigenous women's community labour towards the social reproduction of capitalist relations. I examine the impact of the diamond mines on inter-household sharing, place-based education, and the health and integrity of the land and the body. In so doing, I show that the temporary rupture that is the FIFO diamond-mining regime presents new challenges to the intergenerational place-based reproduction of a subsistence orientation in the mixed economy. Research participants' experiences exemplify the tight connection between diamond-mining, and racialized gendered structural and embodied violence, a connection that is wound up in modern histories of resource extraction, subsistence, and resistance, as well as forward-looking concerns for future generations. Extending analysis to the community level links Indigenous women's daily labours to the social reproduction of the mixed economy, making visible the many ways in which they continue to resist the totalizing impulses of the Canadian State and capital.

I. Contemporary Subsistence in the NWT

Most Indigenous women's lives in and around Yellowknife are built through a combination of subsistence production, capitalist production, and social reproduction. This is not to say that every *individual* engages in all of these forms of labour, but that all of these forms of labour contribute to the daily and intergenerational social relations of the region (Usher et al. 2003,

Abele 2015).[163] Given the interplay between departments of production, and given that this research is based on a qualitative, relational approach to subsistence, it would be neither methodologically nor politically appropriate, nor analytically sound, to approach the impact of the diamond mines on subsistence production simply as a quantitative, or an either-or phenomenon (either capitalism or subsistence). Rather, I am interested in the shifting relations – and particularly, the shifting racialized gender relations – between subsistence production, social reproduction, and capitalist production, distinguished analytically, and the contested gradations of power relations between and within departments of production.

To capture these gradations in shifting relations, in this section, I connect area research on the NWT with FPE to analyze subsistence as an *orientation* within the mixed economy. I draw primarily upon *The Best of Both Worlds* (Harnum et al. 2014), a report that examines subsistence production in the Sahtu region of the NWT (the northwest of the territory). While its region of study differs from the focus of this dissertation, Harnum et al.'s in-depth, decolonizing approach offers grounded concepts for a qualitative analysis of subsistence.[164] Specifically, engaging Harnum et al.'s analysis with the theoretical and historical grounding of subsistence developed in chapters one and two, I highlight two characteristics of contemporary subsistence in the NWT that help to assess the orientation of activities contributing to social reproduction (that is, shifts in orientation towards or away from subsistence). The first characteristic is sharing in

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[163] In speaking to the multiple ways in which people build their lives in the north, it is worth also noting the myriad local institutions that contribute to social reproduction at the community level. Recent social research in the NWT has come to use the term, "social economy" in approaching analyses of the mixed economy (Kuokkanen 2011), the myriad forms and levels of state, Indigenous and community northern governance (Abele 2009a, Abele 2009b), and local for-profit and not-for-profit organizations oriented toward community well-being. It is beyond the scope of this project to engage with this rich body of scholarship; however, it is a reminder to attend to the complex ways in which non-Indigenous and Indigenous people are working outside of the imperatives of capital in building northern lives.

[164] Furthermore, the political economy of the Sahtu is characterized, in part, by oil and gas development; as such, the interaction between subsistence production and resource extraction offers a relevant contextual basis for comparison.

production and distribution within and across households, and the second is intergenerational education performed through subsistence activity. In approaching subsistence as a relational orientation, rather than an individuated, quantifiable activity, I am drawing on Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen's (1999) conception of a "subsistence perspective", which I discuss below. First, however, I elaborate upon these two characteristics, in turn, as I return to them as markers of restructuring, rupture, and resistance in the analysis of the impacts of the diamond-mining extractive FIFO regime on subsistence in section three of this chapter.

In analyzing contemporary subsistence production in the Sahtu, *The Best of Both Worlds* report illustrates the role of community sharing in the NWT mixed economy, an insight that pushes analysis outside of the assumption of isolated nuclear family arrangements. There is a tendency to "make nuclear" Indigenous relations of social reproduction through Canadian State and extractive interventions, as demonstrated in chapters two and four, respectively. However, the push toward nuclear-level social reproduction exists in the context of, and in tension with, strong histories and practices of community-level sharing. Harnum et al. (2014) explore the ways in which the goods gathered and made by subsistence labour are shared, not just through direct networks, but amongst friends, extended kin and community networks, and people in need. They write, 'In a survey conducted by the Dene Nation (2010), more than 60% of people in Dene communities in the NWT said they often received *dene bere* (country foods) from others, while 37% indicated that this occurred occasionally' (2014: 20).[165] Participants in the *Best of Both Worlds* described subsistence production as an activity that enabled 'more family and community cohesion and a greater sense of pride and identity' (Harnum et al. 2014: 52).[166] Indeed, subsistence production is undertaken in interdependent ways across households that contribute to

165 Here they are discussing not just the Sahtu, but the entire NWT.
166 Subsistence was also credited by participants as increasing their physical and mental health.

the wellbeing of the whole group. Indigenous activists and scholars have long pointed to the non-nuclear structure of care in Indigenous households (see, for example, Nahanni 1992, Anderson and Lawrence 2003). Usher et al. (2003) describe this as "supra-household interaction" determined, primarily, by kinship networks. They write that these connections are, 'celebrated, consolidated, reinforced and reproduced by sharing, feasting, ritual observance, and associated ethical norms. There is much incentive to maintain the system, little to disrupt it' (179). Similarly, participants in this research often emphasized inter-household connections – strong kin and community networks wherein social reproduction and subsistence are undertaken interdependently across nuclear family units. As Alica said, describing her own extended family, 'I grew up around little kids, helping take care of the family. But that's pretty common. And that's a big part of Aboriginal culture, too, family raising the family' (Interview 119: 2014).

When analysis focuses on the household level, the labour category, "social reproduction", is distinguishable from production (especially in relation to capitalist production, but also in relation to subsistence). However, as the previous discussion demonstrates, labour performed across households challenges the separation between subsistence production and social reproduction. For example, when Indigenous women prepare caribou meat and share it amongst their households, this is both subsistence and social reproduction (and, thus, is referred to in this study as social reproduction oriented towards subsistence). Recall that the separation between social reproduction and subsistence is a settler colonial construct that only partly shapes the social relations of the mixed economy. However, while these inter-household networks are spaces of decolonizing relations, it does not follow that they are inherently nurturing, nor are they free of their own unequal power relations. Indeed, just as feminist and anti-racist analyses have challenged depoliticized relations within the household, so, too, must inter-household and

kin relations be politicized, rather than romanticized. These relations are a key site of struggle in the maintenance of a subsistence orientation within the mixed economy.

Participants in the *Best of Both Worlds* research project described subsistence production as a primary source of intergenerational education. This is the second characteristic of subsistence that I present in order to assess the impact of the diamond mines. Subsistence production is an integral form of knowledge and skills sharing across generations, and a primary form of community-level intergenerational social reproduction in the NWT.[167] Many northern and Indigenous scholars have noted the role of subsistence in intergenerational Indigenous knowledge transmission. For example, Kuokkanen (2011), drawing on the work of Eugene Hunn (1999), writes that 'there is a crucial link between subsistence and Indigenous knowledge' (220). In speaking about '*Naats enelu he asii yats'ihtsi* (arts and crafts)', in particular, the participants in *The Best of Both Worlds* noted that engaging in subsistence activities provided,

> much-needed *deneghagot'a* (opportunity) for the intergenerational transmission of not only skills for producing articles, but also *deneghaghot'a* to share dene *nawere* (traditional knowledge) with young *ts'eku ke* (women) in particular. For example, a local "sewing circle" involves not only *dene ghaonete* (teaching) skills for *naats'enelu* (sewing), but also creates a venue for passing on dene *naowere* about producing raw materials such as sinew and hides, traditional *ewa taadenakwi* (hide-tanning) methods, child rearing, caring for the sick and *ohda ke* (elderly) roles of *deneyu ke* (men) and *ts'eku ke* and related custom, kinship, *denewa naridii* (traditional medicines) and so on. (Harnum et al. 2014: 58).

In using a sewing circle as an example (an activity that is traditionally undertaken by women), Harnum et al. demonstrate the important roles women take up in socially reproducing the knowledge, values, skills, and relationships needed for a subsistence orientation. Nahanni (1992), for her part, draws upon her experiences on the land with Dene families to demonstrate the tight links between subsistence and intergenerational education. She followed family members, who

[167] This is a good example of the complementary, and, at times, indistinguishable nature of subsistence and social reproduction. Subsistence as a means of acquiring or producing communal needs is often at the same time a means of intergenerational education, and, thus, social reproduction.

work with their children on the land in order to teach them the skills they need to reproduce a subsistence orientation. Notably, in discussing Dene women's teaching role, she links their subsistence activities with their educative and caring responsibilities, responsibilities that FPE associates with social reproduction. She demonstrates that '"nurturing" and "providing" are customarily attached to Dene women's approaches to "learning" and "teaching" (4).

A number of research participants offered examples of the ways in which subsistence production is integral to intergenerational learning, with some focusing on the roles of women in preserving and sharing this knowledge. Liza, an Indigenous woman and a community leader, described her subsistence work as intergenerational social reproduction in the following way:

> We still do those kinds of things. And I have done a couple of presentations on medicine. And we've gone to pick medicine. We'll probably go this fall to pick medicine. And I tell the ladies, when you go to pick medicine, pick it and we come back and prepare and preserve it, now it's your responsibility to pass it on. Because nobody else will do it for you now. I'm not going to be here. Pass it on to your kids and your family. Make sure they know that there's good medicine out there. You know, that a lot of people don't know about (Interview 206: 2014).

For Liza, the subsistence work of picking and preserving medicine was synonymous with the transmission of the knowledge it required. Similarly, Tory, a young Indigenous woman, identified her learnings in the bush as an adolescent as formative educative experiences. She compared her own experience of education in her adolescence with those of her non-Indigenous classmates, saying:

> I was working in the bush most of my summers. And that was another one, working in the bush for my summers, because when I got back to school all these kids would tell me what they did in the city. Going to Edmonton, doing all these other things. And I was like, "What are you talking about?" I'd get really embarrassed because I was like, "I just made a bunch of dry meat all summer in the bush". You know, nothing that crazy. (Interview 116: 2014).

While Tory joked about the disparity between her summer vacation in the bush and the shopping trips of her peers, and noted feelings of difference and embarrassment, she recounted stories and

lessons shared by her aunties and uncles with pride. For Tory, her work in the bush (both as an adolescent and as a young adult) was crucial in developing relationships, knowledge, and skills that she saw as essential to her being. Tory also recounted early experiences of racist violence, such as being bullied and beaten up for being Indigenous in the schoolyard as a child. Tory's experiences of racism threaded through her description of adolescence, and she named subsistence education as an important source of healing, learning, and pride.

As a young Indigenous woman who grew up in Yellowknife, Tory's work and education history is an example of a life narrative that fluidly moves between subsistence and capitalist production. Similarly, Liza's work in community education, and service-provision moved between that which was "professionalized" (paid, supported by state institutions) and that which emerged through community relations. For both of these women, what remained consistent in the multiple labours they described was an *orientation toward* subsistence. In order to explore the complex relations between social reproduction, subsistence, and capitalist production, building from Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen (1999), I introduce the concept of a "subsistence perspective" as a way of assessing the shifts in orientation and power in these departments of production, rather than imposing a binary (*either* subsistence *or* capitalist production). I suggest that the concept of "perspective", or "orientation", can account for the dynamic interplay between departments of production in the north, while at the same time acknowledging and elevating unequal racialized and gendered power relations, and the violence that can accompany shifts in the power, place (literal and figurative), or ideology occupied by capitalist production within the mixed economy.

Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen (1999) developed the "subsistence perspective" as a feminist analytical tool aimed at naming and gendering contemporary production oriented

towards meeting social needs. They wished to reclaim the concept of subsistence from the faulty premises that subsistence is either "merely survival" or, as a result of global capitalism, no longer in existence. Echoing analyses of the role of subsistence in the north, they write, 'subsistence not only means hard labour and living at the margins of existence but also joy in life, happiness and abundance' (Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen 1999: 5). Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen suggest that the fact of capitalist production is not necessarily followed by a capitalist orientation, and that a "subsistence perspective" (that is, labour oriented toward the social reproduction and well-being of the collective, rather than the profit of the one) is a powerful site of anti-capitalist, feminist resistance. For Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen, a subsistence perspective, 'insists on the priority of use-value production' (58), and prioritizes the 'creation and maintenance of life on this planet' over 'the accumulation of dead money' (7). Rather than assuming a binary between that which is capitalist or not, the notion of a subsistence perspective speaks to the questions of capital as practice (Bannerji 2005) at the level of social formation (Jenson 1986, Vosko 2002). In the mixed economy, where both capitalist production and subsistence production take place, and social reproduction is undertaken relationally with both forms of production, the question is not whether a particular form of labour is performed, but under what conditions, through what systems of power and meaning, and to what end.

Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen (1999) loosely ground their theory in discussions of subsistence production performed by women in various communities around the globe. However, they approach the "subsistence perspective" as a transnational feminist *normative* goal, rather than analyzing the diverse ways in which a subsistence perspective, or orientation, is enacted in contemporary *practice*. As discussed in chapter one, in this dissertation, I do not approach subsistence as a category of labour but rather as an *orientation* towards collective, as

opposed to individual, need attached to place-based histories and sets of meaning. While Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen rightly identify systems of labour oriented away from capital around the globe, their general theory does not attend to the different ways in which this labour has been racialized, and the histories and sets of meanings attached to forms of subsistence in different places and time. Indeed, contemporary disruptions subsistence practices are facilitated, in part, through a racialized reading of subsistence informed through the social relations of the Canadian settler state. These systems of meaning – both Indigenous place-based relations and ontologies, and the processes of settler colonialism that have undermined these relations – shape subsistence practices in the area around Yellowknife.

Thus, I return here to Harnum et al.'s (2014) analysis to ground the concept of a subsistence perspective in the social relations in and around Yellowknife.[168] Harnum et al. demonstrate that, in the Sahtu, many people engage in capitalist production through an orientation toward subsistence. Participants in the *Best of Both Worlds* explained that engagement in capitalist production was primarily taken up as a way to support the traditional economy, rather than the reverse. Whether engaging in wage labour or not, the orientation in the participating Sahtu communities was toward subsistence. Harnum et al. write, 'Many people seek *eghalaeda* (jobs) as a means of providing the cash needed to equip themselves and their families for traditional activities such as *nats'eze* (hunting), *ehdzo ats'eh* (trapping) *dats'e* (fisheries), *leetehele* (gathering) and obtaining materials for the production of traditional *naats enelu he asii yatsihitsi* (arts and crafts)' (64).[169] Usher et al. (2003) come to a similar conclusion

[168] I use the term, "Indigenous" here, as I am referring to Dene, Métis and Inuit groups in the NWT and their shared experiences of settler colonialism and engagement with subsistence in the mixed economy. However, these groups diverge in their ontologies of subsistence, their practices and their histories.

