

**COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH IN NUNAVUT:
THE CASE OF THE MALLIK ISLAND PARK STUDY,
CAPE DORSET, NT.**

BY

SHANNON E. WARD

A Practicum

**Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of**

Master of Natural Resources Management

**Natural Resources Institute
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba**

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BY

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**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

MASTER OF NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH IN NUNAVUT: THE CASE OF THE MALLIK ISLAND PARK STUDY, CAPE DORSET, NT.

This study describes and critiques a collaborative research process used to initiate a study on community attitudes and perceptions towards the development of a Territorial Park on Mallik Island in Cape Dorset, Nunavut (eastern land claim region of the Northwest Territories). The application of a collaborative research methodology is introduced within the study through discussions of the state of Arctic social science and published opposition from Inuit organizations and communities towards specific forms of traditional scientific practice. The author introduces literature pertaining to the paradigm shift towards postpositivist social science research and alternative methodologies. This discussion provides the rationale for the study's purpose and objectives related to the application and shared analysis of a collaborative research methodology in community-based research in Cape Dorset.

The case narrative covers all activities related to the use of a collaborative research methodology in Cape Dorset over a two year period. First, the narrative describes the steps taken to initiate the collaborative relationship between the external researcher and the Community Development Sub-Committee, as well as the collaborative research planning process. The narrative continues with a description of activities and events surrounding the external researcher's work with the Mallik Island Research Team who conducted the community survey on attitudes towards park development on Mallik Island. Descriptions of data analysis, report writing and follow-up in Cape Dorset are also provided.

The findings are based primarily on data collected from two trips to Cape Dorset; the first during a three month stay in the community during the spring and summer of 1995, and the second from a ten day trip in February of 1996. The account is based on transcribed audio tape material from a total of four meetings with the Community Development Sub-Committee, each lasting one to two hours in length. Other data sources include transcribed audio taped material from two meetings with the Mallik Island Research Team, as well as four

unscheduled unstructured interviews with each member of the Community Development Sub-Committee in February 1996. The external researcher's journal was also used to record personal reflections and observations regarding the collaborative research process.

The account is structured to mirror the events surrounding the process of using a collaborative research methodology with the two identified groups in Cape Dorset. Major research events are described in temporal sequence, where primary data is used to recreate the environment in which the events unfold. The author weaves her own observations about the collaborative research process throughout the document in italics.

To conclude, the author reflects upon the process of using collaborative research in Cape Dorset and presents benefits, limitations and challenges identified by research participants and the external researcher. The identified results are contextualized in relation to their specific application and meanings in the Nunavut Territory. Finally, suggested recommendations are provided for future applications of collaborative research frameworks as a method of initiating meaningful Inuit participation in research conducted in the Nunavut Territory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This practicum is the result of a shared approach to inquiry, and as such, has been the product of many individuals' input and contribution. My acknowledgements span north and south, east and west.

I owe the most thanks to the study's participants in Cape Dorset, who took many risks in taking part in this project. All who were involved worked in support of the ideals which drove the exploration into the nature of collaborative methodologies. Special thanks to the Community Development Sub-Committee members; Pitloosie Saila, Mangitak Kellypalik and Timoon Alariaq. Special thanks to David Patrick at the Community Development Office. Also a very special thanks to the members of the Mallik Island Research Team; Emily Ottokie, Peter Pitseolak Ottokie and Moses Qimirpik. Our accomplishments as a research team were due to their hard work and dedication through some tough times. Thanks to Olayuk Akasuk for his help at the Community Development office and in CDSC meetings. Thanks also to Geenie Manning, Naina Manning, and Johnny Manning for interpreting and translating services.

And finally, thanks to all the friends in Cape Dorset who put me up, fed me and shared so much. Special thanks to Olayuk and Lao, Leetia Etidluie, Louisa Curley, Diane and Michelle Quirion, Andrew Keime, Ning Teevee, Pitloosie Saila, the Patrick family, and Joanne and Ed Miller. Thank you to all those who provided me with support throughout my stay in the community.

Now to the people in the south who supported me through many aspects of this project. Beginning in Ottawa, I owe special thanks to Fred Weihs of Concillium. Fred has not only been an invaluable member of my practicum advisory committee, but has been largely responsible (whether he realizes it or not) for my exploration into the application of alternative methodologies in Nunavut. Fred introduced me to the women at the Inuit Women's Organization (Pauktuutit), and it was through some difficult discussions with the women at Pauktuutit that I became motivated to explore alternative research methodologies and also recognized the invaluable contribution of feminist theory to Northern research. I would like to

extend thanks to the women at Pauktuutit whom I met with in 1994. Special thanks to Martha Flaherty, Mary Crnkovich and Linda Archibald.

At the University of Manitoba, many individuals have provided me with support, most notably my practicum advisor, Dr. Jillian Oakes. Her constant support and friendship throughout my two years at the University has kept me grounded. Jill's approach to teaching and support of graduate students is truly exceptional, and all students should be so lucky to have someone like Jill as a mentor. Of course, I could not mention Jill without also thanking Jill's partner and colleague Dr. Rick Riewe. Rick's friendship and constant encouragement has been phenomenal.

Special thanks to Dr. Janice Ristock of Women's Studies. During my first year I took Feminist Research Methods with Janice, where I truly received the academic support I needed, to pursue this research project. Janice has provided me with the intellectual support to keep developing the ideas and concepts within this document. Her contribution to this project has been invaluable.

I would also like to thank Dr. Don Castleden of the Centre for Indigenous Environmental Resources (CIER) in Winnipeg. Don has provided me with terrific guidance and has become a real mentor for me in light of his experiential and academic expertise in the application of collaborative methodologies in Northern Canada.

Thank you to Dr. George Wenzel of the McGill Geography Department. George gave me my first taste of Arctic social research when he sent me to Cape Dorset in 1993. From that experience I learned so much. As a result of Dr. Wenzel's work in the Baffin region and his support of student fieldwork, I have been given the fortunate experience to return to Cape Dorset. I am very grateful to him for giving me that initial opportunity.

From the Natural Resources Institute, I would like to thank Judy Zieske for her constant technical and personal support. As well, thanks to Dr. John Sinclair for his interest and encouragement of my work. I could not mention the NRI without thanking all of the students and friends I have made there over the past two years who, through many discussions, have

helped shape this work.

I would like to make a special acknowledgement to my family in Ottawa, Toronto, Petawawa and Saskatoon. My parents, Jim and Mary Ellen Ward have always been supportive of my interest in Northern research. Thanks Mom and Dad.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCING THE ISSUES

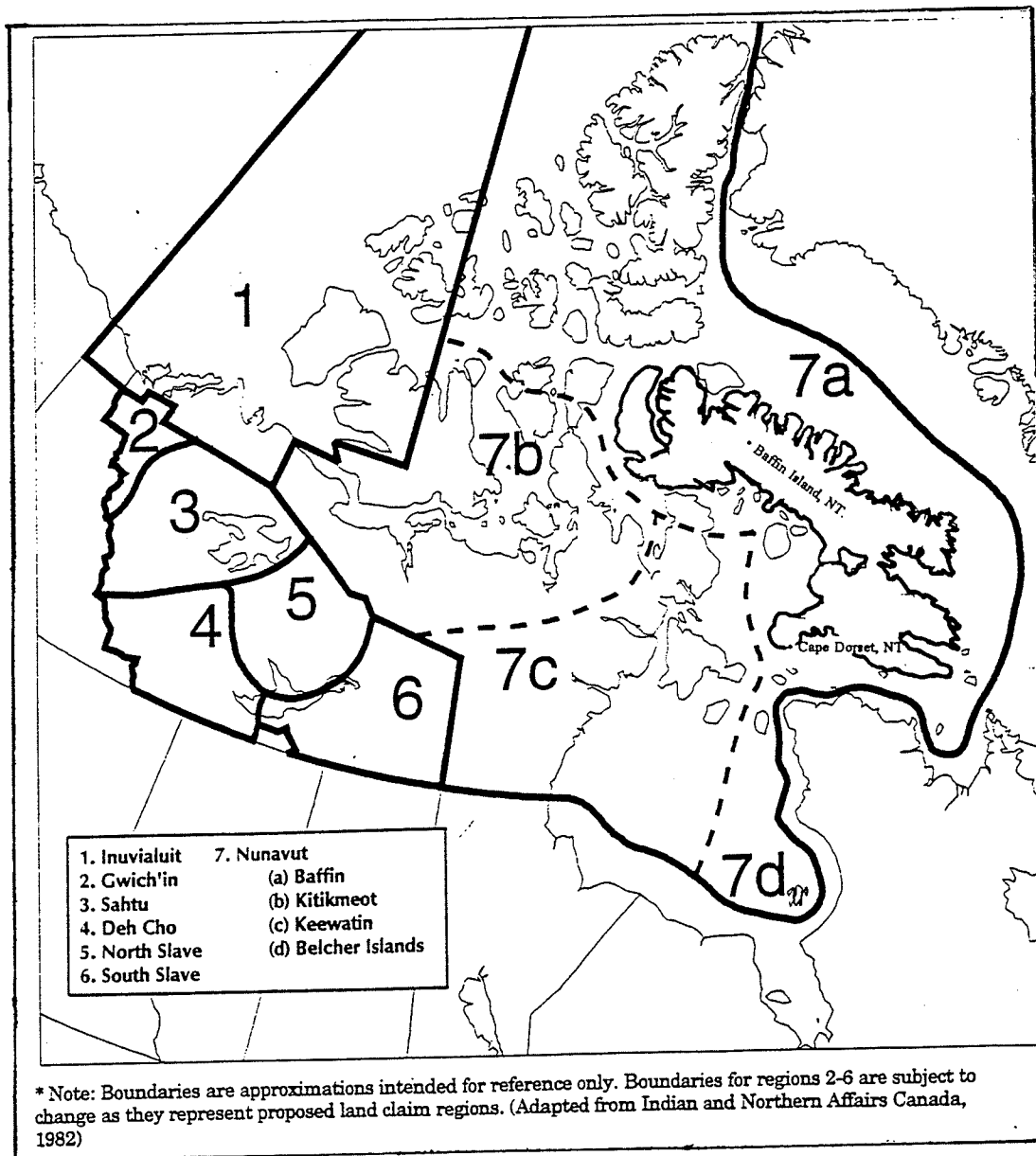
1.1 The State of Arctic Social Sciences: A Critical Perspective

Since the 1950's, with the inception of the neo-colonial administration in the Canadian Arctic, Inuit communities of the Nunavut region¹ (refer to figure 1.1) have been subjected to an increased amount of southern-based social scientific research regarding a wide variety of subjects common to the Western European study of indigenous culture and society. During the 1950s and 60s, the Arctic was considered a "ready made laboratory" (Cruikshank 1993) for southern-based ethnographers, where studies on Inuit culture and society took place with little collaboration with community members. With the development of Native land claims into the 1970s and 80s, ethnography became increasingly utilized for legal interpretation of historical land use and occupancy, where northerners began to actively contribute to ethnography and as a result became increasingly critical of ethnographic construction (Cruikshank 1993). At the same time, movement towards Aboriginal self government around the world began to fuel a larger debate within academic communities concerning the ethnographer's ability to accurately write about culture (Said 1979; Marcus and Fischer 1986) and the relationship between colonialism and the ethnographer's interpretation as representation. This debate, in concert with mounting Northern concern over Arctic cultural studies, has generated lively discussion in the Canadian Arctic context, which is forcing southern-based scientists to seek different ways of working with questions of culture and environment, particularly with respect to methodology (ITC 1994; Archibald and Crnkovich 1995; Flaherty 1995).

¹ Under the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, the Eastern portion of the Northwest Territories, Canada will become a self-governing territory in 1999. Under the terms of the Agreement, Inuit will surrender their aboriginal rights to land and waters in exchange for the right of self-government. Inuit communities and government organizations will administer and make decisions with regards to essential services such as economic development, education, culture and heritage and land management to ensure that the Inuit way of life and traditions are preserved.

Figure 1.1

Land Claim regions in the Northwest Territories;
The Nunavut region



Source: Science Institute of the NWT, 1993.

Inuit communities, associations and Inuit governmental agencies in the Nunavut region have begun to express politically their opposition to southern academic research, which has little significance to the lives and well being of the Inuit, their culture and society (Arreak 1994; ITC 1994; Kilabuk 1994; Flaherty 1995). Concern over specific types of research has become so acute in some instances, that the communities of Pond Inlet and Resolute Bay, Northwest Territories (NT) placed complete moratoriums on both social and physical scientific research during the summer of 1994 (Alan Fehr, Science Institute of the NT, personal communication, Nov. 26, 1994). In these two cases, the assumption within the academic community of having the absolute right to conduct research in and around Inuit communities under the pretence of pursuing scientific "truth" was rejected.

