Changing Power Relations in Photography: The Potential of Photographic Returns Projects with Inuit Youth

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Abstract

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This thesis is about two photographic returns projects, Project Naming and Views from the North, that were done with Inuit youth in their late teens. Both projects furnished colonial photographs stored at the Library and Archives Canada as catalysts for engaging these youth with their communities and elders. Project Naming, which began in 2002, sent youth from Nunavut Sivuniksavut—a post-high school graduate program for Inuit youth in Ottawa—home with photographs of unidentified Inuit from their communities. The primary goal was to engage these youth with members of their community in order to identify the people in the archival photographs. Views from the North, which was started in 2005, built on Project Naming and hired students from the same program to interview Elders in their community about photographs from the same archive.

This thesis examines the history of colonial photography in Canada focusing on three influential parties: the federal and provincial governments, the Hudson Bay Company, and the various religious missions and missionaries working in the North. It explores the historical development of both Project Naming and Views from the North, their methodologies and overlapping objectives. Its' perspective expands these two photographic returns projects by comparative explorations of other such projects and their importance. Finally, through interviews, it investigates the impact these photographic returns projects has had upon the youth who participated. This thesis argues that these photographic returns project had a great impact on the youth who participated and that including the voices of the participants themselves is crucial to the research and development of such projects. It indicates an important new direction in research on photographic returns projects and Arctic research with Inuit in general, one that can focus on positive outcomes and understanding how histories captured in historical colonial photograph can be reframed by youth in ways that are productive and useful.

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Introduction

In the first half of the twentieth century, hundreds of photographs were taken of Inuit by explorers, scientists, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, topographers, professional and amateur photographers, and others who visited the Canadian Arctic.[1] These photographs, usually of unidentified Inuit, were taken back to southern Canada, placed in archives, and disseminated widely to represent life in the North. The archives held these photographs far away from the view or knowledge of the Inuit communities they represented. As observed around the world in various countries, such as Australia, these photographs became distanced from and inaccessible to the Indigenous peoples of their origin due to geographic, linguistic, educational and financial barriers.[2]

In response to this issue, Project Naming was initiated in 2002 by Library and Archives Canada (LAC), in order to identify both the people and the specific places represented in its considerable photographic collection. To accomplish this, the project distributed unidentified or vaguely attributed photographs to Inuit youth to bring back to their communities in the North. By speaking to their elders and other members of their communities, the youth participated in the recovery of the identities of the people in the photographs. This project continued in this manner for eight years,[3] and in May 2015 it became more broadly accessible to Indigenous people in Canada through the digital album on Library and Archives of Canada website and Facebook page.[4] The original participating youth were from Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS), an eight-month to two-year program in Ottawa for Inuit high school graduates coming from communities across Nunavut to learn more about their culture, advance their studies, and adjust to life and post-secondary studies in southern urban centres.[5] In her essay "Project Naming: Always on our Minds," Beth Greenhorn, the head of Project Naming at Library and Archives

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[1] David A. Smith, "From Nunavut to Micronesia: Feedback and Description, Visual Repatriation and Online Photographs of Indigenous Peoples," *Partnership: the Canadian Journal of Library and Information Practice and Research* 3 no. 1 (2008): n.p.. Accessed January 25, 2016.
[2] Christen, Kimberly, "Archival Challenges and Digital Solutions in Aboriginal Australia," *SAA Archaeological Record* (2008), 21.
[3] "Project Naming," Library and Archives Canada, last modified 21 August. 2015. http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/project-naming/Pages/introduction.aspx#a
[4]; Email correspondence with Beth Greenhorne, June 19, 2017.
[5] Hanson, Morley, "Inuit Youth and Ethnic Identity Change: The Nunavut Sivuniksavut Experience" (MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 2003): 8-9.

Canada, describes the project as an "ongoing initiative which enables Nunavut Youth to connect with Elders and to better understand their past. It also helps to bridge the cultural differences and geographical distances between the territory of Nunavut and the more southern parts of Canada."[6] These youths were given an opportunity to examine their history and connect to their past while creating cultural and geographical bridges.

Another project that dealt with a similar archive and worked with Inuit youth was Views from the North. It was established in 2005 as an extension of Project Naming, and developed as collaborative project between photographic art historian Carol Payne of Carleton University, Library and Archives Canada, and Nunavut Sivuniksavut, with a strong focus on collaboration and oral history. Students from NS were given photographs and asked to return to their home communities to interview elders about the people in the images. These interviews were recorded and posted online, alongside photographs the youths themselves took of their communities, creating continuity between past and present.[7] As such, the youth involved were not just participants but are "central to the development of the methodology for the interviews."[8]

These two projects are the first to produce research connecting photographic return projects to Inuit youth in Canada. Although articles and chapters have been written about these initiatives, primarily by the academics and archivists involved first-hand in the research, little of this scholarship directly examines the short and long-term effects of participating in these projects on the youth, their lives, and their communities.[9] Existing analyses evaluate mainly the "success" of the project in terms of the efficacy of the students in recovering identifications of the works, and yet do not focus on whether participating in the project itself has had a beneficial impact on the lives of the participants, or whether it has changed or challenged their understanding of colonialism,

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[6] Greenhorn, B. "Project Naming: Always On Our Minds," in *Museums and the Web 2005: Proceedings* edited by J. Trant and D. Bearman (Toronto: Archives & Museum Informatics, 2005): n.p.
[7] http://viewsfromthenorth.ca/index.html
[8] Payne, Carol, "'You Hear It in Their Voice': Photographs and Cultural Consolidation among Inuit Youths and Elders," *Oral History and Photography,* eds. A. Freund and A. Thomson, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 102.
[9] Greenhorn, B., "Project Naming: Always On Our Minds," *Museums and the Web 2005: Proceedings edited by* J. Trant and D. Bearman, (Toronto: Archives & Museum Informatics, 2005); Greenhorn, Beth. "Project Naming/Un visage, un nom,"*International Preservations News 61,* December 2013: 20-24; David A. Smith, "From Nunavut to Micronesia: Feedback and Description, Visual Repatriation and Online Photographs of Indigenous Peoples" *Partnership: the Canadian Journal of Library and Information Practice and Research* 3, no. 1 (2008); Payne, 97-114.

visual culture, photography and/or representation within a northern context.[10] This thesis therefore aims to understand how Project Naming and Views from the North have impacted the youth involved in trying to reclaim and recover knowledge through historical photographs. Did the youths' involvement in these projects change or affect their understanding of the past and their communities? Did the intergenerational aspects of the work impact the youth involved? And have they put this experience and access to knowledge to use in other ways since participating in Project Naming or Views from the North?

The history of the photographs that are being "returned" in these projects make them particularly meaningful to the communities to which they belong. Many photographers were sent to the North to document activities for the government, Hudson's Bay Company, or churches. These efforts were "motivated chiefly by a desire to serve the state and shape public opinion."[11] The North was central to ideas of nationhood in Canada and photography played an important role in promoting it abroad and in southern Canada.[12] Another source of these photographs was the many explorers and scientists who would travel north to document or capture a lifestyle they believed was "dying." One such explorer/photographer was Richard Harrington. Art historian Martha Langford, who wrote the first comprehensive survey of modern Canadian photographic art, writes that Harrington's aim was "to salvage the appearance of these things […] before the combined forces of government, religion, and commerce made them all disappear."[13] Through the work of contemporary "photographic returns" projects such as Views from the North, the meaning and intent of photographs such as Harrington's have begun to be transformed and reclaimed by the people and communities represented in the images.

Photographic returns projects, aimed at transforming and transferring the power that the archive has held for many years, seek to share ownership of the archive with the communities themselves. This shift has begun to occur at many sites around the world

[10] One example of preliminary work that has been done towards understanding youth experiences in response to returns projects by Carol Payne in her chapter entitled "'You Hear It in Their Voice': Photographs and Cultural Consolidation among Inuit Youths and Elders."
[11] Payne, "'You Hear It in Their Voice'" 10.
[12] Ibid. 8.
[13] Langford, Martha, "Migrant Mothers: Richard Harrington's Indigenous 'Madonnas,'" *History of Photography* 40, no. 1 (2016): 33.

with different Indigenous communities; some excellent examples of this can be found in the work of Jane Lydon, Kimberly Christen, and Allison K. Brown and Laura Peers, who have all written about and worked with Indigenous communities to transform ownership of the archives of their own histories. Over the last two decades, projects such as these have not only shared power and ownership with Indigenous communities, but in so doing, have revealed meaningful "cracks in the imperialist edifice of nation" and shown national archives to be rich "sites from which to reclaim native memory."[14]

Yet to fully understand the impact of such projects, it is important to also listen to the reflections of the students involved, in order to examine the effects of bringing the photographs back into the communities on the lives of the young people. Although much significant work has been done thus far on these two photographic returns projects—largely by the archivists and academics involved—this part of the research must come from the participants themselves.[15] This thesis thus aims to fill this gap by focusing on the voices of the youth who held central roles in these projects. Gaining the perspective of the people who participated in the projects can give researchers, organizers, Inuit communities and other readers insight into what has been accomplished in regards to connecting young people to their history through photography. The study of the impact of these two projects on the lives and careers of young people also holds the potential to lay a strong foundation for further research on other photographic returns projects, and may aid Indigenous communities in articulating the value of involving youth directly in academic research. As Margaret Kovach writes in *Indigenous Methodologies*, instead of "decolonizing in a colonized context of learning," which holds an "inherent contradiction," the youth can find their own ways of 'theorizing back,' as researchers and agents of change.[16] By providing a historical context for the projects, and contextualizing this with interviews with the participants, the aim of this thesis is to discover if and how photographic returns project such as Project Naming and Views from the North impact the lives and identities of young Inuit.

[14] Payne and Thomas, 2002, 117.
[15] Payne, Smith, Greenhorn.
[16] Kovach, Margaret, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations*, *and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 85.

This thesis is divided into three main sections. The first section investigates the history of colonization and its relationship to photography and the archive. It explores the history of colonial photography in the North and provides a brief history of contact in Inuit Nunangat (the four Inuit regions of Canada). The final part of this section examines the role of the archive, where many colonial photographs remain, and its power in society. This historical context lays a strong foundation for both projects and their analysis. The second section examines the methodology and research behind photographic returns projects before an in-depth exploration of Project Naming and Views from the North. It begins by discussing three examples of photographic returns projects: *Pictures Bring Us Messages* from 2007, *The Traditional Micronesian Navigation Collection* from 2007, and *The Mukurtu Wumpurrarni-kari Archive* from 2007. The centrality of the roles played by youth and elders in these projects makes it crucial to look at intergenerational relationships and their importance, which will be explored in this section. The second sections ends with the in-depth exploration of both *Project Naming* and *Views from the North.* The third section explores the potential of these two projects by analyzing the interviews done with the participants of Views from the North. It begins by looking more broadly at the critical theorization of the significance of building a strong sense of cultural identity in Indigenous youth. The interviews with the participants of the project give more in-depth analysis of the work that has been done and its effectiveness or potential. These interviews are the most important element of the research because the youths' words are what give meaning and shape our understanding of these kinds of projects. The six participants I interviewed were Jennifer Kilabuk, Kayla Bruce, Katrina Hatogina, Amy Owingayak, Kelly Fraser and Paula Ikuutaq; their contributions to this thesis are the most important aspect of this work, and I owe them a debt of gratitude for their generosity in sharing their knowledge and experiences with me.

This research thus addresses the lack of student participant voices in the existing literature on Project Naming and Views from the North. It provides an opportunity to share their insights and experiences, which should in turn come to shape the organization and direction of such projects in the future. Eve Tuck and Monique Guishard write, "if young people are not permitted to speak to the conditions, policies, and ideologies that

shape their lives until they perform an understanding of everything that everyone has said before them, 'knowing the history' becomes a mechanism of keeping youth and youth researchers from ever speaking."[17] The importance of the insights of the participants is a central element of this research as well as the thoughts of those organizing the projects.

The Intertwined Histories of Contact and Colonial Photography

For centuries before contact with outsiders, the Inuit lived and guided themselves according to principles of "working for the common good, collaboration, shared leadership," which fall under *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (the governing principle that encompasses Inuit knowledge, values and customs).[18] This provided a means for Inuit to live harmoniously across the Arctic according to the ways of traditional knowledge and societal values.[19] Although first contact with outsiders to the Arctic began centuries earlier, Alootook Ipellie writes that it was around 1840 that permanent relations were established between Europe and the Arctic.[20] Since then, the lifestyle, culture, and traditions of the Inuit people have been altered drastically. John Amagoalik, a survivor of residential schools, writes, "The history of this relationship is marked by crushing colonialism, attempted genocide, wars, massacres, theft of land and resources, broken treaties, broken promises, abuse of human rights, relocations, residential schools, and so on."[21] Through decades of control and change, "the government of Canada (has) actively sought to suppress, dismantle, and eradicate the entire pre-contact Inuit way of life through the assimilative policies of colonization."[22] The effects of this "paternalistic

[17] Guishard, Monique, and Eve Tuck, "Youth Resistance Research Methods and Ethical Challenges" *Youth Resistance Research and Theories of Change* eds. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (New York: Routledge, 2014): 192.
[18] Igloliorte, Heather, "Arctic Culture/Global Indigeneity," *Negotiations in a Vacant Lot,* ed. Lynda Jessup, Erin Morton and Kirsty Robertson (Kingston: Mcgill-Queen's University Press, 2014): 151.
[19] Ibid., 155.
[20] Ipellie, Alootook, "The Colonization of the Arctic," *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives* eds. G. McMaster and L. Martin (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1992): 42.
[21] Amagoalik, John, "Reconciliation or Conciliation? An Inuit Perspective,," *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools*, eds. M.B. Castellano, L. Archibald and M. Degagné (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008), 37.
[22] Igloliorte, "Arctic Culture," 150.

government"[23] left scars on the Inuit peoples that have continued to affect generation after generation.

Many years of assimilative efforts by the colonial government in the North have brought about numerous changes to the Inuit way of life, including where they live and how they travel on their lands, how they maintain their health and their spiritual well-being, and how they support their families. Beginning with the earliest contact with whalers and explorers, Inuit culture and economy began to transform. In order to obtain ivory carvings, furs, seal oil and other valuable Inuit goods, whalers brought many convenience items from abroad such as sewing needles, trade cloth, tea and flour. Yet these conveniences, easily procured, soon developed into a reliance on trade goods and trading posts, and with these came the negative substances such as tobacco and sugar brought by whalers and fur traders.[24] The expansion of the fur trade brought with it dramatic changes from the pre-contact way of life, including the settlement of Inuit around trading posts and the shift from subsistence hunting to commercial trapping by the late nineteenth century. In 1945, rising Cold War tensions saw military presence strengthened in the North with the building of defence project sites[25] where Inuit could gain employment, medical services and trade goods, further encouraging Inuit to settle permanently in these new communities.[26] These settlements created an increasing dependence on goods that were brought in from the South and wrought significant changes to the landscape, including disrupting the movement of many animal migration routes. The new crowded villages also became areas where diseases could easily spread; in the 1950s, many Inuit were treated for tuberculosis in southern sanatoriums; in Iqaluit,

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Ipellie, 43.
[25] One of the major changes in the 1950's was the construction of the Distant Early Warning Line (DEW Line), which altered the lives of the inhabitants of the Arctic more than any other Cold War initiative. Talk of this radar line began during the 1940's but it took a decade to construct. Comprehensive military surveys that catalogued environmental data across the North had to be completed in order to aid the planning and installation of the DEW line. This altered the landscape and affected the lives of the Inuit living around these sites. Meanwhile, there were active pilot and weapon testing facilities being build during the early 1950's that largely altered the landscape as well. These facilities also disturbed the vegetation and wildlife – for example having a practice bombing range along a major migration route for an important part of food supply for the Inuit community living close by.
[26] Bonesteel, Sara, "Canada's relationship with Inuit: a history of policy and program development,," *Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada,* accessed February 20, 2017. https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100016900/1100100016908

otitis and meningitis were well above the Canadian average.[27] Southern powers desired to assimilate Inuit communities into a sedentary way of life in order to more easily manage, administer to, and contain them. A heartbreaking example of government strategies to accomplish this was the alleged slaughtering of thousands of sled dogs across the Arctic by Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers, which beginning in the 1950s, dramatically limited Inuit mobility and permanently altered their centuries-old way of life.[28]

The 1950s focus on militarization and the building of new facilities resulted in the relocation of many Inuit groups and communities for either economic or strategic military purposes. These relocations began in the late 1930s and continued until the early 1960s.[29] With the new relationships being formed between the Inuit and the military personnel living in the different stations, there was more control over the Inuit way of life. One example is the Ahiarmiut around Ennadai Lake, who began trading with the workers at the newly built radio station. Due to the collapse of the fur trade, they became more dependent on the goods being given to them on a regular basis.[30] Consequently, they were not able to travel around the land and had to stay close to the radio stations. The federal government saw this as problematic and so paternalistically decided to relocate the entire group without explaining their decision. After the relocation, since the group was not able to find enough food through hunting, they became deeply unhappy and began to starve.[31] They went back to Ennadai Lake, their home, but were moved again a few years later due to the government thinking that they had become "fond of free help," believing their presence was detrimental or dangerous.[32] The next move, to Henrik Lake, caused more severe problems. They lived far from any post and faced unfamiliar environments. Unfortunately, many died in this second relocation.[33] This is just one example from many others of the relocation of Inuit communities in the 1950s due to the

[27] Ipellie 51.
[28] Igloliorte, Heather, "'We were so far away': Exhibiting Inuit Oral Histories of Residential Schools," *Curating Difficult Knowledge,* eds. E. Lehrer, C.E. Miton, M.E Patterson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 27.
[29] Tester, Frank James, and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit: Mistakes Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994), 3.
[30] Marcus, Alan Rudolph, *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* (Hanover, University Press of New England, 1995), 133-134.
[31] Ibid., 135-136.
[32] Ibid., 138-139.
[33] Ibid., 144-149.

militarization of the North. Regarding these relocations, Frank Tester writes in *Tammarniit: Mistakes* that, "Southern plans were often so incongruent with northern conditions that it would be laughable, were it not for the lives that hung in the balance in some instances […] There was utter blindness to real needs […] People were moved. And moved again to solve the problems that moving them had created. And split up and moved again. And some were taken South. And many never saw their loved ones again."[34] These experiences have torn families apart and continue to have lasting effects in Northern communities.