[169] While the insight into the potential relations between subsistence production and capitalist production is important, it is worth noting that the Sahtu region described here has a relationship to wage labour that is quite

in their discussion of northern mixed economies. They argue that individuals, households and communities do not choose between subsistence and capitalist production, but rather negotiate their location within an economy that encompasses both departments of production. They write that, 'In subsistence-based systems, the ends of economic activity tend to be inseparable from the social system, and are more likely to be the maintenance of the system of social relations rather than accumulation at the level of enterprise' (Usher et al. 2003: 179). In the area around Yellowknife, where capitalist production has a long history, and a stronger presence relative to the Sahtu and many of the other regions of the NWT, a subsistence orientation is more the *subject* of questioning than the conclusion; however, these insights speak to the specificity of the orientation and meaning of labour in the mixed economy.

However, because Usher et al.'s (2003) analysis is at the level of the household, gendered experiences of a subsistence orientation – and potential shifts in orientation – are obscured. I demonstrated in chapter two that Indigenous women in the NWT have been uniquely targeted in the restructuring of social reproduction from an orientation toward subsistence to an orientation toward capitalist production. Here, I extend this argument to the *contemporary* shifts in departments of production in the mixed economy. Bennholdt-Thomsen and Mies (1999) argue that modern threats to subsistence are threats to women, and that this is because of women's central roles in subsistence production. Bennholdt-Thomsen and Mies make this argument in a general way, but draw their generalizations primarily from European peasant economies.[170] They link the de-economization (which I take to mean the obfuscation of subsistence labour, the use-values it contributes to society, and the ways in which capitalist production relies upon its exploitation) of subsistence labour and women's labour. They write:

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distinct from the political economy of the region around Yellowknife, the political and business centre of the Territory.

[170] This is the same generalizing tendency as Seccombe's text (1992) discussed in chapter one.

> The de-economisation of female labour and the de-economisation of subsistence are one and the same process. The former unity of the economy now breaks up into a public and a private part, with the result that subsistence production is for the first time separated off from commodity production for the market. Subsistence, not oriented to profit, thus becomes de-economised and allocated to women in the private sphere…Just as the driving of women into the private sphere began with the violent persecution of witches and has continued in new forms up to the present day, so the destruction of subsistence markets is a process that has taken place under ever-changing guises (115).

By linking the ways in which capitalism exploits and obscures both social reproduction and subsistence production,[171] Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen offer a compelling way in which to approach the restructuring of Indigenous women's non-capitalist labour. They note that, while the exploitation of wage labour is facilitated structurally through the capitalist mode of production,[172] the exploitation of non-capitalist labour (what they call subsistence, but in using the terminology of this dissertation, refers to both social reproduction and subsistence) requires violence and coercion. This insight connects to Mies' earlier work on the gendered violence of primitive accumulation (1986).[173] I suggest that by linking gender violence to exploitation and oppression at the site of both social reproduction *and* subsistence labour, it becomes clear that embodied violence for the pursuit of capital manifests differently – and, I argue, more intensely – upon the bodies of women engaged in subsistence-oriented labour. This speaks to a continuity rooted in place and across modern time in the ways in which Indigenous women in the NWT are particularly targeted by the violence associated with capital accumulation of new spaces.

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[171] The term, "social reproduction" is my language, not theirs. Indeed, while I draw upon their work as a feminist approach to subsistence that offers useful theoretical insight for an analysis of the relationship between subsistence and social reproduction, Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen (1999) reject the term reproduction, as they argue it erroneously separates reproduction from production (19). Ironically, their issue with the term, "reproduction" is precisely the omissions and artificial separations taken to task in feminist political economy literature dealing with social reproduction.

[172] That is, that the exploitation of wage labour is internal to the dynamics of capitalist production and, thus, becomes business-as-usual, rather than an exploitation that requires consistent violence and coercion.

[173] Discussed alongside Federici (2004) in chapter one.

However, the tension between subsistence and capitalist production is far from the sole structural imperative shaping Indigenous women's experiences of the violence of restructuring production in the mixed economy. Much like my critique of Mies (1986) and Federici (2004) in chapter one, I argue that Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen (1999) miss the ways in which embodied violence is also structured and enacted through racialized settler colonial hierarchies that make violence against *some* bodies far more permissible than violence against other bodies. This gap, I suggest, is a weakness borne out of the lack of spatio-temporal, subjective specificity in analyzing the very distinct social relations across time and space through which the exploitation of both social reproduction and subsistence production take place, and the tendency to generalize European social relations as universal.

As Smith (2005), Kuokkonen (2011), and Simpson (2016) argue, Indigenous women's bodies are often materially and symbolically linked to the land, and have been 'rendered less valuable because of what they are taken to represent…alternatives to heteropatriarchical and Victorian rules of descent' (Simpson 2016).[174] Through settler colonial processes of racialization, structural and embodied violence against Indigenous women in Canada has been made permissible, a violent racism that crosses the rural and the urban, and the diverse regional political economies of Canada. That is to say, that while Indigenous women's role in socially reproducing a subsistence orientation helps to explain the settler colonial tendency across time and place to target Indigenous women, this role alone cannot account for the multiple forms of racialized violence committed against Indigenous women in the area of study, or in Canada, in general. In the third section of this chapter, I take up the violence of the restructuring of the FIFO diamond-mining regime through the gendered and racialized social relations of the mixed

[174] Simpson, Kuokkonen and Smith are referring to the material links to the land through subsistence and place-based living, and both colonizing and decolonizing ideological attachments to the land (see, for example, McClintock 1995, and Anderson and Lawrence 2003).

economy. However, first, I move to a discussion of the diamond-mining regime's approach to subsistence, an approach that parallels the diamond-mining regime's approach to Indigeneity.

II. The Diamond-Mining Regime and Subsistence

As Usher et al. note (2003), subsistence production in the traditional economy and mixed economy has a history of being under-researched in settler socio-economic study,[175] not least because – up until the 1970s – social policy was driven by the underlying assumption that subsistence production would simply disappear through "development" (176). However, through decades of hard work from advocates, today the GNWT recognizes subsistence production as part of the NWT mixed economy. The GNWT collects community data on "traditional activities", and funds in-depth investigations into particular traditional activities in specific regions (GNWT 2015); that these data are being collected speaks to territorial government recognition – at least – of subsistence as a contemporary form of economic activity. Under the SEAs (one aspect of the FIFO diamond-mining regime's new approach to Indigeneity outlined in chapter three), the GNWT, partnered with the diamond mine companies, draw on territorial data tracking subsistence, as well as other socio-economic and public health indicators, to measure the impact of the diamond mines. This analysis is published in the *Communities and Diamonds* reports.

In this section, I analyze these data as a way of understanding the FIFO diamond-mining regime's approach to subsistence. Like the FIFO diamond-mining regime approach to Indigeneity, SEAs approach subsistence along individualistic lines. Subsistence is conceptualized as a recreational activity, rather than a relational and ontological practice. Drawing on interviews, talking circles, and the focus group, I problematize this recreational,

175 Here, Usher et al. (2003) are referring to state research, not scholarly research.

individualized approach, suggesting that, while subsistence imagined as recreation is complementary to the FIFO tempo insofar as individual workers could hunt or fish on their time off, for example, subsistence as place-based and relational is antithetical to both FIFO tempo and the temporariness of the regime itself. Thus, rather than complementing subsistence production, the FIFO diamond-mining regime creates a rupture in local social relations, which has the potential to threaten subsistence relations in the mixed economy. The GNWT measures subsistence according to reported engagement in specific 'traditional activities'. According to the GNWT, in 2013, 44.7% of the territorial population hunted and fished; 6.1% of the population trapped; 23.3% of the population produced arts and crafts; and 26.3% of Indigenous households' relied on country food for at least half of their food consumption (GNWT 2015).[176] It is notable that these figures represent the actions of both the Indigenous and the non-Indigenous territorial population; as such, the greater percentage of Indigenous people in the territory engaging in subsistence production is not captured. Though it is beyond the scope of this overview, it is also interesting to reflect on the non-Indigenous people engaging in subsistence activities: practices that speak to the complex inter-developments of the mixed economy.[177]

These data are also collected at a community level, though, as noted in chapter two, N'dilo is counted as part of Yellowknife, and, correspondingly, its distinct relationship to subsistence activities is not captured. In 2013, in Yellowknife, the percentage of the population who engaged in arts and crafts was 19.6; in Dettah, it was 30.9% and, in Behchoko, it was 25.4%. Unsurprisingly, Yellowknife, as the space with the highest settler population, had the

[176] It is notable that, since this data does not capture the consumption of country food in households where its percentage is less than 50%, there is a great deal of subsistence consumption that is missed here.

[177] That is to say that neither labour nor subjectivities fall into neat categories in the northern mixed economy. For example, settlers have a long history of engaging with their Indigenous friends and neighbours and learning subsistence activities.

lowest percentage of residents engaged in arts and crafts, with most communities' participation rate ranging between 25% and 40%, and the highest participation rate at 54.4% (in Jean Marie River, a small community of less than 100 people). In both Dettah and Yellowknife, 37.1% of the population hunted or fished in 2013, while in Behchoko 40.5% of the population hunted or fished. In Yellowknife, only 2.1% of the population trapped, while in Dettah and Behchoko, the percentage of the population was 15.5 and 10.7, respectively (GNWT 2015). In looking at community level data, it is useful to remember both the ways in which people move between urban centres and their home communities, and the ways in which urban centres depend on the subsistence production of rural communities (Abele 2009a).[178] This mobility and interdependence between communities is not captured in the data.

However, these data are an articulation of territorial acknowledgment of, and engagement with, subsistence as a part of the mixed economy. This, in and of itself, is an important symbolic and concrete decolonizing gain. Similarly, that the diamond mine companies are compelled to assess their impact on subsistence through the SEAs is, like the regime's attention to Indigeneity, a novel aspect of the FIFO diamond-mining regime borne of the Indigenous and northern political organizing of the twentieth century. Prior to mines becoming operational, as part of their SEAs, diamond mines are asked by the GNWT to '*anticipate* the impact their diamond mine may have "on the people and communities of the NWT"' (GNWT 2013: 1) by commenting on a series of indicators developed by the territorial government. While subsistence is not an indicator unto itself, 'cultural wellbeing' and the 'traditional economy' are two of the areas upon which the diamond companies are asked to comment, both of which speak to a subsistence orientation. The three diamond mine companies all noted the potential negative impacts of the diamond

[178] Abele (2009), pointing to the ways in which urban centres are linked through kin and community networks to rural subsistence production, notes that there is a gap in scholarly literature on northern territorial dynamics between communities and urban centres (48).

mines on subsistence: BHP predicted that the impact would be 'negative, but small'. Diavik wrote that, 'wage-based activities may erode…Dene, Métis and Inuit Culture' (GNWT 2013). Most notably of the three mining companies, De Beers, writing about the potential impacts of Snap Lake diamond mine, claimed that:

> The limited amount of time in the community may limit individuals' ability to pursue Aboriginal traditional activities, which impacts on individuals' lifestyle and the maintenance of a cultural identity…The family as a whole will also be affected by the limited time available to engage in traditional activities with all family members present. This may complicate efforts to maintain cultural traditions and identity' (GNWT 2013: B-5).

De Beers – whose assessments of the impacts of Snap Lake and Gatcho Kue are by far the most recent – articulates an awareness of the interpersonal impacts an individual's employment might have on subsistence activities. It is notable, too, that the corporation describes potential impacts on the household, rather than the individual worker.

The predicted social impacts of the diamond mines are monitored through GNWT community statistics and reported through the annual *Communities and Diamonds* report, compiled by the GNWT with participation by the diamond companies. Specifically, the *Communities and Diamonds* reports track trapping, hunting and fishing, and the percent of households reporting that half or more of the meat or fish they consume is harvested in the NWT. These data are collected through the GNWT and disaggregated between the towns and communities of the NWT. While the working definition of the traditional economy does include harvesting and 'making crafts by using raw materials from the land' (GNWT 2014), these activities are not tracked or reported upon in the *Communities and Diamonds* reports. This, I suggest, is a profoundly gendered omission, one that contributes to the tendency toward obscuring feminized subsistence labour (including harvesting, craftwork, sewing, and preparing

land materials for household use and consumption), serving to perpetuate a focus on individualized, masculinized activities (namely, hunting, trapping, and fishing).

The following graphs from the 2014 *Communities and Diamonds* report trapping, hunting and fishing activities, and the consumption of locally harvested food from the period preceding the first operational diamond mine (which opened in 1998) to the period of most recent available data.

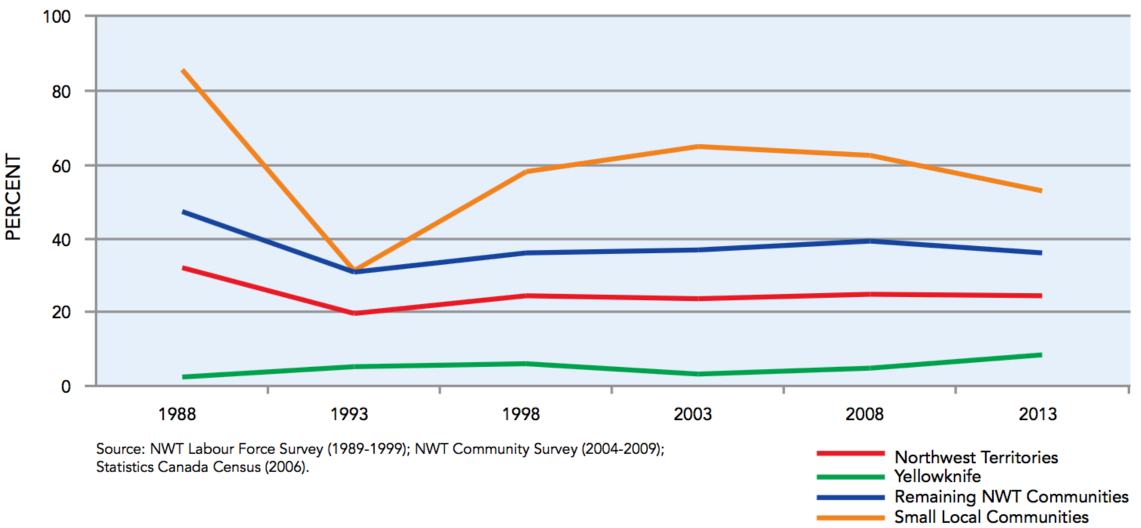

Figure 10: Persons 15 & over who engaged in trapping (GNWT 2014).