Specific concerns which Inuit individuals and organizations have expressed with regards to research, have been centred around two basic issues: the marginalization of local people from the research process as a result of the dominant scientific culture's research methodologies; and the execution of inappropriate and impractical research projects by southern-based researchers (ITC 1994; Flaherty 1995). Inuit organizations are beginning to demand that research done in their communities and on their land and animals be pertinent to current realities of Northern life and be conducted in such a way that local people are involved in and participate in the research process, from the design stages through to various levels of control over intellectual property rights.

1.11 The Effects of Research Regulation in Nunavut

One measure which has been taken by northern legislative bodies to protect the human rights of Inuit as well as encouraging Inuit participation in research has been to legislate and regulate research activities in the Northwest Territories. Currently, all southern-based research projects done within Nunavut must gain community approval and be licensed under the Territorial *Science Act* (GNWT 1973), administered in the Nunavut region by the Nunavut Research Institute (formerly the Science Institute of the Northwest Territories, (SINT) East). Licences are granted to applicants once they have: (1) made sufficient contacts with and gained approval from the appropriate community group; (2) initiated an external ethical review and; (3) made plans to involve residents in their research either through employment or through outreach work while in the community (see *Doing Research in the NWT: A Guide for*

The regulation of research in Nunavut is effective in that it prohibits undesirable research projects from being implemented, however, regulation cannot be expected to address theoretical debates which challenge the value base upon which projects are founded and executed. The practices of the researcher when addressing the issue of meaningful Inuit participation, as defined by Inuit people and the organizations which represent their interests², remains an unresolved issue. The focus of this debate, therefore, should not be the area of study, but on the methodological framework through which the study is facilitated.

Many problems regarding southern-based research conducted in and around Nunavut communities can be addressed through the institution of appropriate and acceptable methodological frameworks used in fieldwork. Focus on methodology is critical in light of recent moratoriums on research presently in place in select Nunavut communities.

1.12 Positivist Methodologies in Conflict with Inuit Empowerment

The majority of social scientific investigations in the eastern Arctic during the last century have been executed through positivist methodological frameworks, where local people have been viewed as "subjects" of scientific inquiry. They have had little input into the determination of research agendas. As self government evolves in the eastern Arctic, forums including the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (1994), are being provided for individuals and communities to express concern over the neo-colonial frameworks, including traditional positivist research approaches employed by many scientists, which have served to marginalize Inuit from research activities.

²In a recent publication by the Tri-Council Working Group (NSERCC, SSHRCC and MRCC) entitled *Code of Conduct for Research Involving Humans*, a discussion surrounding exploitation of "vulnerable populations" and the injustices which have occurred within the realm of human and life sciences research brings to light the problem of imposing status quo constructs of ethical practices surrounding research methodology. "Meaningful research" to Inuit may not coincide with what a southern based researcher may think of as "meaningful research" in the Arctic. The idea of what "consent" means and what it stands for may also differ between the status quo and an Inuit community. Furthermore, the idea of "consent" may also differ between an Inuit woman and an Inuit male, or between elders and youth. It is important that the researcher recognize this and that efforts are made to explore cultural constructs which may effect ethical review issues (TCWG, March 1996).

Methodologies are the frameworks which prescribe the way we do research and are based on theories of how research should proceed. In western culture, these values and beliefs are expressed in positivist ideology; a philosophical system recognizing only positive facts and observable phenomena as appropriate data upon which to base research (Stromquist 1984).

The basic assumptions of positivism are four: (1) the aims, concepts, and methods of the natural sciences are applicable to the social sciences; (2) the correspondence theory of truth which holds that reality is knowable through correct measurement methods; (3) the goal of social research is to discover universal laws of human behaviour which transcend culture and history; (4) the fact-value dichotomy, the denial of both the theory-laden dimensions of observation and the value-laden dimensions of theory (Lather 1986, p.260).

The application of positivist assumptions within the human sciences has presented a myriad of ethical questions and issues concerning the rights of the human research "subject". According to Stromquist:

Social scientists (have) embarked on models highly imitative of the natural sciences, with much attention placed on the random selection of subjects, identification of cause and effect relationships, use of special instruments to gather data, quantitative measurement of the presumed forces at work, and statistical tests for data analysis. Most of all, this imitation (has) brought with it the notion of value-free science, with the precept that the researcher should not talk about what *should be* but merely *what is* (Stromquist, 1984, p.24).

1.2 Postpositivism and it's Link to an Emancipatory Social Science in the Canadian Arctic

"The foundation of postpositivism is the cumulative, trenchant, and increasingly definitive critique of the inadequacies of positivist assumptions in light of the complexities of human experience" (Lather 1986, p.260). Postpositivism is an epistemological development in the search for an *emancipatory* social science; a science "openly committed to a more just social order" (ibid., p.258). Postpositivist thought supports the assumption that methodologies reflect the values, beliefs and ideology of the societal group from which the study is being conducted (Brown and Tandon 1983).

The aim of an emancipatory social science would be to "understand the maldistribution of power and resources underlying our society but also to change the maldistribution to help create a more equal world" (Lather 1986, p.258). Postpositivist social science, including feminist research, has attempted to address this "maldistribution of power" by transforming the very nature of scientific inquiry, particularly in cross-cultural situations where the researcher is from the dominant culture. Feminist research addresses inadequacies in positivist approaches, including the insider/outsider question within cross-cultural inquiry. Insider/outsider is the ability of the researcher, through the use of reflexivity, to observe him or herself as an insider in the research process and as an outsider; someone from the dominant culture and society not experientially linked to the "researched". Reflexivity, a technique of self-reflection during the research process, enables the researcher to record feelings and reactions to events and decision-making, which helps researchers to develop "double consciousness" (Archibald and Crnkovich in Burt and Code (eds) 1995, p.115). This is the process of being able to "observe oneself from the outside....In interactions among women of radically different backgrounds - Mies³ refers to Third World and First World women - this process, if reciprocal, is a key component of a new methodological approach to feminist research" (ibid., p.115).

Scientific inquiry, then, initiated by researchers from a dominant society in a cross-cultural environment requires altering methodology to ensure that alternative ways of knowing are supported and represented in an ethical and equitable manner (Lather 1986; Archibald and Crnkovich 1995; Ristock 1996). Postpositivist styles of inquiry, including feminist research, emancipatory, participatory and collaborative research have been utilized to address the inadequacies of positivist assumptions. Again as an example, feminist research views research as an intentional activity which leads to interpretation of the researcher's social reality. According to Kirby (1990), "Acknowledging the intentionality of doing research allows researchers to emphasize that research is an activity which takes place 'in a specific

³Archibald and Crnkovich in *Intimate Outsiders: Feminist Research in a Cross-Cultural Environment* have been influenced by Marie Mies' work on cross-cultural feminist research in their work with Inuit women in the Canadian Arctic. Mies' approach is postpositivist in nature and is useful specifically with regards to her discussion of double consciousness, whereby the researcher sees him or herself and research participants in an organic manner as part of a larger material world. Double consciousness and reflexivity help the researcher and participants build dialectical theory and work collectively in research.

time and place and is engaged in by a specifically located individual, with a specific background, in a specific situation, for a particular series of ends" (Said 1981 in Kirby 1990, p.168).

Emancipatory social science is the postpositivist framework within which alternative research methodologies, such as participatory and collaborative research, have been developed and utilized (Lather 1986). Alternative research methodologies have gained increased attention from those concerned with the contribution of conventional methodologies to the non-participation of Aboriginal people in the research process. At a theoretical level, alternative methodologies aim to address the marginalization of research "subjects", systemically embedded within positivist approaches used in traditional scientific methodologies (Maguire 1984). Specifically, alternative methodologies work to address the challenge of integrating culturally relevant means of public participation and collaboration in research, based on the assumption that value and ideology-free observation in social inquiry is impossible - "particularly if those sciences purport to provide guidance to solving social problems" (Brown and Tandon 1983, p.281).

Alternative methodologies in research have evolved from a wide variety of academic areas, most notably from adult education, literacy theory and in international development work. The origins of these methodological frameworks are linked to predominant social movements in the 1960s, and to theorists such as Paulo Friere (1970) and Bud Hall (1975) in adult education, Gunder Frank (1973) in dependency theory, and Rajesh Tandon (1985) in international development (Maguire 1987).

In the context of Arctic social scientific research and inquiry, individual researchers, community groups and institutions concerned with conflicting ideals surrounding methodologies, have been working to address issues surrounding northern intolerance of specific scientific practice common to the Arctic (see Cruickshank 1981, 1988, 1993; ACUNS 1984; Bielawski 1984, 1994; Ryan & Robinson 1990; IASSA 1992; Dyck & Waldrum (eds) 1993; ITC 1993; Legat 1993; Reimer 1993; IARPC 1994; Archibald & Crnkovich 1995). Inquiries into methodological re-orientations have focussed primarily upon developing ways in which research can be approached in an ethical, equitable and practical manner, and in

ways that help communities to direct and participate in the exploration of their own realities through the research process (Ryan and Robinson 1990; Warry 1990; Castleden 1992; Cruickshank 1993; Hoare, et al. 1993; Reimer 1993; Usher 1994; Bielawski 1994, 1984;; Legat 1994; Archibald and Crnkovich 1995).

1.3 Action and Participatory Research Defined

Two predominant schools of alternative methodology have developed within the postpositivist tradition: action and participatory research.

1.31 *Action Research*

Action research originated primarily from the work of psychologist Kurt Lewin during the 1940s. Lewin suggested learning about social systems by attempting to transform them. He proposed cycles of analysis, fact finding, conceptualization, planning, implementation, and evaluation to simultaneously solve problems and generate new knowledge (Brown and Tandon 1983). According to Rapaport:

Action research aims to contribute both to the practical concerns of people in an immediate problematic situation and to the goals of social science by joint collaboration within a mutually acceptable ethical framework (Brown and Tandon 1983, p.278).

Much action research has focussed on change within organizations, generally with the approval of management towards the goal of problem solving and increasing efficiency. Action research has evolved primarily in the developed world within corporate environments.

1.32 *Participatory Research*

Participatory research emerged within the context of social justice and the oppression of peoples in the developing world. The work of Paulo Friere has influenced dramatically the participatory research movement with his development of influential concepts in adult education in Latin America among the urban and rural poor.

Friere's dialogic approach to adult education engages individuals in critical analysis and organized action to improve their situation (Friere 1970, 1974, 1978). In these dialogues, educators and "students" move toward a critical consciousness

of the forces of oppression and possibilities for liberation
(ibid., p.279).

Hall (1981) defines participatory research as,

"an integrated activity that combines social investigation, educational work, and action.....Some of the characteristics of the process include:

- The problem originates in the community or workplace itself.
- The ultimate goal...is the fundamental structural transformation and the improvement of the lives of those involved.
- ...the workplace or the community is involved in the control of the entire process.
- ...the awareness in people of their own abilities and resources is strengthened, and mobilizing or organizing is supported.
- The term "researcher" can refer to both the community or work-place persons involved as well as those with specialized training.
- Outside researchers are committed participants and learners in a process that leads to militancy rather than detachment (ibid., p.279).

1.33 *Contrasting Action and Participatory Research*

Action and participatory research can be contrasted in terms of similarities and differences in their underlying values and ideologies in inquiry (Brown and Tandon 1983) (see figure 1.2). Action and participatory methodologies are more similar in terms of value than ideology. Both value useful knowledge and developmental change and "both traditions seek knowledge that will have an immediate impact on social systems" (ibid., p.282). Value themes, however, between action and participatory research vary. Recurring value themes in action research are based on efficiency in social systems, where value themes in participatory research include equitable distribution of resources, empowering oppressed groups, increasing self-reliance, and transforming social structures into more equitable societies. Action research has been focussed on transition within organizations and, as a result, has tended to be less concerned than participatory research with the empowerment of those engaged in or impacted by the research (Castleden 1992).

Action and participatory research are distinguished primarily by their ideological underpinnings. According to Brown and Tandon (1983),

The two traditions focus on different levels of analysis, use conceptual tools from different disciplines, hold fundamentally different assumptions about the nature of society, and attend to different central problems (ibid., p.283).

Participatory researchers assume that the plight of the disadvantaged is a critical problem and therefore is informed by themes of marginalization and oppression. Action researchers, in contrast, assume "common interests in solving problems by analyses of individual, group, and organizational factors" (ibid., p.283).