Another key player in the North was the Church, and particularly the missionary presence, which had drastic effects on the way of life of the communities.[35] Within just a few decades came an almost total conversion of Inuit to Christianity,[36] resulting in the attempted erasure of Inuit spiritual customs and cultural traditions by the missionaries who believed they were, "saving Inuit souls from heathen and savage practices."[37] Throughout all of these changes, the residential schools began to open across the Arctic. Although church-run schools had been present in the Arctic since the 1930s, residential schools were fully established around 1955.[38] The stories of these schools involve painful memories of loss and abuse. They were a violent means of assimilating Indigenous populations into colonial culture by taking the children away from their families and culture. The schools were places of sexual and physical abuse, disease, and neglect, where children were prohibited from speaking their own languages and forced to break from their cultural traditions.[39]

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[34] Tester, 360.

[35] Both Protestant churches and Roman Catholic missionaries introduced European Christianity to Inuit communities in the North. Christopher Trott adds that "Missionaries came from either the Oblates of May Immaculate of the Roman Catholic Church, or the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England." Geller, Peter, *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North: 1920-45* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 51; Trott, Christopher, "Dialectics of 'Us' and 'Other,'" *American Review of Canadian Studies* 31, no1-2 (2001): 174.

[36] Igloliorte, "Arctic Culture," 27.

[37] Norget, Kristen, "The Hunt for Inuit Souls: Religion, Colonization and the Politics of Memory" *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen: A Sense of Memory and High-Definition Storytelling* ed. Gillian Robertson (Montreal: Isuma Productions, 2008): 222.

[38] Igloliorte, "Arctic Culture," 28.

[39] In the North these schools have a slightly different story from the rest of Canada but the effects on its survivors remain similar. The schools began later in the North, with only two schools in 1900 and six in 1950. In the years following 1950, day schools were created under the direction of Northern Affairs. These day schools had attached dormitories so that the children could stay there, often far from their communities. After Inuit were considered "Indians" by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1939, they became subject to the

The Development of Photography in the Arctic

With this history as a backdrop, photography in the North arose in the nineteenth century and progressed in the twentieth century, often as a means of promoting government and missionary agendas. As the whaling industry declined around 1908, there was a rise of control from the Hudson's Bay Company, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and Catholic and Anglican missionaries, who became the major agents of colonial power in the area now known as Nunavut.[40] Peter Geller writes in his book *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920-1945* that the North, "was an edifice constructed over the years for specific purposes and ends, produced and reproduced in printed photographs and film showings."[41] Geller writes about the development of photography and the three powers whose agendas it profited: the government, the missionaries, and the Hudson Bay Company. The federal government used photography as a tool for creating typographies and for documentation. Photographs also served as a means for demonstrating Canadian possession over the North.[42] They were used to preserve memory, create "types" of Native peoples, as visual elements of the missionary message, and to promote Canada within and outside its borders. Geller writes that through these photographs the North became something that could be

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Indian act. This meant that their health, education and welfare became the responsibility of the federal government. The percentage of children attending residential schools rose to over 75 percent in 1964, many staying for years far away from home. Communication with their families was extremely rare due to the long distances. Piita Irniq, a survivor, shared, "We weren't able to communicate with our parents for the entire nine months that we were in Chesterfield Inlet. We just didn't have communication facilities; no telephones. I remember I got two letters from my mother that particular year in 1958 and 1959." Although the experience in the North was slightly different from the rest of Canada, the negative effects were still highly prevalent. These schools, which separated children from their parents for years at a time, were numerous and contributed to the rapid change from traditional land-based lifestyles. They left children prey to neglect, disease and abuse, and created intergenerational trauma due to horrible conditions so many Inuit children faced. Fontaine, Theodore. *Stolen Lives: the Indigenous Peoples of Canada and the Indian Residential Schools* (Facing History and Ourselves: 2015), 21; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience* V2. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 3; Igloliorte, Heather, *Inuit and the Residential Schools System* (Ottawa: Legacy of Hope Foundation, 2013): 1.

[40] Trott, Christopher, "Dialectics of 'Us' and 'Other,'" *American Review of Canadian Studies* 31, no1-2 (2001): 173-174.

[41] Geller, Peter, *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North: 1920-45* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 15.

[42] Ibid., 42.

transported into the understanding of southern Canadians, and in this way it was domesticated and civilized.[43] The North was an "unbounded playground for western fantasies of primitivism through word and image"[44] and photography had a large part to play in distributing and actualizing those fantasies.

Photography in the 19th century was deeply influenced by the study of anthropology and was shaped by a colonialist mentality, which was further legitimized by the research being undertaken on Indigenous people.[45] Through photography, notions of the superiority of Western civilization and society were solidified by images of the 'Other' that were brought south by European and Euro-Canadian photographers.[46] (Fig. 1) It was in the nineteenth century that the perceived evolution of humankind stated that this 'Other' would soon disappear.[47] It was after 1900s that anthropologists realized other elements that could not be captured in a photograph were more important and should become the focus of anthropology. Therefore photography began to be used for other political reasons by different colonial powers. Joanna Scherer writes that, "ethnographic photography may be defined as the use of photographs for the recording and understanding of culture(s), of both the subject and the photographer. What makes it an ethnographic photograph is not necessarily the intention of its production but how it is used to inform ethnographically."[48] Therefore these historical photographs were used similarly to archival records by other colonial powers, such as missionaries and government workers.

The presence of the missionaries in the north had a tremendous impact on the spiritual practices and culture of the Inuit. The missionaries believed that they were offering solace and salvation to the communities in the Arctic. As early as the nineteenth century, missionaries distributed photographs of mission activities in the south to convince people to support the missions financially; others would end up in photo albums

[43] Ibid., 49.
[44] Langford, 2016: 33.
[45] Cummings, Bryan.,*Faces of the North: The Ethnographic Photography of John Honigmann* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2004), 39.
[46] Ibid., 40.
[47] Ibid., 40.
[48] Scherer, Joanna, "Ethnographic Photography in Anthropological Research," *Principles of Visual Anthropology,* ed. Paul Hockings (The Hague: De Gruyter Mouton, 2003): 201.

and ultimately be placed in archives.[49] The aim of the missionaries was to "demonstrate that there were still heathen to convert in order to continue receiving support for their work."[50] In contrast with the photographs distributed by other colonial powers, those of the missionaries would rarely show Inuit interacting or working for other developing industries and instead would try to show them as untouched by these forces, as befit their evangelical aims.

In the 1950s and early 1960s there was a shift in the photographic practices of the Church. They were no longer showing the Inuit as "primitive" but instead began to show the economic changes that were happening at the time.[51] They promoted the involvement of the Inuit in activities such as going to school, working in shops, assisting with the missionary work as a result of their efforts, all the while using paternalistic language of protecting the Inuit from the negative elements of the rapid changes in the Arctic. [52] Through photography, the missionaries could project messages to the rest of Canada. One example of this is the promotion of Church-run schools in educating Inuit children through photographic captions written by missionaries themselves. One image shows a little Inuit boy looking at the camera in a sad expression on his face, with the caption "I want to go to school!"[53] (Fig. 2) Through the use of images of children being educated in southern ways, the Church's mission was promoted throughout Canada and abroad as a success. (Fig. 3)

The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) was another significant economic and social power in the Arctic and, just like the Church, used photographs to promote their work and image. Through the photographs created by HBC photographers and filmmakers, the company constructed an image of the North that was consumable by a southern audience. Geller notes that the HBC, while promoting its activities, also provided a presence that reassured the southern population's fears of the wild, unknown land.[54] *The Beaver*, a magazine produced by the Hudson's Bay Company, was one way the work of the HBC was promoted across Canada and around the world in order to generate pride in their

[49] Trott 176.
[50] Ibid. 177.
[51] Trott 185.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Geller, 78.
[54] Ibid., 107.

work.[55] *The Beaver* was sent out to the rest of Canada through its distribution to public libraries, schools and wider public after World War II. Throughout its pages the magazine promoted the HBC as a primary element in Canada's nation building, documented cultures that it believed would disappear due to modernity, and created a strong sense of Canadian national identity by celebrating its links to Inuit culture.[56] Joan Sangster writes about *The Beaver*'s agenda saying, "The Beaver attempted to create a popular history of northern nation-building by integrating Native and Inuit into its celebratory narrative, yet it did so by simultaneously glossing over structural and systemic inequalities, and ultimately by providing a modernized veneer on older colonial identities."[57]

During the period between the two World Wars, the government was asserting its power in the North through northern treaties, government patrols and the establishment of RCMP posts. There was an emphasis placed on moving the communities from camps to more permanent settlements.[58] As these colonial efforts of the federal government extended and strengthened, photographic depictions of Indigenous people as "Others" continued providing a means whereby "non-Inuit outsiders could frame and contain the native subject."[59] Payne writes about the National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division as an example of this exploitation. She writes that this interest in documentary photography was motivated by a desire to shape the opinion of the people and the governments.[60] It was in the mid-twentieth century that images began to shift to show the economic success of government programs aimed to improve the lives of the Inuit instead of only showing the traditional Inuit lifestyle.[61] The images were mainly used for propagandist purposes, to demonstrate the success of the government programs, and were designated to create positive attitudes toward the North.[62] (Fig. 4)

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[55] Sangster, Joan "'The Beaver' as Ideology: Constructing Images of Inuit and Native Life in Post-World War II in Canada," *Anthropologica* 49 no.2 (2007): 192.
[56] Ibid. 195.
[57] Ibid. 204.
[58] Geller, 17-18.
[59] Wise, Jonathan "Photographic Memory: Inuit Representation in the Work of Peter Piseolak," (Masters Thesis, Concordia University, 2000): 29.
[60] Payne, Carol, "Lessons with Leah: re-reading the photographic archive of nation in the National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division," *Visual Studies* 21 no. 1 (2006): 10.
[61] Wise, "Photographic Memory," 29.
[62] Ibid., 29.

Multiple portraits of Inuit were taken as "Native types" that could be brought back to the South as anthropological records or an "Eskimo census" of communities.[63] (Fig. 5) These photographs, taken in traditional portrait style, were rarely accompanied by names of the subject. They were used to document and to encourage conclusions about an entire people. These portraits would often be placed in albums or books alongside text by the photographer or government and brought back south to show the people of the North that the government were "serving." Major Lachlin Taylor Burwash, who worked in the field taking portraits, wrote in his unpublished book *Report of Exploration* about the people in the portraits saying,

> Physically all of the natives seen thus far were much above the average. Muscular men and woman comparing favourably in stature with white men, with clear skins and clear eyes, every appearance of perfect health and with every confidence in their ability to garner from the country a living for themselves and their dependents. Mentally they prove to be much like other race, the wise, the commonplace, and the simple, this classification being entirely comparative, the wise being wise only in matters of the moment to themselves, the simple being simpletons among a simple people.[64]

This quotation demonstrates the attitude of racial superiority that permeated Canada at the time. These photographs of Inuit, lacking even basic identification, perpetuated these homogenizing stereotypes throughout all of Canada about whole communities and populations. Rachel Alpha Johnston Hurst writes that, "Reading these albums within the cultural context of Canadian nationalism and settler colonialism—contemporary and historical-reveals narratives that are conflicting, multiple, and profoundly unsettling to the myths of Canada that redact settler colonial violence."[65] These photographs have the power to de-colonize myths of Canadian history that have been deeply ingrained in our narratives.

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[63] Geller 36.
[64] Burwash, L.T., *Report of Exploration and Investigation along Canada's Arctic Coast Line from the Delta of the Mackenzie River to Hudson Bay, 1925-1926* (Ottawa: NWTYB, 1926), 58.
[65] Hurst, Rachel Alpha Johnston, "Colonial Encounters at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: "Unsettling" the Personal Photograph Albums of Andrew Onderdonk and Benjamin Leeson," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49 no. 2 (2013): 230.

I conclude this section by briefly discussing Richard Harrington, the Canadian photographer who took hundreds of photographs in the Arctic that are now housed in Library and Archives Canada. His photographs were the ones used for the first phase of Project Naming. Richard Harrington was a documentary photographer affiliated with the HBC. He travelled to different communities in the North to take photographs for magazines and newspapers, including *The Beaver,* his first sponsor in the North.[66] His photographs reflect a desire to try and preserve or capture the way of life of the communities, the common thinking during this time was that the Inuit way of life would soon disappear. (Fig. 6) Harrington would often stay with Inuit families and travel with them throughout the North, taking photographs of different aspects of their lives. Photographic art historian and theorist Martha Langford, who has written about Harrington's work, notes that on these expeditions he was "constantly aware of competing forces that were effectively, sometimes literally, killing the aboriginal people whose passage on this earth and traditional ways he sought photographically to preserve."[67] His diaries provide researchers and viewers a glimpse into how he staged the photographs, how he approached his work, and lived with Inuit families. Langford writes that,

> His work mirrors his expectations of the commissioners and distributors of his work; it bespeaks the photo-opportunities of his day. Bringing otherness to market, Harrington used western tropes to bridge the gaps of different and indifference; in this he was hardly alone, by which I mean that other photographers did this same, as did their interpreters and supporters, sometimes with romantic projections.[68]

By looking at one example of the many photographers of that time who were sent up North by governments, companies and churches, we are able to learn how many elements of these photographs we constructed for a specific purpose. These photographs, which number in the thousands, exerted influence over the perceptions of southerners and the

[66] Langford, "Migrant Mothers," 31.
[67] Langford, Martha, "Richard Harrington's Guide: Universality and Locality in a Canadian Photographic Document", *Photography, History, Difference* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2014): 50
[68] Langford, "Migrant Mothers," 48.

dark history of these images linger even though the photographs now sit in the archive gathering dust.

The Photographs: Afterlife and the Archive

Photographs such as the ones written about in the previous section were brought down to the South and used in a myriad of ways to promote, influence and exert power. They were catered to and used for a specific southern Canadian audience, who were not the people that the photographs depicted. Millions of people consumed these images that were circulated nationally and internationally in newspapers, exhibitions, publications and magazines.[69] One medium the government used to circulate these images was the photo-story, a combination of three to nine images accompanied with captions and text.[70] Photo-stories were a way to tell stories in photo documentary style by placing images next to each other and writing a text about the person or other content in the photographs. These were released as often as weekly in newspapers and magazines that were available throughout Canada as well as international publications.[71] This is one example of how these images were circulated and, in the hands of southern powers, could be used to tell any story they wished. Peter Geller argues that, "As seen through the camera lens, the North became an ordered environment, often defined in reference to a marker of southern 'civilization'."[72] The photographs brought back by explorers, researchers, missionaries, and government photographers were used to assert more control and project a view that southerners wanted of the North. The thousands of photographs brought back South would end up in archives where they would remind in use by researchers, scholars, artists and new agencies.[73]

The power of the archive and its potential for change is a subject that is widely discussed today. Achille Mbembe writes that,

> Archives are the product of a process, which converts a certain number of documents in items judged to be worth of preserving…where they can be

[69] Payne, "Lessons with Leah," 4.
[70] Ibid., 8.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Geller 165.
[73] Payne, "Lessons with Leah," 4.

> consulted according to well-established procedures and regulations. As a result, they become part of a special system, well illustrated by the withdrawal into secrecy or 'closing' that marks the first years of their life.[74]

As the photographs were circulated throughout Canada, the negatives, contact sheets and work prints were placed in the archive to be preserved or saved for future use. The photographs held in the archive were given even more historical importance due to the fact of their preservation. Therefore it can be said that these images continued to promote an image of the history of Canada, which did not take into consideration the people in the photographs themselves.