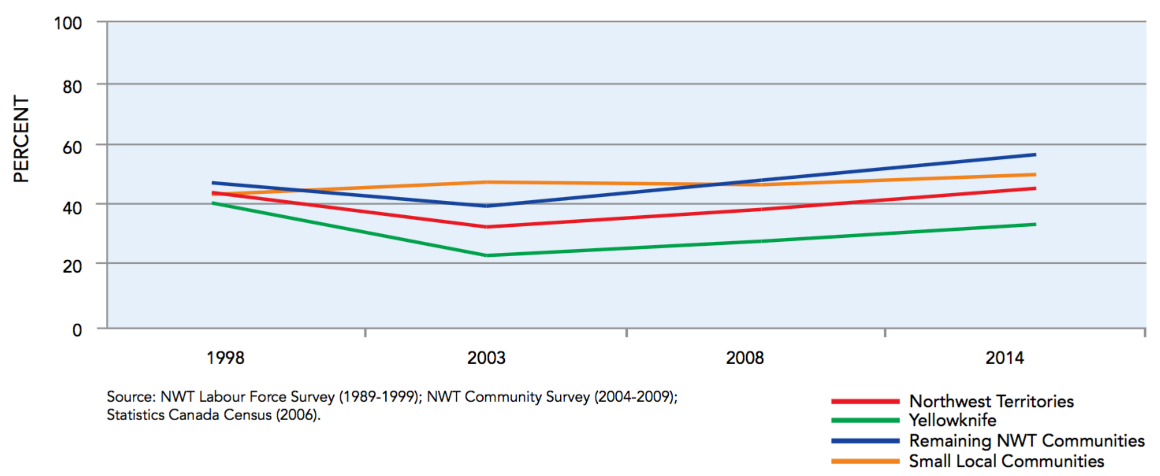

Figure 11: Persons 15 & Over who engaged in hunting or fishing (GNWT 2014).

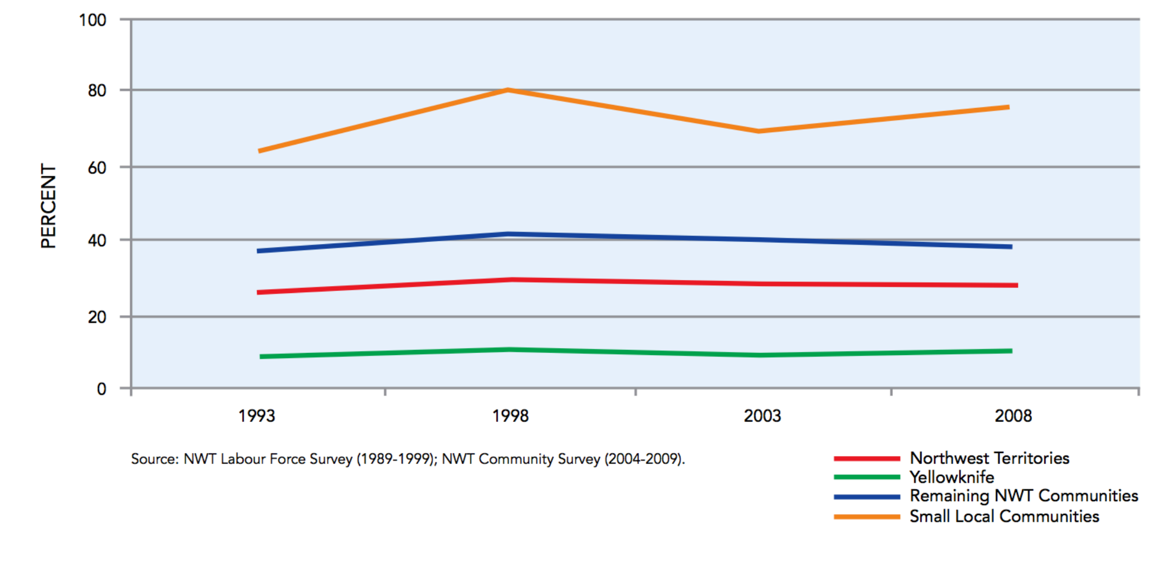

Figure 12: Percent of households reporting that half or more of the fish consumed is harvested in the NWT (GNWT 2014).

The data show no significant changes after the first diamond mine opened in 1998, or throughout the growth of the industry in the decade that followed. Yellowknife, again, consistently falls at the bottom of tracked subsistence activities. Based on the data illustrated here, the *Communities and Diamonds* 2014 report comes to the conclusion that hunting, fishing, and eating country food 'does not seem to be influenced by mining' (GNWT 2014: 27). The report does note that

trapping has declined since 1998 – the year that the first diamond mine opened – writing that 'mine employment does seem to be affecting this change, with fewer young people willing to pursue employment in the traditional activities' (GNWT 2013: 28). However, the possibility that diamond mining is interrupting intergenerational transmission of subsistence knowledge and skills is entertained only momentarily, as the sentence that follows is this: 'It is possible there is a link between jobs at the mines and having money to get out on the land during time off work (Behchoko…[which, in exception to the trend, has had higher trapping rates since the diamond mines opened]…is an example of this)' (GNWT 2013: 28). This suggestion – that work in the diamond mines leads to greater access to hunting, trapping and fishing – was echoed in interviews with government workers and diamond mine management, and is discussed below.

Before attending to this specific claim, however, I problematize the way in which the FIFO diamond-mining regime approaches subsistence, in general. As discussed in chapter three, Gibson (2008) argues that the way in which subsistence production is approached by the FIFO diamond-mining regime lacks an analysis of why and how subsistence practices matter and are experienced by Indigenous people. She also notes that the quantitative tracking of rates of subsistence production for the purposes of the *Communities and Diamonds* reports takes mining as the sole causative factor. She writes, 'Increases in hunting and trapping might be due to new community hunts or programs, however the focus of this industrial monitoring program allows only one channel of change to be investigated: mining' (88). Indeed, given the reliance on quantitative analysis, the *Communities and Diamonds* reports seem to oscillate between making diamond mines the sole causative factor for all observed social shifts, and denying responsibility for any troubling social trends (like increasing suicide rates) by selectively noting the limitations of a mono-causal approach (GNWT 2014). Furthermore, the *Communities and Diamonds*

findings are not validated by engaging with the communities they ostensibly represent. This is problematic both in terms of the perpetuation of top-down, colonizing research methodologies, in general, and because of the insufficiencies in quantitative measurement as a method of capturing subsistence activities. Indeed, given the relational, ontological qualities of subsistence – and the gendered variation in experiences with and responsibilities for subsistence activities – the quantitative data alone tell us little about the relationship between the diamond mines, subsistence production, and potential shifts in orientation in departments of production.

Indeed, I argue that the *Communities and Diamonds* reports are a telling articulation of the general approach to subsistence taken up by the FIFO diamond-mining regime, an approach that newly perpetuates and intensifies masculinist, individualized conceptions of subsistence production. Under the diamond-mining regime, the general tendency to masculinize and individualize subsistence (displayed in modern history by the Canadian state, private capital, and popular media) has taken a particular form: the understanding of subsistence as recreation. Specifically, subsistence production is translated as individualized acts of recreation undertaken by men mine workers in their "time off". Subsistence production – referred to as 'traditional activities' in industry documents and understood primarily as hunting and fishing, and sometimes trapping, in this conceptualization – is removed from its relational, community quality (Coulthard 2010), as well as from its role in the intergenerational reproduction (Nahanni 1992) of local Métis, Dene and Inuit social relations. In this formulation, the FIFO structure allows diamond workers to hunt and fish in their time off, and their relatively high salaries gives workers more opportunity to buy gear that can help them in these pursuits. Thus, subsistence as an activity is racialized as a symbolic marker of Indigeneity and, at the same time, is materially divorced from its role in socially reproducing Indigenous social relations. By approaching

‘traditional activities’ in this way, separate from attachments to places and people, the extractive regime is able to determine unambiguously that the FIFO diamond-mining regime supports local Indigenous practices.[179]

The general point that wages garnered through capitalist production can be used to support subsistence production speaks to the potential for Indigenous people to engage in capitalist production through a subsistence orientation within a mixed economy (as noted by Usher et al. 2003, Abele 2006, and Harnum et al. 2014). However, the *particular* suggestion that the FIFO tempo of the diamond-mining regime supports subsistence production is based on a masculinized, individualized interpretation of subsistence that denies the ways in which interdependent social relations in Indigenous communities are being undermined by the FIFO diamond-mining regime. Much like the FIFO diamond-mining regime’s approach to Indigeneity, this de-historicized approach to subsistence enables an illusion of an “Indigenous friendly” extractive regime, obscuring the irony of an extractive regime (built upon the temporary exploitation of a specific land-mass) positing itself as a support to the place-based subsistence activities rooted in that same land. In this way, Indigeneity as a racialized category is subtly reconfigured to support the extractive project at hand. Indeed, for the diamond-mining companies, if “being Aboriginal” simply means engaging in acts deployed as markers of Aboriginal-ness – as Gibson (2008) critiques above – then the diamond mines are exempt from criticism for disrupting Indigenous socio-economies through FIFO labour. And, indeed, in interviews, industry and government supporters of the diamond mines further pressed this point by comparing FIFO labour with the nomadic seasonal labour patterns of northern Indigenous people and, more specifically, traditional seasonal hunts that would see men separated from their

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[179] For example, the *Communities and Diamonds* report (GNWT 2014) writes, ‘If people who have jobs at a mine are better able to buy trapping equipment, then they may trap more. They may also have more time to trap due to the mine-work rotation schedule’ (27).

families for long stretches of time. As Emma said, 'So we can get too obsessed with two and two [two weeks on/two weeks off]. There was this whole other world of seasonal work, and just, quite frankly, trapping. Guys would be gone for months. That was just part of the seasonal rounds' (Interview 402: 2014). For her, then, given that Indigenous people have a history of travel and separation from kin (largely men leaving for long periods of time), FIFO does not introduce an entirely new dynamic.

For many of the Indigenous women who participated in interviews and talking circles, this suggestion rang false. They saw interdependent, seasonal, communally-driven hunting expeditions as entirely distinct from individualistic hunting trips, for example, scheduled around FIFO work. Research participants noted that FIFO schedules were more likely to disrupt or disallow community-organized seasonal hunting, fishing, and gathering or preparation of goods. For example, when discussing the impact of the diamond mines on subsistence production, Alica said:

> I remember in a meeting with one of the mines once, I forget which one, one of the representatives from the mine made some comment, said, "actually, it's a good thing – the two weeks in, two weeks out – because it represents the traditional way of life where the man goes away to go hunting." I was like, are you serious? It's not how it works.
>
> R: That's funny. I've also heard that.
>
> P: He must have just thrown it out there. It doesn't work like that. I have never heard an Aboriginal person say that, "Oh, this is great. This is totally how it was when my parents grew up" (Interview 119: 2014).

For Alica, the notion that FIFO work was structurally similar to traditional hunts denied the meaning, the relationships, and the *quality* of subsistence production. Traditional hunts and other subsistence activities require that people build their labour and their travel around the needs of the community, and the seasonal imperatives of the land. FIFO, by contrast, imposes a rigidity determined by the schedules of the extractive regime. Similarly, Annie, a Dene woman,

described the FIFO schedule as disruptive of subsistence production, rather than supportive of it. She said, 'I know that people still go out hunting and that. But as I said, there's an absence of a mother or a father. Or the woman has to wait for two or three weeks. If the father's going to go out hunting, they have to wait' (Interview 207: 2014). Angela, a younger Dene woman with many male family members working for the diamond mines, also discussed the ways in which working for the mine detaches people from the tempo and relations of subsistence production. I asked her if her family members who work for the mine (including cousins who work for the mine, all of whom were male) engage in subsistence production. She said:

> I can verify from my family, not so much. Like my brother really enjoys hunting and stuff, but he doesn't go as much as he would want. And he doesn't have children or a girlfriend at this time...And same with my cousins. I don't see them going out on the land as much. Like, one cousin, he was in-between jobs, and when he was in-between, it was maybe a six-month period, and by the end of that six-month period, he was finally at a place where he was being proactive and going out on the land. But I think it just took getting him to a place where he was bored, he had no money to spend. It was survival. It wasn't cultural (Interview 303: 2014).

Angela's last point speaks to the importance of looking to the materiality, and the relations through which subsistence production is performed in order to understand its shifts through time. Indeed, in characterizing her one cousin's subsistence practices as "survival", particularly in a context of a highly unequal mixed economy, Angela's anecdote is a reminder not to romanticize labour perceived as "traditional", but rather to highlight the tensions between subsistence and FIFO wage labour.

Indeed, these personal stories intervene in the assertion by the FIFO diamond-mining regime that subsistence production is not adversely impacted by the diamond mines, and that working in the diamond mines supports subsistence production. However, while the gaps in the suggestion that work in the diamond mines supports subsistence production are clear, the inverse suggestion – that is, that engagement with resource extraction is singularly harmful to

subsistence production – does not paint a full picture of the relationship between departments of production. Abele (2006) reminds us that wages from capitalist production have become necessary for purchasing items like snowmobiles and guns necessary for subsistence in the northern mixed economy. And, as noted above, Indigenous residents of the Sahtu region explained that the households that do well in subsistence production are often the same households that do well in the wage economy (Harnum et al. 2014). Harnum et al. (2014) argue that the sharing of resources within and between households enables families to benefit from 'both the wage economy (used to support subsistence activities) and subsistence activities' (28). Usher et al. (2003) make the same argument: 'The successful harvesting household is often also the successful wage-earning household, as this cash income is used for purchasing harvesting equipment, and especially fast means of transport' (178). It is worth remembering here that Harnum et al. are speaking to a more rural part of the NWT, and Usher et al. are speaking about the circumpolar north, in general. Yellowknife (and to some extent Behchoko, Dettah and Ndilo, due to their geographic proximity to, and their socio-economic linkages with, Yellowknife) hosts a relationship between subsistence production and wage-labour that is distinct from more rural parts of the territory: namely, capitalist production has a stronger presence in the area around Yellowknife relative to smaller communities. In 2014, for example, the average rate of capitalist employment in the NWT was 65.6%, while it was 75.3% in the Yellowknife area (including Dettah and N'dilo). For comparison, the rate was 57.7% in the Sahtu region and 39.4% in the Tlicho region (which includes Behchoko). The Tlicho employment rate speaks to the disparity in employment rates *within* the area in and around Yellowknife: indeed, while the city of Yellowknife's employment rate is 75.7%, Dettah's employment rate is 44.8% and Behchoko's

employment rate is 37.9% (Ndilo's employment rate is not disaggregated from Yellowknife) (GNWT 2016).

Abele (2006), Usher et al. (2003), and Harnum et al. (2014) rightly point to the ways in which wages garnered from capitalist production can support subsistence production, and also to the increased social need for capitalist wages to support subsistence in the context of the mixed economy (that is, that the diamond mines operate through a history of capitalist penetration that has eroded the self-sufficiency of the former total subsistence economy). As such, they encourage nuance in a critique of the diamond-mining regime's impact on subsistence. Their approach is relational, unlike the approach of the diamond mines. However, because the studies by Harnum et al and the study by Usher et al take the household as the unit of analysis, the ways in which the triadic relationship between capitalist production, subsistence production, and social reproduction – and the shifts in the power and orientation of these relationships – are gendered is obscured. It is this gap that I explore in the next section. Drawing on interviews, talking circles, and the focus group, I return to the characteristics of subsistence production highlighted in the first section of this chapter. I argue that a qualitative, relational approach to subsistence demonstrates that the diamond mines are, indeed, exacting pressure on subsistence-oriented relations of production, pressure that falls disproportionately upon the bodies and labours of Indigenous women. Research participants expressed the – sometimes violent – impacts of these pressures, as well as the ways in which they managed to continue to engage in the intergenerational social reproduction of a subsistence orientation.