According to Brown and Tandon (1983), the political economy of the geo-political areas in which each tradition has evolved (ie. Participatory - Developing World; Action - Developed World) has shaped the development of each tradition in terms of problem definition, data collection and analysis techniques (ibid., p.283). Participatory researchers are more explicit about community-based research definition and tend to align themselves with oppressed groups, whereas action researchers in contrast, align themselves with organizational authorities.

Both political economy and ideology in participatory and action traditions have shaped the particular styles of data collection and analysis which embodies the research process.

According to Brown and Tandon (1983),

Action researchers collaborate in data collection and analysis on the basis of common goals and use available resources, where mutual trust and iterative data collection and analysis are used to develop shared diagnosis. Participatory researchers emphasize collaboration and consciousness raising to mobilize and educate oppressed groups and to build close links to those individuals. But they also seek information from and about groups with oppressed interests, and so employ adversarial data collection and analysis as well (ibid., p.286).

Both traditions explicitly seek pragmatic results and involve many interests in the utilization of decisions at the end of the research process (ibid., p.286).

Figure 1.2

Values and Ideologies in Action and Participatory Research.

	<i>Action</i>	<i>Participatory</i>
Values	Useful Knowledge	Useful Knowledge
	Developmental Change	Developmental Change
Ideology	Individual/Group Analysis	Social Analysis
	Consensus Social Theory	Conflict Social Theory
	Efficiency/growth problems	Equity/self-reliance/ oppression

Source: Adapted from Brown and Tandon (1983)

1.4 Variations of Action-Participatory Research Approaches

As alternative methodologies gain increased attention from postpositivist practitioners, new approaches, such as participatory action research (PAR) and collaborative research, have evolved. They define themselves in terms of a utilization of both action and participatory research methodologies (Maguire 1987; Ryan and Robinson 1990; Warray 1990; Castleden 1992; Legat 1993; Lapadat and Janzen 1994).

1.41 *Participatory Action Research*

Participatory action research (PAR) bridges both participatory and action methodologies, stressing the importance of transformative results as well as the process in research. PAR focusses on long term goals that are intrinsically linked to building consciousness within the community or social structure in which the researcher is working. According to Maguire, author of *Participatory Action Research: A Feminist Approach*, PAR aims at three main objectives: (1) to develop critical consciousness of both researcher(s) and participant(s); (2) to improve the lives of participants in the research process; and (3) to transform fundamental societal structures and relationships (p.29).

1.42 *Collaborative Research*

Another variation along the action-participatory research continuum is collaborative research. According to Castleden (1992) collaborative research, like PAR, "draws from participatory research and action research as methods of inquiry for initiating social change" (p.42). As a methodology of social inquiry, collaborative processes stress the interrelationship between the researcher and participants to a greater level than do participatory and action approaches.

A collaborative or co-operative research process involves a researcher who is external to a group and members of a group collaborating to conduct research. They become co-researchers, each contributing his or her specialized knowledge, perspective and interests to the inquiry, intentionally influencing each other as they seek knowledge that can be applied to bring about change in the social condition under investigation. The process requires openness and trust as both external researcher and community researchers come together

to pursue common purposes in the midst of unforeseen occurrences and events (p.43).

Castleden's choice of collaborative inquiry is informed within a Canadian Aboriginal context by the political economy of the Canadian north. He states:

I have drawn on the research approaches represented by action research, participatory research and collaborative research to initiate and engage in this inquiry. Participatory research has highlighted the need for empowering community researchers. Aboriginal people in Canada have experienced years of oppression and racism and it is only through taking control of their own governing systems and in conducting their own research that they will be able to control the programs and services which are designed to meet their needs. Collaborative research is one means for an external researcher to join in this endeavour. Action researchers have paid special attention to the role of the consultant and researcher as helper. This attention has shed light on the dynamics of the helping or consulting relationship, an important learning for a collaborative researcher (1992, p.46).

Collaborative research will vary in context depending on the institutional nature of the research relationship. Lapadat and Janzen (1994), have identified four models of collaborative research in the context of working with Aboriginal peoples in the Canadian North. They include:

- 1. *Intradisciplinary*
- 2. *Interdisciplinary*
- 3. *Interorganizational*
- 4. *University-community*

Intradisciplinary collaboration is where two or more researchers work together from within the same discipline on a theoretical paper or empirical study, but where subjects are not asked to participate. *Interdisciplinary* collaboration refers to research engaged in by research from two or more disciplines or fields to solve a common problem. *Interorganizational* collaboration may involve research partnerships between universities, government agencies, corporations and other institutions of higher education and focuses on the sharing of resources. The fourth

model, *University-community*, involves the highest degree of collaboration in shared inquiry.

Often university-community collaboration involves a university researcher working with a local practitioner (e.g., a teacher, administrator, or physician) to investigate a problem or try an intervention in the local practitioner's setting.....Typically, the collaborating team studies other community members who are viewed as subjects without control over the research process....University-community collaboration may also be undertaken with a broad cross-section of a community or sub-community using a participatory research model. Here the university researcher or team of researchers is not involved with only one or two local service providers, but with a wide range of community members. This approach differs from the other approaches described above in that the participants whose community is under study have a role in deciding the research questions, design, conducting the data collection, interpreting the data, and participating in dissemination of findings (ibid., p.73).

Lapadat and Janzen state that the latter option within the university-community model provides the highest level of inclusivity for community participants. They state,

Of the various collaborative models, this is the one that is most inclusive, involves people farthest from the university culture, and provides the greatest degree of control by local research participants over the research from inception to sharing of results (ibid., p.73).

1.43 Alternative Case Studies in the Canadian Arctic

Within the Canadian northern context, a modest body of literature exists with reference to participatory, action, collaborative and PAR. Only a limited amount of literature exists, however, regarding the process of using these methodologies from either the researcher or community participant's perspective.

Ryan & Robinson (1990) and Legat (1994) address process related challenges of using PAR in the western Arctic, and have included within their methodological frameworks feminist principle of empowerment and the interaction processes that occur within groups. The primary objective of Ryan and Robinson's work on the Gwich'in Language Project (1990) was to work with the community of Fort McPhearson NT, using PAR to collect and record oral

histories with Gwich'in elders. Research objectives were requested and developed by the community, where Ryan acted as facilitator and mediator to initiate each stage of the project and to train research assistants and trainees.

Castleden's (1992) doctoral dissertation on the use of collaborative community research in a health transfer initiative in Split Lake First Nation in Northern Manitoba, is the most comprehensive Canadian case study in existence regarding the role of the external researcher. Castleden provides a case narrative in which the detail of process in the collaborative approach is documented along with reflections, comments and reactions of the community researchers.

Although alternative methodologies, such as participatory, collaborative and action research, have been developed, used and discussed in the western Arctic (Ryan & Robinson 1990; Legat 1994), little application has been published in the Nunavut region, and as such, there remains a need for the exploration of the experiences and challenges of using alternative methodologies in community-based research within this geo-political context.

1.5 Critical Interpretations of Alternative Methodologies in Nunavut

Given the present political nature of doing research in the Nunavut area, there has developed a concern amongst Inuit and some scientists as to whether the application of alternative methodologies has been successful in addressing the issue of meaningful local participation in research. Martha Flaherty, president of Pauktuutit (The Canadian Inuit Women's Organization), has raised concern, on behalf of Inuit communities, about individuals who have opted to use seemingly "alternative" approaches in their research efforts. In a guest lecture to the ACUNS Fourth Annual Students Conference on Northern Studies, Flaherty states:

We hear a lot about researchers who use the "participatory action research model." Our experience has taught us that participatory research does not mean the community has a real role in deciding what the research topic will be, analyzing the data or deciding what or how the information obtained in the research will be used or distributed (1995, p.179-80).

Flaherty's comments raises an important issue: scientists using alternative methodologies must demonstrate their commitment to the underlying principles of emancipatory postpositivist science which supports participatory research. They must demonstrate their commitment to

social transformation through inquiry. Simply reacting to the negative attitudes many Inuit communities have regarding southern based science through the negligent application of participatory frameworks in research is unacceptable.

The reality, however, of understanding how alternative methodologies work in practice can not easily be predicted for two reasons: First, there exists a gap in the literature about the process of using alternative methodologies from the researcher's and participant's perspective in the Canadian eastern arctic; and second, each project will be contextually unique, with the underlying assumptions of each participatory researcher and community varying to some degree. Postpositivist researchers need to better understand the underlying motivations, values and ideology behind their work as well as how their own identities and actions within the research process effect their abilities to do good advocacy research (Archibald & Crnkovich 1995).

In analyzing the literature on participatory, action and collaborative methodologies and recognizing that the uses and applications of these methodologies have increased dramatically in recent years, it seems that the theoretical boundaries within which each methodology identifies itself as "unique" have become less defined and, in some cases, the language around methodologies lie in contradiction (Brown and Tandon 1983).

The use of any one alternative approach can not accurately be pre-determined because the events of the research project as well cannot be pre-determined. Researchers committed to the values and ideals of postpositivist paradigms will most likely use combinations of methodologies and specific methods depending on the events which unfold during the research project. Depending on the underlying assumptions which are driving the process of research and the environmental circumstances of the community at the time of the project, the research methodologies may exceed the expectations of all involved or break down all together (Brown and Tandon 1983). In reality, the most important component of using an alternative approach in research must be that the researcher keep the emancipatory objectives of the methodology in focus and that they remain flexible and reflexive about their approaches (Lather 1986).

In light of the issues raised concerning the application of postpositivist approaches in

community-based research in Nunavut, there remain several areas of interest which need attention. First, can the application of alternative methodologies adequately address the concerns raised by Inuit organizations regarding "meaningful" participation in community-based science? Second, what in reality are the challenges and limitations of these methodologies in the context of conducting research in Nunavut? Third, how do alternative methodologies in cross-cultural research work in the context of the university-based researcher?

1.6 Purpose

The primary purpose of this study was to record the process of using a collaborative research methodology with community participants in Cape Dorset, NT in order to explore the nature of its benefits and limitations in community-based research in Nunavut. In doing so, the larger goal of presenting this case study was to enhance the understanding of how positive and practical relationships can be fostered between external researchers and communities in the Nunavut Territory in order to aid in developing models of meaningful Inuit participation in community development through the research process.

1.7 Objectives

This study has three main objectives:

- (1) To document my role as an external researcher in the community of Cape Dorset, NT in order to develop and execute a research project with the Cape Dorset Community Development Sub-committee (CDSC) and three research trainees in Cape Dorset NT. employed in the research project.
- (2) To document the successive stages of the collaborative research process which unfolded during my interactions with participants in Cape Dorset, using a case narrative approach adapted from Lincoln and Guba (1985), integrating data collected regarding the actions, attitudes and perceptions of the external researcher and community participants.

(3) To identify the potential benefits, limitations and challenges of using collaborative methodologies from the perspective of an external researcher and community participants in the Nunavut region.

1.8 Scope

The geographical scope of this study was confined to the community of Cape Dorset in the Nunavut Territory, which lies within the current boundaries of the Northwest Territories, Canada. The cultural and political scope of this project related primarily to the Community Development Sub-committee and three research trainees who worked with the participant researcher while in the community.

1.9 Organization of Document

This practicum is organized into four sections, containing eight chapters and four appendices. The first section, containing chapters one to three, introduces the subject matter of the practicum as well as the study area and methods used in the study. Chapter one outlines the problem statement, background, purpose and objectives of the project. Chapter two outlines the methodological framework and methods to be used for the investigation into the use of a collaborative methodology with the community group in Cape Dorset. The third chapter introduces the study area of Cape Dorset, outlining the social, political and economic characteristics of the community, especially as they pertain to the relevance of the collaborative project conducted on community attitudes towards the development of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park.

The second section of the practicum, covering chapters four through seven, contains a case narrative which "tells the story" of using the collaborative research methodology in Cape Dorset. Chapter's four through seven outline different stages in the collaborative process, where personal accounts of the external researcher's experiences, and recorded accounts from community participants, are developed in a chronological manner. Concurrently, reference to pertinent literature and critical discussion of emerging themes within the narrative are directly woven into the document. Chapter four, entitled "Making Contact", outlines the process of pre-planning and negotiation took place before the researcher could start to do research with the community group. Chapter five, entitled "Building Collaborative Frameworks: Working

with the Community Development Sub-Committee (CDSC)", outlines the process of negotiating the research process with the community group in Cape Dorset. Within this chapter the collaborative process began to take form and meaning for both the external researcher and the community participants. The sixth chapter, entitled, " 'Doing Research': Working with the Mallik Island Research Team", tells the story of the participant researcher's experiences working with and training local researchers in conducting an attitudinal survey regarding the community's perceptions towards the development of a Territorial Park on Mallik Island. Chapter seven entitled, "Following up in Cape Dorset: Exploring Community Attitudes towards Collaborative Research and the Mallik Island Research Project" explores the importance of follow up in collaborative research.