A report from the Royal Society of Canada Expert panel entitled "The Future Now: Canada's Libraries, Archives, and Public Memory" describes archives as a fundamental element of the heritage of the Canadian people; a privileged witness to history that is maintained by archivists as our collective memory.[75] Jacques Derrida writes in *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* that "there is no political power without control of the archive, if not memory. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation."[76] Sue Breakell and Victoria Worsley explain in "Collecting the Traces: An Archivist Perspective" that because national archives are preserved and housed in highly protected locations—with security protocols, temperature control, and other systems in place in order to isolate documents, photographs and other archival materials from physical corruption and contamination—this inaccessibility and long-term preservation makes the archive a source of highly authoritative and powerful testimonies.[77] Yet this same lack of accessibility has created a barrier to the contact and participation of peoples whose culture and knowledge is preserved in the archive. Throughout history the archive and those in charge of it have been the ones who, through

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[74], Achille, Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and its Limits," *Refiguring the Archiv,e* eds. C. Hamilton, V. Harris, J. Taylor, M. Pickover, G. Reid, R. Saleh (South Africa: David Phillips Publishers, 2002). 20.
[75] Beaudry, Guylaine, Pam Bjornson, Michael Carroll [et al.], "The Future Now: Canada's libraries, archives, and public memory: a report of the Royal Society of Canada's Expert Panel on the Status and Future of Canada's Libraries and Archives" (Ottawa: Walter House, 2014), 21-22.
[76] Derrida, Jacques, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4, note 1.
[77] Breakell, Sue and Victoria Worsley, "Collecting the Traces: An Archivist Perspective" *Journal of Visual Arts Practice* 6 (3) (2007): 177.

consequence of their work, held the power of what is to be preserved and exerted influence over the future uses of archival material. Randall Jimerson writes in "Archives for All: Professional Responsibility and Social Justice," that throughout history archives have been used to establish, document and perpetuate the influence of power elites.[78] Archival methodology has, throughout history, been closely connected to the spread of colonialism and the establishment of Western models of power.[79] This, it can be argued, came from a lack of "archival voice" and "archival legitimacy" given to the people who were being represented in the archives.[80] The necessary shift in power that must occur should seek to place access to, and ownership of, the archival materials into the hands of the communities they represent.

In Canada, the colonial photographs of communities in the North, through their placement in the archive, were taken great distances away from the communities they depicted and had new additional layers of interpretation placed on them by the categories and titles through which they were organized. These photographs ended up in the archive through donations by private citizens or governments. Over the past decades, many photographic collections have been donated to these institutions by the photographers themselves or their families.[81] Due to their position as "archived objects," colonial photographs remain highly restricted and disengaged from circulation and exchange.[82] Before their placement in the archive, they move around in a stage where they are used daily and when they move into the archive they move into permanent preservation and "retirement."[83] There is a growing movement from both within and outside national and international archives to create meaningful connections between the archival materials they hold and the people they represent. But what becomes clear is that whether they are in circulation or stored in the archive, they continue to be removed from the communities

[78] Jimerson, Randall, "Archives for All: Professional Responsibility and Social Justice," *The American Archivist* 70 No. 2, (2007): 254.
[79] Genovese, Taylor R., "Decolonizing Archival Methodology: Combating hegemony and moving towards a collaborative archival environment," *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 12 no. 1 (2017): 34.
[80] Cook, Terry, "'We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are': Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 32 (2) (2011): 183.
[81] Aird, Michael, "Growing Up with Aborigines," *Photography's Other Histories,* eds. M. Pinney and N. Peterson (Durham: York University Press, 2003): 30.
[82] Buckley, Liam "Objects of Love and Decay: Colonial Photographs in a Postcolonial Archive," *Cultural Anthropology* 20 n. 2 (2005): 251.
[83] Ibid., 251

they depict and decisions about the material must be made not only by governments and archivists but through consultation with the communities themselves.

One reason for the historical lack of ownership by communities is that often Indigenous materials in archives are not owned by the Indigenous subjects, but rather belong to the people who took the photographs, films or recordings.[84] Therefore, institutions today face issues around access, ownership, and the addressing of historical conditions in which the material was collected.[85] Indigenous people are not the legal owners of the materials and often do not have a say in how it is used.[86] Ideally, the archive not only "protects the rights and interests of all citizens" but also "preserves vital aspects of cultural heritage."[87] These two responsibilities of the archivists give them power, not only over today's society but also for the generations to come.[88] The inclusion of Indigenous voices by these archives does more than just ensure that the material is archived with sensitivity, but allows for the cultivation of deeper understanding and learning about the communities represented through their decisions of how to display and present their archives.[89]

One of these archives is Library and Archives Canada (LAC), which brought together the National Archives, which has been functioning for over 140 years, and the National Library, which has been open for 60 years.[90] In the 1970s, four federal institutions, the National Archives of Canada (Library and Archives Canada), the National Gallery of Canada, the National Film Board of Canada, and the Canada Council, were given the responsibility to collect and to interpret Canadian photographic heritage.[91] The mandate for Library and Archives Canada, as the archival source for both Project Naming and Views from the North, is included here because that institution is highly

[84] Anderson, Jane, "Access and Control of Indigenous Knowledge in Libraries and Archives: Ownership and Future Use," *Correcting Course: Reblanacing Copyright for Library in the National and International Arena* (Columbia University, New York, May 5-7 2005): 3-4.
[85] Ibid., 4.
[86] Ibid., 4.
[87] Jimerson, 254.
[88] Ibid., 254.
[89] Genovese, "Decolonizing Archival Methodology," 39.
[90] Cavaliere, Elizabeth, Philippe Guillaume, Martha Langford, Karla McManus, Sharon Murray, and Aurèle Parisien, "Imagined Communities: Putting Canadian Photographic History in its Place," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49 no. 2 (2015): 307.
[91] Ibid.

relevant to this research. In 2004, as stated in the Library and Archives Act in Section 7, the mandate of the LAC is listed as being:

a) to acquire and preserve the documentary heritage;
b) to make that heritage known to Canadians and to anyone with an interest in Canada and to facilitate access to it;
c) to be the permanent repository of publications of the Government of Canada and the government and ministerial records that are of historical and archival value;
d) to facilitate the management of information by government institutions;
e) to coordinate the library services of government institutions; and
f) to support the development of the library and archival communities.[92]

This institution holds a great responsibility for the preservation and telling of Canadian history. It has an important role in preserving national memory and promoting collection knowledge of history through promotion and access to its documents.

Photographic Returns Projects

Visual repatriation, or as it is called today, "returns projects," have become an increasingly popular and important means of research. It aims to give agency to Indigenous communities while at the same time challenging Eurocentric notions of analysis and photographic meaning. Such projects see the archive as a means of decolonization and staging conversations about cultural memory, instead of being imposed through structures that organize and control access to archival material. Peers and Brown, who worked on a photo repatriation project that brought photographs from the Oxford Pitt Rivers Museum taken 90 years ago back to their communities, write that,

> Visual repatriation projects have shown that materials of this sort have important meanings for and uses to Indigenous people…as Indigenous people seek to heal

[92] Beaudry et al. 42-43.

> from the difficult past of the previous few centuries and to strengthen their cultural vitality for future generations, photographs – often obtained during times of intense cultural pressures – can inspire the telling of community and cultural histories which are otherwise little documented and difficult to retrieve, submerged as they often are by mainstream historical analyses and by the processes of colonialism.[93]

These photographic returns projects happen all over the world and have found the power in photographs as tools which contribute to healing and strengthening culture, as "social objects of agency" and "cultural consolidation."[94] Photographs have a power to link gaps in memory and to tell stories. Jane Lydon writes in "Return: The Photographic Archive and Technologies of Indigenous Memory" that, "Photographs help to constitute technologies of Indigenous memory through a range of practices that construct the past in the present, including by revealing unknown ancestors lost during the displacements of colonialism, and substantiating Indigenous stories and experiences formerly hidden from view."[95] The photograph holds a link to memory and this is one reason they must be returned to the communities through these projects. As Hugh Brody argued, photographs enable the viewer to reach their own ideas and questions. For this reason they hold a great deal of power to influence and shape ideas.[96]

Today, colonial photographs have become a means to connect to Indigenous memory and an important way of grappling with the past in the present.[97] The photographs that are taken back to the communities become tools with which to tell stories of their history, and help young people see and learn more about their history and their elders.[98] Through photographic repatriation, the past comes into the present, the

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[93] Brown, Alison K., and Laura Peers, with members of the Kainai Nation, *Pictures Bring Us Messages: Photographs and Histories from the Kainai Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 7.
[94] Payne, Carol, "Culture Memory and Community through Photographs: Developing an Inuit-based Methodology," *Anthropology and Photography: Expanding the Frame,* eds. C. Morton and E. Edwards (London: Routledge, 2016), 4.
[95] Lydon, Jane, "Return: The Photographic Archive and Technologies of Indigenous Memory," *Photography, Archive and Memory* 3 no. 2 (2010): 174-175.
[96] Brody, Hugh, "In Conclusion: The Power of the Image„" *Imaging the Arctic,* eds. J.C.H. King and H. Lidchi (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998): 226-227.
[97] Lydon 174.
[98] Bradley, JJ, Adgemis, P and Haralampou, L, "Why can't they put their names?': Colonial Photography, Repatriation and Social Memory," *History and Anthropology* 25 no. 1 (2014): 58.

images are re-engaged with, and the past is looked at through the needs of the present.[99] Elizabeth Edwards writes about how the meaning of colonial photographs can change through the act of visual repatriation:

> Photographs that were created as colonial documents, and which became 'ethnographic' records though their entanglement within specific institutional structures become family history, clan history or community history. Nonetheless, while returned to the same locations, photographs are at some level returning to very different social relations. Communities are faced with what is known to them from their own ways of remembering, through the eyes of an outsider, with very different resonances.[100]

By working in this way with archives and museums, the result is empowerment and renewal of past knowledge, rather than loss and dispossession. Rather than a passive image, the photograph becomes an active tool used in dialogue and to construct fields of social action and relationships while maintaining Indigenous knowledge.[101]

Colonial photographs have been returned to Indigenous communities around the world in a variety of ways, and there is much to learn from each project. One excellent example can be found in the work done by Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown from the Pitt Rivers Museum of the University of Oxford, who returned photographs taken by Beatrice Blackwood in 1925 to the Kainai people of the Blood Reserve in 2001. Their book about this experience, *Pictures Bring Us Messages*, was published in 2006.[102] The intention of this project was to bring copies of the photographs to the community in order to understand their views on the images and to learn about the significance of the images to the community today.[103] Peers and Brown's book speaks about this experience and underlines why it is important for academics and archivists to work alongside communities, as well as what needs to be considered when undertaking this work. In their example, we see how archival photographs taken in a very different context can be used decades later to foster relationships and to help younger generations learn about their

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[99] Edwards, Elizabeth, "Introduction: Locked in 'The Archive,'" *Museums as Source Communities* eds. L. Peers and A. K. Brown (London: Routledge 2003): 84.
[100] Ibid., 85-86.
[101] Ibid., 88.
[102] Brown and Peers, "Pictures Bring us Messages".
[103] Ibid., 3.

history. Some themes that emerged from the interviews with the members of the community are noteworthy. One theme that emerged was the importance of names and naming to the Kainai, and the significance of appropriately adding those names to the identification of the photographs. Another theme that arose centred on the experiences of the Kainai in the 1920s, which led to four connected themes – the experience of loss, the pride associated with the survival of the people, the cultural values of the Kainai people and the importance in educating today's youth.[104] Peers and Brown's project is one example of how working with Indigenous communities to look at the photographs and explore their potential can be organized by the museum as part of their practice.

Another instance is the *Traditional Micronesian Navigation Collection* at the University of Hawaii Library, started in July 2007. This project involved digitizing photographic slides of life on the island of Satawal (Micronesia) and its surrounding areas.[105] These photographs were taken by a photographer named Steve Thomas who travelled there in the early 1980s to learn about their traditional ways of life, specifically navigation.[106] When he returned to America, he brought many photographs showing the daily life of the people on the island. This project gets feedback from the communities through a website with approximately 2,200 photographs, with a comments section to foster a sense of community.[107] In this case, the repatriation had been done digitally and conversations are happening around photographs that have been scanned and placed online.

A third parallel can be found in the work of Kimberly Christen, an archivist working with the Warumungu Aboriginal community in Central Australia and several Native American nations in the Pacific Northwest of the United States to digitally integrate newly repatriated objects into the existing community traditions and practices through creating digital archives.[108] One example of her work alongside the Warumungu community in Tennant Creek is the Mukurtu Wumpurrarni-kari Archive in 2007.[109] The idea and need for this project emerged out of a program with the Nyinkka Nyunya Art

[104] Ibid., 10.
[105] Smith, "From Nunavut to Micronesia,"10.
[106] Ibid, 2..
[107] Ibid., 10.
[108] Christen, Kimberly, "Opening Archives: Respectful Repatriation,," *The American Archivist* 74 (2011): 185.
[109] Ibid, 24.

and Culture Center, which in 2001 was trying to repatriate items for display and to re-tell the history of Australia. The center opened in 2003, but even though they had collected some objects, many remained in institutions and private collections. Motivated by a desire to collect more photographs from private collections, two members of the community worked for years to collect thousands of photos from former schoolteachers, missionaries, and miners.[110] It was from these photographs and the desire to return them to the community that the idea emerged for a digital archive that would respect cultural traditions and knowledge. Instead of placing all the photographs and objects on display for everyone, communities consultations about the ways they could be displayed in respectful ways. Some content, for example, was traditionally and historically not meant to be seen by women and some meant to be seen exclusively by women; to navigate this, before viewing the content of the website, each user has to therefore respond to a series of questions that determines what content they can access on the site. There is also a public section of the archive where any user can access the content that is tagged "open."[111] On each object there is also an opportunity for viewers to add comments and stories. From the very beginning, web developers saw the importance of creating a straightforward interface such that any member of the community could use it. Throughout the experience, Christen worked closely with members of the community so that every aspect of the project was accomplished through consultation with and knowledge sharing by community members. Christen writes that, "Opening the collective archival imagination of the diverse needs and heterogeneous hopes of indigenous peoples has the potential to result in a more dynamic and expansive archive; not in a diminished one."[112]

Although these three examples of photographic returns projects were carried out differently, there is much to learn in the development and process of each. Edwards writes that photographs "reactivated and re-engaged with, thus emerge as important in contrasting and overlapping historical configurations in the multiple articulations of cultural identity, as well as formal histories, of emergent nation-states in a global

[110] Ibid.. 21.
[111] Ibid., 24.
[112] Christen, "Opening Archives," 210.

forum."[113] Although the medium was different, with Chambers and Smith's projects using online databases and Peers and Brown's project carried out directly in the community, the purpose and aims of these photographic returns remain the same. All three projects involved members of the communities who were the ones speaking about and organizing the photographs. The central aim of all the projects was to find ways to make the material accessible to the communities they belonged to; the organizers aimed to find ways to give the materials back, either digitally or physically. An in-depth analysis of projects such as these shows how photographs can be used in the important process of decolonization in diverse settings. In response to the archive where thousands of colonial photographs are held, projects such as the ones mentioned above have been developed in collaboration with Indigenous communities over the last few decades. Project Naming is one such project that was developed in response to the archive of unidentified colonial photographs at Library and Archives Canada. Out of that project another formed a few years later entitled Views from the North, which sought the oral histories around these colonial photographs.

Intergenerational Relationships as Central to Methodology

Fundamental to the methodology of both Project Naming and Views from the North are the intergenerational relationships formed between Inuit youth and elders. Before undertaking an in-depth exploration of each project, it will be helpful to look at some examples of other intergenerational knowledge sharing initiatives. Elders are teachers and experts in the knowledge of their people; they are "the keepers of cultural events and ceremonies," and "healers, and experts in survival, sharing a world-view based on the knowledge that all things in life are related and are governed by natural laws."[114] Today there is a sense of criticality in communities to pass the traditional knowledge that is held by elders on to the youth. In 1988, Inuit authors Gunn, Artooktoo and Kaomayok wrote about this issue in Cambridge Bay:

[113] Brown and Peers, "Pictures Bring us Messages," 89.
[114] Kulchyski, P., McCaskill, D., Newhouse, D. (eds). *In the Words of Elders: Aboriginal Cultures in Transition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), xvi.

> There is currently some urgency to the interchange of knowledge as so much of the Traditional Knowledge is held by the elder hunters. As the Inuit themselves are aware, there is a generation growing up which has little experience of living on the land to continue and develop the Traditional Knowledge. For example, in Cambridge Bay, there are Inuit children who have never seen a live caribou, although in winter there are caribou within a few kilometres of the hamlet.[115]

The term "generation gap" is often used to define the differences between the two generations that grew up under very difference circumstances and have distinctive styles of communication. There have been multiple projects aimed at narrowing this gap. Frank Tester from University of British Columbia has worked closely with Inuit youth in the north on two projects, The Nanisiniq Arviat History Project in 2010 and Nanivera in 2014.