III. Diamond Mines, Social Reproduction, and Subsistence: A New Orientation?

The past fifty years have seen a number of settler colonial initiatives that marginalized subsistence production, and aimed to restructure social reproduction toward Western norms and

the demands of capital. Nevertheless, northerners have built a thriving mixed economy wherein subsistence production remains a rich, dynamic way of relating to the land and others, and of providing for immediate and long-term social and physiological needs. How, then, in relation to the FIFO diamond-mining regime, have the gradations in orientation between capitalist production and subsistence production changed in the day-to-day and intergenerational social reproduction performed by Indigenous women living in and around Yellowknife? Do the diamond mines represent a movement in orientation away from subsistence and toward capitalist production and, if so, what is the racialized and gendered quality of this shift? What does resistance to this shift look like? Returning to the characteristics of subsistence outlined in section two, that is, community-level sharing, and intergenerational education through subsistence practice, under the FIFO diamond-mining regime, these characteristics are sites of racialized and gendered, and, sometimes violent, rupture and resistance. The tight community and familial relations inherent to a subsistence orientation, and opportunities for intergenerational subsistence education, are being undermined by the FIFO diamond-mining regime. At the same time, Indigenous women use these relations and educative opportunities as sites of resistance to the pressures of capital in the form of the FIFO diamond-mining regime.

I contend that research participants' experiences of rupture and resistance are set against the backdrop of the racialized tension between place-based subsistence and time-based capital accumulation, intensified under the FIFO diamond-mining regime. The tension between time and place discussed in this dissertation is more than a theoretical expression: research participants often expressed it as a pressing and painful concern. Annie, a Dene woman and community leader and worker, compared longstanding commitment to past and future generations[180] – an

[180] Indigenous ontologies link present generations on the earth to the generations that precede them, and the generations that will follow them. In some Indigenous communities in North America, people are asked to think

ethic, and way of being that she connected to her community and culture and held as primary – to the temporariness of the diamond mines; and, in particular, to the environmental destruction of the mines, which she perceived as being conducted with limited forethought for immediate profit. Annie described the diamonds simply as "rocks", devoid of nutrients, and mourned the displacement of caribou (the primary traditional food source for the Dene) and the rupture in familial relationships for the sake of this empty signifier. Annie said:

> I know the diamond mines, they say the water's good. They say. But I know that they use up a lot of water. And seeing the hole where they dig and dig. And all for a piece of rock. It's just a piece of rock. You're not going to eat a rock. It's not going to feed you. At least the land is there to have caribou, wildlife to be fed on.
>
> I know they say they need money to function, to work. But, you know, it's our land. I remember the elders used to say, long ago, the elders used to say that the people from the south will come and start bothering you. And, exactly. It's happening. They're going to bother you about your land. They always have a media person who will say the water's good, bla bla bla. It's just, you really have to, the people who are in positions of power, like if you think of your young generation down in the future, and to stand up for them….
>
> You have a table, you have a chair. You can replace that. But not human beings. When you have a relationship with your wife or husband and your children, it's very hard to replace that. You know, I hope somebody's listening to me. They can replace a lamp, their wood or that. And diamond mines, it's just a piece of stone. I think as human beings, we're really worth it to each other. And important. You cannot replace that (Interview 207: 2014).

In comparing temporary material goods with longstanding human and land-based relationships, Annie illustrated the ways in which the temporary FIFO diamond-mining regime undermines the place-based orientation towards people and land. Angus, like Annie, articulated the tension between the fixity of place-based social relations, and the inherent temporariness, or detachability, of the diamond-mining regime's investment in the NWT as an extractive site. He said:

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through their actions as they relate to the lives and lessons learned in the previous seven generations, and in the ways their actions will impact the next seven generations.

> And the past presidents of BHP and Diavik, they came and they shook hands and looked pretty and made promises. And where are they now? They're probably somewhere in a big house and, you know, your backyard is not our backyard. This is our backyard. So industry can come and say this or say that, but are they going to keep their promises? Where are the people who are actually the managers at the time? They're not here anymore (Talking Circle One: 2014).

For Annie and Angus, their relationship to the region calls for a multi-generational approach to the ways in which the diamond mines are impacting the social reproduction of their communities, and the place-based meaning of the rupture caused by the FIFO diamond mines. The ways in which materiality and ideology, and past, present, and future are woven together in these insights is a reminder of the simultaneity of ontological and material struggle at play between Indigenous approaches and capitalist extractive approaches to land and production.

Like many research participants, for Annie and Angus, it is not the simple presence of capitalist production in the form of diamond mining that is of concern. Capitalist production has become part of the fabric of the northern mixed economy, and, in its general form, it is neither new, nor, for many research participants, unwelcome. Rather, it is the particular form of diamond mining – the intensity of its temporal imperative – and its impact on Indigenous social relations that was of concern for many research participants. For example, Sarah, a Dene woman living in a smaller community, remembered promises made in the 1990s that were not honoured. Echoing Angus's critique, she said, 'But this president, in the mid-nineties, with BHP Diavik, they're gone now. They're not living here anymore. Where are they living? They were hired, they were paid good money to influence the people, look good, shake hands, and now they're gone' (Talking Circle One: 2014). A number of participants compared this lack of attachment to the land – and therefore, a lack of consequences for destruction or disruption – to their own rootedness. Elsie, another Dene woman participating in the talking circle emphasized the violence of this tension, saying, 'and once the company and the business is gone, the negative

impact falls and falls hard. And you see suicides. You see family break-up. You see communities empty out, and then what do you fall back on' (Talking Circle One: 2014).

While research participants noted how useful the income of the diamond mines could be for general household expenses, unlike the findings of Harnum et al.'s (2014) research in the Sahtu, most expressed concern for the ways in which the mines were moving relations of production away from a subsistence orientation and toward capitalist production. Certainly, the urban location of this research as compared to the Sahtu likely accounts for some of the divergence in findings. However, it is also worth considering that the FPE approach of this project elevates the impact of extraction on subsistence by focusing on women's stories rather than men's, and thereby counteracting dominant narratives that draw upon individual men's subsistence activities as a marker of the health of the subsistence economy.[181] Indeed, the abrupt and intense impact of the FIFO diamond-mining regime on a subsistence orientation is a structural violence on relationships and intergenerational education that manifests on the land and the body. This is a violence that – due to the tendencies for the FIFO diamond-mining regime to introduce, or, in some instances, intensify, Western male-breadwinner relations in households, and in the context of long histories of gendered settler colonial violence – is experienced most severely by Indigenous women. At the same time, this is a structural violence that is met with both resilience and resistance, as demonstrated in the discussion of the social reproduction of community and kin networks and intergenerational education through subsistence, and through a discussion of the relationship between the land and the body.

[181] I am not critiquing the Harnum et al (2014) research for taking an individualized approach; indeed, the opposite is true. I am simply noting the possibility that, as in much research on northern subsistence, by not taking an explicitly gendered approach, men's narratives of labour were emphasized at the expense of women's unique insight into the relationship between subsistence and extraction.

a) Sharing, community and kin

Inter-household relations are the primary site of community-level activities sustaining a subsistence orientation. Research participants noted that sharing relationships across households were impacted by the absence of community members due to mine employment and, more significantly, by new inequalities within communities. They described inequalities between mining and non-mining households as both material (for example, a household with a big truck and many "toys", like a boat or snowmobile, compared with households in communities that were struggling to meet their daily needs), and in terms of who shoulders what community labours and responsibilities. However, through the Canadian State's persistent attempts to restructure Indigenous processes of social reproduction away from subsistence, and the pressure to do the same imposed by the FIFO diamond-mining regime, kin and community networks have remained a powerful space of social reproduction for many research participants. In interviews, Indigenous women consistently described the ways in which their extended kin and community networks worked together in times of strain, and made it possible to pursue their desired goals. Indeed, kin networks create an important space of resilience and strength through processes separating subsistence from social reproduction. Sharing can refer to the sharing of material resources or labour, and research participants most frequently described the ways in which their extended family had provided much-needed labour to fill in gaps created by the demands of the FIFO diamond-mining regime. Research participants identified grandparents, in particular, as people who had taken up significant caregiving roles since the diamond mines started. I asked Alica about the role that extended families take in childcare. She said that, in her experience, extended families have taken on major roles in the care of children while parents have worked at the diamond mines. She offered the following assessment:

> I think it goes both ways. Because, you know, obviously, when you're young, those strong family ties. But also a lot of strain on resources for family members. Like grandparents, for instance, I think are being asked to play a really significant role for a lot longer. Really play the role of raising the children. It's hard to say, but with my sister, for instance, the two weeks that her boyfriend was gone [at the diamond mine], she was working and we had to help her. So, for instance, she worked at the [place of work] and she had to be at work at 5:30. So she would drop off the kids every morning at 5 in the morning to my dad. And a lot of days we'd have to pick them up at school when she was working. So it really impacted her ability to work, not having that second person (Interview 119: 2014).

These networks are not only sources of material support, but also emotional support. They distinguish the experience of many local Indigenous women from the experience of partners of mine workers who moved from elsewhere to the NWT. For example, Christina, an immigrant from Eastern Africa whose husband worked in the diamond mines described feelings of extreme isolation when she moved up to Yellowknife following her husband's employment. For Christina, the experience of her husband's two-week departures to the mine were magnified by language barriers, and the work it takes to build a new community. At the time of the interview, Christina indicated that she was building relationships with the immigrant community of Yellowknife. Yet her story and her particular challenges were a reminder of the implications of the very distinct social locations and geographic histories of the women in the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife. Indeed, as one community worker noted (Interview 303: 2014), the struggles of socially reproducing Indigenous communities in the mixed economy – while challenging and sometimes violent – are at least acknowledged, while the challenges of the social reproduction of other minority communities remain, for the most part, unaddressed.[182]

In contrast, Indigenous women who were linked to local kin and community networks spoke of the strength and happiness that came out of these social spaces, and the ways in which they drew upon kin and community supports to manage the added responsibilities and loneliness

[182] This is a gap in this dissertation that I aim to address in future research.

they experienced while their partner was at the mine (recalling, here, the stories of Doris and Rose and their extended communities in chapter four). It is important to note here that the "resilience" of particular populations is sometimes deployed as a depoliticized justification for social restructuring.[183] Conversely, I use the term to point to the strength of these communities and the persistence of their unique social formations, not to diminish the difficulty, the burden, and the violence that has accompanied the restructuring of departments of production.

Resilience, however, should not be confused with resistance. Resistance to capitalist restructuring, too, was demonstrated through sharing labour and resources in community and kin networks; specifically, through research participants describing ways in which they privileged the social reproduction of their community and kin networks over the demands of capital. In the context of a mixed economy wherein there is an ongoing struggle between capitalist, state-sanctioned modes of social reproduction, and place-based, Indigenous modes of social reproduction, extended networks of intimacy and care are a space to support and nurture the latter outside of the confines of the former. Just as the women I interviewed described extended networks as a source of joy, stability, and strength, they also described these networks as a space of responsibility and labour – labour that often conflicted with roles they might hold in wage-labour, most notably, their work in the diamond mines. In interviews, it was just as common for women who had worked at the diamond mines to describe their community and kin-level work as conflicting with their work at the diamond mines as it was for them to discuss labour involving their own children. Prioritizing these relationships over wage-labour included not only day-to-day social reproduction, but also community-level labour required in times of crisis.

[183] That is, through a social capital lens, "resilience" can be used as a rhetorical to download supportive and health responsibilities to a community. However, "resilience" is also used by northern and Indigenous scholars to point to the existing strengths of Indigenous communities (Irlbacher-Fox 2009).

In the Yellowknife region, social reproduction commitments towards extended kin and community are tied up in an orientation away from the demands of capital, and towards the daily and intergenerational social reproduction of Indigenous community social relations. By making the intergenerational social reproduction of their communities primary, Indigenous women in and around Yellowknife – in their relationships and their labour – are challenging the totality of capital, fostering a continuity of a subsistence orientation that values place-based practices of care and intimate relations to people and places over the atomized separateness so conducive to the neoliberal extractive order. However, while it is important to celebrate the decolonizing strength of sharing community and kin networks, my aim is neither to romanticize these labours and responsibilities, nor to diminish the difficult and sometimes constraining roles Indigenous women take up within these networks. Recall Iris's discussion in chapter three of her difficulty retaining a job at the mine because of her responsibilities to her extended kin networks. Iris described her extended kin and community as her central responsibility. She saw these relationships as a source of strength, but also noted the ways in which her heavy responsibilities have made life more difficult for her. While certainly Indigenous women's orientation towards the social reproduction of their kin and community is an act of resistance to the totalizing impulses of capital and the Canadian State, simultaneously and contradictorily, their labour is structured through patriarchal capitalist male-breadwinner ideologies and materialities (imposed by the Canadian State and intensified by the FIFO diamond-mining regime), which make women responsible for unpaid and, often, invisibilized or devalued labour outside of the site of capitalist production. Thus, while community and kin networks are a site of resilience to and resistance from the drive to feminize and make social reproduction nuclear, discussed in chapter four, these

networks are not exempt themselves exempt from these processes of restructuring. As Hilary, a community worker, said:

> The expectation is that if anything tough happens in the community, that the women have to be there. Like, if there's a sick parent or an older person, the men in the community are really not expected to take on the extra roles. Women need to take them on. So that makes it really difficult for women [to work for the diamond mines] (Interview 201: 2014).

As a result of the diamond mines, newly intensified gender inequality in kin and community responsibilities is coupled with new inequality between households. Research participants identified new inter-household inequalities as a barrier to community sharing. For example, some research participants discussed the pressures and resentments mine workers feel from community members. Alica, who had worked at a diamond mine, described a fellow Indigenous co-worker's experience in this way:

> So when he started working there [at the mine] – and he also had a really hard time taking the job for the same reasons I did, he felt like a traitor, but he's worked there since they opened – his family started to have money. So they started to buy nice things, like skidoos and trucks. Because they could afford to. But he found there was a lot of jealousy in the community, so he stopped. It caused a lot of jealousy between the haves and the have-nots (Interview 119: 2014)

While mine workers often have more financial resources than non-mine workers, they are less available to take part in community activities and labours (Interview 207, 303: 2014). Because the majority of mine workers are men, this exacerbates community and familial tendencies to expect women to undertake community labours. At the same time, as noted in chapter four, mine workers are targeted for major loans and purchases, like mortgages for homes. These financial commitments further draw their individual and/or household labour and resources toward the imperatives of capital and away from a subsistence orientation.

b) Subsistence and education

Intergenerational education is integrated into subsistence production in Indigenous communities in the region of study. Research participants described experiences as teachers and learners as deeply meaningful, in terms of developing identity, relationships, and their knowledge and skills. However, research participants also indicated that intergenerational ties have been damaged by the toll taken through the decades of restructuring social reproduction discussed in chapters two and four. For example, in a talking circle, Elsie spoke of the generational gap in learning as a result of residential school. She said,

> I don't know my language. I don't know how to hunt and trap or live off the land. My children went to school in the Beaufort Delta to learn their language. To learn what people do on the land and everything. I grew up in a residential school (Talking Circle One: 2014).

Debbie, a Métis woman participating in the same talking circle, described the impact of these restructuring processes on community education, saying, 'there were teachers in our community that helped the other ones. That's gone now. I don't know why. But more and more we're losing our traditional teachers who can prepare the other ones to be healthy' (Talking Circle One: 2014).