Chapter eight provides conclusions of the study and recommendations for future research related to the application of collaborative research approaches within the context of the Nunavut region.

The fourth section of the document is where the reader will find the appendices containing the study which was produced for the Community Development Office as a result of the collaborative process used with the community of Cape Dorset, as well as other documents pertinent to the collaborative process.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS

This chapter outlines the qualitative framework and specific methods used to reconstruct and build dialectical theory around the process of using collaborative research in the case of the Mallik Island Park Study⁴ in Cape Dorset, NT. First, the methodological framework from which this project was developed is discussed with reference to the theoretical orientations which support this style of inquiry (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Lather 1986; Kay 1990). Following this, specific methods of data collection, analysis and presentation are described as adopted from works such as Kirby and McKenna (1989), and Lincoln and Guba (1985).

2.1 Methodological Framework

The underlying motivations of this study are grounded in a postpositivist paradigm orientation (Lather 1986). The methodological framework for documenting the process of using a collaborative research approach with the community participants in Cape Dorset was based on methods utilized within the postpositivist social sciences. These methods attempt to foster interactions between participants and the researcher throughout the research process (Lather 1986). This collaborative approach was used throughout the data collection stage (Kirby and McKenna 1989) as well as in the style in which the data is presented within the following chapters (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

2.11 *The Need for Postpositivist Approaches in Analyzing the Collaborative Process in Cape Dorset*

Arctic research, which has been and continues to be controlled largely by outside "experts" and positivist ideology, assumes "objective distance" between the researcher and the researched. Inuit participation in Arctic social sciences challenges this assumption. Post-positivist social sciences offer an alternative with the concept of "research as praxis" (Lather

⁴The Mallik Island Park Study was the research project which evolved out of working in a collaborative research process with the community participants. In chapters four through seven, the reader will experience the development of this project, from its conceptual stages through to the data collection and analysis stages. The research report is contained in Appendix C.

1986). "Research as praxis" seeks to understand issues such as: global power and resource distribution; critiques of the status quo; and postpositivist initiatives which work toward building a more just society. Furthermore, a postpositivist inquiry process seeks to understand these issues, attempting to do so through the experiences and perspectives of the oppressed.

The post-positivist school of inquiry, from within which ideas such as "praxis" have developed, represent a radical departure from the empirical tradition, and therefore, specific tools of the postpositivist approach in social inquiry need to be defined and understood in the context of the state of Arctic social sciences. The term "praxis", for example, defines a process within inquiry whereby thoughtful reflection and action occurs simultaneously. According to Kirby and McKenna, "it is the integration of knowing and doing" (1989, p.14).

Emancipatory approaches, such as those found within participatory and collaborative frameworks are illustrative and interactive and recognize that knowledge is "socially constituted" and "valuationally based". Working in this capacity, these approaches aim through their methods of inquiry, at recognizing and validating "other ways of knowing" about the world (Freeman in Berkes (ed) 1989; Colorado 1991). Specific to research done between the outside researchers and North American Aboriginal people, Colorado (1991) states, "Reflecting on the implications of two sciences, it is clear that a bicultural research model or a scientific infrastructure recognizing both Indian science and western science needs to emerge" (p.49).

The importance of writing about how we do our research and researcher-participant interaction becomes of fundamental importance within the postpositivist tradition, as our methodologies reflect as much about ourselves and our social location in the research as they do about those we are seeking to empower through our work. Often, accounts of process in methodology coupled with discussions of social location have been discounted as unimportant by positivist supporters. Ristock (1996) states,

Consciousness of our own locations, our subjectivities, and the narratives we construct about the work we are engaged in is a key component of research as empowerment, for these affect the ways we negotiate the social interactions involved in research. But detailed examinations of power plays are rarely considered part of the serious business of collecting data nor

are they likely to be included, where they logically could be, in the methodologies sections of reports on community-based research. Instead, we are most often given a sanitized view of the research process, which can result in an almost romantic story of its outcomes. In keeping with their general disdain for autobiographical work, many academics consider self-reflexivity a self-centred, even unseemly, variety of navel-gazing that diverts attention from the point of the research to the interior life of the researcher. On the contrary, the purpose of self-reflexivity is to improve the quality of research, not to derail it. Clarity about power issues is particularly important in community-based research, where researcher-participant interaction is often intense and research outcomes are expected to serve as bases for action. Self-reflexivity can show us areas in our data analysis and conclusions that are not accounted for in even the best-laid plans for community action research (p.58).

As such, Inuit participation in Arctic social science demands a new approach in research which addresses the inadequacies of positivist approaches. Postpositivist frameworks enable the researcher and the participants in the research process to build ideas and theory together in a manner which recognizes and validates traditional and contemporary Inuit knowledge, and which, in the process, works towards practical ends for the community.

2.12 Achieving Validity in Postpositivist Research

Validity in emancipatory inquiry requires new approaches foster dialectical processes between the researcher and participant and which respects and integrates local knowledge. In the case of the Cape Dorset research, validity was achieved by using techniques in social inquiry, including triangulation, self-observation and dialectical theory building. Triangulation is a method of validating grounded theory by linking literature and collected data to theory. It is the use of multiple measures to build patterns and counter patterns along with the convergence of sources.

Self-observation in the research process is a radical departure from the positivist approach. Recording one's own actions, or reflexivity, supports the idea that the researcher influences the process of research as a result of being an outsider from the dominant culture and as an active participant in the process. The use of self-observation as a method of inquiry has also come

under scrutiny from mainstream sociologists and has been recognized as a legitimate fact of life. As Kay (1990) states,

I am rejecting the view that studying everyday life requires a position termed 'detached' and 'objective'. I have used myself as a prime source of data because I considered my own activities and understandings as irreparably part of what I was studying. Rather than pretending that my own experiences had not 'intruded' on the research, I have utilised them (in Stanley (ed) 1990, p.203).

Lather (1986) identifies two areas of concern in emancipatory inquiry: First, what is the relationship between data and theory in emancipatory research?...Second, how does one avoid reducing explanation to the intentions of social actors, by taking into account the deep structures that shape human experience and perceptions, without committing the sin of theoretical imposition? This question is tied to both the issue of false consciousness⁵ and the crucial role of the researcher vis-a-vis the researched in emancipatory inquiry (p.262).

Lather deals with the above-mentioned challenges by focussing on two concepts concerned with "empowering approaches to the generation of knowledge"(p.263); the need for reciprocity and dialectical theory-building versus theoretical imposition. The need for reciprocity should reach beyond its ability to create "rich" data towards empowering the researched through "maximal reciprocity". Methods used to create maximal reciprocity include collaborative interviewing and theorizing between researcher and participant about the subject of inquiry. These methods foster negotiation and critical self-reflection between the researcher and participant over a series of longitudinal interactions. Dialectical theory building as opposed to theoretical imposition enable theoretical flexibility to emerge which respects the constructive abilities of the participants to make sense of their own experiences. This technique enables "data to generate propositions in a dialectical manner that permits use of a priori theoretical frameworks, but which keeps a particular framework from becoming the container into which the data must be poured" (p.267).

⁵Lather defines false consciousness as the denial of how our commonsense ways of looking at the world are permeated with meanings that sustain our disempowerment (p.265).

2.13 Challenges of Using a Postpositivist Approaches in Research with the Community of Cape Dorset

The process of using a collaborative research approach with the community participants in Cape Dorset was based on methods utilized within the postpositivist social sciences in order to foster interactions between the participants and myself throughout the research process. Methodological frameworks allowing the voices and ideas of participants to be accurately portrayed become of utmost importance to the primary investigator. "Thus a central task for praxis-oriented researchers becomes the confrontation of issues of empirical accountability - the need to offer grounds for accepting a researcher's description and analysis - and the search for workable ways of establishing the trustworthiness of data in new paradigm inquiry" (Lather 1986, p.260).

My role as an external researcher was multifaceted in that I was an active participant and co-facilitator of the collaborative process surrounding the Mallik Island Park Study, as well as the primary investigator into the evaluation of the collaborative process. This made knowledge construction challenging at times. One of the largest challenges in using the collaborative approach in Cape Dorset was to honourably represent the participant's actions, reactions, attitudes, perceptions and reflective processes wherever possible data has been validated with respective participants. The participant's experiences, however, have been ultimately filtered through a lens which has been influenced by my own experiences as a researcher from the dominant southern culture doing community-based research in a Northern community.

2.2 Methods of Data Collection

In studying the process of using a collaborative methodology with the community of Cape Dorset, my central task was to record and reflect on the events which took place over the two year process of doing the research. This included events such as my first phone call to the Community Development Director, to actually "doing" research with the Mallik Island research team, through to the events which surrounded the follow up stage with community members.

The first stage of research - which I call "making contact" (see Chapter four) took place in Winnipeg over an eight month period (September 1994 to April 1995), and constituted a number of phone calls, faxes, and letter correspondence between myself and various members

of the Cape Dorset community. Following this, the most intensive and extensive stage occurred from May 1995 to August 1995 in Cape Dorset. The purpose of this journey was to use the collaborative methodology to help initiate and execute a research project (see Chapter's five and six), and to record the active stages of the research process. In February 1996, I returned to the community for ten days with the purpose of recording the reflective perceptions of the research participants and to conduct follow up on the Mallik Island Park Study with local government and community groups.

To accurately capture the essence of the collaborative process I chose to use multiple methods to document and carry out the research, including journalling, informal and formal interviews and group discussions. The combination of methods would ensure that I kept track of events which were taking place surrounding the process, and that I could record my attitudes and perceptions of the events as well as perceived attitudes and perceptions of the participants themselves.

2.21 Journalling

"In participant observation the researcher uses data which is meaningful and relevant, and incorporates personal reflections as part of the data" (Kirby and McKenna 1989, p.81).

Journalling is helpful in postpositivist inquiry for capturing a researcher's experiences and personal reflections, as well as pinpointing her/his underlying assumptions and biases surrounding the research.

Journalling was used to help record the events which took place throughout the research process as well as perceptions, attitudes and reflections. The journalling process began as I was developing the idea to undertake the research project and continued into the final stages of data analysis.

I chose to keep two field books to record the process; one field book was kept to record events surrounding the process of using the collaborative research approach, while the other field book acted as a journal in which I could record my personal reflections surrounding the process.

2.22 Interviews

Interviews were useful to capture participant's experiences, attitudes and perceptions regarding their experiences. Audio-taped and hand recorded interview techniques adapted from Oakley's (1981) "interactive interview" approach were used during the follow up stage (see chapter seven) to enable the participants to reflect upon and discuss their attitudes towards and perceptions of the collaborative research process. Oakley's approach, operates as a discussion or guided conversation, whereby both the interviewer and the person being interviewed share information, where the interviewer may disclose personal information to the interviewee at that participant's request. This process balances the power relationship between the researcher and the participant and allows for flexibility and reflexivity within the interview structure (Kirby and McKenna 1989, p.66).

2.23 Group Discussions

Group discussions were used in various capacities throughout the research process as a way for participants to engage in collective decision-making and discussion. The first manner in which group discussions were utilized was during the negotiation stage of the research project (see Chapter five). Portions of meetings with the CDSC, related to the collaborative research project were recorded with informed consent from all members in order to reconstruct the negotiation stage of the research. These group discussions allowed me to: (1) interact with committee members (research participants) in a local political environment where they were "holders of knowledge", advisors and negotiators in the research process (2) to record the process of negotiation as a participant researcher; and (3) to gain insight into contemporary approaches to decision-making in Cape Dorset.

The second capacity in which group discussions were used was to convey the initial results of my research on the process of using a collaborative approach with the community (see Chapter seven). As well, this method was used to initiate a process through which the participants could actively construct and discuss ways to strengthen future relationships between researchers and the community vis-a-vis research methodology.

2.3 Methods of Data Analysis

Data analysis in postpositivist inquiry presents the largest challenge for researchers for a

number of reasons. First, a large amount of data is produced from recorded interviews and discussions, as well as from the immense number of recorded reflections of the researcher. How to "make sense of" the data can be overwhelming. Linked to "making sense" of the data is the more challenging aspect of postpositivist inquiry - doing "research as praxis", whereby through the researcher's methods of analysis, the researcher attempts to represent the voices of the participants and to reach a level of analysis cognizant of the need for reciprocity, the need for dialectical theory-building versus theoretical imposition, and the effort to achieve validity through such measures as triangulation and member checking (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Lather 1986; Kirby and McKenna 1989).