The Nanisiniq (meaning "journey of discovery") project in Arviat was a collaboration between the Sivulinuut Elders Society and UBC.[116] For the project, youth and elders explored their culture and history from an Inuit point of view. The youth were trained as researchers and were in charge of the cameras and equipment to film their experience. They travelled around the North and worked on a full-length documentary to help other youth learn about their history and culture. The stated purpose of the project was four-fold: to open a dialogue between Inuit and *Qablunaat* (European descendants / Caucasian peoples) on colonial histories of Nunavut, to bridge the gap between elders and youth, to create relevant educational resources, and to foster Inuit youths' social identity and self-esteem.[117]

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[115] Gunn, A., Arlooktook, Kaomayok, D. "The Contribution of Ecological Knowledge of Inuit to Wildlife Management in the Northwest Territories," *Traditional Knowledge and Renewable Resource Management in Northern Regions*, eds. M.M.R. Freeman and L.N. Carbyn (Edmonton: IUNC Commission of Ecology and the Boreal Institute of Northern Studies, Occasional publication number 23, 1988): 28.

[116] Rogers, Sarah, "Arviat project puts Inuit face on local history: 'we want to be there too,"" *Nunatsiaq Onlin,e* accessed April 2, 2017. http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/2099886_arviat_project_puts_an_inuk_face_on_local_history

[117] Dutheil, April, "Th Nanisiniq: Arviat History Project" *UBC News,* July 14, 2011 accessed April 3, 2017. https://news.ubc.ca/2011/07/14/the-nanisiniq-arviat-history-project/; "ARCHIVED – Nanisiniq: Arviat History Project – budding Inuit scholars come to Library and Archives Canada for a visit" *Library and Archives Canada* December 23, 2016 accessed April 1, 2017. http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/news/Pages/nanisiniq-arviat-history-project-budding-inuit-scholars-come-to-lac.aspx; "The Nanisiniq Arviat History Project," *Nunavut Arctic College,* June 23, 2011 accessed April 1, 2017. http://www.arcticcollege.ca/latest-news/item/4534-about-nanisiniq

The second project entitled Nanivara (meaning "I found it") was based in two Nunavut communities, Gjoa Haven (Ursuqtuq) and Naujaat (Repulse Bay), and centered on similar themes as Nanisiniq. Youth in these two communities would, through the use of social media, photography and film, explore and re-examine the history of their communities.[118] Through interviews with elders and documenting their experience, the youth shared the new things they were learning about their history with others through social media. The young researchers would also travel around the world to present their research to other countries. Some of the goals of the project were to help the youth present what they had learn across Canada and to make a documentary about what they had experienced.[119] According to the youth that participated in the project, "the project is important just to show how fun and how interesting talking to our elders can be"[120] and "younger kids need know about this stuff. We need to pass it on to younger generations."[121] The relationships forged between the elders and youth by projects such as the ones discussed above lay strong foundations in a generation to assist their communities and carry forward knowledge of their history.

Nunavut Sivuniksavut

Before examining Project Naming and Views from the North, it is first necessary to discuss the Nunavut Sivukisavut (NS) program in more depth due to its centrality to both projects. In 1985, when Inuit were negotiating land claims, Nunavut Sivukisavut, which translates to "The Future of Our Land," began as an initiative to train young people to assist with negotiations and further along the settlement's implementation.[122] NS continued for many years as a project of the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut but in

[118] "About this Project," *Nanivara – I found it,* accessed April 4, 2017. http://www.nanivara.ca/about-the-project/
[119] Rohner, Thomas, "Their stories, their skills: Nunavut youth research the past: Nanivara project trains youth in research, collecting oral histories" *Nunatsiaq Online,* July 23, 2015 accessed April 4, 2017. http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674in_progress_their_stories_their_skills_nunavut_youth_research_the_past, 7.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Murry, Angus and Morley Hanson. . "The New "Three R's": An award-winning college program for Inuit youth shows the benefits of a small learning environment and culturally-relevant curriculum,," *Our Schools/Our Selves* (2011): 32.

1999 its focus changed and it became a non-profit, independent educational program with a new Board of Directors.[123] The link to Algonquin College in Ottawa allows NS to remain independent and to create its own curriculum but at the same time to provide accreditation and certificates for graduates of NS. For many years, the program was one year and consisted of a series of courses that covered central elements of the story of Inuit peoples from pre-contact to the present.[124] In 2003 they added a second year for students who "lacked the confidence or skills to tackle regular college or university on their own."[125]

Today, Nunavut Sivuniksavut allows Inuit youth to "learn about Inuit history, land claims and other issues essential to their future careers in Nunavut; learn the skills necessary for successful post-secondary education and employment; experience the world outside of the North; learn to live successfully on their own."[126] In an interview, Morley Hanson, one of the directors of NS, noted that since the program started, it has grown each year; presently there are forty-three incoming students per year and a larger program of studies, staff, and budget.[127] He mentioned that this year there were about seventy-five applicants and that the forty or so that are accepted are selected by talking to teachers, families, and friends for character references.[128] A student in the program in 2008, Kelly K. wrote, "Understanding where I come from is the most important knowledge I can receive because it defines who we are as Inuit."[129] This statement captures the program's focus on helping young people learn about the world they live in and how to find their place in it.

Project Naming

Project Naming emerged out of an exercise that began years before at Nunavut Sivuniksavut. In the late 1990s, the directors of NS would take the students to the

[123] Ibid., 32-33.
[124] Ibid., 33.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Hanson, Morley, *Inuit Youth and Ethnic Identity Change: The Nunavut Sivuniksavut Experience* Doctoral dissertation (Ontario: University of Ottawa, 2003,) 75.
[127] Interview with Morley Hanson, September 21, 2016.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Murray and Morley, "The New "Three R's," 42.

photography archives at the National Archives and have them flip through the reproductions of colonial photographs of the Arctic. At that time, it was only a small collection mostly divided by region or community and the students would often recognize family members in the photographs. The students were invited to select one photograph to be reproduced and printed by the college, which they could take home for Christmas. In an interview, Murray Angus (a recently retired former director of Nunavut Sivuniksavut) talked about what would happen year after year when the students returned from Christmas vacation:

> One photograph alone sparked very interesting conversations with their grandparents or other elders. And that made us appreciate what a resource it was that existed in the archives in terms of Nunavut's history. They've told us they have about 50,000 photographs in their collections. Most of which never been even catalogued let alone the people in them identified. But we did that for a number of years and it was such a consistent experience in terms of the benefits of it that it generated both for the students and for the elders who were seeing the photographs.[130]

The benefits of this simple project were numerous. The photographs provided great conversation starters between the youth and elders where language has been a barrier. The photographs also brought content and relevance to a conversation. The youth would come back and say things like, "elders are saying this is the first time people ask about these things" and "this is the first time I talked to an elder about significant things."[131] When looking at the photographs together, more than just identifications were shared with the young people. There would often be stories about the life of the person in the photograph or about life in the past. After the elders shared these stories, they became the young people's stories and there was a transfer of historical knowledge. This process continued for many years until the idea for Project Naming emerged in the early 2000s.

It was the benefits of the simple initiative of NS and the advent of digitization that were the building blocks of Project Naming. Morley Hanson shared the story of how the

[130] Interview with Murray Angus, November 23, 2016.
[131] Interview with Morley Hanson, September 21, 2016.

idea began back in 1998.[132] The students and directors were on a train travelling through Sweden during one of their year-end trips and discussing the project. They thought about the cost of printing one image, which at that time was a lot of money, and the option emerged of putting the photos on a CD. They wondered if the students would take a laptop with a CD home and the amount of photographs they could bring back, discuss and identify. What followed was shared with me by Murray Angus, who approached Library and Archives Canada and met with two or three people from the photo archives branch who were also excited about the project.[133] NS was well positioned as an intermediary between the archive and the communities in the North since they were connected to various organizations and youth centers. Due to their experience with students bringing the photographs home during Christmas they were also in a position to see the benefits of something much bigger.

The project was proposed to Nunavut's department of Culture, Language, Elders, and Youth (CLEY) for a grant to assist with the expenses. For their pilot project in 2001, LAC sent a batch of photographs from Igloolik dated in the early 1950s from their Richard Harrington collection. They hired a young woman in Igoolik and sent her a laptop with the CD of images to talk with the elders and to identify people in the photos. People in about 56 photographs were named, attesting to the potential of the project.[134] Following the success of this pilot project, Angus gave a talk in Iqaluit. He invited key players and politicians to this talk and shared the lack of information the archive had to begin with and what was added through the project. It was then that Project Naming gained the full support of CLEY and the role of NS in the project would be to assist in finding people in communities to help them.

For five or six years, the project continued with Nunavut Sivuniksavut sending the photographs up North and getting the information back to transfer to LAC. The archive would send batches of photographs from different communities and the community with the most photographs in that batch would be contacted by NS to find youth and elder groups. Most of the funding from CLEY went to people in the North and a small amount would be used to compensate staff at NS who helped with the project. In

[132] Ibid.
[133] Interview with Murray Angus, November 23, 2016.
[134] Ibid

Murray's words, it was a "win-win undertaking…The elders in the community at large benefited from access to those photographs, very meaningful, [for] youth…it won for them in terms of relationships with elders and won for them in terms of learning about local history, family histories…and cultural history and the information would come back, we created a spreadsheet, just asked people to enter in and then we'd fire it over to Beth [Greenhorn at LAC]."[135]

Beth Greenhorn, the main organizer of this project at LAC since being hired in 2003, explained that when information was brought back and the data was cleaned up by NS, the identifications would be added in square brackets to the photographs.[136] During this time, as more and more photographs were being scanned, LAC was refining its online database and the website was expanding. The website launched in October 2004 with the Richard Harrington photographs and eight hundred more; it was at this point that the website became another means of identifying people in the images.[137] This was done through the online form called "The Naming Continues." The website became very popular and in 2007, after NS's involvement with the project ended, the second version of the website was launched with a second round of funding for the project from Canadian Heritage. The second round of funding was meant to keep the site alive for five years, but by 2012 positive feedback for the project ensured its continued online presence and expansion, including a strong Facebook page. (Fig. 7)

In 2007 Library and Archives Canada began organizing larger gatherings up North to continue identifying the subjects of the photographs. The story of one of these gatherings held was recounted by Beth Greenhorn in her interview. In November 2007, she travelled to Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit to do interviews and to organize gatherings for the community. In Rankin Inlet, with the help of some well-connected individuals, she organized two events: one for about fourteen elders and the other for anyone from the community.[138] At these gatherings, there were around 500 prints from communities along the western Hudson Bay for people to help with identification. Beth Greenhorn spoke about this event in her interview saying,

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[135] Ibid.
[136] Interview with Beth Greenhorn, September 21, 2016.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.

> We started it with having a little slide show and an hour or even less than that people were getting tired they didn't want to look at the screen more so we broke and had a tea break and then people just started looking at the printouts I brought and then that's when things really got exciting and people were able to share stories and memories and I hired a translator who totally earned her pay during that afternoon and evening and she recorded all the names that they were able to provide for these pictures and I was able to make prints of them and return them. When I got back to Ottawa…going through all of the list and numbers that she got and of the five hundred or so pictures I brought I think I counted two hundred twenty five people that were identified in those, and I was like, "This is incredible."[139]

Other than these types of gatherings, identifications have come through the website from outreach, speaking at conferences and events around Canada. This work has mostly taken place in the South around Ottawa but social media visibility and networking have provided more opportunities.

One of the strong elements of the project was what it expressed about the relationships and kinship of Inuit. Murray Angus would often notice when youth would talk about their experience of speaking with elders about the photographs they would speak volumes about the people in the photographs. He said the youth never came back with just a name; instead people were always identified by who their relations were. This tells us more about the cultural and familial values of the communities, as Angus stated, "people could not think of themselves as separate individuals from their relationships."[140] Another element was the memory of the elders when they viewed the photographs. Elders could identify "pictures from (…) essentially fifty years later and there are pictures of men on the ice hunting walrus from a distance with their backs to the camera and their hoods up and people could identify who they were by their clothes."[141] These identifications were placed in the descriptions on the website and in the archive. (Fig. 9)

[139] Ibid.
[140] Interview with Murray Angus, November 23, 2016.
[141] Ibid.

Seeing photographs of family members and friends, which they previously did not know existed, had great benefits for the communities. In her interview, Beth Greenhorn shared what she thought was one of Project Naming's greatest impacts:

> "For the family members when they find pictures of their lost ancestors or relatives or themselves, it is about that reconnection with the past. […] What I've been told is that in looking at these pictures from the past it's given [the youth] a sense of pride in their identity. Like, 'this is where I come from,' and that there has been a willingness, or more at least this has presented opportunities for them to talk to elders or older people in the community. […] I can say from the archival historical [perspective] that it's so important that we've been able to redress these past wrongs and make these images accessible in digital format or make prints for people. […] So many people didn't even know we had these photographs, they've been sitting in our vaults for a long time. I'm continually amazed at the number of photographs we have in government collections."[142]

In March 2017 an event at Library and Archives Canada commemorated Project Naming's fifteen-year anniversary. At the event, three elders moderated and shared stories about Project Naming. One elder, Piita Irniq, said "identifying photos is healing" and "it's healing what we are doing here, it brings healing and reconciliation together"[143] Another Elder, Manitok Thompson, spoke about the importance of names and said, "thanks to Project Naming we are trying to figure out who these people were…so thankful that you guys started this."[144] From all perspectives the responses to this project have been overwhelmingly positive. Although the technology and the process has vastly changed since it began with the young people from NS in the 1990s, the intention remains the same; to return these photographs to the communities they belong to and identify thousands of Inuit.

[142] Interview with Beth Greenhorn, September 21, 2016.
[143] "Photographs, Generations and Inuit Cultural Memory, Assessing 15 Years of Project Naming" public event in Ottawa, Ontario (March 1-3, 2017).
[144] Ibid.

Views from the North

Views from the North was inspired by and emerged from the work Project Naming was doing with young people. Dr. Carol Payne from Carleton University saw it as "an eloquent project and … a beautiful solution"[145] to the years that outside naming practices—including both (re)naming Inuit communities with the names of Europeans like Frobisher Bay, as well as the imposition of serial numbers, social insurance numbers, and the forced adaptation of surnames—were being imposed on Inuit communities. Payne wrote about the project while preparing her book on the National Film Board (NFB), *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941-1971*. While working on it, she wondered what a similar project would look like where youth could focus more on the stories around the photographs. She thought about working with the NFB photographs of the North, which were used to promote the work of the government and the Canadian nation particularly in the 1950s and 60s.[146] When considering this new project, Payne asked questions like, "couldn't there be photo-based oral history interviews? Couldn't we get people to develop longer stories through photographs?"[147] These questions gave impetus to the development of this project in 2005.

The intention behind this project was enabling research within the communities, which would be aligned with and within Inuit culture.[148] The design was made to be simple and as the project progressed it became more straightforward. According to Payne, this design was,

> To hire students from Nunavut Sivuniksavut as researchers—so these are usually really young students 18 to early 20's—and get them to interview people in their home communities over photographs of that community. (Fig. 9) And they would just leave the recorder running and the elders would tell stories about the images. So in that way it was very much like Project Naming and often the elders identified folks in the photographs but they would also tell anecdotes and

[145] Interview with Carol Payne, October 19, 2016.
[146] Payne, "Culture Memory and Community through Photographs,"6.
[147] Interview with Carol Payne, October 19, 2016.
[148] Ibid.

> sometimes the stories they told went off from the photograph and went in different directions but it didn't matter. It was a very loose kind of project that allowed a young person to sit down with an elder from their own community and share ideas and that was the way I wanted to extend the project.[149]

The project explored how the past can be reformulated in the present and assists us rethink the way we use photography in our world today.[150] Throughout this process Payne identified herself as a facilitator of this process happening in the communities as well as a historian analyzing and thinking about the concepts behind the project. Payne saw that in her position of privilege as a university professor, she had an opportunity to access grants and funding that could benefit Inuit youth in this way, and so she acted to "use that privilege and turn it over to others."[151]

The project was open to all students in their first year at NS and workshops were organized for those interested in the project, led by Payne and an assistant. These sessions were held before the students went home for Christmas break to carry out the project. Although these workshops varied, some aspects remained constant throughout the project. Students would receive binders with information about the project, including information about oral history and a simple guide for the process of the interviews. They were also given albums with photographs from their community and taught how to use the recording equipment, often doing sample interviews with each other to practice. As the project developed, the students would use their laptops to record or take videos. After the students returned from Christmas break, sessions were then devoted to gathering and collating their information and sharing stories from their experience. During the second phase of the project, when Payne paired with the Geomatics and Cybercartographic Atlas, they received better audio-visual equipment for recording and taking their own photographs. During this phase, students were encouraged to create photo essays which were also shared during the sessions after Christmas break. Carol Payne explained how,

> Somebody from Gjoa Haven—which is the furthest north community—did a photo essay in late December. So it was all darkness, and she's talking about how dark it was, and you know people are talking about their community. So the

[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.