Largely as the result of the structural violence of residential schools, Indigenous communities are faced with the challenge of simultaneously mending intergenerational ties and relying on these ties to transmit knowledge and build wellbeing, thereby sustaining their communities across generations. In the face of this challenge, a number of research participants expressed concern about the diamond mine work separating young people from opportunities to participate in subsistence production, and, in this way, learn from older generations. Angela described the challenge her family members face in this regard:

> I look at my uncles that live in Rae [Behchoko] and they're very strong with their traditions. They're hunters, they're fishers, they're gatherers. And they really invest their time. But their sons, my cousins, they don't have that. Because when they come home

> [from the mines], they've missed out on so much with their family life and social life that they don't want to go hunting. And they're like, whatever, my dad did it or my uncle did it, so I don't have to worry about it.
>
> So I feel like there's going to be this huge gap. Whereas my cousins' kids are still going out with uncles and grandparents to do that. But for how long? And I can see it. A lot of my cousins, as soon as they're done work, they go home, if they're not fleeing…it's like, let's go to Yellowknife. Let's shop. I see a lot of my cousins, as soon as they get home, they feel like maybe the money will make some happiness in their home. Where there's a lot of items that, if they were to be living amongst their family, or working and living amongst their family side by side, they wouldn't go and spend that much money (Interview 303: 2014).

For Angela, work in the diamond mines separated her family members from subsistence education. Her insight speaks not just to the geographic separation and the time away, but also to the new ideologies and material imperatives that accompany the work.

Indeed, a number of research participants discussed the incentives to direct one's education or training towards the needs of the FIFO diamond mines. The concerns were not just that diamond-mining work would keep young people away from subsistence education, but also that diamond mining work would keep young people away from non-extractive related schooling and experiences. Elsie worried that adolescents would say, 'Why do we bother going to school when we could make all this money?' (Talking Circle One: 2014). For Amy, a recent graduate from high school in Yellowknife, the concern was less that students would not finish high school, but more that they would be convinced to orient their post-secondary education and work experience toward the needs of the diamond mines. Discussing her last year of high school, Amy listed job fairs, co-ops, and substantial scholarships as ways that the students were incentivized to consider the mining industry. She said:

> People are shoving things down your throat and the one that they shove the hardest is diamond mines. And come back to the north. And the way that they see that being achieved is these sciences. And if you're not willing or not able to get a job in, you know, an academic field, do the university route, they really push the skilled trades (Interview 104: 2014).

Amy's experience echoes Little's (2007) argument that masculinized mine labour is consistently valued higher than feminized social and health labour in the area around Yellowknife (31). While it is beyond the scope of this project to analyze the rich discursive field of northern education and training programs, I include this discussion as evidence of the struggle between capitalist and subsistence imperatives at multiple sites of intergenerational social reproduction. The gendered implications of the focus on diamond mining at the expense of other feminized forms of capitalist production is a reminder that, in the mixed economy, not all capitalist production is equal, nor is it equally gendered or similarly related to Indigenous social relations. Indeed, the devaluation of feminized work in relation to the diamond mines cuts across capitalist production, subsistence production, and social reproduction; an important continuity, given that all of the Indigenous women interviewed for this project engage in all three departments of production.

However, at the same time, the pressures of the diamond mine on intergenerational education are challenged at multiple sites through decolonizing processes of intergenerational knowledge transmission, from the incorporation of traditional knowledge into formal education (as discussed in chapter four), to informal kin and community networks, and to knowledge transmission at the mines themselves (Interview 101: 2014). Indeed, just as Kakfwi (1977) noted that, in bringing Indigenous people together under the same roof, residential schools – for all their colonial violence – unintentionally also proved to be a site of building pan-NWT Indigenous resistance, a number of research participants described the ways in which mine workers used the mine site as a space of knowledge transmission. For example, as Nahanni writes (1992), in Dene tradition, language is considered fundamental to intergenerational learning and the protection of knowledge. Beth described the importance of the Tlicho language

(Dogrib) in her own family, and proudly explained that her husband had found a group of men with whom to speak Dogrib at the mine camp. Iris, for her part, discussed collecting herbs and plants at the mine site, and spoke of the importance of finding good Inuit leaders at camp (Interview 101: 2014).

Outside of the mine site, Indigenous women discussed multiple strategies for protecting and pursuing Indigenous intergenerational education. In chapter four, I shared Liza's experience of joining a group of Indigenous women who gathered plants and taught one another traditional medicines. Liza's experience is a particularly telling story of knowledge transmission and decolonizing resistance, as she is not originally from the NWT, and, in fact, left her home Indigenous community in another part of Canada because she and her husband were having trouble finding work, and they were told he could get a job at the diamond mines. For Liza, finding a group of Indigenous women who were committed to using and sharing their traditional knowledge was a source of strength and joy at a time of change and loneliness (Interview 207: 2014). Tory, whose story was also shared in chapter four, was one of the younger women who participated in traditional activities with Liza and her friends. Like Liza and Doris, Tory has used the relationships and the knowledge shared by older members of her kin and community to find strength against the racial and gender violence she has experienced, and to find ways of making a living outside of the diamond-mining regime (Interview 116: 2014).

c) The land and the body

Given the importance of place and Indigenous relations to the land in the Yellowknife region – and the central role of land in subsistence materially and ideologically –the relationship between the land and the body represents a third site of restructuring and resistance under the FIFO diamond-mining regime. Across interviews and talking circles, discussion of the relationship

between the diamond mines and subsistence was grounded in an attention to the links between the land and the body, expressed through concerns both embodied and structural. Indeed, violence to the land is tied up with both an immediate violence done to the health and wellbeing of living bodies, and a structural violence to a subsistence orientation. In Annie's critique of the diamond mines, above, and her concern both for the land and for future generations, she expressed the environmental impact of the diamond mines through an Indigenous ontology of place 'as a way of knowing, experiencing, and relating to the world' (Coulthard 2010: 79). Similarly, when I asked questions in interviews and talking circles about the diamond mines – as sites of physical displacement and environmental destruction – many Indigenous women began their response with a discussion of their children, responses influenced by broad concerns about the ways in which resource extraction will impact future generations, but also driven by contemporary material proximities between day-to-day and intergenerational social reproduction and the land. A number of women brought up concerns for the caribou, traditional meat for the Dene, and their shifting migration patterns and depleting numbers, as a result of the mines. Sarah put it this way:

> The diamond mines also changed the caribou migration. And because they changed the caribou migration, the caribou don't go as far as they used to. They don't go where they used to because their habitat is being taken over. Their numbers are obviously decreasing. And so that is impacting my family, my community, my culture. Where a lot of us don't have access to caribou, our traditional meat. My daughter, who's now 21, she just found out she's diabetic. She's borderline diabetic. She's not obese, she exercises a lot, and when we found that out, we were surprised.[184] We said, how could that be? But that's because our food and our cultural way of living has changed. Our food has changed. Our diet has changed. So, she has to eat a strict diet now and that's just how it is (Talking Circle One: 2014).

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[184] It speaks, I would argue, at least in part, to the intensity of the disciplining, blaming, and surveilling of Indigenous bodies and health that Sarah felt the need to explain that her daughter's diabetes was not the result of obesity (which is often read as the consequences of poor individual choices, particularly upon Indigenous bodies).

Sarah's concern articulates a relational approach to the land: rather than environmental destruction being an *object* of concern – something separate or alienable – she links caribou herd disruption with the health of her daughter, an expression of place-based interdependence. Debbie held the same concern, and told this story of resistance, which got a good laugh from the group:

> And I no longer have a food source [as a result of the diamond mines]. I remember one time we were out hunting and we used the [mine] road. We were grateful for the road. But right in front of us, a group of hunters that went out and, honest to god, it was just like Vietnam. Boom, boom, boom, boom, boom. And this whole herd of caribou was hunted, slaughtered. And this group of hunters was standing around, not knowing what to do now. Because they'd never hunted before. But they see an animal and they kill it. So my husband jumped out and showed them how to harvest the animal. And he took all the delicacies, and said, 'oh, this part's no good.' [laughs] So we benefited, thankfully. But, you know, lots of times we went out on that road and people aren't even seeing caribou anymore (Talking Circle One: 2014).

Although Western-style environmental assessments (diamond-industry sanctioned and not) characterize the diamond mines as relatively clean,[185] – noting, of course, that the bar for "clean" extraction is incredibly low, given that the diamond mines are being compared to a century of extractive projects that dumped contaminants into the sub-Arctic and Arctic land with little to no thought of remediation[186] – for research participants, the displacement of animals and the unknown levels of damage to the earth were major environmental concerns. For these Dene, Métis and Inuit women, the health of the land is directly related to the health and wellbeing of the people, in the material sense of traditional food sources and also in emotive, interpersonal and cultural ways (recall, here, the porous body that shapes and is shaped by the social relations it inhabits, which include the land). As noted in chapter one, Alica, whose grandfather's trap line

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185 For example, when asked about the impacts of the diamond mines, Adam, a local non-Indigenous environmental researcher said, 'So, diamond mines aren't actually so bad. Because it's really compact. Yeah, you're not affecting a big area. The biggest impacts are fuel use... The diamond mines are actually better than the gold mines. It's hard rock, so there's a bit of acid drainage, but it doesn't have the impacts from cyanide and some of the more [dangerous chemicals], like arsenic' (Interview 203: 2014).

186 And any characterization of the diamonds as "clean" denies major acts of physical displacement and environmental destruction.

once ran through the land where a diamond pit now lies, explained that she was physically ill when she visited the diamond mines (Interview 119: 2014). A number of research participants discussed the meaning their traditional land held for them, and the role land plays in intergenerational social reproduction. When I asked Shayna, a young Indigenous woman living in Yellowknife, about bringing her child to visit family in small communities, she related spiritual, emotional, and interpersonal health with visiting the land to which her family is connected. She said:

> With the land, you hear Aboriginal people, and for me, talking about our relationship with the land. I feel like it's something that I'm not even fully aware of. My soul, unconscious, my body, anytime I go see my aunty and my uncle at their camp or do any kind of cultural activities, my connection to the land, it's not even something that's in my mind, like the forefront of my mind. It's just such a release there (Interview 2014).

The relationship between land, subsistence, and the social reproduction of Indigenous communities is a thread that tightly winds between different times on this place. Indigenous communities, particularly the Yellowknives Dene, have not forgotten the devastating environmental impact of the gold mines, the illness and death in their community as a result of the arsenic left by the gold mines. And, indeed, as Indigenous people engage in the mixed economy, the arsenic deposits in the land upon which they labour, though literally frozen in permafrost and metaphorically frozen in a politics of silence,[187] continue to pose a threat to the health of the people, land, and animals. Reflecting on this history, a number of research participants brought up the environmental destruction of extraction in relation to their concerns about cancer. For example, Beth linked her concern for the caribou herds with her observations of cancer rates in her own community, and in Indigenous communities across the country. She said:

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[187] The remediation of Giant Mine is an ongoing site of contention; while mining and government officials insist that Yellowknife and the surrounding communities are safe from the arsenic deposits, Indigenous and environmental groups continue to struggle for better protections and oversight over the project (Shadow of a Giant 2014).

> For me, I don't really like the idea of the mines being out here. Like, I love our land. I love our water. I just feel like I don't want them here. I don't care how much money and jobs it brings for our community. I just don't like the fact that they may be contaminating our land, our water and our animals. Because we still live off of our traditional foods. I'm afraid that, even though they do monitoring and testing and things like that, down the road we may find that some of the animals are contaminated and maybe that it will possibly lead to some of the reasons that people are dying from cancer. We've lost a lot of people to cancer. And they're still finding people with cancer and that really scares me. And I'm not really happy with the mining companies being here…I love my traditional food. But I'm just also scared. I don't want it to be contaminated (Interview 107: 2014).

The relational expressions of the land by research participants stimulate an analysis of the ways in which the corporeal fits into the structural. Sarah's daughter's diabetes, which she attributes to the loss of her traditional food source; Alica's pain at the destruction of her family's traditional trap line; and Beth's concern for cancer; these articulations transcend the distinction between structural violence and embodied violence. Furthermore, all of these concerns are tied to the intergenerational social reproduction of Indigenous communities: a grounding of past, present and future in place. These violent relations are obscured by both government and industry approaches to the land. Specifically, government and industry reporting separates environmental impact of the diamond mines from the social impact of the diamond mines (Caine and Krogman 2010: 78), an act of settler erasure of the *social* relation to the land.

The embodied and structural extractive violence to the land is accompanied by Indigenous women's experiences of physical and interpersonal violence. Chapter four discussed the relationship between intimate partner violence and shifts in day-to-day social reproduction, violence in the community as a result of increased drugs and alcohol, and what was characterized as an informal sex industry (Interview 2014: 202), linked to increased rates of homelessness, increased disposable incomes, and increased gender inequalities.[188] My purpose here is not to

[188] Researchers in Canada and in Central and South America have noted the links between resource extraction and sex work (see, for example, Amnesty International 2016). It is beyond the scope of this research to discuss sex work

argue that there is necessarily a quantitative causative relationship between the development of the diamond mines and rates of violence against Indigenous women, nor to position Indigenous women as "victims" of the diamond mines. Rather, in linking embodied and structural experiences of violence, I am aiming to denaturalize violence against Indigenous women by situating violence as an aspect of de/colonizing struggle in the shifting mixed economy.

In the region of study, anti-violence organizing is a key site of Indigenous and non-Indigenous women's resistance, and a focus of many of the region's social services. The Native Women's Association of the NWT is a leading voice condemning violence. Grassroots women's organizations – Indigenous and not – continue to organize around different forms of violence, producing an impressive diversity and level of advocacy and support, given the size of the population. While some organizations focus primarily on service provision, others are explicitly linked to the protection of a subsistence orientation, as demonstrated by the NWT Idle No More movement (Simpson and Boulanger 2014:316). This organizing work is powerful and provides great hope. However, the focus of this dissertation has been to elevate the ways in which the day-to-day labours of Indigenous women have both been restructured and also resist the totality of capital by sustaining a subsistence orientation. Capitalism, in the abstract, has a totalizing impulse; concretely, the diamond-mining regime, and its new FIFO structure, combined with its targeting of Indigenous workers, has brought new pressures upon the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife. These pressures have, to some degree, resulted in the restructuring of social reproduction and subsistence. However, in the face of the pressures, research participants exemplified the day-to-day labours oriented neither towards the demands of the Canadian State

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in detail, and no questions were asked about sex work in interviews, talking circles or focus groups. However, many research participants raised concerns about informal sex work at the mine site and in communities and its relationship to gender violence and women's material insecurity (for example, sex work performed in exchange for a place to sleep, or sex work exchanged for alcohol and drugs).

nor the imperatives of capital, but towards the social reproduction of their community. Just as much as large-scale battles for land, the often intertwined daily labours of social reproduction and subsistence – women showing their daughters and nieces the plants that are medicine, teaching children the hunting paths of their ancestors, fishing, cooking, sewing, and drying meat –at once intimate and transgressive, sustain the distinct ways of being and knowing of the northern mixed economy.