The basic pattern of data management and analysis was adapted from Kirby and McKenna's (1989) *Experience, Research, Social Change: Methods from the Margins* which uses the constant comparative method, introduced in Glaser and Strauss's (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, but which adds a postpositivist twist by focussing special attention on techniques of intersubjectivity and critical reflection on social context. Grounded theory is based on the idea that theory flows from data rather than preceding it, where the result is a minimization of researcher-imposed definitions of the situation. Substantive theory begins to develop as the researcher pours over the data, looking for and building on common themes which emerge from the data.

Throughout the process of using the grounded theory technique, intersubjectivity, which is "an authentic dialogue between all participants in the research process in which all are respected as equally knowing subjects", was attempted (Kirby and McKenna 1989, p.28). Furthermore, critical reflectivity was used to examine the participant's social reality through the analysis of context. In other words, where new information or knowledge was acquired which helped me to understand why an event took place or why someone reacted to a specific situation, I was able to make sense of the event and reflect on how my biases or feelings around a situation may have effected my analysis.

2.4 Data Presentation

The nature of my investigation into the process of using a collaborative research approach in

Cape Dorset was based primarily upon temporal parameters. The process had a start and a finish and at times was more intensive in terms of involvement, where multiple processes occurred simultaneously. A case narrative approach adapted from Lincoln and Guba's (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry* was used to reconstruct the events which occurred over two years of collaborative processes in Cape Dorset. The case study approach reconstructs, through a story-telling approach, the events which took place during the process of inquiry on factual, interpretive and evaluative levels. The technique requires a creative and informal writing style in which data interpretation and grounded theory is woven into the fabric of the factual framework surrounding the events of the research project.

2.5 Conclusion

Postpositivist methodological orientations have gained increased attention from many of the social sciences seeking to understand the human experience as a result of their ability to foster dialectical theory building between researchers and participants (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Lather 1986). As such, the movement towards Inuit community-based participation in Arctic research has questioned the validity of a positivist methodological approach and its inability to foster meaningful partnerships between communities and researchers (Dyck & Waldrum (ed) 1992; Ryan & Robinson 1992; ITC 1993; Reimer 1993). In this study with the community of Cape Dorset, I have attempted to gauge participant's perceptions towards the use of a collaborative research process, including a postpositivist approach in data collection, analysis and presentation. Specific methods used to collect data, which were based around my role as a participant researcher and observer, included journaling, informal and formal interviews, and group discussions. Grounded theory adopted from Kirby and McKenna (1989) was used for data analysis and data construction, where data presentation focussed on using a case narrative approach adopted from Lincoln and Guba (1985).

CHAPTER THREE

CAPE DORSET: A Community Profile

Chapter three presents an overview of the social, economic, political, cultural and physical environment of Cape Dorset, primarily from a contemporary perspective. In order, however, to give context to the current nature of the Cape Dorset culture and economy, a brief description of traditional life is presented from a combination of European ethnographic and published oral history accounts, including *People From Our Side* by Cape Dorset elder Peter Pitseolak (Pitseolak and Eber 1993) and Kemp's *Baffinland Eskimo* (1984). The transition from pre-settlement to post-settlement social, political and cultural organization is discussed, after which, current topics relevant to the contemporary situation of the community and to the collaborative research project's subject matter is presented, including an analysis of the Nunavut Community Transfer Initiative, eco-tourism and the establishment of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park in the Cape Dorset area.

The process of doing emancipatory research using methodologies such as a collaborative methodology results in research that is unique to the social, economic, political, cultural and ecological characteristics of the group, community or institution in which the researcher finds her or himself working. The research process is also shaped by the socio-economic, political and cultural variables which have influenced the world view of the researcher. As such, it remains highly probable that each case study of collaborative research will stand apart from the next and that no two emancipatory research processes will be alike. Unlike most status quo methodologies, participatory, action and collaborative frameworks recognize that contextual factors shape the process of research, and therefore, it is imperative that the researcher be familiar with the social, cultural and physical environment of the study area.

3.1 Traditional Culture and Economy of the Seekooseelarmiut

Cape Dorset is located off the southwest tip of Baffin Island, approximately 400 kilometres from Iqaluit, Northwest Territories (see Figure 3.1). The island is part of a chain of islands off

the Foxe Peninsula which are connected to the mainland during low tide. The present day Inuit of the Cape Dorset area, known traditionally as the *Seekooseelarmiut* have occupied the Foxe Peninsula region of southwest Baffin Island for thousands of years, subsisting traditionally from hunting and whaling activities. The informal economy, culture and social organization of the Inuit of south Baffin remains to this day reliant on subsistence activities driven primarily by the seasonal cycles of the Arctic environment.

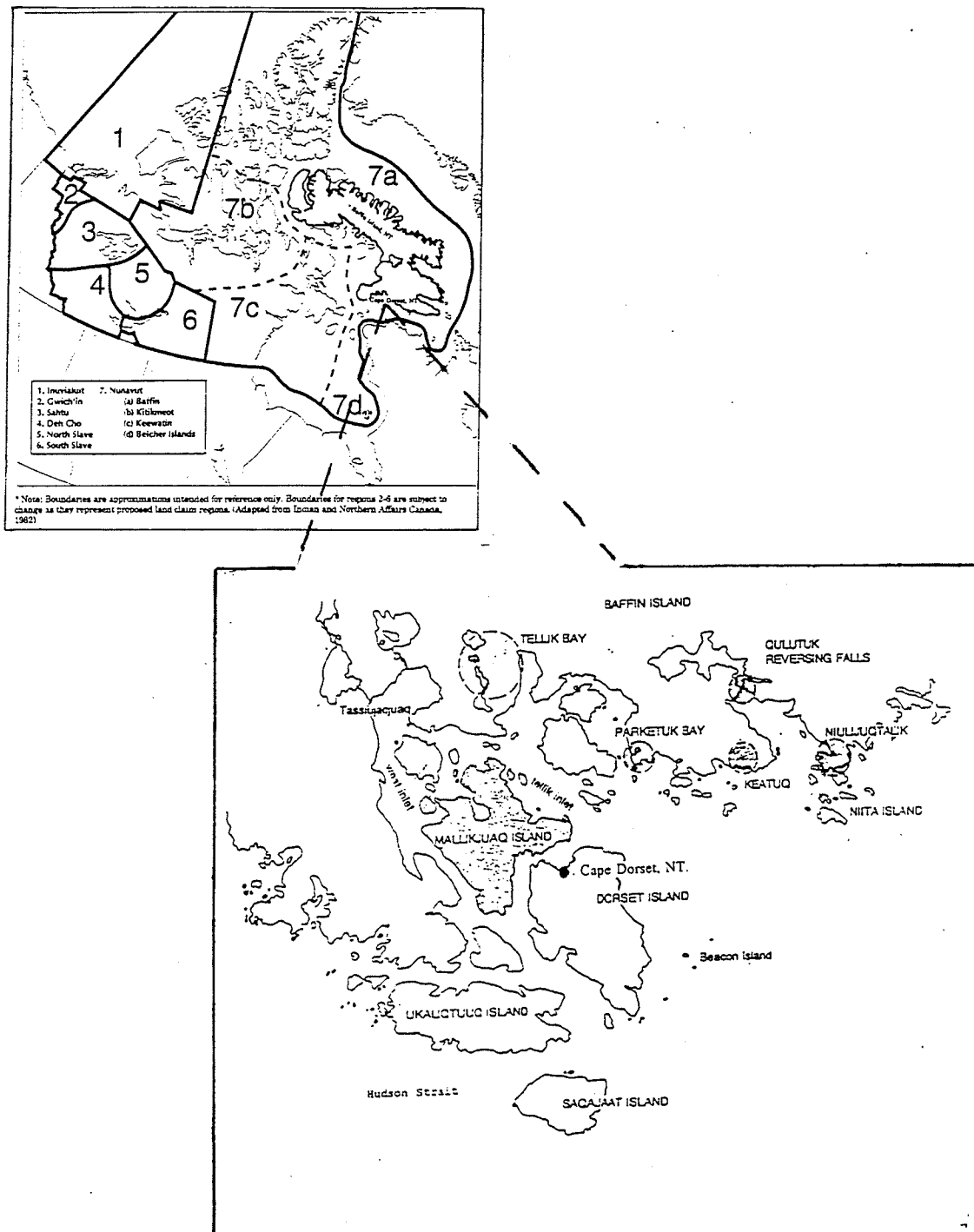
The traditional economy of the Baffinland Inuit is based on the harvesting of local resources, where approximately 20 species of marine and land mammals which cover broad expanses of territory are taken throughout the annual seasonal cycles (Kemp 1984, p.466). Seasonal patterns of resource harvesting are characterized by winter breathing hole and floe-edge hunting; spring hunting for basking seals and floe-edge hunting for whales, walrus and seal; summer fishing and caribou hunting; and autumn walrus and whale hunting. In winter ringed seal is the primary source of traditional food and remains a primary food source for the Inuit throughout the harvesting season. Other important marine and freshwater resources include narwhal, beluga whale, polar bear and arctic char. Caribou is the primary food source which takes hunters inland.

The traditional subsistence patterns of the Inuit remain intact to this day, however, with the advent of Euro-Canadian contact and into the twentieth century, the subsistence economy has gone through numerous transformations, placing stress on the traditional ways of Inuit culture. As trading activity increased and the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trade activities intensified, the consumption of European foodstuffs became more frequent, so that today Inuit subsist, depending on traditional food availability, on a mixed diet of country and store-bought food (Riewe and Oakes 1995).

The traditional material culture of the Baffinland Inuit has been well documented by European ethnographers (i.e. Boas 1888, in Kemp 1984) and recently recorded oral accounts from elders have evolved (Pitseolak and Eber 1993). Pre-contact hunting implements included the breathing hole harpoon, whaling harpoons, bow and arrow, constructed with European metals, local ivory, wood, caribou antler and sealskin rope. Large skin boats, or *umiaks*, and kayaks were the main source of coastal transportation in summer and autumn. Dog teams and

Figure 3.1

Cape Dorset
Baffin Island, NT Canada.



Source: Laird and Associates, 1992.

sleds were used for winter and spring travel. With the advent of European trade and contact, the rifle replaced the harpoon, and in the mid-1960's, transportation became more efficient for Inuit with the introduction of the motorized canoe and the snowmobile (ibid., p.452).

The traditional Baffinland system of social organization is based on a homogeneous bilateral kinship pattern which drives the organization of nuclear and extended family, food sharing, the exchange of material resources and the expression of leadership. "It is kinship that directly regulates interpersonal behaviour, and for the Baffinland Eskimo² (sic), this involves dyadic relationships in which the primary elements of behaviour involve respect, obedience, and affection" (ibid., p.470). Naming is central to understanding the interpersonal relations between individuals, where infants are named after the deceased and are given several names, where each name suggests a specific kinship designation.

3.11 *The Economy of Sharing*

Leadership in Inuit culture remains intrinsically linked to a subsistence economy, where both men and women have distinct roles in economic decision-making (Kemp 1984). One of the primary expressions which drives economic decision-making in the Inuit culture is sharing, or *ningiqtuq* (Wenzel 1991). Successful hunters, who have access to food and other resources are most often identified as traditional leaders who distribute wealth through socially driven activities, such as communal meals, after a successful hunt.

Sharing was and remains essential to social well being in the community. Traditionally, where climate, availability of resources and hunting success weighed heavily on physical survival, sharing was necessary for the basic needs of the community. In contemporary times, even as sheer reliance on traditional resources has decreased due to modern settlement infrastructure, sharing still remains central to social and cultural well-being. Riewe and Oakes (1995) have documented, through the collection of primary accounts from Cape Dorset residents of various ages, the sharing of store bought foods as well as country food. Through the primary accounts, it becomes apparent that sharing is still driven by traditional kinship organization

² The term Eskimo meaning "eater of raw meat" was given to Inuit from southern Aboriginal origin. Until recently, the term was used to describe Inuit as a group. Alaskan Northern peoples of Inuit ancestry still refer to themselves as Eskimo.

and partnerships. Sharing within Inuit society has remained, in both a traditional and contemporary context, an adaptation that has provided wide scope for individuals to gain access to all the material resources available in the community (Wenzel 1991).

3.2 The Transition from Camp to Settlement Life in Cape Dorset

It was not until the late nineteenth century that Inuit from the Cape Dorset area came into regular contact with European explorers, whalers and missionaries. Trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company began activities on south Baffin Island at the turn of the century which initiated the movement of Inuit hunting groups into settlement life. According to Peter Pitseolak, a famous Seekooseelak camp leader who died in the 1973, reported that,

around 1904 or 1905 people started moving out toward Lake Harbour because they wanted to be near the white man's trading post. When the store opened some moved to that area and some moved to Tunikta.....But they returned well before the Hudson's Bay Post went up in Cape Dorset. They returned because they were hungrier in that area (1993, p.53).