> photo-essays were quite fun and those are up on the website as well. The photo part was lead principally by Rosalie Favell. Rosalie is a local photographer and artist, she's Métis and she's also very much interested in these kinds of returns projects and some of her own work is reusing photographs with often with humor about Métis and other Indigenous cultures.[152]

The idea of the photo essays and the map online emerged later on in the project. Initially it was meant to connect with Project Naming more closely, with the intention that the elements of the project would be stored at Library and Archives Canada. But with the kind of funding the project received, it was easier to have a stand-alone website that emerged from the work with Geomatics and Cybercartographic Research Center at Carleton. The online atlas that resulted from this collaboration provided an excellent means to share the interviews, the images, the identifications and the interviews with the students about their experience with the rest of the world. The experiences they had, the images they looked at, and the work they did could be easily accessible to many others.

Between 2005 and 2013, about 80 elders and students participated in the project.[153] When the students returned from carrying out the projects they would be asked about their experiences; many students spoke about how much they enjoyed the conversations with the elders. In Payne's informal conversations with the students that participated, it became clear that beforehand, students had certain barriers or fears, but as these students shared their experiences they would speak about a new kind of cultural identity. Carol Payne spoke to me about how the simplicity of the project helped the students to do important work: "The whole idea that research can be as simple as a conversation is a really important thing and it can bridge generations and maybe cultures."[154] Based on conversations, this simple project connected two generations and brought out stories that can be passed on to future generations. In her chapter "You Hear it in Their Voice," Payne writes,

> Within the charged atmosphere of Inuit culture in Nunavut – a culture wounded by the intergenerational trauma of acculturation that is revisited with alarming regularity in widespread suicides, domestic violence, and substance abuse – these

[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.

> seemingly modest, routine conversations have fostered a sense of cultural consolidation and heightened social engagement through the politics of memory. In their often emotional responses to photo-based oral history interviews with Elders […] NS students have claimed positions as active agents in Inuit cultural reclamation.[155]

Payne draws our attention to the urgent need for conversations that address a history, a deeper understanding of which could benefit young people. As Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) explains in the organization's National Inuit Suicide Prevention Strategy, past traumas, when not resolved due to the lack of attention given to them, affect not only those who experienced those traumas but the generations that follow.[156] ITK states that connecting Inuit youth with their language, culture, and history is one of their priority areas in order to help "create social equity, build health and wellness, and prevent suicide."[157] Conversations with elders have the ability to strengthen relationships between two generations. Michael Kral and a team of researchers who work with Inuit youth write about the ways in which the disconnect between generations whose interaction used to be at the center of life and learning in Inuit culture, has caused young people to feel disconnected from others in their communities.[158] This disconnect has caused them to be far removed from their history and their traditional ways of the past. Kral (et al.) also discusses how youth shared that participating in cultural activities and talking to older members of the community helps them deal with negative influences around them.[159] Views from the North used photographs as a means of beginning these conversations that aim to assist young people to connect to their Elders and their history. When looking at some examples of the photographs they used for their interviews we can observe how one simple image can be the beginning of a deeper conversation that can create links between young people and their history. (Figs. 10-12)

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[155] Payne, "'You Hear It in Their Voice,'" 108-9.
[156] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Suicide Prevention Strategy* , (Ottawa, ON: 2016): 19.
[157] Ibid, 31.
[158] Kral, Michael J, Ida Salusky, Pakkak Inuksuk, Leah Angutimarik, Nathan Tulugardjuk, "Tunngajuq: Stress and resilience among Inuit youth in Nunavut, Canada" *Transcultural Psychiatry* vol. 51 (5) (2014): 675.
[159] Ibid, 682-683.

Experiences Through the Voices of the Participants

The Inuit youth who 'return' the photographs to their communities are essential to the methodology of both of projects under examination here. Therefore, what should be considered equally important to an analysis of the outcomes of the projects in terms of identification is an analysis of the effects of the projects on the participants themselves. This section aims, through reading and analysing interviews with the participants, to examine the impact of the projects on the lives of the participants. Their words will refine projects like this, and they will shape the way these projects are developed and carried out.

As stated previously, through Views from the North, which developed out of Project Naming, young Inuit learned about their history and recovered knowledge around their past and traditional ways by having conversations with their elders. Speaking to the former participants of Views from the North allows a deeper understanding of the process of bringing the photographs home and interviewing their elders. Historically, Indigenous youth have been studied as either passive victims of colonial contact and cultural difference, or romanticized as modern agents who long to be free from controlling older members of their community.[160] However, recent youth culture research has engaged with young people as interpreters and protagonists in society, who re-signify and articulate the conflicting messages they receive from the society around them.[161] Youth Studies now looks at the social, economic and political systems in society as elements that structure the inequities that young people face and must overcome.[162] They are no longer seen as passive members of communities but as active agents with a great ability and force to impact society.

In the following section, I relate the experiences of participants with the different portions of the project while also connecting their insights to relevant critical theory in the field of youth studies. For this research I sought to make connections with former students of the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program, identifying fifteen recent graduates who

[160] Wyman, Leisy T., Teresa L. McCarthy, and Sheilah E. Nicholas, (eds.) *Indigenous Youth and Multilingualism: Language Identity, ideology and Practice in Dynamic Cultural Worlds* (New York: Routledge, 2014): 3.
[161] Ibid., 4.
[162] Ibid.

participated, at different times, in Views from the North, and ultimately interviewing six respondents.[163] Three of these interviews took place over the phone and three through email. Although the six interviews included in this chapter are not enough to give a complete picture of the experience, they do provide valuable insights into the project and emphasize the importance of including the voices of the participants. These six interviewees are Jennifer Kilabuk, Kayla Bruce, Katrina Hatogina, Amy Owingayak, Kelly Fraser and Paula Ikuutaq. Their perspectives and insights were extremely helpful and as such I consider them as co-authors of this research; I am extremely grateful to them for their generous contributions to this study. In the following section, the interview outcomes are organized thematically to better understand what elements of their experiences with the project seemed to resonate with all of the former NS students. There are five sections that naturally emerged from the interviews: first, how they felt while preparing to carry out their interviews; second, different elements the participants remembered from the interviews; third, the qualities the Elders showed throughout the process; fourth, how their participation in this project affected their lives; and finally, their ideas on how to refine projects like Views from the North in the future.

Preparing to Interview their Elders

The preparation for the interviews with the elders and the emotions that accompanied it were the first subjects the participants discussed. One feeling many of the interviewees shared was nervousness, often due to the language barrier. Sometimes it was due to worry that the elders would not want to speak to them in English or their own feeling of inadequacy in their ability to speak Inuktitut. Jennifer Kilabuk shared, "I remember being nervous asking questions because I was not fluent in Inuktitut and I feared that the elders wouldn't want to speak to me in English."[164] Kayla Bruce shared that if the interview hadn't been with her aunt, who was bilingual, she would have been more nervous and would have needed an interpreter.[165] Katrina Hatogina related being very shy when she did the interviews, but as she spoke with more of her elders, she

[163] See appendix 1 for interview questions.
[164] Interview with Jennifer Kilabuk, April 13, 2017.
[165] Interview with Kayla Bruce, April 21, 2017.

gained more confidence and her shyness turned into interest in "finding out who the elders were from in my community."[166] Amy Owingayak shared, "I was nervous but excited to do the interviews. I learned that our elders are always happy to participate in researching."[167]

For some participants this experience was not so new. For instance, some interviewed friends or family members with whom they were used to speaking with about the history of the community.[168] Kelly Fraser spoke about who she interviewed saying, "I went to the elders' homes, like my auntie, like this woman that I know [who] has passed away now. They helped to say who were in the photographs."[169] Paula Ikuutaq, who grew up speaking Inuktitut and speaking to elders in her community, felt a desire and excitement to speak to her elders in her mother tongue after having been in Ottawa for four months and not speaking much Inuktitut.[170] The same participant said: "I was eager to hear the stories the elders had to tell, hoping to feel that I could be brought back in time for a little bit and learn about what life was like at the time the photos were taken."[171]

As the young people carried out this research, they noted that the relationships with their elders and to their history grew stronger, which scholarship has shown can contribute to the development of a positive self-image. Kovach explains that in research, from an Indigenous perspective, "the relationship is viewed as an aspect of methodology, whereas within western constructs the relational is viewed as bias, and thus outside methodology."[172] When these relationships strengthen through the intergenerational sharing of oral histories, so does a young person's understanding of their history and their cultural identity strengthen. The formation of the Inuit youths' identity is thus transformed through various factors related to the process of forming intergenerational bonds, such as learning about one's history and community, recognizing a shared past and relations, and feeling connected to one's place and people. This is important because as Erin Aylward writes, the historical and contemporary valorization of Euro-Canadian

[166] Interview with Katrina Hatogina, April 8, 2017.
[167] Interview with Amy Owingayak, April 3, 2017.
[168] Interview with Kelly Fraser, April 8, 2017.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Interview with Paula Ikuutaq, April 24, 2017.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Kovach, 42.

culture, which Inuit youth "typically consume without critical awareness of its biases," has often resulted in a perception of Inuit cultural inferiority.[173] The impact of this internalized negative self-perception is strongly shaped by the dominant culture, in this case a Euro-Canadian one, but as this research indicates, may be positively counteracted through the transmission of intergenerational knowledge.[174] Tied to this is the history of colonization, when European assimilative forces rejected Indigenous language and customs, and many spiritual beliefs and practices were forbidden. The denigration and dismissal of Inuit culture in Canadian society and media resulted in a weakened sense of cultural identity in today's Inuit youth. Annahatak [et al], in "Cultural Narratives and Clarity of Cultural Identity: Understanding the Well-Being of Inuit Youth," write that, "A clearly defined Inuit identity, derived from a clear understanding of Inuit history, is what allows an Inuk to develop a strong personal identity and, by extension, positive self-esteem."[175] Thought must be given to ways in which young Inuit can be assisted to learn more about their history while respecting and giving due emphasis to their own personal experiences.

In addition to self-esteem, another factor that influences the identity of Inuit youth is the loss of traditional culture. Jason Annahatak and his co-writer discuss how this loss has led to "social dysfunction," since colonization stole the traditional way of life of Inuit communities while giving no new norms to live by.[176] In response to these issues there are two elements which research has linked to a healthy development in young people:

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[173] Aylward, Erin. "Mobility and Nunavut Inuit youth: lessons from Northern Youth Aboard," *Journal of Youth Studies* 18 no. 5 (2015): 557.

[174] Thorpe, Natasha L. "The Hiukitak School of Tuktu: Collecting Inuit Ecological Knowledge of Caribou and Calving Areas through an Elder-Youth Camp." *Arctic*51, no. 4 (1998): 403-08;
M.J. Kral, L. Idlout, J.B. Minore, R.J. Dyck, L.J. Kirmayer, "Unikkaartuit: meanings of well-being, unhappiness, health, and community change among Inuit in Nunavut, Canada" *Community Psychology*, 48 (2011): 426–438;
J. Allen, K. Hopper, L. Wexler, M. Kral, S. Rasmus, K. Nystad, "Mapping resilience pathways of indigenous youth in five circumpolar communities" *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51 (5) (2014): 601–631.

[175] Annahatak, Jason, Roxane de la Sablonniere, Fabrice Pinard Sainte-Pierre, and Donald M. Taylor, "Cultural Narratives and Clarity of Cultural Identity: Understanding the Well-Being of Inuit Youth," *Pimatiswin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 9 no. 2 (2011): 303.

[176] Ibid. 303; Taylor, D.M. and de la Sablonnière, R., "Failing our Aboriginal people: A Normative Theory of Effective Social Change," Research report presented to the Kativik School Board, (2007); *Making a River Flow Back Up the Mountain: Towards Constructive Change in Aboriginal Communities*. McGill-Queen's University Press. (2011); de la Sablonnière, R., Taylor, D.M., and Sadykova, N., "Challenges of applying a learning approach in the context of higher education in Kyrgyzstan," *International Journal of Educational Development* 29 (2009): 628–634.

developing a distinct identity and developing a sense of purpose.[177] These two tasks have beneficial effects on the psychological ease of young people. The question is how to develop these two elements within young Indigenous people today.

Learning about History through Stories

Although it has been years since many of the participants interviewed were engaged in Views from the North, all of the interviewees were able to share features that stayed with them from the process. One element that remained the strongest in their minds was the stories that the elders told them about the past and how things have changed. Amy Owingayak spoke about how some elders "lit up and told stories about what has happened, some told sad stories; it was emotional doing the interviews."[178] Katrina Hatogina shared how the elders "were very happy to see faces they hadn't seen in a long time and a little bit emotional because of so much change that happened"[179] and that looking at the photographs was also an emotional experience for her as she imagined all of the changes her mother and grandmother must have gone through in the community.[180] Jennifer Kilabuk shared a story that her grandmother's sister recounted about being sent to Toronto for tuberculosis treatment and experiencing culture shock. She wrote:

> When she stepped foot off the plane and into the airport she saw so many people and the first thing that came to her mind was "all these people have to eat." She was the oldest of my grandmother's siblings so she played a motherly role after their mother passed. She was responsible for her younger siblings and that included ensuring they had enough to eat.[181]

Paula Ikuutaq shared that the stories she remembers the most were "stories of elders first meeting the *Qablunaat* are what mark the turn of the way lives of Inuit were lived. What struck with me most, though, was how most elders said they were happy they could see

[177] J. P. Hunter and M. Csikszentmihalyi, "The Positive Psychology of Interested Adolescents," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 32 (2003): 27–35.
[178] Interview with Amy Owingayak, April 3, 2017.
[179] Interview with Katrina Hatogina, April 8, 2017.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Interview with Jennifer Kilabuk, April 13, 2017.

those that have passed away again."[182] Katrina Hatogina remembers looking at a photograph of the landscape and the elder pointing out how much the land has changed due to the rising water levels.[183] Similarly Kayla Bruce shared about looking at an image of a boardwalk that "the teacher used to walk to the school so she didn't have to walk on dirty gravel, which was kind of weird that she would use the boardwalk instead."[184] Paula shared that she remembers noticing the traditional clothing in the images: "I love looking at the pictures that profile the traditional clothing, especially the attire women use. I love seeing what was considered beautiful and, as a seamstress, I love seeing the way the clothing patterns were constructed and sewed."[185]

Learning what stayed with the participants all this time after they carried out the interviews is particularly meaningful due to the impact these memories have had on their own work, as artists and seamstresses, and how they think about their changing land and culture. It also influences how they situate themselves within the broader history of their families and communities. As Chimamanda Adichie argues, "Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign. But stories can also be used to empower, and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people. But stories can also repair that broken dignity."[186] As they hear stories from their elders, they can understand their relationship to that history more deeply. They are able to share the stories they learn with others and counteract the colonial stories that have historically been told. Kelly Fraser shared how participating in the project inspired her to continue researching in order to write these stories down in books about Inuit and by Inuit. She shared that, "I am more comfortable talking with people about my culture and I understood how the past had worked now I do that on a regular basis. I am actually hoping to get more into […] research […] because there's a lack of Inuit making own scholarly journals and writing books. So I actually want to write a history book […] in the near future, I want to look for funding or fund it myself, a project where I could learn more about the elders and our culture."[187] Through learning more about their history they are also building these relationships, which

[182] Interview with Paula Ikuutaq, April 24, 2017 .
[183] Interview with Katrina Hatogina, April 8, 2017.
[184] Interview with Kayla Bruce, April 21, 2017.
[185] Interview with Paula Ikuutaq, April 24, 2017.
[186] Adichie, C. "The danger of a single story." TED: Ideas worth spreading. http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story.html (2009)
[187] Interview with Kelly Fraser, April 8, 2017.

strengthens their links to their community. It has been identified that links within the community has an important influence on the health and well-being of Indigenous peoples.[188] R.W. Blum in "Positive youth development: A strategy for improving health" notes that programs that help them form relationships with adults and participate in community activities enable positive youth development.[189] Through their involvement with Views from the North the participants are able to create relationships and learn more about their communities. This enables them to create stronger ties to their elders who share knowledge and stories with them, and through that develop stronger ties to their community.

Teachings from their Elders

Other elements that stood out for the participants were the ways in which elders answered questions and transmitted knowledge. Amy Owingayak shared her experiences with elders in this project and others afterwards saying, "One of the things that has always stayed with me is perseverance. I think that is what most, if not all have said. Each of their stories shows perseverance as well."[190] Compassion was another quality that stood out: the compassion of the people in a community towards others and the willingness with which the participants' questions were answered.[191] During the interviews, elders showed openness and support; they were happy to answer questions and identify people in the photographs.[192] Kelly Fraser shared the joy the experience brought not only to them as participants, but also to the elders being interviewed: "They

[188] Halsall, Tanya, and Tanya Forneris, "Evolution of a leadership program for First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Youth: Stories of positive youth development and community engagement," *Applied Developmental Science* (2016); Lerner, R. Lerner, J. Almerigi, J. Theokas, C. Phelps, E. Naudeau, S. Gestsdottir, S. Ma, L. Jelicic, H. Alberts, A. Smith, L. Simpson, I. Christiansen, E. Warren, D. and von Eye, A. "Towards a New Vision and Vocabulary about Adolescence: Theoretical, Empirical, and Applied Bases of a "Positive Youth Development" Perspective" in Balter, L., & Tamis-LeMonda, C. S. (Eds.). *Child Psychology: A handbook of contemporary issues.* (New York: Psychology Press/Taylor & Francis, 2006)

[189] Blum, R. W. "Positive youth development: A strategy for improving health." in. F. Jacobs, D. Wertlieb, & R. M. Lerner (Eds.) *Enhancing the life chances of youth and families: Public service systems and public policy perspectives.* Vol. 2 of *Handbook of applied developmental science: Promoting positive child, adolescent, and family development through research, policies, and programs* (California: Sage Publications, 2003).