Conclusion

There is a fluidity in the ways in which northern Indigenous women expressed their relationships to the land, their relationships to their children and loved ones, the systems of meaning that threaded through all of these relationships, and the violence they experienced structurally and corporeally. Among research participants, concerns and experiences related to social reproduction, subsistence, and the land were not articulated discretely. Participants articulated the ways in which subsistence has been impacted by the diamond mines in narratives weaving together experiences of interpersonal violence, and shifts in social relations at community, household and interpersonal levels.

Taken together, chapters four and five have elevated Indigenous women's labour – subsistence and social reproduction – as a site of colonizing and decolonizing struggle, of violence and creative resistance. In discussing experiences of structural and embodied violence, I have aimed not to reduce the complex regional political economy in and around Yellowknife, or the creative labours enacted by Dene, Métis, and Inuit women to systems of, and responses to, violence. Rather, I have aimed to move beyond an intuitive linking between capitalist colonial restructuring and embodied violence toward a systematized discussion of the ways in which specific processes of restructuring social relations – specifically, the restructuring by the FIFO

diamond-mining regime – contribute to gender and racialized violence in the settler colonial context. By way of the concluding chapter, I therefore ask: what is specific and what is generalizable about the relationship between structural and embodied violence in the Yellowknife region, and, in taking up such forms of violence as historical material practice (rather than acts that are, alternately, natural, individual, or inexplicable), what is to be done?

Conclusion

'Speaking as a grandmother myself, diamonds, first it's oil, now it's diamond mines. I think of the damage that's being done to our sacred ground. We're lucky to be able to sit here today and have some choices, but when I think of the future generations, our great-grandchildren and their future generations, are they going to be able to have clear water? Even the fish and all the environmental hazards that are related to diamond mining. Water is becoming a commodity. So I really fear for the lives yet to come for our future generations. I always think about the long-term effects of what they're doing to our sacred ground.

And someday we should be able to realize that money cannot be eaten. Because in the long run, money's not going to mean nothing. For them to be able to sustain and be able to live off what we have left in our land, for me, I find it so shocking that we use these as a fast way to get what we want here. And don't really think about the long run, about the future generations, about our children and grandchildren' (Talking Circle One: 2014).

Introduction

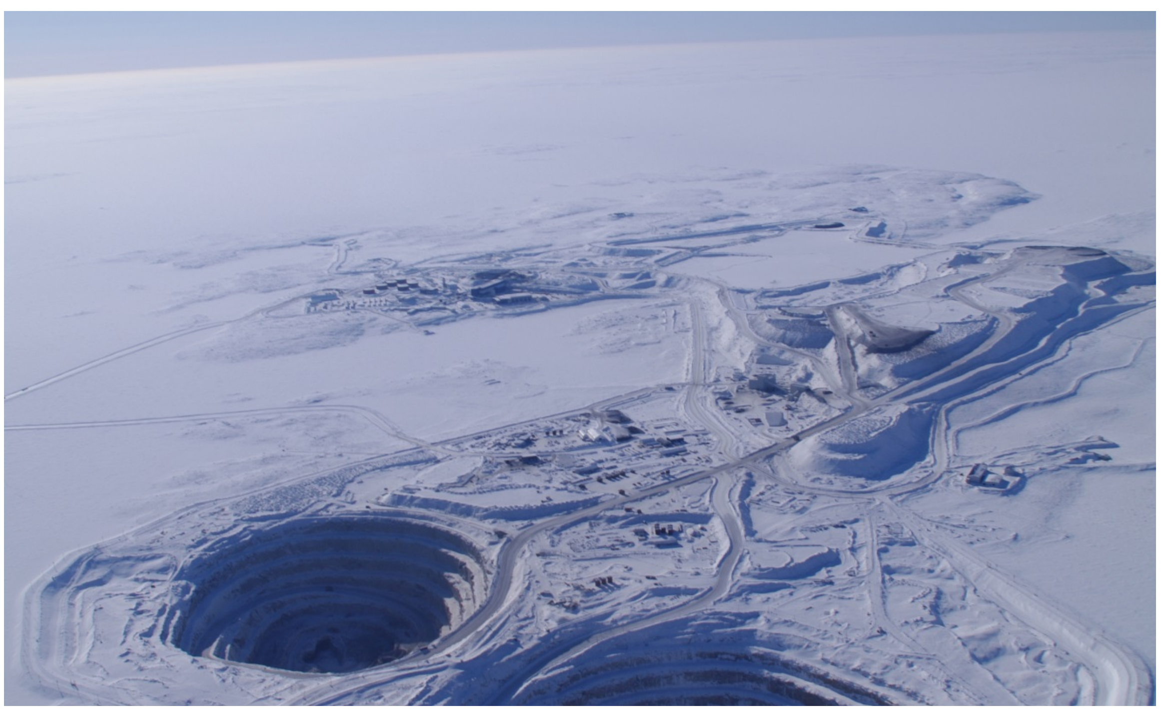

Image 3: Ekati open-pit diamond mine (Getty Images Stock Photo).

Ekati, Dominion, and Gatcho Kue diamond mines are some of the largest open-pit mines in the world, carving gaping holes into the Arctic land. The heavy equipment used to operate the mines looks as though it was imported from a land of giants, as it displaces raw materials on an

otherworldly scale. These processes of geological displacement – imposing as they are – operate on a scale that can obscure the day-to-day forms of *social* rupture upon which the diamond mines rely. It is the gendered processes of rupture – of human displacement and restructuring – of the racialized social relations of the Yellowknife region and its violent attributes that have been the subject of this dissertation.

My aim has been to conduct a decolonizing FPE analysis of the ways in which the violent shifts in departments of production instituted through the FIFO diamond-mining regime play out on the lives, labour, and bodies of Indigenous women living in and around Yellowknife, and to look to the insights that studying these relations offer to FPE theories of gender violence. In deploying an expanded conception of production as my analytical framework, I approached capitalist production, social reproduction, and subsistence as departments of production at the same level of analysis within the mixed economy of the Yellowknife region. My analysis identified Indigenous women's performance of activities associated with social reproduction as a site of tension between capitalist and subsistence production, and, simultaneously, a site of the decolonizing struggle to maintain and cultivate place-based Indigenous social relations. As such, I asked what processes of social change, what colonial impositions, what creative resistance, and what violence is made evident when social reproduction is placed at the centre of analysis.

I approached the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife as a dynamic set of social relations incorporating both subsistence and capitalist-oriented production, as a social formation that is not fixed, but rather is developed and sustained through decolonizing resistance to the totalizing impulses of capital and the Canadian State. In so doing, I have emphasized the de/colonizing implications of shifts in relations between departments of production, arguing that it is not enough to note that the mixed economy is comprised of three departments of production,

but that we must trace the relations of power between these departments as they play out through the racialized and gendered social relations of the region. In this way, FIFO diamond mining emerges as not just another form of capitalist production, but as a specific regime that has intensified the capitalist emphasis on variable capital, and the racialized and gendered tensions between departments of production.

This project was guided by two initial questions: first, what is the impact of the FIFO diamond-mining regime on social relations in the Yellowknife region? Second, how can violence against Indigenous women living in the region be situated in the context of processes of social restructuring in the mixed economy? By way of conclusion, in what follows, I respond to these questions, synthesizing the insights that have emerged from the preceding chapters, and identifying emerging questions and areas of research. I begin, in section one, by synthesizing the analysis of the three departments of production, and their shifting relations through the advent of the FIFO diamond-mining regime. In section two, I turn to the question of violence, reviewing the insights that emerged in this research, and bringing these insights into conversation with broader theorizations of gender violence.

I. Shifting Relations of Production

a) Capitalist production

Notwithstanding the diversity of the employment landscape in the Yellowknife region, many research participants observed the ubiquity of the impact of resource extraction across time. Jenny put it this way: 'I didn't even want to work for the mines, but I soon learned that it doesn't matter who you work for. You're working for the diamond mines anyway' (Interview 115: 2014). The gold-mining regime introduced a "temporary permanence" for the settlers in the region: the regime established Yellowknife as a mining town, thereby investing in fixed capital,

and settler men took up stable jobs with strong union protections. This model was not to last. Indeed, the shift from the gold-mining regime to the diamond-mining regime was, largely, a temporal one: the presumed settler stability of the gold-mining regime bumped up against a new approach to temporariness, tempo, and place in the form of the diamond mines. The diamond-mining regime followed in contemporary extractive trends (Peck 2013), and took up a FIFO model of development, a model that intensifies the temporariness of resource extraction in its emphasis on variable capital over fixed capital. The diamond-mining regime's emphasis on variable capital was evident both in the FIFO structure itself, and in the regime's neoliberal approach to employment, involving a concentration of short-term contracts and sub-contracting, and a limited union presence.

Unlike the gold-mining regime, the diamond mines are also characterized by their engagement with the northern Indigenous population. While the Canadian State took an activist role in restructuring Indigenous social reproduction and subsistence in the mid twentieth century, the Canadian State and private capital made only limited efforts to integrate local Indigenous people into capitalist production at that time. Conversely, the particular adaptation of the global FIFO trend by the NWT diamond mines has been shaped by the Indigenous movements of the late twentieth century, which won new practices in Indigenous consultation and participation (Bielawski 2003, Gibson 2008, Irlbacher-Fox 2009). The FIFO diamond-mining regime has responded to the socio-political imperative to engage the Indigenous people of the region with an approach oriented toward participation by Indigenous communities as stakeholders, if lacking in responsibility to Indigenous people and their distinct histories and relations with the land. Indeed, the diamond-mining regime approach to Indigeneity is a contradiction: northern Indigenous people have been approached as "stakeholders" because of an acknowledged

relationship to the land; however, this acknowledgment denies the antithetical relationship between Indigenous ontologies and the imperatives of extraction, or between a place-based subsistence orientation and time-based extraction. Rather, the FIFO diamond-mining regime has approached Indigenous people primarily as an identity category to be targeted for employment and sub-contracting, externalizing the contradictions between the diamond-mining regime and social reproduction and subsistence, discussed below. Thus, while I suggest that the agreements made between the diamond mines and the Territory (i.e., SEAs) and the diamond mines and the Indigenous communities (i.e., IBAs) are attempts to rhetorically resolve the tension between extraction and Indigeneity – as a racialized subjectivity marked by a relationship to place – I argue ultimately that the FIFO diamond-mining regime depends upon a de-materialized interpretation of Indigeneity in order to obscure extraction as a site of contradiction between fixity and temporariness, particularly temporariness as embodied in the mobility of human labour as variable capital.

Furthermore, like other FIFO models, the diamond-mining extractive regime is structured through a settler ideology that masculinizes capitalist production, feminizes and naturalizes social reproduction, and obscures subsistence altogether. This structure places obstacles before women's full participation in wage labour at the mines (as a result of women being made responsible for social reproduction), and creates a labour hierarchy at the mine site, wherein mostly Indigenous women perform on-site labour for the daily maintenance of mineworkers in the context of a hyper-masculine work environment. Thus, Indigenous women's participation and non-participation in the diamond-mining regime is located at the racialized and gendered interface between departments of production, which sometimes manifests in experiences of embodied violence at the mine site, and in their home communities.

In sum, while in some ways, the FIFO diamond-mining regime represents a continuity of settler-driven resource extraction in the area around Yellowknife, its FIFO tempo, and its new approach to Indigeneity has imposed particular – and particularly intense – pressures upon Indigenous women's social reproduction and subsistence.

b) Social reproduction

I have approached social reproduction as a site of tension in relation to both capitalist and subsistence-oriented relations of production in the Yellowknife mixed economy. Like other racialized women in Canada (Thobani 2007), Indigenous women have been targeted by state surveillance and restructuring of their day-to-day and intergenerational social reproduction. Indeed, during the time of so-called separate capitalist development in the region of study (the gold mining era), the Canadian State took an activist role in restructuring social reproduction activities performed by Indigenous women. Furthering twentieth century Canadian State interventions cumulatively imposing a patriarchal nuclear family structure, including residential schools and the high rates of State apprehension of Indigenous children that followed, the imperatives of the FIFO diamond-mining regime have augmented pressures toward a male-breadwinner/female-caregiver nuclear model. Indeed, research participants emphasized the proximity between the mid-twentieth century efforts of the Canadian State that targeted social reproduction and the contemporary demands on social reproduction made by the FIFO diamond-mining regime. Martha discussed the proximity of these two processes of rupture at the site of social reproduction, saying:

> When you look at a population that's been so dedicated to preserving a natural environment for so long, and then everything gets shaken up. And then as we're all trying to reconnect with it, and it's like, residential schools are closed as of, like, twenty minutes ago. Now we have diamond mines. And I think it's just a lot of really big shocks (Interview 202: 2014).

These narratives support the finding that the former (State-driven) ruptures facilitated the latter (mining-driven) ruptures.

Thus, while the diamond mines did not newly introduce a male-breadwinner/female-caregiver model to the region, the FIFO structure and the expanded participation of Indigenous people in the extractive regime has resulted in a newly intensified pressure. FIFO is a spatial articulation of the separation of capitalist production from social reproduction; a separation that is antithetical to subsistence-oriented relations in the mixed economy, wherein productive and un-productive (in the capitalist sense) and masculinized and feminized labour can be oriented towards the same goals of meeting the daily and intergenerational social needs of household and community. The capitalist spatial and ideological requirement for adhering to the separation between capitalist production and social reproduction, then, has resulted in a (new or newly reinforced) feminization of the responsibilities for, and performance of, social reproduction. As a result, the FIFO diamond-mining regime has contributed to an intensification of settler patriarchal gender relations, and an increasing reorientation of social reproduction toward the demands of capital and away from subsistence. This intensification means that social reproduction is being pulled towards the nuclear level, at the expense of more fluid inter- and intra-household relationships, generating a rupture in place-based processes of social reproduction.

Recall, however, that according to Tlicho cosmology, a rupture is not an end or a break in social relations. Rather, it is a reconfiguration. This concept is a reminder that the restructuring of social reproduction as a result of the FIFO diamond-mining regime has occurred incompletely: Indigenous women's social reproduction is a site of creation and agency, rather than a site of "victimhood", or a site that is merely acted upon. In interviews and talking circles,

research participants consistently described the ways in which social reproduction was taken up as a site of strength, and community-building – labour that cannot, and should not, be approached discretely from contemporary subsistence production. Indeed, in discussing the struggles of social reproduction at the community level, research participants described the innovative ways in which intergenerational subsistence education has persisted, even with the push to train young people for work in the diamond mines. And, while the pressures to orient labour towards the nuclear level should not be minimized, participants described their extended kin and community networks as a source of strength. This strength can be read as resilience, as kin and community helped women manage the difficulties imposed by the diamond mines; but, arguably, these networks are also sites of decolonizing resistance. Many research participants described prioritizing these networks – and their associated social reproduction – over the imperatives of the extractive regime, thereby reproducing an orientation towards communal needs, or, subsistence.

c) Subsistence production

To account for the complex and interdependent ways in which Dene, Métis and Inuit women engage in the three departments of production in the area around Yellowknife, I have drawn upon the notion of a "subsistence perspective" (Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen 1999) as a means of assessing the qualitative, subjective, and relational shifts in orientation and power between and within departments of production. I have approached subsistence, and its orientation away from capital, as more than anachronistic cultural practice or recreation, but rather as a meaningful alternative in the contemporary northern mixed economy. Indeed, I have demonstrated that the division between social reproduction and subsistence emerged throughout

the twentieth century as a result of Canadian State intervention and the imperatives of cpaital, and was intensified by the FIFO diamond-mining regime.