In 1913 the Hudson's Bay Company established a permanent trading post in Cape Dorset and Inuit began travelling to the post to trade furs for staples such as flour, tobacco, sugar and ammunition (Kemp 1984). It was also a time that Inuit remember white people coming to live in Cape Dorset. Pitseolak states:

Next winter when it was 1913 William Ford, the Lake Harbour Bay post manager, and his guide Esoaktuk visited our camp at Etidliajuk. He said that when summer came Kingnait - Cape Dorset - would have white people. Ever since there have been white people at Cape Dorset (ibid., p.83).

He states that during 1930s more whites entered the settlement.

There was an increase in the white men in the 1930s. It started with the Baffin Trading Company in 1939 and that same summer the catholic Mission came. They built their houses. That was the start of having many white men (p.84).

During the 1940s and 50s, the modern-day settlement of Cape Dorset was established on Dorset Island. During the 40's the decline in the trade of white fox and the availability of medical and educational services at the Hudson's Bay Post facilitated the movement of many

Inuit into the settlement area. One of the first schools in the Baffin region was built at Cape Dorset during 1949, and it was during this time that Inuit of the region started to settle in Cape Dorset (Hamilton 1993). In 1953 local Inuit built their own Anglican church, financed by the trade of musk-ox hides. This eventually led to the decline of the Catholic mission in 1960, as the majority of residents were loyal to the Anglican presence in the settlement. A permanent federal nursing station was established in the late 1950's and in 1962 an RCMP detachment was stationed in the community (BHRB 1994).

During the 1950's Cape Dorset became the focal point for the development of a highly successful Inuit art industry, facilitated by the arrival of James Houston in Cape Dorset. Houston was sent to Cape Dorset in 1953 by the federal government to encourage local Inuit to carve soapstone figures that could be sold in the south in exchange for monetary resources. The establishment of the carving industry was also seen as a secondary means for the sedentarization of Inuit in settlements where education, health and housing could be provided. By the end of his 10 year stay in Cape Dorset, Houston had helped to build a successful carving and print making industry through the establishment of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative (WBEC), which today remains a primary source of income for many carvers and printmakers in the community (Leroux et al. 1994; Houston 1995; Milne et al. 1995).

3.3 Cape Dorset Today: A Socio-Economic Perspective

Today, Cape Dorset is a thriving community of approximately 1200 people (field notes). The local economy is fuelled by a combination of government administration, including school, health services, and transfer payments to sustain a local municipal type administration, public sector, subsistence activities and the sale of arts and crafts. The traditional economic activities of hunting and fishing are also practiced, while traditional and contemporary forms of sharing through established kinship patterns remain evident (Brody 1984).

The environment of the average Arctic community appears, to the outsider's eye, a modern landscape. In Cape Dorset, government housing dots the coast line of the island. Dirt roads connect the rapidly expanding residential areas to schools, satellite dishes, government buildings, churches, a community centre, airport, the Northern store (formerly the Hudson's Bay company), hotels, a sewing centre, West Baffin Eskimo Co-op store, and art co-op (see

Plates 3.1 - 3.3). On closer observation traditional ways of life are visible as stretched sealskins, and strips of arctic char can be seen drying on racks outside of houses. The cultural landscape of Cape Dorset displays both tradition and contemporary images.

In Cape Dorset, more and more local people are beginning to work in jobs, including school teachers, wildlife officers, local government administrators and secretaries, historically filled by Qallunaat³. Although the community's commercial arts and crafts sector has been highly successful in supplementing wage and the informal economy, the community still endures many of the socio-economic ills which are common in many communities throughout the Canadian Arctic. Many of the higher-paying wage jobs, such as directorship positions and senior teaching jobs, are held by southerners. The successful delivery of formal western education in communities such as Cape Dorset remains one of the biggest challenges for the eastern Arctic. According to a 1991 Census survey, 44.2% of residents in Cape Dorset over the age of 15 had less than Grade nine, 12.6% had between Grade 9 and 11, while 2.7% had achieved a Grade 12 diploma (BHRB 1994: 15). In 1991 unemployment in Cape Dorset was 15.3% which was average for the Baffin area and a great improvement from the mid 1980s, when unemployment figures reached as high as 34% (ibid.: 12).

3.4 A Step Towards Nunavut in Cape Dorset: the Community Transfer Initiative (CTI)

In early 1995, Cape Dorset became the pilot community in the Nunavut settlement area to undergo the first step toward community-based self government. The transfer of four primary services, formerly administered by the Northwest Territories government, to the Hamlet Council has resulted in most programs and services being designed and delivered at the community level. As a result of the transfer, the Hamlet Office in Cape Dorset now administers its own community economic development office, housing, public works and social services branch (Gilhuly 1994).

³Brody defines *Qallunaat* as the "Eskimo(sic) (word) for southerners or Whites...The origin of the word is obscure: the Eskimo word *qalluk*, meaning 'eyebrow' is often said to be its root, and Whites are supposed to have been initially impressive for their bushy and prominent eyebrows. More plausible is the view that *Qallunaat* was the first used in West Greenland, where there is a word for 'south' that closely resembles *qalluk*, and that the term for 'southerners' originated there, and was carried westward - probably ahead of the Whites themselves - into Arctic Canada.

Plate 3.1



Cape Dorset, NT
July 1993.

Plate 3.2



Cape Dorset, July 1995.



West Baffin Eskimo Coop, Cape Dorset. July 1993.

Plate 3.3



Frozen Ringed Seal, Alariaq Residence
February 1996

Although it is difficult to predict the long term success of the CTI in Cape Dorset, the short term benefits can already be measured in fiscal terms as well as in the new approaches of administration within various departments. Prior to the CTI, duplication of resources and services (particularly in housing and public works) caused tremendous overlap resulting in inflated infrastructure and maintenance costs. As well, it was difficult for community members to obtain access to information regarding the events occurring within departments like social services and community development. Since the CTI, community residents have had more of an opportunity to participate in local government through election to committees established under a new sub-committee structure.

In theory, the CTI enables community members to obtain better access to information and decision-making structures within local government. The CTI aims to build culturally appropriate structures in decision-making, where elders and other community members may be directly involved in local development projects. Each director is responsible before his/her sub-committee, where all projects and developments are discussed and approved through a consensual process (Gilhuly 1994). The local radio station is used as a mechanism through which the minutes of each sub-committee meeting are disseminated to the general public. As a result, ideas and concerns of local residents are being dealt with on a more efficient level, and culturally appropriate approaches to development and management are slowly beginning to be worked into departmental agendas.

3.5 Eco-tourism in Cape Dorset: A Way Forward?

Eco-tourism has been identified as a sustainable development option for many peripheral areas of the world, such as Canada's Arctic, where losses of subsistence economy including the European trade in seal skins, have forced a re-orientation in economic development initiatives (Nickels et al. 1992). In many regions of the NT, tourism has created employment opportunities for local residents, helping to contribute both directly and indirectly to the local economy. Many of the benefits from tourism activities in the NT are due in part by the focus on traditional activities, such as local arts and crafts, hunting and fishing which have proven successful in creating opportunities for local residents to practice and preserve traditional ways (Nickels et al. 1992; Milne et al. 1995).

Tourism development in Cape Dorset dates back to the early 1980's, as part of a wider GNWT tourism policy which focussed on developing a community-based tourism industry to be substantially planned, owned, and operated by northerners and reflecting community aspirations (Marshall Macklin Monahan, 1982). Initial research on tourism planning indicated that Cape Dorset should be marketed as a 'destination community' as opposed to a 'destination area', as the majority of it's attraction rested in the community-based commercial arts and crafts industry. The report recommended the development of an arts and crafts historic centre and an increase in hospitality services as a first priority for tourism development. The formation of a tourism committee to oversee the development of a market for tourism was identified as an imperative step in establishing a successful tourism industry.

Since the early 1980's and the MMM report, tourism development indicators -- such as a tourism coordinator position, tourism facilities and community-based tourism packages -- have demonstrated the beginnings of a viable tourism industry. The primary stumbling block to the development of sustainable tourism in Cape Dorset has been it's inability to successfully link it's primary attraction, the WBEC and the arts and crafts sector, to tourism activity (see Milne et al. 1995). As well, the two most basic priorities laid out in the initial tourism planning report -- development of tourism-oriented accommodation and the construction of an arts and historical centre -- have not occurred to this date. Facility development, a full time tourism coordinator, the development of package tours which focus on carvings, prints and small crafts markets and better accommodation services are needed in order to build a strong and sustainable tourism market in Cape Dorset (Milne et al. 1995).

On a more positive note, since the 1995 Milne study, *Linking Tourism and Art in Canada's Eastern Arctic: The Case of Cape Dorset*, the community has now begun to implementing local measures that focus on tourism. Chuck Gilhuly, Senior Administrative Officer of Cape Dorset⁴ states, "*Since the community transfer we have begun to focus on tourism again*" (pers.com., July 1995). The community development office has been focussing on increasing cruise ship activity to Cape Dorset and is in the process of hiring a full time tourism

⁴As of January 1996, C.Gilhuley has left the position of Senior Administrative Officer in Cape Dorset. Timoon Toonoo, originally of Cape Dorset, is now working in the position of SAO.

coordinator. With more control over tourism planning at the local level, the implementation of a community-based tourism planning infrastructure should ensure the influx of more tourism dollars into the community.

3.6 Building an Infrastructure for the Future: The Establishment of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park

3.61 *The Development of a Territorial Park on Mallik Island.*

Plans to establish Mallik Island as a territorial historic park are linked to regional and local attempts to develop a community-based tourism infrastructure in Cape Dorset where it has been recognized that Territorial Parks have the potential to act as an important component in building a sustainable tourism industry in Nunavut. Furthermore, parks present potential opportunities for local residents in terms of education, aiding wildlife conservation and heritage preservation. Although the existing tourism industry in Cape Dorset has primarily catered to tourists interested in Inuit art, members of the tourism industry in the community hope the development of Mallik Island will lead to a balanced experience for the tourist and extend the number of days spent in the community. The plans for the establishment of Mallikjuaq Historic park have been extensive, both in the community and at the regional level. Community consultation during the initial stages of the Nunavut land identification process proved favourable in reserving the island for park land, and an intensive planning and development report was completed in 1991 (see Laird, 1991).

3.62 *Mallik Island*

Mallik Island lies immediately adjacent to the community of Cape Dorset (see plate 3.4). On the island lie the archaeological remains of the Tuniit and Thule cultures (see plate 3.5). The earliest were the Tuniit, of whom very little is known by local peoples or Anthropologists. Traces of the Thule culture, the predecessors of the present day Inuit, indicated the people subsisted on whales and lived in stone houses both of which remain clues to the past of the Seekooseelak peoples who inhabit the area. The island offers a spectacular view of the region atop Mallikjuaq hill and a variety of historic sites including old tent rings, a kayak stand, fireplace, caches, seagull rockery; all currently connected by rough trails (see GNWT 1995c for more information about Mallik Island).

The name "Mallik" was given to the island after European contact. The island is traditionally referred to as "Akia" which means, "the place across from where I am" (M. Joanessie, pers. com., July 18, 1995). The word "Mallikjuaq" originates from the mountain on the island known to locals as Mallikjuaq (hill), and means, "the big rolling wave" (N. Hallandy, pers.com. June 1995). Younger generations in the community refer to the island by the name "Mallik" or "Mallikjuaq".

3.63 Recent Development Activities on Mallik Island

During the early 1990's, the consulting firm of Laird & Associates was contracted to produce a detailed planning and development report for Mallik Island. The plan included an archaeological inventory of the area (see Stenton, 1990), as well as a detailed three phase development approach to help facilitate the initial conceptual development and subsequent phased development of the island pending user demand (Laird, 1995). The first phase of development focusses on small scale activities at the park site, based on its existing natural environment and archaeological features of the island. The plans include restoration of Thule houses, development of a trail guide, and selection and training of community representatives and personnel. During the summer of 1995, the trail guide was completed and warmly received by many community members, a guiding and interpretive course was under way in the community and work on the Thule houses was in progress (author's field notes, 1995).

Pending user demand and capital expenditure plans, the second and third phases of development will offer the visitor a wider range of experience with increased service and facility infrastructure. "This point is reached when the number of tour leaders, guides, outfitters and services in the Hamlet will not be sufficient to take care of tourists" (Laird 1995). Plans for facility development include walkways, emergency shelters, toilets and marked trails. A seasonal full time interpreter and guide will be employed. The rationale behind the third stage of development is to facilitate trips to the outlying camps along the Baffin coast. Places such as Keatuk (Peter Pitseolak's camp), would be restored and made accessible to tourists. The final stage would also be contingent on user demand and community initiation.