[190] Interview with Amy Owingayak, April 3, 2017.

[191] Interview with Kelly Fraser, April 8, 2017.

[192] Interview with Katrina Hatogina, April 8, 2017, interview with Kelly Fraser, April 8, 2017.

were just so delighted that a young person would visit with gifts, you know when I say gifts it could be food, I would bring something to munch on whenever I go visit elders because it's just something you do to show that you are grateful."[193] She went on to share the way elders would tell stories and offer advice to her,

> I remember this woman Sarah was telling me about when she got married in an iglu with her husband. She was so young, she was very scared of the white man who was a priest. She was laughing about how scared she was and that it turned out okay. [She was] telling me about her life as a young woman doing the daily chores, which is taking care of kids and cleaning and sewing. They worked hard and comparing that time to now and saying "you gotta go to school" and "you gotta fit into this new lifestyle" and she didn't say that last part but she was like 'its good that you go to school there has to be more people going to school."[194]

Another quality was generosity in sharing while answering questions, which the participants recognized would shape the way they understood their history. Kayla Bruce shared that through the stories told by the elders they could gain a better understanding of the past and the hardships they faced, and this made her more "appreciative of all the happy pictures and the little things that made it better."[195] Through the support and help of elders generously sharing their stories, the youth were able to gain insight into the way life used to be and develop a stronger appreciation of the changes the elders had experienced.

The interview subjects remarked that as the elders shared the history with generosity, compassion and openness, many experiences and stories came to the surface. Katrina Hatogina shared that she was very excited to ask the elders if she would interview them and they were "very open and very supportive."[196] Intergenerational relationships, as discussed in previous section, are central to these projects. The conversations that the young people have with their elders are important in creating links to their history and communities. Speaking about the more difficult elements of their history also plays an important role in the cultural identity of Inuit youth. One difficult

[193] Interview with Kelly Fraser, April 8, 2017.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Interview with Kayla Bruce, April 21, 2017
[196] Interview with Katrina Hatogina, April 8, 2017

element that many elders discussed were the changes that happened due to colonization. Katrina Hatogina shared that in the interviews the elders become "emotional because of so much change that happened."[197] Historical traumas, as defined by Amy Bombay [et al.], are events which effect a large group or population and that undermine the well-being of contemporary group members, can be triggered by contemporary stressors and the risks of which continue to accumulate across generations.[198] The residential schools, for example, is an historical traumas that continues to effect the younger generations. In Bombay et al.'s study about the effects of residential schools on the children and grandchildren of people who attended residential schools are, high suicide rates in the youth, depression, problems with respect to educational outcomes, learning difficulties and drug use.[199] The article goes on to outline elements that can act as "protective factors for well-being" such as a strong cultural identity, immersion in one's traditional culture,[200] and knowledge of history.[201] In 1994, the Assembly of First Nations shared that, "First Nations need to know their history. History provides a context for understanding individuals' present circumstances, and is an essential part of the healing process."[202] This applies to Inuit society as well. The qualities of the elders in sharing stories about their history allows for this healing to take place and for traumas that are linked to the many legacies of colonialism to be discussed. The relationships formed between the young people and their elders can strengthen their cultural identity through the links created to the history of their communities.

How the Participants felt the Project Affected Their Lives

Photographic returns projects such as Views from the North have a great capacity to influence the lives of young Inuit and their ties to their cultural identity and history.

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[197] Ibid.
[198] Bombay, A. Matheson, K. , Hymie, A. "The Intergenerational effects of Indian Residential Schools: Implications for the concept of historical trauma" *Transcultural Psychiatry* vol. 51 (3) (2014): 321-22.
[199] Bombay et al. 324-327.
[200] Bombay et al. 328.
[201] Bombay et al. 333.
[202] Assembly of First Nations (AFN) (1994) *Breaking the silence: An interpretive study of Residential School impact and healing as illustrated by the stories of First Nations individuals.* (Ottawa, ON: AFN/First Nations Health Commission): 141.

Nothing is more powerful than hearing the effects of the project from the participants themselves. Amy Owingayak shared how being part of the project changed the way she saw herself. It helped her learn more about the history and stories of her community, and through this she felt more connected to her community and gained pride in her identity.[203] Katrina Hatogina said that her participation in the project made her appreciate her ancestors more because she learned about how they lived and the hardships they experienced.[204] She shared, "it made me feel like I could be so grateful for my ancestors because of how they lived and how hard it was for them to catch food and just have a livelihood here without stores or anything; this makes me so grateful and so proud."[205] It made her appreciate her ancestors even more and think about the possibility of her generation trying to live off the land.[206]

Some participants noted how carrying out the interviews impacted their relationship to research. One said,

> It changed the way that I see my people. I saw them as more compassionate. It was something I took for granted now I go to school and I do my own research. I do research based on where I am from, that was a big impact. I am more comfortable talking with people about my culture and I understood how the past had worked, now I do that on a regular basis […] there is a lack of Inuit making our own scholarly journals and writing books, so I actually want to write kind of a history book […] I want to look for funding or fund it myself, a project where I could learn more about the elders and our culture. I need to ask them. They are dying faster than we anticipated. For example, those people that I interviewed, some are not in good health and I feel like time is going too fast and I am trying to catch some stuff.[207]

In relation to research, Kayla Bruce shared that this project was "kind of an introduction to research" and, although at the time perhaps the importance wasn't clear to her, she later understood it to be a starting point along the path of research, which she has

[203] Interview with Amy Owingayak, April 3, 2017.
[204] Interview with Katrina Hatogina, April 8, 2017.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Interview with Kelly Fraser, April 8, 2017.

continued on since then.[208] Paula Ikuutaq shared that these interviews made her want to continue interviewing her elders about "various cultural practices and catalogue them to preserve our Inuit culture for future generations."[209] Some of the impacts were simple yet very meaningful to the lives of the participants. Jennifer Kilabuk simply stated, "this project helped [them] build a relationship with [their] grandmother's sister, for that [they are] grateful."[210]

When speaking about why projects like this are important, the participants stated that an understanding of history helps young people like them appreciate their ancestors, find a love for research and discover more about where they came from. Paula Ikuutaq said that she learnt about "the beauty of speaking about the past" and "how much culture we need to preserve and how much we can learn to move forward in our lives."[211] She also shared that when she was participating she felt happy for the elders when they saw images of their past. She said,

> This was something that couldn't be done before cameras came to the North. And those that took the pictures brought their photos back down South without the subjects knowing what the photos ever looked like. I loved the way the elders reminisced about their lives on the land. It was as though they were taken back home.[212]

Kelly Fraser spoke about how the experience helped her to get out of her comfort zone when speaking to elders or anyone in the community, and how this could also be helpful to other young people. She said that as elders are getting older, information is disappearing with them.[213] Young people need to speak with them to gain the confidence to speak to others about their history. As another participant stated, it also helps young people gain more respect for research and understand that they can contribute to something valuable.[214]

Knowledge of one's history can provide youth with resources to draw upon when forming a sense of personal identity. It gives young people a framework and a larger

[208] Interview with Kayla Bruce, April 21, 2017.
[209] Interview with Paula Ikuutaq, April 24, 2017.
[210] Interview with Jennifer Kilabuk, April 13, 2017.
[211] Interview with Paula Ikuutaq, April 24, 2017.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Interview with Kelly Fraser, April 8, 2017.
[214] Interview with Kayla Bruce, April 21, 2017.

context through which to locate themselves. Lisa Wexler writes that, "History provides groups not only with a platform for mutual affinity, but also with a sense of collective meaning-making about who they are, where they came from, and what future direction they should take…the ways in which a people understand their collective, cultural history can have profound effects on an individual's sense of identity."[215] With the many prejudices in society today and messages from the media and elsewhere that seem to reinforce little more than stereotypes of Indigenous people, creating relationships with history can help to ground young people's sense of self-worth and sense of purpose. As Annahatak argues, developing a strong Inuit identity from a clear understanding of collective history assists young people to develop self-esteem and personal identity.[216]

Furthermore, the period of adolescence or second stage of identity development, as described by Jean Phinney and Eric Kohatsu in "Ethnic and racial identity development and mental health", is a time of questioning and searching and an attempting to "make sense of their experience as members of a minority group".[217] Youth become more aware of themselves and may then desire to learn more about themselves and their people: it is a period of exploration. Phinney writes that this stage can also lead to youth becoming alienated or marginalized if their questions go unanswered or if they do not find their place in their history and society. A strong ethnic identity in adolescents provides a sense of group affiliation in the individual, strengthens self-confidence and self-esteem, and allows individuals to interact in a more positive way with their culture and the wider society.[218] It is clear through the insights of the participants that taking part in this project not only connected them to their history and their people, but also helped them feel a stronger sense of pride and belonging.

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[215] Wexler 269-270.
[216] Annahatak, et al., "Cultural Narratives," 303-304; Taylor, D.M., "The Quest for Collective Identity: The Plight of Disadvantaged Ethnic Minorities," *Canadian Psychology* 38 (1997); 174-189; D.M. Taylor, *The Quest for Identity: From Ethnic Minorities to Generation X*)New York: Praeger Publications, 2002).
[217] Phinney, Jean S. and Kohatsu, Eric L. "Ethnic and racial identity development and mental health" in Schulenberg, John and Maggs, Jennifer (eds.) *Health Risk and Developmental Transitions During Adolescence* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 43.
[218] Phinney, Jean, "Ethnic Identity" in Kazdon, A. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Psychology* (Washington: American Psychological Association, 2000); 255..

The Participants' Ideas for Refining the Project

Including the voices of participants strengthens projects such as Views from the North because, as the group with the most direct experience with the research, the student interviewers are uniquely positioned to refine both the existing project and future projects. They become active agents in the organization of projects through their contributions and suggestions. Each of the former NS students interviewed had suggestions for the development of this project that could also impact future similar projects. Katrina Hatogina had the idea of organizing a meeting at which all the elders could view the photographs because, "when you have everyone there then they will have more stories to tell…reminding each other of what happened in the picture because I think that when they are all together then there is that much more of a voice…then all the stories come flowing through."[219] Kelly Fraser had the idea of recruiting someone from the community to help connect the youth to elders. Even though it was easy for her to find elders to talk to, she knew there were other students who did not participate and it could have been because they did not know who to ask.[220] Kayla Bruce spoke about how her knowledge of research now would have shaped the way she approached the interview process and increased her appreciation for the project she was participating in.[221] Therefore participants could learn more about the process of research and its relevance to their studies. A few participants shared how helpful it was to have the technology to record the interviews and they wanted to know how to use that technology even more.[222] Paula Ikuutaq wrote,

> I wish I could've asked more questions and kept my own recordings of the interviews so that I could go back to it when I feel a need to listen to the stories…if those that participated…could have done interviews more than just once, it would have created a more profound experience.[223]

Each participant articulated why these kinds of projects are important and what impact they had upon their lives.

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[219] Interview with Katrina Hatogina, April 8, 2017.
[220] Interview with Kelly Fraser, April 8, 2017.
[221] Interview with Kayla Bruce, April 21, 2017.
[222] Interview with Kelly Fraser, April 8, 2017; Interview with Jennifer Kilabuk, April 13, 2017.
[223] Interview with Paula Ikuutaq, April 24, 2017.

I will close this section with a thought one of the participants shared, indicating an important need this project addresses, which is the lack of strong relationships between young Inuit and their elders. When speaking about why young people struggle to talk to their elders, Kelly Fraser said:

> That's a question I have to ask myself because I don't know the answer. All I know is there is a large difference between how our young people communicate now and how they used to communicate and how our elders used to communicate. I think residential school has really impacted that way of communicating [and] being inquisitive about our culture. I think it's a very delicate thing. The way I see it is it stems from internet violence and that internet violence, viral violence, has made our younger people weak and paralyzed with fear to ask a bunch of questions because they are scared to be told they are wrong in a very abrupt manner [and] young people are sensitive at this age. But they are the ones that need to be inquisitive and need to go out there because their relatives may not know… I keep telling young people 'you have to do your own research and go find out how to be you, how to be Inuk.' Our culture won't be handed on a silver platter, we have to fight for it because not everyone has this knowledge and it's expensive. That's probably one of the things that keeps people from learning.[224]

The voices of the participants of these projects are crucial to the development and progress of the project itself. Their insights assist in refining and improving the projects because they have a greater understanding of their communities and the needs of other Indigenous youth like themselves.

Eve Tuck refers to the trend in research on Indigenous peoples that "intends to document peoples' pain and brokenness to hold those in power accountable for their oppression" but this "reinforces and reinscribes a one-dimensional notion of [Indigenous] people as depleted, ruined and hopeless."[225] Tuck recommends an approach to research that captures hope instead of focusing on oppression and loss. Participants' involvement in Views from the North provided them with the opportunity to become the researchers and to take their own approach to the process. This allows for new voices to be heard and

[224] Interview with Kelly Fraser, April 8, 2017.
[225] Tuck, Eve, "Suspending damage: A letter to communities" *Harvard Education Review* 79 (3) (2009): 409.

new ideas and questions to be brought to the organization of these projects. The participants' recommendations for future projects are just the beginning of this process of including new approaches through the voices of Inuit youth themselves. This shows an exciting new direction for research in regards to photographic returns projects and Arctic research with Inuit in general. This new direction can focus on both positive outcomes and the ways in which the histories of these colonial photographs can be transformed in productive ways by young Inuit.

These interviews have revealed a close connection between the young people's experiences with the project and their developing connection to their own cultural history. The project strengthened their relationships with their elders and gave them a stronger sense of how their communities have developed and how life used to be. Participants witnessed how the photographs and stories were appreciated by their elders and realized the importance of documenting and transmitting those stories among their communities. All the interviewees above shared that this project impacted their lives positively in some way. Although quantitative elements, such as the number of identifications that came back or the amount of elders the youth spoke to, can be analyzed through the results and methodology of such projects, the positive effects truly become apparent when speaking to the participants, and this is important for the lead researchers of such cross-cultural research projects to bear in mind as they devise their projects. As Kenall [et al.] stresses in "Beyond the rhetoric of participatory research in Indigenous communities: Advances in Australia over the last decade," the challenge for non-Indigenous researchers and practitioners is to "ardently adopt appropriate methods of research that can lead to acceptable, sustainable, and efficacious solutions within Indigenous communities…and to espouse new ways of seeing that respect local Indigenous ways of knowing and adopt participatory approaches whereby knowledge remains under the control of the community."[226] By involving the youth as the primary researchers in Views from the North and Project Naming, links are made within the communities, traditional ways of knowing are respected, and not only is knowledge

[226] Kendall, E., Sunderland, N., Barnett, L., Nalder, G., and Matthews, C. "Beyond the rhetoric of participatory research in Indigenous communities: Advances in Australia over the last decade" *Qualitative Health Research,* 21 (12) (2011):1719.

returned to the North, but this knowledge remains within the community and is carried on through the participants.

Conclusion

Having analyzed both Project Naming and Views from the North, the relationship both projects had to history and the effects they had on the participants, there is no doubt that such projects have tremendous value to the lives of young Inuit. Not only do the two photographic returns projects help identify the people in the photographs and record valuable stories from elders, but it also allows youth to learn about doing research, to communicate with their elders and to discover their history. Learning about history plays a large role in shaping Inuit youth's sense of identity with regards to their culture. The challenges young Inuit face today are vast. The history of colonization still strongly impacts their connection to the past and their thinking about the future. Learning about the past by forming meaningful relationships with their elders strengthens the foundations of their cultural identity and assists them in understanding the past. It is through this deeper knowledge of the past that they begin to understand their role in the present and how they can contribute to the future.[227]

Today, photography is seen as a powerful tool to help people connect to their history and understand more deeply the world around them. Although photography has been used to project and circulate stereotypical perceptions of Indigenous peoples, as a way of to control them and depict them as a disappearing group, these colonial photographs now also hold the potential for healing. Jane Lydon writes that, "colonial photographs have now become a crucial technology of Indigenous memory – an important means of producing and processing the past in the present."[228] The shift in the

[227] Kral, Michael J., Ida Salusky, Pakkak Inuksuk, Leah Angutimarik, and Nathan Tulugardjuk. "Tunngajuq: stress and resilience among Inuit youth in Nunavut, Canada." *Transcultural psychiatry* 51, no. 5 (2014): 673-692.
Kral, Michael J., Eva Adams, Leappi Akoomalik, Louise Akearok, Kristianne Allen, Simona Arnatsiaq, Eemeelayou Arnaquq et al. *Unikkaartuit: Meanings of well-being, sadness, suicide, and change in two Inuit communities*. Health Canada, 2003: 21-28.
Cook, Philip. "Capacity-building partnerships between indigenous youth and elders." *Child & Youth Services* 20, no. 1-2 (1999): 189-202.
[228] Lydon, 174.

use of these photographs is central to these two projects. The impact of these projects becomes more meaningful as it aims to transform the purpose of the photographs from archives of a painful past to a tool through which history can be shared and shape the development of the upcoming generations. The photographs that were brought from the North and subsequently placed in archives for decades are now being returned to the communities to which they belong, and are given the power to link the present with the past.