I have argued that place-based subsistence production is at odds with the temporariness and tempo of the FIFO diamond-mining regime, and its emphasis on variable capital at the expense of longstanding relations between people and the land. By approaching subsistence as a masculinized, individualized recreation activity that diamond mine workers can take up in their "time off", the extractive regime has rhetorically resolved the tension between subsistence and extraction, thereby positioning themselves as "Indigenous friendly". However, in this conceptualization, the relational nature of subsistence is obscured. Given Indigenous women's roles in social reproduction and subsistence outside the site of the diamond mines, a focus on their social relations belies the extractive regime's claim that FIFO labour complements subsistence. It exposes the tensions between the demands of the FIFO diamond-mining regime and the day-to-day and intergenerational social reproduction of a subsistence orientation.

I have used the notion of a subsistence perspective, or orientation, in an attempt to approach the mixed economy as a set of unfixed social relations wherein processes of colonization and decolonization are not expressed as either/or (either subsistence or capitalist production, either decolonization or colonization), but through qualitative and relational shifts. Indeed, I have approached the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife as a set of social relations that is dynamic and, given capital's tendency toward accumulation and annexation, potentially temporary. For all the strength and resilience demonstrable in the past and present mixed economy, one cannot assume these characteristics will remain so. Rather, I have suggested that the forms of production constituting the mixed economy, and their relative power, are shifting. Capitalism, in the abstract, has a totalizing impulse; concretely, the diamond-mining

regime, and its FIFO structure combined with its targeting of Indigenous workers, has brought new pressures upon the mixed economy in and around Yellowknife. These pressures have, to some degree, resulted in the restructuring of social reproduction and subsistence. However, linking insights from interviews and talking circles with political economic analysis, I argue that the social reproduction of inter-household linkages and subsistence education demonstrate the role of community-level intergenerational social reproduction in decolonizing resistance. In the face of the pressures of the FIFO diamond-mining regime, research participants reported that they successfully carved out the space to socially reproduce their communities. At the mine site, Iris and her friends went out on the land, and Beth's husband and his friends spoke Dogrib. Doris used her sewing and beadwork to make a living outside of the mines, while Liza joined an Indigenous women's group to share her knowledge of plants and medicines. Rose drew on her kin networks to leave a violent partner, and Tory drew her strength from the traditional teachings of her elders. In talking circles, Annie and Angus spoke of post-extractive futures guided by community norms, relationships, and commitments – a future vision for the mixed economy made possible through these kinds of day-to-day labours. These are specific findings that cannot be generalized; however, taken in combination with the demonstrable history of Indigenous resistance and contemporary engagement with subsistence production, the examples herein of reproducing the unique social relations of the mixed economy demonstrate the ways in which the totality of capital is resisted through day-to-day labours.

At the same time, a focus on Indigenous women's engagement in subsistence and social reproduction sheds light on the structural and embodied violence of the FIFO diamond-mining regime. The links between the restructuring of subsistence and the wellbeing of the land and the body are profoundly racialized in gendered ways, both in the strength and sustenance that a

subsistence orientation offers to many Indigenous women, and in its vulnerabilities to the violence of the reorganization of land and labour to fulfill the imperatives of capital accumulation.

II. Thinking through Violence

A guiding aim of this dissertation has been to explore what an analysis of the restructuring of production for surplus and subsistence, as well as social reproduction, through the northern diamond-mining regime can reveal about the relationship between structural and embodied violence. Research participant narratives brought a myriad of nuanced insights to the understanding of structural and embodied violence in the Yellowknife region. From surveillance of Indigenous households to family separations to intimate partner violence to workplace sexual harassment, violence held a heavy presence. The racialized and gendered relationship between violence and the diamond mines – as one imposition in a series of impositions by industry and the Canadian State – manifests itself at the personal, the interpersonal and the structural level. The expanded conception of production framework has offered a way of analyzing the violence of ruptures in Indigenous women's social relations in the mixed economy around Yellowknife. I have approached the specific subject of study through the general and gendered violence of racialization, settler colonialism and capital accumulation. Below, I take up the threads of structural and embodied violence woven through the preceding chapters towards an integrated discussion of the relationship between structural and embodied violence. I do so, first, in relation to FPE theorizations of gender violence, second, in relation to resource extraction, and, third, as a grounded case study that contributes to narratives of violence against Indigenous women in Canada.

a) Theorizing violence

In chapter one, I contextualized the theorization of violence in the following problematic: What counts as violence? I noted that some FPE theorists distinguish between structural oppression and embodied violence, while other theorists – notably Indigenous, decolonizing and anti-racist feminists – characterize exploitative and oppressive power structures and processes *as* violence. I located the present analysis in the latter camp, while analytically distinguishing between structural and embodied violence for the sake of precision, and to avoid the concern raised by Arat-Koc (2001) of impeding the analytic utility of the conception of violence through an overly broad definition wherein everything – and therefore nothing – is violence.

The distinction between the structural and the embodied, while certainly only an initial step in developing FPE typologies of violence, opens possibilities for future analysis. First, in approaching structural and embodied violence as relational, this typology necessitates a theory of violence that is dynamic – in motion – and specific. Because embodied incidents of violence are inextricable, but distinct, from structures and processes of violence, this framework encourages analysis at the level of social formation that explores the specific ways in which relations of violence are produced and resisted in particular places and times. This framework also looks to the ways in which temporary violence (in the form of a specific act of embodied violence, or a particular violent institutional arrangement) is linked with the longer-term violence of racialized, and gendered ideologies. The specificity of this approach can build upon insights offered by FPE theorists like Mies (1986) and Federici (2004), who have provided a foundation for an FPE of violence, but who lacked a systematic attention to "race", colonialism and place.

Furthermore, the dynamism of this approach provides a potential avenue for avoiding totalizing approaches to violence. While it is politically and analytically important to speak to the

prevalence of violence, when violence is seen as everything, it is difficult to analyze the nuances of particular processes, and to shed light on the agency of the so-called "victims" of violence. By separating structural and embodied violence, it becomes easier to investigate what, specifically, is violent about particular structures and how structural violence relates to embodied violence. For example, while I have characterized the diamond-mining regime as violent, I have argued against a characterization of the regime as only violent. Indeed, the diamond mines have provided increased material security for some, and have fomented a range of experiences for the people in the region of study. With respect to Indigenous women's experiences of the diamond mines, research participants expressed the ways in which they navigated the structural and embodied violence of the diamond mines, resisted this violence, and, at the same time, chose to engage with the regime when they felt it was necessary or beneficial for themselves, their families, and/or their community.

The third analytical possibility this framework has offered entails linking the structural and the embodied in decolonizing approaches to violence against Indigenous women in Canada (Maracle 1988, Anderson 2003, Smith 2005, Kuokkanen 2008, Simpson 2014, Simpson 2016). Research participants, echoing Indigenous scholars and activists, articulated an intimate ontological and material relationship between the land and the body, a relationship that shapes the specificity of settler colonial violence against Indigenous people. The Canadian State has developed through shifting forms of violent racisms operating simultaneously: the violent racism against Indigenous people is shaped through their relationship to land and the genocidal impulse of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006). In this study, violence to the land – in the form of extraction – was experienced as structural violence insofar as it was violent to subsistence production, and violent to Indigenous place-based systems of meaning. At the same time, violence against the

land was found to be an embodied violence – a violence that has been experienced as malnutrition, illness, and even death. Violence against the land speaks to the permeability of the membrane dividing the structural and the embodied, and suggests an ongoing attention to the racialized, de/colonizing geography of the ways in which violence is used in different times and places.

b) Violence and FIFO extraction

I have engaged with the violence of resource extraction, and FIFO resource extraction, in particular, as a form of colonial capitalist accumulation. Specifically, FIFO is an intensified form of the capitalist emphasis on time and temporariness (in the form of variable capital), and the externalization of non-capitalist production and social reproduction. Informed by anti-racist theories that position colonialism and racism as violence (Fanon 1963, Goldberg 1993), and feminist theories linking capitalism with gender violence (Agathangelou 2004, Federici 2004, Hill-Collins 2006, Kuokkanen 2011), I concur that there is a general violence, and a gendered and racialized violence, to capitalism. Building on this assumption, I have looked to the specificities of the relationship between gender violence and FIFO extraction in the context of the racialized mixed economy.

The finding that there is a violence to FIFO echoes political economic and social research that has tracked the psychosocial impacts of FIFO labour on mineworkers, their families, and mining communities. However, my approach has uniquely attended to the ways in which this violence plays out through the relations of capitalist production, social reproduction, and subsistence production. I have argued that there is a racialized gender violence to the separation of capitalist production (in the form of extraction) and social reproduction. The FIFO mines are a spatial expression of the gendered tendency in capital to separate capitalist production from

social reproduction, a separation operationalized through the feminization and naturalization of social reproduction. At the same time, resource extraction persists in tension with subsistence economies, and, in undermining subsistence relations, enacts a racialized violence. Certainly, this racialized violence does not operate independently of the gendered violence of separating capitalist production from social reproduction. Rather, these are two dialectical aspects of a structural violence that shapes Indigenous women's relationships to the diamond mine. Indeed, the separation of capitalist production from social reproduction is made possible by the racialized marginalization of subsistence, as a form of labour that denies the boundary between production and social reproduction.

The violence of FIFO extraction is also an embodied violence. The FIFO model has the potential to create sites of hypermasculinity: spaces outside of community-based gender norms with the capacity to perpetuate their own site-specific culture. Indeed, research participants noted shifts, for example, in their partners' views about women after spending time at the diamond mines. Community workers discussed the problem of reaching diamond mine workers in their anti-violence education initiatives.[189] These are specific examples that echo scholarly work characterizing mine sites as hyper-masculine spaces (Scott 2007). Indeed, mine sites – isolated as they are, dominated by men, and with histories associating masculinity with extraction – are a veritable petri dish for breeding violent masculinities. This dynamic is particularly pernicious in the context of the recent history of violent rupture in Indigenous social relations in the Yellowknife region.

Thus, while there is a generalizability to the embodied violence of FIFO, there is also a settler colonial specificity; in the context of the region of study, the relationship between

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[189] This concern was also raised in regards to anti-violence legislation. Specifically, community workers noted incidents wherein Emergency Protection Orders (EPOs) were issued after men used violence against their partners, but the RCMP were not able to serve EPOs because the men were at camp (Focus Group: 2014).

embodied violence is structured through the racialization of Indigenous people. Indigenous research participants who worked at the mines discussed instances of racist violence on and off the mine site. Their experiences ranged from overt discrimination and harassment to experiences of physiological, interpersonal and psychological pain resulting from the impact of the diamond mines. The destruction of land and disruption of animals by the diamond mines (most notably, the caribou herds), and the resulting impact on subsistence production and, thus, the health and well-being of northern Indigenous people, is, perhaps, the most visceral linking of the relationship between subsistence, capitalist accumulation of new spaces (in the form of FIFO extraction), and violence.

c) Violence against Indigenous women

The horrific violence against Indigenous women in Canada demands an attention to the relationship between embodied violence, social reproduction of Indigenous social relations, and the pursuit of new spaces of accumulation under capitalist colonization. As I have noted, work by Indigenous activists and scholars (Maracle 1988, Anderson and Lawrence, ed. 2003, Smith 2005, Simpson 2014, Simpson 2016), especially in the last two decades, has challenged racist colonial discourses and materialities that dismiss, minimize, or naturalize this violence. In Canada, national initiatives like the Sisters in Spirit inquiry, annual Strawberry Ceremonies, and the National Day for Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women have pushed for approaches to addressing violence that link past and present violent structural processes of settler colonialism with specific embodied instances of violence against Indigenous women. This dissertation follows this political and scholarly imperative.

The relationship between settler colonialism and violence against Indigenous women has been approached in this research through the racialized gendered restructuring of Indigenous

women's social reproduction; a site of tension between the imperatives of capitalist production and subsistence. Given that in the Yellowknife region many Indigenous people actively engage in subsistence production, this focus brought a material impetus to the high rates of violence against Indigenous women. However, Indigenous women across Canada work to socially reproduce their communities through various relationships with capital, often without engaging in subsistence. Thus, what is generalizable here is the structurally violent racism that makes embodied violence against Indigenous women permissible, and the work of socially reproducing a minority community a site of de/colonizing struggle.

In interviews and talking circles, structural violence was linked to Indigenous women's embodied experiences of violence, from sexual harassment at the mine site (capitalist production), to intimate partner violence in relationships where women feel trapped due to, among other things, financial inequalities (social reproduction), to malnutrition as a result of the degradation of country food (subsistence production). The impact of the diamond mines is not felt as an isolated, or unique, phenomenon. Rather, it is experienced relationally with the series of violent interventions into Indigenous women's lives and labour that have taken place throughout the twentieth century. This continuity was expressed, for example, when Jenna ruminated on whether the trauma experienced in her community was the result of residential schools, diamond mines, or both (Interview 109: 2014), and it is a reminder of the resilience of the mixed economy in the face of multiple ruptures.

III. Endings and Beginnings

Violence was far from the only experience research participants discussed in relation to the diamond mines. The narratives shared by research participants were profound stories of strength, community, and resistance. Given that violence is but one characterization of the FIFO diamond-

mining regime and its gendered impact on the racialized social relations in the area in and around Yellowknife, and given the evidence that this is a violence that is met with resilience, resistance, and creation, the violence is best understood in terms of processes and embodiments of rupture rather than annexation or destruction. The temporal imperatives of the FIFO diamond-mining regime – its temporariness, and its tempo – clashed with the day-to-day and intergenerational social reproduction of Indigenous place-based ontologies and subsistence. And the diamond mines are, indeed, that: temporary, a rupture to be accounted for in the longer history of subsistence-oriented social relations in the area around Yellowknife. As noted by John B. Zoe (in Gibson 2008), eras in Tlicho history can be mapped through shifts in relationships (initiations of new relationships, negotiation of difference, and resolution); whether and how the diamond mines will be remembered according to this history is yet to be seen. What is certain is that Indigenous women in the Yellowknife region are looking ahead to the post-diamond mixed economy.

Indeed, one of the most common emergent themes – particularly in talking circles – was the question, 'what will happen after the diamond mines close?' A singular feature of the FIFO diamond-mining regime is that its presence is as brief as it is deep; Snap Lake Diamond Mine, the most recent diamond mine to open, closed unexpectedly in 2015. The projected timelines of Dominion and Ekati are ever-shifting based on changing profit margins, but Ekati is likely to close in 2019 and Dominion likely will not last much longer after that. It is predicted that Gatcho Kue, opened in 2015, will have a twelve-year mine life. As such, a number of research participants spoke to the post-diamond question: What will the regional political economy look like after diamonds? Will there be another extractive boom? Will the region sink into a post-

extractive depression? Or will communities build a future beyond extraction, one with a greater emphasis on subsistence and community wellbeing, a differently mixed economy?