Plate 3.4



Aerial view of Mallik Island, July 1993.

Plate 3.5



**Thule archaeological site, Mallik Island
July 1993**

During the initial negotiation process the Mallikjuaq Island Steering Committee was formed which worked closely with Laird in reviewing plans and sharing the community's concerns about development. According to Chuck Gilhuly, "*[The committee] was effective in that a lot of the [information] was reviewed. They acted together with Laird at the time and ...were his direct point of contact in the community*" (pers comm, July 18, 1995).

This was also a period in which the Nunavut Land Identification process was occurring in reference to the Eastern Arctic land claim and a number of public meetings were held in which the community was able to discuss resident's attitudes towards park development.

Gilhuly states,

There were some very good discussions that went on for a long time. All the way from people wanting it excluded but become part of the municipal boundary so that we could start (park) development, up to nobody wanted to do anything over there, and whether people wanted tourism at all. The final decision was that the community was in support. It would be excluded from the land claim. The government had a couple of years to get its act together and follow through on the plan, and if the plan wasn't carried through then it would revert and become part of the municipal boundary" (pers com., July 18, 1995).

The general feeling in the community in 1995 was that the initial planning and development conducted by Laird & Associates concerning the Mallik Island was carried out successfully with strong support from the community. The success of the development plan was a result of effective public consultation and working closely with local people. According to Laird, "The study encourages a sense of involvement and ownership by the Cape Dorset Community in planning and operating the park right from the early planning phases" (p.1).

3.64 Park Establishment and it's Effect on Inuit Common Property Rights

The establishment of territorial parks creates shifts in property rights structures in relation to traditional land use and occupancy by local Inuit residents. Areas which were once occupied under the commons of Inuit now come under the jurisdiction of the GNWT and are managed by the state.

Current shifts in property rights within the context of park establishment in the NT are

facilitated by the Territorial Parks Act and land claim negotiations in each region. With the Nunavut land claim currently in its implementation stage in the eastern Arctic, the establishment of territorial parks must be done in congruence with land claims processes. As well, successful implementation of territorial parks in the context of aboriginal rights and self government is dependent on effective consultation at the community level during all stages of negotiation, planning and development. The new Parks Policy in the NT states, 'The establishment, development and operation of existing or future territorial parks must be consistent with or complement all agreements, policies, and legislation related to the settlement of aboriginal claims' (GNWT 1995b: 8).

In addition, under the Territorial Parks Act, aboriginal people are entitled to hunt, fish and trap within territorial park boundaries, "with the proviso that due regard be given to the need for general public safety" (ibid: 9). The Act also specifies that aboriginal people are guaranteed the right to extract and remove carving stone and other biophysical resources used in traditional activities from park areas. The above provisions were established within the context of park development to recognize both the cultural and economic significance of traditional harvesting, and profits generated from local arts and crafts production, in order to ensure the perpetuation of these activities for future generations.

3.65 Community Perception and Participation in Territorial Parks Development

To ensure sustainable goals in economic development which reflect culturally appropriate economic development in the NT, it is imperative that regional planning authorities involved in park planning not only consult the communities in question prior to development but see that communities are structurally integrated into the planning and management process. Survey research, public education and outside consultation should be applied at various stages during planning, development and management of parks. This task should be undertaken by parks officials, community organizations, individuals with park planning experience and outside groups interested and concerned with sustainable economic development issues in the NT.

According to a recent policy paper released by the Department of Economic Development and

Tourism in the GNWT, "...Territorial parks will be established only after extensive community participation and public consultation. Ample opportunity will also be provided for the public to contribute their views concerning subsequent development and operation of parks' (GNWT 1995b: 10).

Community attitudes towards issues related to park development which have been identified as concerns include: socio-economic costs and benefits; property rights structures and traditional land use; facility development; management, enforcement and maintenance structures; protection of heritage sites and cultural artifacts; wildlife conservation; and public safety (GNWT 1995a)

In cases of other communities in the NT, such as Arviat and Baker Lake, community-based park development and planning has proven a successful venture from the point of view of both the Department of Economic Development and Tourism and the communities. Although ownership of land and jurisdiction remains with the Territorial government, the day to day maintenance and management rests in the hands of the community where a majority of the maintenance and capital plan budgets are administered. As a result, the interest in management and maintenance has facilitated a feeling of ownership in the communities regarding their parks (F.Weih, personal communication, June 1995).

3.7 Linking Collaborative Research, Inuit Participation in Decision-making and Park Development in Cape Dorset

Attempting to understand the socio-economic, cultural and political nature of the study area is imperative in cases where collaborative research is undertaken by an external researcher and a community-based research group. Previous experience working in the study area is of benefit to the external researcher, where knowledge of the local language, culture and social environment will facilitate a productive research experience for all interested and active participants.

Cape Dorset, not unlike other communities of the Baffin Island region, has undergone dramatic transitions in community structure over a matter of two generations. Elders in Cape

Dorset have experienced the transition from a traditional land based society to life in modern settlements, while younger generations struggle to find work and are in danger of losing their knowledge of traditional ways and language. Traditional Inuit lifestyle is still embedded within many aspects of present day Inuit culture, however, contemporary issues - including self-government, sustainable community-based economic development, addressing the environmental degradation of the Arctic, substance abuse and working to ensure the physical and mental health and the well-being for future generations - are becoming increasingly important in terms of cultural sustainability in Arctic communities (ICC 1995).

Cape Dorset is looking to develop a sustainable tourism industry based primarily on the lure of it's rich arts and crafts industry as well as with the development of Mallik Island as a historic park. The community has also experienced a unique political transition over the last two years as part of a wider initiative of the Northwest Territories government community transfer program. The Community Transfer Initiative (CTI) has increased the level of Inuit participation in decision making at the community level in Cape Dorset, and is working to ensure participatory democratic processes are built to foster culturally appropriate means of economic, natural and human resources development. The CTI was to become a key supporter in helping to initiate the process of using a collaborative research process in the community of Cape Dorset, its five member Community Development Subcommittee became my primary contact.

Since the Laird report was completed in 1991, the focus upon the community transfer initiative and the Nunavut land claim left plans for park development in the background until the spring of 1995, when the official file for land application by the GNWT arrived at the community development office. Upon the arrival of the land title application, the community development sub-committee (CDSC) began to voice reservations about signing the document without reassurance that community members were still in favour of park development on Mallik Island. When I arrived in the spring of 1995 to work with the CDSC, the issue of park development seemed to be re-surfacing as an area of concern for the CDSC and the community development director.

Using the collaborative research methodology in Cape Dorset with the CDSC, helped in

identifying an area for research which addressed local concern over the development of Mallik Island as a Territorial park. The use of collaborative research helped the external researcher and participants pinpoint important issues and conceptualize a research process which involved the committee directly in the development of the research objectives, in determining the specific areas which should be researched, in the preparation of the research design and in its execution.

SECTION II

DOING COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH IN NUNAVUT: A CASE NARRATIVE.

The following four chapters constitute a reconstruction of my experiences doing collaborative research in Cape Dorset, Nunavut. In outlining my experiences as a participant researcher, I have attempted to share the steps involved in initiating, developing and participating in the process of using this research methodology, as well as any personal reflections about how these processes effected the research project and my role as researcher.

The experiences outlined in the following pages are my perceptions of what occurred during the process of using a collaborative methodology in Cape Dorset. My perceptions of using collaborative research were shaped by many factors, including my position in the community as an "outsider", my role as project coordinator, southern scientist, young woman and feminist. Wherever possible these perceptions have been validated through checking back with community members, and by sharing and reconstructing ideas with the research participants who were involved in research activities.

Using a style of reconstruction similar to Castleden (1992), I have incorporated verbatim dialogue from phone conversations, letters, facsimiles, transcripts and interviews to reflect the ideas and responses of each participant throughout the process. Personal reflections are interwoven throughout the reconstruction with the use of italics, which separates events from theoretical and reflective processes. References to literature on methodology and post-positivist philosophy are found throughout the narrative to help build grounded theory (Lather 1986; Kirby and McKenna 1989; Castleden 1992) surrounding the use of collaborative methodologies in the Nunavut region.

Wherever local language was used during meetings, I have inserted "Inuktitut" in brackets to show that dialogue was occurring. As well, no attempt was made to transcribe or interpret this dialogue because my experience was that of someone who does not speak or comprehend Inuktitut. This became an important limitation in the process of doing collaborative research.

Each chapter represents four basic steps experienced during the collaborative inquiry in Cape Dorset, including (1) making contact, (2) collective negotiation of research, (3) doing community-based research and (4) conducting follow-up.

Chapter four outlines the process of starting the collaborative research project with the community of Cape Dorset; what I have termed "making contact". Making contact with Cape Dorset took place over an eight month period and entailed various degrees of correspondence with different community members, community groups and local political leaders. The process of making contact is discussed first within the context of methodological literature, followed by a description of my own experiences in making contact with the community.

Chapter five outlines the process of negotiation occurring during the early stages of the community-based portion of the research. "Building Collaborative Frameworks: Working with the CDSC" describes the evolution of a collaborative process in which the research objectives and design were established with the CDSC during the spring of 1995.

Chapter six, entitled "Doing Research: Working with the Mallik Island Research Team" describes the events which evolved while working with the Mallik Island Research Team during the community-based research project done during the summer of 1995.

Chapter seven, "Following up in Cape Dorset: Exploring Community Attitudes Towards Collaborative Research and the Mallikjuaq Island Research Project", concerns events surrounding a follow up trip to the community in February of 1996, during which time the research results were formally presented to the community and additional research was undertaken by the principal researcher regarding participant attitudes towards the collaborative methodology used during the Mallik Island Park Study.

CHAPTER FOUR

"MAKING CONTACT" WITH THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OFFICE IN CAPE DORSET.

Chapter four reconstructs the "making contact" process which took place in Cape Dorset. Throughout the narrative, the Cape Dorset making contact experience is contrasted with the literature and personal reflection, against which personal observations are made about the benefits and limitations of making contact within the collaborative process in Nunavut.

4.1 What is "Making Contact"?

"Making contact" is the first stage of the collaborative research process in which the researcher starts to build relationships and networks needed to do collaborative research. Making contact is a flexible process where a variety of techniques and multiple methods may be used to initiate collaborative planning in research. Common to the success of all making contact processes are: (1) maintaining regular and open communication with key informants, (2) being flexible while making contact, and (3) having knowledge of the research setting, particularly in cross-cultural situations (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Making contact will differ in each case depending upon the context of the project, the geo-political area and culture of the community group, where the researcher may make contact with the community or where the community may make contact with the researcher⁵.

⁵Within non-feminist theoretical literature on participatory research, it is stated that the research should be driven by the community group at all times, which means that the researcher should be contacted by the community to engage in research. This, however, may not always be the case using collaborative or action research. According to Maguire, some participatory models (see Marshall 1981; and Tandon 1981) assume that a community-based group has formed and has begun to identify at least a preliminary definition of their problem or concern. Other models support "promoters" of participatory research working with organizations representative of the population to set up both institutional and methodological frameworks for participatory research. The problem in many cases, as in the case study which is about to unfold, is as Maguire questions, "How do you put yourself in a position to be 'requested'?" (p.112). Some models are ambiguous about how the researcher is requested, and about how a relationship is developed with a pre-formed community group who are intent upon investigating a problem situation in their lives. Each model is unclear about the extent to which the social scientist is promoting participatory research or waiting to respond with participatory research upon a request by a community group. Nonetheless, in these models, the social scientist either responds to a request by a community group or, after exploring a community, determines whether or not to make a commitment to a community-identified problem (p.113).

4.2 Re-establishing contact with Cape Dorset (September - December 1994)

The process of implementing a community-based project using a collaborative methodology with the community of Cape Dorset began in September 1995 with phone and facsimile contact with the community. "Making contact" started with a phone call to the new Community Development Director⁶ in the Hamlet of Cape Dorset.

From the outset, I realized that two predominant forces were beginning to shape the "making contact" stage in Cape Dorset: the fact that the community was not the initiator of the research, and second the geographic distance between myself and the community. In this case, the community had not initiated or requested the research on their own accord which has been addressed in the literature by Maguire (1987). As such, I had to devise a way in which I could make contact with members of the community to initiate interest in doing research on a problem of interest and importance to them, as well as on the process of using a collaborative methodology. I had no prior experience working with David Patrick, the Community Development Director, which made the process of "making contact" a challenge. As well,

Ideally, as Maguire states, it is the group in need of research which initiates the process, however, if the political or community structure does not exist to actualize a research need, it may be that a researcher or research organization will initiate the participatory research process. As a result of her experiences with "making contact", Maguire revised the Fernandes-Tandon (1981) model to begin with the step: "Entering, Experiencing, Establishing Relationships With the Actors in Situation" similar to Lincoln and Guba's description of "gaining entree"(1985). According to Maguire, "this step includes the process of beginning to gather information about the community and building relationships and commitments within the community" (ibid., p.113).