Although much research has been done around photographic returns projects, the voices of the participants introduce new elements into the discourse around such work. As the interviews in the previous section demonstrate, the youth, who are the foundation and strength of these projects, can also make meaningful contributions to the development of similar projects in the future. Their reflections add depth to our understanding of the projects and their experiences give insight into the potential these projects have to impact and strangthen their cultural identity. Through sharing these experiences the participants assist the organizers of the projects to refine and improve their work in ways that benefit researchers and the communities they collaborate with. From the interviews included in this research the importance and impact of Views from the North, which builds on the methodology and organization of Project Naming, becomes clear. The voices of the individuals that these projects are aiming to assist must remain central to the planning and reflecting being done on such projects and their future.

Garakani writes in "Young People Have a Lot to Say … with Trust, Time, and Tools: The Voices of Inuit Youth in Nunavik" that "the research process itself should be beneficial to participants, and should provide an opportunity to create dialogue amongst stakeholders and contribute to the empowering of a community."[229] Future research with Indigenous communities must work in the way that Garakani begins to describe. The participants must be considered those shaping the way the project is carried out. The intention must be to benefit the communities and they must be the ones consulted at every step of the process. This research begins to demonstrate how including the voices of participants of projects can not only show their strength and impact, but also continue

[229] Garakani, Tatiana, "Young People Have a Lot to Say … with Trust, Time, and Tools: The Voices of Inuit Youth in Nunavik" *Canadian Journal of Education* 37 (1) (2014): 250.

to improve the organization of such projects. There is much to be learned but one thing is certain: the potential that lies in understanding youths contributions to research and the ways it can benefit academia and communities is great and must continue to be developed.

The most essential element is the telling of history by the members of the communities themselves. Elise Chenier writes that, "The politics of oral history is to resist everyday oppression by empowering subjugated people and communities to tell and share their stories and, in this way, to restore human dignity."[230] Through oral history the youth participants learn about the power of stories, and become empowered to tell their own histories as well. This connection between developing relationships and learning about history is indispensable to both projects and their future development. The conversations between youth and elders must be emphasized in order to bring to life the archived historical photographs. The experiences of the youth who participated show that there is knowledge generated that can be used for the future, and can inform research around photographic returns.

The results of analyzing Project Naming and Views from the North in terms of both successes and shortcomings—in relation to the impact of these projects on the youth who carried out the research—indicate how future research projects might involve youth in ways that are meaningful to both the research and the young people involved. Indigenous youth should be consulted at the beginning of a research project involving them, listened to during the process, and asked for feedback at the conclusion. Giving youth the power and knowledge to help steer the work they are involved in can inspire Indigenous youth to consider their role, their futures in research, and their future careers.

[230] Chenier, Elise, "Privacy Anxieties: Ethics versus Activism in Archiving Lesbian Oral History Online," *Radical History Review* 122 (2015): 139.

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Figure 1: *Nascopie* passenger and Inuit family, Craig Harbour, 1937. Photographer: Richard Finnie. Source: National Archives of Canada, Richard Finnie Collection, 1987-154, album 13, item 371. From Peter Geller's *Northern Exposures,* 7

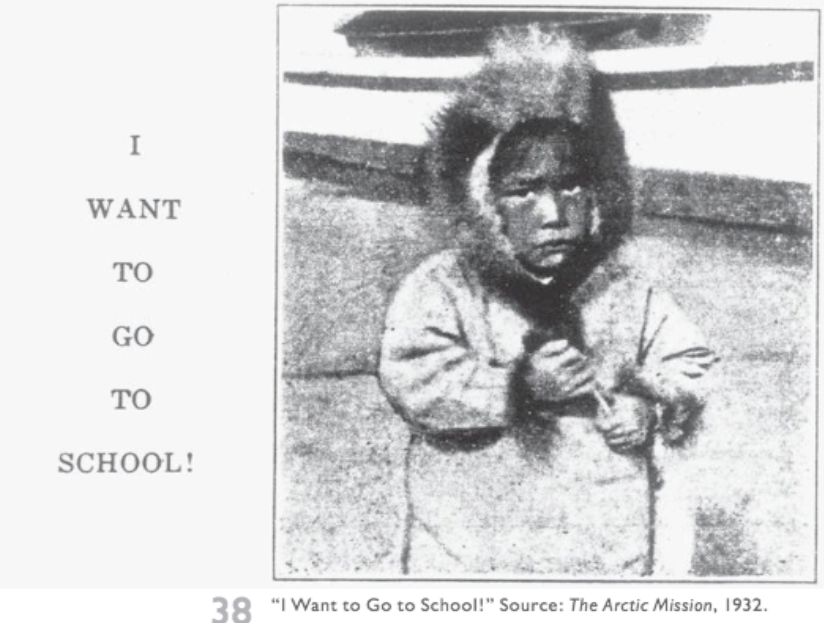

Figure 2: "I want to go to school!" *The Arctic Mission,* 1932.
Source: Peter Geller *Northern Exposures,* 78.

Figure 3:"Father Trinell with group of Inuit children in front of the Roman Catholic Mission."
Photographer: Douglas Wilkinson, October 1951, Library and Archives Canada.
Source: viewsfromthenorth.ca

Figure 4: Inuit Man in White Parka, Smiling, January 1946. Bud Glunz (n.d.), Pangnirtung, Nunavut. Black and white photograph. Library and Archives Canada/ c. 3842275. Source: collectionscanada.gc.ca

The original caption for this photograph was, "Canadian Economy is enriched yearly by a wealth of furs - contribution of the little-known, poorly-mapped, sparsely-populated North. Out of the land of the Eskimos comes the bulk of the white fox catch, while a few blue, red and cross foxes, weasel (ermine) and polar bears are also traded. The Eskimo is a happy, childlike nomad. He lives mainly by fishing and hunting, his principal foods being seal, caribou, ptarmigan and white whale.
This is a typical Eskimo of the Canadian Eastern Arctic."[231]

[231] Allia, Valerie, *Un/Covering the North: News, Media and Aboriginal People* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999)

Figure 5: Page of "Native type[s], Chesterfield Inlet – July 1926." Photographer: L.T. Burwash. Source: National Archives of Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Collection, 1974-366, album 4, 26. From Peter Geller's *Northern Exposures*, 33.

Figure 6: Group of Young Inuit Women and Children Laughing and Smiling, 1949. Richard Harrington (1911-2005) Coppermine. Black and White photography.
Library and Archives Canada. c. 3549401. Source: collectionscanada.gc.ca

The photograph has also been reviewed by Project Naming, an initiative dedicated to bringing the Northern-Canadian Inuit community together in the goal of identifying people portrayed in the numerous photographs held by Library and Archives Canada. The six women portrayed here are, from left to right, Susie Kingogluk Evaglok, Agnes Topiak, Mary Anaktak, Kakagon, Martha Appatok Alonak, and Alice Ayalik.[232]

[232] Nazarian, Vana, "'Sweet Smiling Peoples of the Far North': Inuit People and the Western Gaze" from http://canadianportraits.concordia.ca/

Figure 7: Library and Archives Canada Facebook Page
https://www.facebook.com/pg/LibraryArchives/photos/?tab=album&album_id=898809673498699

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Source: http://collectionscanada.gc.ca

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Figure 12: “[Class of Inuit Students]” Coral Harbour, 1964. Photographer unknown, LAC.
Source: viewsfromthenorth.ca

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Appendicies

Interviews with youth:

Amy Owingayak, April 3, 2017 (by email)

CH: Can you begin by sharing a little bit about your experience with the project? What year was it, how old were you, what was it like? What attracted you to participating in the project? Had you worked with this kind of photography before?

AO: I was attending Nunavut Sivuniksavut in 2011. I can't remember if it was one of our assignments at NS or if that was part of Nanisiniq history project as I did a lot of research for both. However, I remember going home for a bit and scheduled interviews with elders. I enjoyed listening to their stories and learning more about the history. As it was part of my assignment, I had to learn to use any device needed. E.I recorder, camera..

CH: How was the interview process for you? What were some of the feelings you had leading up to it and during it? Do you think the interview process could have been done differently and if yes, what do you wish you would have asked or wish you would have said?

AO: The interviews went great. I was nervous but excited to do the interviews. I learned that our elders are always happy to participate in researching.

CH: What were some of the things the elders shared with you that stayed with you the most?

AO: I have worked with Elders for some time. One of the things that always stayed with me is perseverance. I think that is what most, if not all have said. Each of their stories shows perseverance as well.

CH: Did you participate in the sessions before and after bringing the photographs back home? What did you find helpful about them? What did you think was the least helpful aspect?

AO: I have been part of the Nanisiniq history project before attending Nunavut Sivuniksavut. So I was already familiar with researching. As I was still part of the history project, I continued to do interviews.

CH: Do you, even today, remember some of the photographs that made the strongest impression upon you? What were some of the reactions or emotions you felt as you went through the photographs? What impact did they have upon you? What did you see and feel when you showed people in the community the photographs?

AO: I don't recall what photos we went through. I just remember listening to their stories. Some lit up and told stories about what had happened, some told sad stories, it was

emotional doing the interviews. However it was interesting to see people coming to see what we put together from the interviews.

CH: As a young person, how do you think this project and participating in it impacted your life?

AO: It changed how I see myself. Learning more about the history and hearing their stories, I felt more connected to the people and my community. I guess I can say I gained pride in my identity.

Jennifer Kilabuk, April 13, 2017 (by email)

My experience with the project:
I was in my first year of Nunavut Sivuniksavut and over our Christmas break the 'views from the north' project was our assignment. I was 19 at the time and it must have been 2013. Ice never work with that type of photography before.

I don't remember what the interview questions were. I do remember being nervous asking questions because I was not fluent in Inuktitut and I feared that the elders would want to speak to me in English.

The one thing that stayed with me the most was an interview I had with my grandmother's sister. She mentioned that she was sent to Toronto for tuberculosis treatment. She said she experienced extreme culture shock when she stepped foot off the plane and into the airport. She saw so many people and the first thing that came to her mind was "all these people have to eat". She was the oldest of my grandmothers siblings so she played a motherly role after there mother passed. She was responsible for her younger siblings and that included ensuring they had enough to eat.

I found that having a recorder was helpful in the interview.

I can't remember the photos in the project. I do remember my grandmothers sister knowing a few of the people in them.

I don't know what the strongest part of this project was. I can't remember I'm sorry.

This project helped me build a relationship with my grandmothers sister, for that I am grateful.

Katrina Hatogina, April 8, 2017 (Phone Interview)

[Personal discussion redacted]

CH: Thank you for taking the time [to speak with me]. I'm sure your very busy. I just

maybe wanted to start by you sharing what year you participated in the project and what attracted you to participate in that kind of project. Can you just start with that?

KH: Yea. The year I participated was 2011/2012 in December. It was kind of my homework to take home, so that's the reason why I took it. And I was interested in finding out who the elders were from in my community.

CH: Had you ever worked with this kind of photography before?

KH: No

CH: So what was the process like for you to sit down with the elders and do the interviews? What were the feelings leading up to or during the interview? Maybe you can share a bit about kind of what that process was like.

KH: I was very excited to be asking the elders if I can interview them and after I asked a few elders if they would it got easier for me because I kind of got out of the shyness. I was very shy back then.

CH: What do you think it was that made you like more confident as you went along?

KH: They are very open and very supportive, the elders I was interviewing.

CH: What are some of the things that stood out to you the most? What do you remember the most about those interviews or things that they shared with you?

KH: The stories that they told about how it use to be back then and how different it is from now.

CH: Did they appreciate what you guys were doing? How did they feel about the project?

KH: A few of the elders were very happy to see faces that they haven't seen in a long time and a little bit emotional because of so much change that happened.

CH: Yea, do you remember in the project there were some sessions that you had to prepare with Carol Payne before you went to do the interviews and then when you came back. Do you remember those kinds of sessions that you had? […] Can you speak a bit about what they looked like?

KH: Yea... the pictures?

CH: So before you went to do the interview did they prepare you in any way? Or did they kind of explain what you were suppose to do?

KH: They just explained to me what process I should be going into with the interviews about the pictures.

CH: And then what was it like when you came back with the interviews?

KH: I didn't come back with information about who the people were in the pictures but I had written up about the stories that the elders told me about the background of the pictures. It reminded them of some of the stories that they remembered and so I wrote that up and I gave it to my instructor and I gave the pictures back to my instructor also. He also asked my a few questions about them and I told him pretty much what I wrote in the letter there.

CH: Do you remember like some of the stories or not?

KH: Its been along time and I can't really remember so much has happened (laughs)

CH: Yea forsure, I was curious about if you remember

KH: I just remember one of them. There was a picture in front of towns here and one of the elders said that there use to be an island now where a sand bar is so much saying that the water level had eaten away at that island which now is a sand bar.

CH: Wow! Sorry I didn't ask you at the beginning also like where were you holding these interviews? where are you from?

KH: Kugluktuk, Nunavut.

CH: Thank you just for the interview sake. I was wondering if you remember today any of the photographs that made a strong impression on you? And maybe what your reaction was to those photographs and to the interview process? Like do you remember emotionally how that was for you or what stood out to you from the photographs?

KH: When I looked at the pictures I just could not help but imagine how my grandparents were living. Makes me think what did they do and how did they live and how emotional they were... just emotional attachment of thinking how my grandparents and my mom grew up in this place before all this technology and like new way of living here. Yea I don't really remember specific pictures but I just remember having that feeling.

CH: […] Do you think like if they did a project like this again would you have any advice about how to kind of make it stronger or like any feedback that could kind of help the project be better? Or did you feel like everything was good?

KH: I think holding a meeting with all the elders in one place for them to look at the pictures instead of doing it on your own because when you have everyone there then they will have much more stories to tell. Like reminding each other of what happened in the picture because I think that when they are all together then there is that much more of a voice and when there is that much more of a voice then all the stories come flowing through.

CH: Yea, this is just really helpful! I just have one more question. I'm really curious about how these kinds of projects impact the lives of young people you know the youth that are doing these projects how the knowledge that you have gained and what you learned impacted your life. I know you did a lot of projects with Nunavut Sivuniksavut, but how this project affected your life or impacted your life in some way or the decisions you made afterwards. Does that make sense?

KH: Yea, it made me feel like I could be so grateful for my ancestors because of how they lived and how hard it was for them to catch food and just have a lively hood here without stores or anything. So this makes me so grateful and so proud. I wouldn't mind trying to live in that way just to have a feel of how my ancestors were living and how hard it is... even if its just for awhile like it still means so much to me that I want to try it.

CH: Thank you so much Katrina that was really helpful. [Explaining more about what the thesis is about]

KH: Yea, you're very welcome! If you have any more questions don't hesitate to ask as well.

CH: Thank you so much it was very nice to meet you over the phone (laughter)

KH: You too. I hope I helped very much.

[personal discussion redacted]

CH: Perfect ok thank you so much. Have a great day.

KH: Thank you. You too

CH: Bye

Kayla Bruce, April 21, 2017 (Phone interview)

KB: Hello!

CH: Hi!

[personal discussion redacted]

CH: […] So I guess the first question is when did you participate in the project? What year was it? And what attracted you to participate in the project?

KB: Ok so I did it in 2012, while I was at NS they all gave us books with pictures to take

home and I'm from Rankin Inlet but my family is all from Coral Harbor so instead of taking the book on Rankin Inlet I took the book on Coral Harbor because my aunties are older so they remember stuff from Coral Harbor […] And trying to think what made me interested in it. It was kind of like I should do this and being a student too I got paid for it so it was a way to make a little extra money.

CH: Did you just find out about it through NS?

KB: Yes, they have the people who are working on the project come in and do a presentation

CH: Do you remember when?

KB: They came just before Christmas.

CH: Ok and do you remember what they did in that presentation or not really?

KB: They talked about it and I don't really remember what they said, it wasn't a very long presentation I don't think.

CH: Had you work with kind of these archival photographs before? […]

KB: No they had 2 kind of instructors telling us what we would have to do for it and the procedure for participation […] so we had to go through the procedure with them […]

CH: Maybe you can share about what the interviewing process was like. What were the feelings you had before you did the interviews and how did that process go?

KB: Ok. I just did one interview and I did it with my auntie and she is bilingual so it wasn't too intimidating for the project. I was able to understand everything she was saying about all the pictures because I understand enough Inuktitut but its definitely not very strong and I would have needed an interpreter if I hadn't interviewed my auntie. But it was really cool going through the pictures because there are pictures of my grandmother and some pictures of my aunties and just explanations on the community before I knew it […] which was pretty cool.