The restructuring of the diamond mines can be grafted onto multiple, intersecting narratives of time and place: the FIFO tempo shaping the lives of so many residents of the area around Yellowknife; the abrupt ups and downs of the brief life of the FIFO diamond-mining regime; the modern settler history of Yellowknife, and the continuity of extraction in a mining town; and, the place-based narratives of Dene history, as a shifting of relationships, not an ending. In locating the restructuring of the FIFO diamond-mining regime in a larger context, my aim is not to dull the edge of its racialized gendered violence or its restructuring of social relations, more generally. Rather, the relational narratives of multiple forms of labour shared by Dene, Métis, and Inuit women present experiences that challenge and expand upon Western capitalist typologies of production and social reproduction, and elevate subsistence as a contemporary reality and future possibility. My aim has been to honour these forms of labour that have represented – throughout the development of the gold mines and the diamond mines, and the various approaches of the Canadian State to northern "development" – decolonizing relations tied to the same place across changing times.

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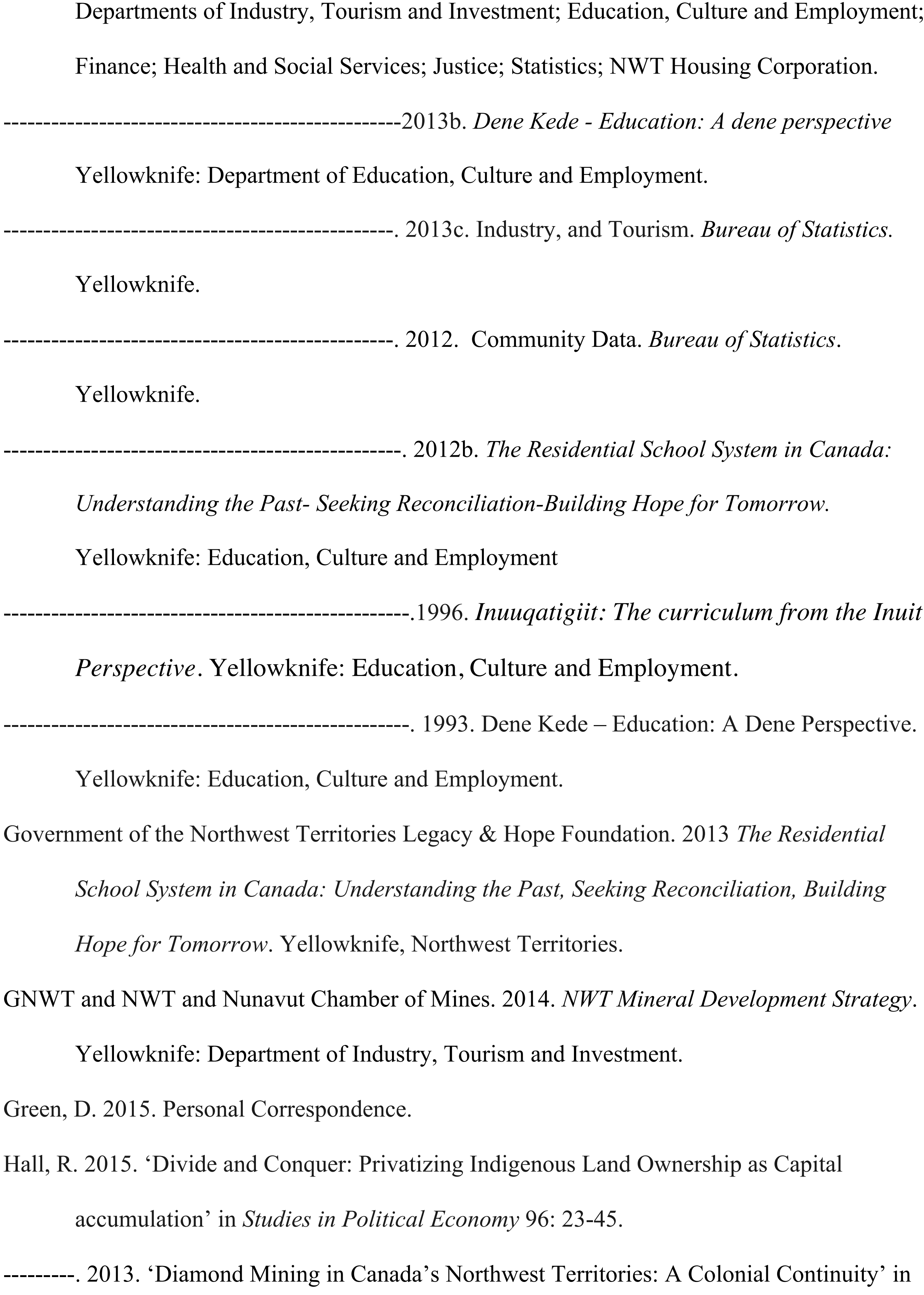

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Appendices

Appendix A: List of Interviews, Talking Circles and Focus Groups
*Interview 100's = women who self-identified as having a direct relationship to the diamond mines; Interview 200's = community workers; Interview 300's = territorial government employees; Interview 400's = diamond industry management.

- Interview 101: June 5, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 102: June 7, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 103: June 11, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 104: June 11, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 105: June 20, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 106: June 25, 2014. Behchoko.
- Interview 107: June 25, 2014. Behchoko.
- Interview 108: June 25, 2014. Behchoko.
- Interview 109: June 25, 2014. Behchoko.
- Interview 110: June 27, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 111: July 9, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 112: June 25, 2014. Behchoko.
- Interview 113: July 11, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 114: July 14, 2014. Yellowknife
- Interview 115: July 16, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 116: July 17, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 117: July 21, 2014. Yellwoknife.
- Interview 118: July 22, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 119: August 1, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 120: August 12, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 201: June 9, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 202: June 9, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 203: June 18, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 204: June 20, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 205: June 25, 2014. Behchoko.
- Interview 206: July 23, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 207: August 11, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 301: July 10, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 302: July 16, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 303: August 8, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 304: August 13, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 401: July 24, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Interview 402: July 28, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Talking Circle 1: July 3, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Talking Circle 2: August 5, 2014. Yellowknife.
- Focus Group 1: July 9, 2014. Yellowknife.

Appendix B: Sample Informed Consent

**Note: This letter was written for women with relationships to the diamond mines (the primary informants of the dissertation). Letters were tailored for the different interview groups, and talking circles and the focus group.*

Hello,

My name is Rebecca Hall and I am a researcher from York University in Toronto. **I am researching the impact of diamond mines on women in Yellowknife. If you are a woman living in Yellowknife and would like to speak about your experiences with the diamond mines, I would like to interview you.**

What does it mean to have "experiences" with the diamond mines?

- Did you participate in a mining training or educational program?
- Did you work in the diamond mines or any of the related industries?
- Did your spouse or partner, someone in your family, or someone you live with, work in the diamond mines or any of the related industries?
- Is there any other way you feel impacted by the diamond mines (impact on your community, your work, etc…)?

If so, then I would like to interview you.

I cannot pay you for participating. I will come to the place of your choice for the interview and will pay for any transit costs.

Your identity will be kept confidential.

The purpose of this project is to learn about the ways the diamond mines have affected women's lives in Yellowknife. **Your experiences and your knowledge are what will guide my research.** To learn more about the research, how your information will be used, and how your identity will be kept confidential, please read the attached consent form.

Please don't sign the consent form yet. If you decide you would like to be interviewed, we will go over the consent form and sign it together. ***To set up an interview****, or to ask any questions, you can telephone me at [redacted] or email me at [redacted]. You can also set up an interview through the Native Women's Association ([redacted]).*

It is your choice whether or not to participate in an interview. You can decide to stop the interview process at any time. After the interview, if you decide you do not want me to use your information, I will delete it.

I am a PhD student at York University and this research is for my thesis. I will do my best to work with community organizations so that the information I gather can be used in ways to strengthen the community. Thank you very much for taking the time to learn about this project.

Yours truly,
Rebecca Hall
PhD Candidate, York University

Diamonds are Forever: an anti-colonial, feminist approach to diamond mining in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories

This form is to explain this research project, outline the role of your interview, and explain my responsibilities to you. Please ask any questions as we go over this information.

Who is conducting this research?

Rebecca Hall (PhD Student, Political Science, York University)
Supervised by Dr. Leah Vosko, York University
Please see below for contact information.

What is this study?

I am a PhD student at York University in Toronto. This study is part of my thesis. The information I gather will be used in my thesis and will be shared in publications and presentations. Findings and publications will also be shared with community groups and workers here in Yellowknife.

I am researching the impact of the diamond mining industry on women in Yellowknife. I am interested in the day-to-day lives of women in Yellowknife, the work you do in your home, the work you do for pay and any experiences you have with the diamond mines (mining training programs, working in the mines or related industries, family members or partners working in the mines, or any changes in your community because of the mines). I am also interested in issues of violence and safety. I will be interviewing women living in Yellowknife to ask them about this. I will also be interviewing people who work in community organizations, government and the mines. All interviews will be kept confidential. I will explain more about this below.

*The research has been reviewed and approved through the Aurora Research Institute and granted a Northwest Territories Scientific Research License (license #15464). The research has been also reviewed and approved for compliance to research ethics protocols by the Human Participants Review Subcommittee (HRPC) of York University.

Why am I conducting this study?

The information you give will help paint a picture of the broader impact of diamond mines in the Northwest Territories. Your day-to-day experiences are central to understanding the effects of diamond mines on people's lives, work and relationships.

This research will draw attention to the way diamond mining affects women, in particular. It will propose ways of supporting women in the work you do for pay and not for pay, in your homes and outside of it. It will also explore violence against women, ways of supporting women who have experienced violence and strategies to eliminate violence.

What will I ask you to do?
I am asking you to participate in an interview. This will last between 60-90 minutes. I cannot pay you for participating. I will come to the place of your choice for the interview. I will pay for any transportation costs.

What are the risks, or possible discomforts, for you?

I don't expect there to be any risks or discomforts for you from participating in an interview. But, I will be asking questions about your personal experiences. I will also be asking questions about violence. It is possible that this will result in feelings of anxiety, worry, sadness, distress or anger.

It is important that you know that **you can choose not to answer any question, or to end the interview, at any point**. Because questions around violence are particularly sensitive, I will ask you at the beginning of the interview if you would like to skip those questions.

Attached to this consent form, you will find a list of community resources if you would like support for any of the experiences or issues we discuss. I will offer to go through this list at the beginning and at the end of the interview.

What are the benefits for you?

Your experiences will be the focus of this research project. As such, I will do my best to offer a safe, comfortable space for you to share your knowledge and experience. While keeping your identity confidential by changing your name and identifying information, I will share my research findings with the people I have interviewed and community groups in Yellowknife, with the hope of proposing services and approaches that respond to your concerns.

How will your identity be kept confidential?

I will ask you if I can record our interview. If a recording device is a problem for you, I will take handwritten notes. While I am recording the interview, you will be clearly informed as to when it is turned on and off.

All information you supply during the research process will be held in confidence and your name will not appear in any report or publication resulting from the research. In presenting and writing about this research, I will take care to change any identifying details you give (name, place of residence, home community, etc.), so that you will remain anonymous. Please ask any questions about this if this part of the confidentiality agreement is unclear.

Your data (information about you) will be safely stored in a locked filing cabinet in my home or on a password protected computer. Only I will have access to the filing cabinet and computer. All data will be stored in the manner outlined above until all written works resulting from this project have been published. After this all data will be destroyed through shredding and deleting. If you wish, you can request a copy of your own interview.

Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

What are your rights as a participant?

Your participation in the research is completely voluntary. You may choose to stop participating at any time, including after reading the consent form. You also have the right not to answer any questions I may ask. If you choose to stop participating, this will not influence your relationship with the researchers, York University or with any organizations in Yellowknife, either now or in the future. No one will be made aware of any of the details of your participation, including your decision to stop participating.

If you decide you no longer want to participate in the research, I will destroy all the information you have already given me.

If you have any questions or concerns about any part of the research process, please contact me, my supervisor, my program office, or the Manager of Research Ethics. Here is the contact information:

Rebecca Hall

Dr. Leah Vosko

Graduate Program in Political Science,
672 Ross Building, Room S634
York University, 4700 Keele St.
Toronto, ON. Phone

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University (telephone).

If, after reading this form and discussing it with me, you would like to participate in an interview, please sign below:

Can I interview you?

I,___________________________, consent to participate in **Diamonds are Forever: an anti-colonial, feminist approach to diamond mining in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories** conducted by Rebecca Hall. I understand the nature of this project and wish to participate. I understand that I can withdraw my participation at any time. I am not waiving my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

________________________ Date____________________

Participant

__________________ Date____________________

Rebecca Hall

Can I record our interview?

I,___________________________ ,consent to having my interview for the research project **Diamonds are Forever: an anti-colonial, feminist approach to diamond mining in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories** recorded by Rebecca Hall My signature below indicates my consent to the recording of my participation in interview form.

________________________ Date____________________

Participant

________________________ Date____________________

Rebecca Hall

Appendix C: Ethics Approval

Licence No. 15464
File No. 12 410 934
May 05, 2014

2014

Northwest Territories Scientific Research Licence

Issued by:	**Aurora Research Institute – Aurora College** Inuvik, Northwest Territories
Issued to:	Ms. Rebecca J Hall
Affiliation:	York University
Funding:	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council York University
Team Members:	Dr. Leah Vosko; Dr. Kamala Kempadoo; Dr. Frances Abele
Title:	**Diamonds are Forever: an anti-colonial, feminist approach to diamond mining in Yellowknife, NWT**
Objectives:	To analyze the way women's labor in Yellowknife (both paid and unpaid labor, including care for children and family members) has changed as a result of diamond mining.
Dates of data collection:	June 1, 2014 to August 22, 2014.
Location:	Yellowknife, NWT

Licence No 15464 expires on December 31, 2014
Issued in the Town of Inuvik on May 05, 2014

Pippa Seccombe-Hett
Director, Aurora Research Institute

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ETHICS (ORE)

CONDITIONAL APPROVAL

Certificate #:	**STU 2014 - 033**
Approval Period:	**03/26/14-03/26/15**

Memo

To: Rebecca Hall, Department of Political Science,

From:

Cc:

Date: **Friday March 21st, 2014**

Re: Ethics Review

Diamonds are Forever: An Anti-colonial, Feminist Approach to Diamond Mining as Primitive Accumulation in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories

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I am writing to inform you that the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee has reviewed and approved the above project.

Please note that approval is granted subject to approval being obtained from the Aurora Institute, the research licensing body of the North West Territories prior to the commencement of research. A copy of the approval certificate shall be forwarded to the Office of Research Ethics at York University upon receipt. Research activities cannot commence until such time as the Office of Research Ethics has received the approval certificate from the Aurora Institute, the research licensing body of the North West Territories.

Yours sincerely,

Alison M. Collins-Mrakas M.Sc., LLM
Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor,
Office of Research Ethics