CH: Is there anything you wish you had done differently […]?

KB: I think what I know now with my research compared to what I knew then, I probably would have been a lot more appreciative of the work I was doing and to know […] how to get more answers by the pauses you give the extra prompts, that kind of thing. If I had known some of that maybe I could have got to more answers out of it.

CH: Did the people that are organizing it help you guys prepare before you went and did those interviews

KB: Yes I'm pretty sure they prepared us a bit but like not compared to... because I know second year NS we took research of the class and then in university now its all about research so if I knew then what I know now back then I think I could have gotten to know more information.

CH: Do you remember some things that the elders shared with you that stayed with you or that you remember specifically? Certain things that maybe affected you or stayed with you?

KB: I know there was one of the pictures had a boardwalk in it and it was what the teacher used to walk to the school so she didn't have to walk on dirty gravel. Which was kind of weird that she would use the boardwalk instead, it was different.

[…]

CH: Do you remember, while you were doing these interviews or after, any of the reactions or emotions you felt when going through the photographs? And what you felt when you were going through the photographs with your aunt or the things that you were hearing?

KB: Yea, do you mean being really interested in the pictures and what was happening? Because the people I knew in the pictures when they were younger and that kind of thing it was a very interesting feeling. I'm trying to think back. I think a big difference would be that was my first year of college and I didn't have a huge respect for research but I do now. So I didn't realize like how much I was actually contributing to something […] I think I could have been more appreciative of being apart of the project and for hearing those stories.

CH: And your experience in life right now would have made you more interested or would have helped you to understand it better?

KB: yea I think a better understanding of the history and all the different things in the past and the moving into communities and the education and just knowing a lot more now about all the different hardships then you are more appreciative of all the happy pictures and the little things that made it better.

CH: If you look back on the project as a whole what was maybe the strongest element and what could have made it better? I'm just curious, what do you think was the strongest part of it and what could have made the project stronger?

KB: I think it was a good idea for the ladies who were doing the project to go into NS because that way they are able to hit a very wide variety of different communities because we are from everywhere and if everyone is taking those pictures home they don't even have to travel or spend additional money to go do those interviews themselves when they can hire students that are going back. I think that was a really good idea. And then also they wouldn't have needed to hire translators for the interviews [personal discussion

redacted] I never checked the website after it was done though.

CH: That's funny, what happened with the interviews when you brought them back? You just kind of gave it to Morley or Murray?

KB: Yea Yea I don't even remember actually.. I think we must have handed it off to somebody then they gave it back or they made us come in maybe, I'm not sure.

CH: And you said you choose photos from a specific place like how did that work? Did they assign you?

KB: Yea they had photos from every community and they were handing them out to people going. Originally I had Rankin Inlet in the book but I wasn't interested in the Rankin Inlet one because that's not my family that not really my history. I'm originally from Coral Harbor, I was more interested in seeing those pictures then I was seeing the Rankin ones.

CH: Did you feel like you were researching your own history? Did you feel personally connect to it?

KB: Yea I think so cause my dad grew up there and all his siblings grew up there, his parents grew up there and so its like a piece of myself that I got to learn about. I didn't know about lots of different things about the community or about different people in the community.

CH: That kind of brings me to the last question that I have. It's kind of the basis of what I'm interested in and what I'm thinking a lot about. As a young person at that time and through your development, how do you think this project and participating in the project impacted your life? Did you see and relationship between what you went on to do after? Because I know this project was really connected to Nunavut Sivuniksavut but I just wonder how do you think it impacted your life or the choices you made?

[personal discussion redacted]

KB: Ok so the project naming [Views from the North] was kind of an introduction to research and I know that the project at the time it doesn't seem that big or that important but it has a relevance that is something that is going to be there and lasting. And with the elders that are disappearing so quickly right, so its good to have them tell there side of the story before its to late and so its there for us if we need to go back and learn or go back and research it […] I guess it was an introduction to research too. I always kind of kept that, I don't know how but I'm still in this research, I'm a research assistant and it's helped me I guess in that way a little bit.

CH: When you were doing the project did you feel like a researcher who was going out to try to find new information?

KB: I don't know. It didn't really feel like that, it felt like more like story telling and not doing research on purpose but hearing the stories and hearing the sharing like it makes more sense to hear the stories then call it only research.

CH: […] I think those are all my questions. Did you have anything else on your mind that you would like to share?

KB: No I can't think of anything.

CH: I really appreciate you taking the time I'm sure your very busy but thank you so much

KB: No problem. I'm so sorry it took so long to finally connect.

CH: No, no, its ok I really appreciate it and thank you so much.

KB: You're welcome and good luck with the rest of your interviews and paper and everything.

CH: Thank you so much. Thanks Kayla talk to you soon. Bye

KB: Bye

Kelly Fraser, April 8, 2017 (phone interview)

[begins with me talking about my research and what I am studying…giving a small introduction to myself]

CH: maybe we can start, you can talk about what year you were participating in the project, where you are from and how you found out about and got involved with Views from the North?

KF: So I went to NS in 2011 and I participated in the project naming, or whatever its called, sorry, to get these archives back to our communities, where we are from and ask elders who they are and write them down. I know lots of elders and I had no problem finding them and asking them and they gave me lots of information. I was 18 years old [personal discussion redacted].

CH: I am curious about the process of how you asked. What were the feelings before you were going to do the interviews and how did you feel setting up the interviews? You said it was pretty easy for you but maybe you can talk a bit about that process of the interviews?

KF: I went to the elders homes, like my aunty, like this woman that I know, older lady, shes passed away now […] They helped to say who they were in the photographs.

CH: What are some of the things that you remember the most about those interviews? What are some of the things that stay with you or that you remember from that experience of the interviews?

KF: They had all kinds of stories about the time those pictures [were taken]. A lot of the photos were named and I remember this woman Sarah was telling me about when she got married in an iglu with her husband. She was so young, she was very scared of the white man who was a priest and she was laughing about how scared she was and that it turned out okay and telling me about her life as a young woman doing the daily chores, which is taking care of kids and cleaning and sewing. They worked hard and would compare that time to now and saying things like "you gotta go to school" and […] she was like its good that you go to school there has to be more people going to school. What I thought about it, I didn't really think about it when I first interviewed these elders and I didn't know what would happen after, like my perception, because I was always naturally inquisitive. But actually going out of my comfort zone to ask things to elders about important information really inspired me to do more of my own cultural interviewing. I talked with some mothers who went to residential school and so coming out of my comfort zone to talk to these elders who I may or may not be related to made me more open to coming to visit them because they were just so delighted that a young person would visit with gifts. You know when I say gifts it could be food, I would bring something to munch on whenever I go visit elders because it's just something you do to show that you are grateful. Whenever I have to ask them, even now I still go to elder's homes who I am not related to and go ask them some questions about my culture and I reach out more to my cousins for knowledge and words and how to sew, it really impacted that. And how easy it was, they just gave us some equipment, some questions, these albums and I don't think we really knew what we were doing, we were just like 'ok whatever we made 100 bucks off of this that's great, I'll go do that' and so some of us did it and I am proud to say I got a lot of information from that. I myself didn't memorize the names or the pictures but as I look at all the pictures I can see the resemblance to the people now, to the descendants.

CH: the main question that I am thinking a lot about is how this project, and participating in this project impacted the decisions you made in your life? Because I know at NS there was a lot of different programs but I'm just curious how this project maybe changed your thinking or how it impacted your life?

KF: yea, it changed the way that I see my people, I saw them as more compassionate. It was something I took for granted now I go to school and I do my own research, I do research based on where I am from, that was a big impact. I am more comfortable talking with people about my culture and I understood how the past had worked now I do that on a regular basis. I am actually hoping to get more into school and research some more because there's a lack of Inuit making own scholarly journals and writing books. So I actually want to write kind of a history book or some kind of, in the near future, I want to look for funding or fund it myself, a project where I could learn more about the elders

and our culture. I need to ask them. They are dying faster than we anticipated. For example, those people that I interviewed some are not in good health and I feel like time is going too fast and I am trying to catch some stuff but its hard because in our small towns there's all kinds of conflict, which makes it hard if you are related to some people or not, there could be that as one of the things that keeps young people from doing that, from going out of their comfort zones to talk with different people. Some of us don't have grandfathers anymore so we go out and, well I went out and I asked questions to this nice elderly man about things I want to know for myself. I am interested in dog sledding so I went out of my way last Christmas to talk to this man and he gave me a lot of amazing advice and I am hoping someday I can get my own dog team. You know they do it all the time in quebec and I've seen the French people, they do that, and I say ' I can do that too.' And there is other research that I have done that is very very delicate and very emotional. [personal discussion omitted] they would answer honestly because I am one of them right, I am from there, they know me as an Inuk and a local person, they could maybe even call a friend. I've done research about the sled dog slaughters and the denial of the RCMP [personal discussion omitted] And so those are very heavy interviews just to collect some information on my own community but its something that has to happen and something I am really hoping I could make use of.

CH: yea definitely, that's amazing.

KF: In college a lot of the time they say 'oh you can pick anything within these topics' so I managed to fit anything to do with inuit in the topics, my teacher would change it up and say 'these are the topics you guys will work on and you cant work on certain subjects' so I was restrained from doing anymore of my own research on my people because I think she felt like I needed to learn more of other groups cause it was first nations studies. I had fun, and I am thinking of going to school again, I have to apply. [personal discussion redacted] I want to finish my degree in first nations studies so I can continue working on making my writing better to write scholarly journals and hopefully books. Id say that first time doing interviews with my elders, well the thing is I have had a researcher in my life as a child, and as a teenager so I used to help her research. She lived at my cousins place and before my cousin went to pick her up she said 'Kelly, you should come with me, can you be like her tour guide and like hang out with this lady.' She asked me and I'm always hanging out at my cousins place, they used to babysit me all the time, I spent all my time there so I was like 'sure I'll teach and I'll be her little tour guide or translator' and that's what I ended up being, her little translator and I would teach her Inuktitut at night. And so at night I would speak Inuktitut to her and teach it and writing, it was actually a very cool experience so I was exposed to being friendly and going to elders houses, even my cousins they do surveys and I would come with them to do surveys and listen to them ask elders. So I have had a lot of exposure with researching, so I never really thought about it until just now.

CH: its true and you continue to do it a lot too!

[personal discussion redacted]

CH: I just had one more question, its been really great, ive been learning so much.

[personal discussion redacted]

CH: It's just so good to hear all the stories and experiences. I just was wondering if you could do something to make this project stronger, lets say tomorrow they come to you and say "we want to do another project like this" what do you think could make it better? Or do you think everything was perfect? Or do you think there is anything that can be done to make these kinds of projects better?

KF: I don't know, pay the students more? I mean I had technical issues and I ended up recording with my ipod but I used that file to send. I guess by now the project would have newer technology that would be easier to use. Maybe, I mean there was a lot of student that weren't really participating in the project, maybe if they had people they can turn to to ask 'what kind of people would be interested in sharing knowledge?' because I know I didn't have any problems going to my elders but I know young people have difficulty going to their elders. So if there was like a collaboration of a local teacher or a cultural mentor, I don't know if that makes sense.

CH: Yes it does. Why do you think that young people struggle to go to their elders?

KF: that's a question I have to ask myself because I don't know the answer. All I know is there is a large difference between how our young people communicate now and how they used to communicate […] I think residential school has really impacted that way of communicating and being inquisitive about our culture. I think it's a very delicate thing. The way I see it is it stems from internet violence and that internet violence, viral violence, has made our younger people weak with paralyzed with fear to ask a bunch of questions because they are scared to be told they are wrong in a very abrupt manner. Young people are sensitive at this age. But they are the ones that need to be inquisitive and need to go out there because they're relatives may not be knowledge [personal discussion redacted] I'm doing workshops, teaching people how to write in our language and so I'm hoping this will strengthen the drum dance and the making of traditional songs, because I make my own traditional songs as well, songs I hope Inuit will always sing in our language. So in my workshops I keep telling young people 'you have to do your own research and go find out how to be you, how to be Inuk.' Our culture won't be handed on a silver platter, we have to fight for it because not everyone is knowledgeable and it is expensive, that's probably one of the things that keeps people from learning. Where are the affordable leather they can buy? Where are the part time jobs they can go work at so they can go buy some leather and beads and whatnot? Why are they not learning has a lot to do with the after effects of internet and viral violence and residential schools and the fact that a lot of people can't afford to be traditional. I think it is absolutely crazy that there are people that didn't need anything, they just needed the knowledge and they could survive off the land. Just give them the dogs and they will figure it out. But since the schools came and tried to take all that out [personal discussion redacted] How do we deal with telling our young people to be proud when there's a bunch of people on TV in our own communities flying in to tell us not to hunt anymore?

I'm not sure how to answer that question: why are our young people afraid to go ask their elders. All I know is there s a lot going on and I am working hard to try to wake up the young people with this music [personal discussion redacted] to try to send messages to the young people, trying to take everything I've learnt from these four years of college and putting it into an album, hoping for the best.

CH: It's so inspirational to hear about the things you are doing and the things you are thinking about because I think it is so valuable and so important. I think the more people are thinking about these things and really doing something, its not just that you are thinking about it but that you are doing things to help with that, that is really nice to hear that and it's really great what you are doing.

KF: I really believe that this project will continue to impact the young people holding the interviews. I think it's a great thing and I've got no complaints, it was probably my own fault that I didn't change the voice recorder now I think back. But I think that it's a great program they should keep it going. It not only connects them to the elders but it brings contact, I interviewed by aunt a few more times after that.

CH: I am all out of questions but are there other things on your heart that you want to share about this project or, for me those were my questions and I really thank you for taking the time, but is there anything else you wanted to share before we finish?

[personal discussion redacted]

KF: thank you, it was nice talking to you […]

CH: I'm glad you talked to me today.

KF: Thanks for being a listening ear.

CH: Of course I really enjoyed it! And we will be in touch!

KF: yea take care have a good one!

CH: thanks so much! Bye

KF: bye

Paula Ikuutaq, April 24, 2017 (sent by email)

CH: Can you begin by sharing a little bit about your experience with the project? What year was it, how old were you, what was it like? What attracted you to participating in the project? Had you worked with this kind of photography before?

PI: I took part in Project Naming [Views from the North] in 2008 when I was 18. I was taking part in the Nunavut Sivuniksavut training program when I was introduced to the project. I grew up around many elders in the community, being raised by an elder myself, so when I heard that elders were who we were interviewing, I jumped at the opportunity. I had never worked with photography other than having an interest in old photographs that my family took.

CH: How was the interview process for you? What were some of the feelings you had leading up to it and during it? Do you think the interview process could have been done differently and if yes, what do you wish you would have asked or wish you would have said?

PI: I felt quite comfortable speaking to the elders. Inuktitut is my first language and what was spoken in my home, and having spent the last 4 months in Ottawa not speaking much Inuktitut, my tongue was ready to speak with these elders in Inuktitut again. We had learned a lot about Inuit history in the four months prior to conducting these interviews, that I was eager to hear the stories the elders had to tell, hoping to feel that I could be brought back in time for a little bit and learn about what life was like at the time the photos were taken. I wish I could've asked more questions and kept my own recordings of the interviews so that I could go back to it when I feel a need to listen to the stories.

CH: What were some of the things the elders shared with you that stayed with you the most?

PI: There are so many things that I've spoken to elders about over the years that it is difficult to place what was said when. Stories of elders first meeting the qablunaat are what intrigue me the most. These stories are what mark the turn of the way lives of Inuit were lived. What stuck with me most, though, was how most elders said they were happy they could see those that have passed away again.

CH: Did you participate in the sessions before and after bringing the photographs back home? What did you find helpful about them? What did you think was the least helpful aspect?

PI: I remember speaking to my classmates about our experiences with taking the photos home and interviewing elders. I don't remember any formal sessions that we had.

CH: Do you, even today, remember some of the photographs that made the strongest impression upon you? What were some of the reactions or emotions you felt as you went through the photographs? What impact did they have upon you? What did you see and feel when you showed people in the community the photographs?

PI: I love looking at the pictures that profile the traditional clothing, especially the attire women use. I love seeing what was considered beautiful and, as a seamstress, I love seeing the way the clothing the patterns were constructed and sewed. I felt happy for the elders when they got to see glimpses of their pasts. This was something that couldn't be done before cameras came to the

north. And those that took the pictures brought their photos back down south without the subjects knowing what the photos ever looked like. I loved the way the elders reminisced about their lives on the land. It was as though they were taken back home.

CH: What was the strongest part of the project? What could have made it stronger? What did you learn from participating in this project?

PI: I learned about the beauty of speaking about the past. How much culture we need to preserve and how much we can learn to move forward in our lives. If those that participated in Project Naming could have done interviews more than just the once, it would have created a more profound experience. The way it worked for my NS class was that we took the photos home only once at Christmas time and that was it.

CH: As a young person, how do you think this project and participating in it impacted your life? How do you feel like your life was impacted by this project?

PI: Yes. I love interviewing elders about things more than photos. I want to interview elders about various cultural practices and catalogue them to preserve our Inuit culture for future generations.