⁶What was once the Economic Development and Tourism position in each community, has now in Cape Dorset been transformed into the Community Development portfolio, under the policies of the Community Transfer Initiative (CTI), established by the GNWT in conjunction with Nunavut land claim activities. This program has facilitated the start of the devolution of GNWT administration of specific services to the community level. Cape Dorset was the first community to undergo the transfer in 1994, taking control of its economic development, housing, public works and social services portfolios.

David Patrick, once a commercial lender in St. John's Newfoundland, was hired by the Hamlet Council to head the portfolio of community economic development, replacing Robert Jaffrey, the former Economic Development Officer for Cape Dorset who was my contact during my first visit as a student research assistant to Cape Dorset in July of 1993. During the 1993 field trip I conducted traditional survey research for the McGill Geography Department on community attitudes towards the development of eco-tourism in Cape Dorset during the summer of 1993.

there was no opportunity for me to travel to the community to make contact, as a result of the large distances and cost of travel between Winnipeg and Cape Dorset. This would limit the number of options I had to build trustworthiness in the making contact process.

During the first stages of making contact with David Patrick, I attempted to show him that I had prior experience and knowledge of Cape Dorset through my previous involvement doing research in the community (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Maguire 1987). By recounting my past experiences as a researcher in the community, David was able to start contextualizing my abilities as a researcher and my commitment to working with the community⁷.

In the meantime, I began to deal with the requirements of my research planning course at the Natural Resources Institute, which would prove a challenge as a result of my interest in alternative methodologies. I was fortunate, however, to be enrolled in a feminist methods course, which helped me to develop an appropriate research design. Developing a collaborative research design within the positivist setting of the Natural Resources Institute, however, I found myself struggling with the duality which exists between the theoretical orientation of doing "research as praxis" (see Lather 1986, chapter 2), and the creative limitations of the positivist planning course.

Doing postpositivist research within the boundaries of a positivist institution presented many roadblocks throughout the entire research process. For example, instructors at the Natural Resources Institute were persistent in inquiring as to what the focus of the community-based research would be. To honour the collaborative methodology's focus on restraining from theoretical imposition and supporting community-driven identification of research objectives, I could not provide my instructors with the information they wanted. From my perspective, I felt caught between conflicting schools of thought and practice, and to satisfy each throughout the school year became a challenge.

⁷David informed me of his knowledge of the McGill project, and stated that the resulting publication had helped the Community Development Sub-Committee (CDSC) to focus in on some of the more pressing issues surrounding tourism and economic development in Cape Dorset (see Milne et al., 1995).

4.3 Maintaining Momentum and Flexibility in Making Contact

After two months of phoning David and being told to "call back in two weeks", I realized that making contact meant that I must reach out farther to a wider range of individuals in the community. Two variables come into play here: First I knew that David was an outsider in Cape Dorset - he was a Southerner who had only recently moved to Cape Dorset to work for the Hamlet in Community Development, he did not speak Inuktitut nor did he have an in depth understanding of the local culture or community dynamic. It was difficult to know how the community at large perceived him as a "Qallunaat" employee and community member. In my process journal I write,

"There may be a way to begin forging a link with the community through him (David), but it will definitely become a challenge from such a distance" (November 27, 1995).

By deciding to depend solely upon David as an informant and gatekeeper into the community during the making contact stage, I realized I was relying on an outsider whom I knew very little about. If I relied solely upon David without understanding the social dynamics of the community and the existing power structures, I would not receive a balanced account of the emergent research needs of the community. The second variable was concerned with respecting the knowledge and credibility of the Inuit who are "Cape Dorset". In talking with elders and members of the local government and the West Baffin Eskimo Coop, I could get a better sense of whether I was needed in the community as a researcher. Contact with Inuit in the community would also enable me to inquire as to David's credibility in position of Community Development Director.

I began to focus my "making contact" activities on other community members to ensure that I would align myself with indigenous representatives and dispel concerns about making contact with the inappropriate individuals. I contacted the mayor, Akalayak Qavavau, as well as Jimmy Manning, the manager of the print shop and carving operation at the West Baffin Eskimo Coop. When speaking with Mayor Qavavau, I inquired as to her interests in community-based research. She confirmed the community's support for my research proposal and assured me of the community's trust and confidence in David Patrick as Community

Development Director. She informed me that I should begin making plans with David for a research project that following summer.

Gaining the support and recognition from Mayor Qavavau demonstrates the benefits of maintaining flexibility within the "making contact" process. Being removed from the community in the initial negotiations stages made it difficult to know just how many people were aware of my intentions and if they supported my proposal. In my process journal I write,

At least I have her support. I just feel better about that, and in knowing that I can begin serious negotiations with David at community development (November 27, 1995).

4.4 Building Trustworthiness during "Making Contact"

Building relationships with community members is an important aspect of successful implementation of an alternative methodology, because in many cases, the community will begin the process of collaborative research unsure of the convictions of the researcher, particularly if the researcher has had little past experience with the community group.

During the making contact period in Cape Dorset, I needed to show the community that I was committed to working collaboratively in a community-based setting, but was uncertain about how to do so. In November I had given an interview to CBC North while at a conference in Ottawa. The interview described some of my concerns with positivist methodologies in social sciences research in the Canadian Arctic. Coincidentally the interview was aired on Baffin Island during the month of December. where by chance, David and some colleagues heard it and sent a reply south. Timing and luck definitely played their part in my plans to return back to the community.

On December 6th, 1994 I received a fax from David stating,

The CBC interview you mentioned aired a few minutes ago. I didn't catch all of it, but what I did hear impressed me, as well as my co-worker Olayuk Akesuk. I'm asking CBC for a copy for the Subcommittee members to hear at our next meeting, 14 Dec. I'm still waiting for more info. Looks like we might approach Pathways for funding for up to 4 student research

assistants for you to continue the work you started here some time ago.....RSVP.

Upon hearing the interview, the CDSC became increasingly interested in my return to the community. According to David, "After hearing the interview everyone was serious about your offer" (pers. com. January 27, 1995).

4.5 The Results in Making Contact

Making contact resulted in the Community Development Sub-committee (CDSC)⁸ beginning to consider my proposal for collaborative research. My return to the community would be dependent on the complete support of the CDSC. In January of 1995, David Patrick and I began discussing the possibility of my return as he was confident that the CDSC would grant me permission to return to the community. Formal permission from the sub-committee, however, had not been granted at that time.

Potential areas of research which were currently of interest to the CDSC, as expressed by David, were:

- Building a stronger tourism industry in Cape Dorset.
- The recent effects of the Community Transfer Initiative (CTI) on community change (see Chapter three for details)

During the making contact stage I realized that it was imperative that I stay impartial about the terms of reference for the topic of the research proposal. In the case of Cape Dorset at this point in time, formal permission by the CDSC had not been granted. As such, it was important to stay true to the process of a community-driven decision-making structure underpinning the collaborative process.

Regular contact with David Patrick continued into the month of March 1995, when the

⁸The CDSC is a committee comprised of locally elected citizens whom the Director is accountable to with regards to all projects, ideas and fiscal affairs related to local economic development. The CDSC was first developed as a model under the Community Transfer Initiative in 1994, a strategy for community-based self-government developed by the GNWT.

Community Development Sub-Committee made a final decision to allow me to return to Cape Dorset to work with them in identifying a research project.

Upon affirmation that the project would happen that summer, I began to reflect upon the making contact stage and wondered about how it had served to facilitate the collaborative research process. In evaluating the process of making contact, I believed that the evolution of trustworthiness between myself and my initial contacts (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Maguire 1987) had developed as a result of two factors: (1) past experience in tourism related research in the community and (2) the CDSC's belief in my commitment to the collaborative research process.

With respect to the first factor, the CDSC was very interested in eco-tourism as a means of sustainable economic development (see Chapter three), and as a result of my past work in the community, they may have had a reason to believe that I could help to address similar issues if I was to return. The second factor which I believe helped in the negotiation of my return was helped by a CBC interview that I was involved in as a result of my attendance at the Fourth National Students Conference on Northern Studies in Ottawa, Nov. 1994, which was aired on CBC North and heard in the community a short time later. During the interview I stated that if I was to return to the community I would like to use an alternative research methodology which would enable the community to collaborate with me in research.

Once formal permission from the CDSC had been granted, I began to prepare for the next stages of collaborative research. The first task was to begin developing the appropriate tools to study the process of using an alternative methodology in Cape Dorset (see Chapter two). Preparing adequately to record the process of using a collaborative methodology, using postpositivist methods was the only aspect of my preparations which I could predict, and as such, it was important to feel secure in using these techniques.

Second, I had to attain a research licence from the Northwest Territories government through the Nunavut Research Institute before engaging in field work. To do so, an external ethical review needed to be completed at the University of Manitoba. I also had to obtain a letter of support from the CDSC in Cape Dorset. After completing these tasks, my license was issued

on May 2, 1995 in Iqaluit (See Appendix A for the letter of consent from Community Development and the SINT license).

4.6 Making Contact in Cape Dorset: An Overview

In summary, success in making contact during any collaborative research project is dependent on three factors:

- (1) Establishing and maintaining close contact well in advance of the research process;
- (2) Remaining flexible within the making contact process. Importance should be placed on contacting more than one individual in order to keep lines of communication and access open. By remaining flexible, the researcher will be able to account for the contextual circumstances of the research environment including the reactions of key individuals in the community whom may begin to act as gatekeepers to the research process. Flexibility in contact ensures that multiple gatekeeper relationships evolve and that a community-driven path is taken in the research process, and;
- (3) Having had prior knowledge and positive contact experience with the group in question will also facilitate a successful framework on which to build a basis for collaborative research. Maguire states, "Participatory research maintains that the specific context of the research community is critical to knowledge creation." (p.113). As such, it is imperative that the collaborative researcher be aware of the community's socio-political and cultural makeup, specifically analyzing whether cross-cultural factors, including language and cultural differences, might impede the process of using the collaborative methodology.

My experiences with "making contact" in the case of Cape Dorset were driven by a number of contextual factors which exemplify a number of benefits and limitations to doing collaborative research as an external researcher in Nunavut. In reflecting upon making contact in Cape Dorset, one general limitation was identified by the external researcher which highlights some of the difficulties in the making contact stage of collaborative research in Nunavut. This limitation is based on the physical distance between myself and the community and the cost of communication and travel. According to Lapadat and Janzen (1994) "Limited physical accessibility of many small northern communities makes long-term collaborative research difficult" (p.81). As a southern university-based researcher with limited funding, both distance

and financing made it difficult to travel to the community prior to engaging in research planning before the second phase of the community-based research. Visiting the community prior to the research process in this case may have increased the effectiveness of the negotiation involved in making contact. I was, however, left to rely on other means of communication to negotiate my return. It could be concluded then that the high cost of travelling to Nunavut communities may present challenges to university-based collaborative research, not only during the making contact stage, but throughout the entire collaborative research process. This problem highlights one of the fundamental issues of concern for Inuit communities when dealing with southern-based researchers, which relates to the social and physical location of the university-based collaborative researcher over time, where location is entrenched in issues of time commitment and trust. The reality of almost all university-community based research is that time commitment and the difficult issue of building trustworthiness makes it difficult for communities to feel that scientists are committed to collaborative processes.

CHAPTER FIVE

BUILDING COLLABORATIVE FRAMEWORKS: Working with the Community Development Sub-Committee (CDSC)

Once "making contact" was complete (where the CDSC was committed to the research objective of engaging in a collaborative research project), I travelled to Cape Dorset for three months to engage in collaborative community-based research. This second stage of the collaborative process occurred from May to mid-June, 1995.

Essential to the second stage of collaborative research, and the focus of this chapter, is the context which was established during the community-based stage in Cape Dorset, influenced by the unique characteristics of Cape Dorset, as well as by my role as a university-based external researcher. As noted by Lapadat and Janzen (1994), collaborative research experiences in northern communities are contextually unique.

Beyond the typical characteristics of northern communities..., each separate community has its own local history, needs, and aspirations. Whether researchers come into a small community from a nearby northern university or college, or from the south, they will initially be seen as "from away", however sensitized they might be to northern or First Nations issues. They will lack knowledge of the particulars of the individuals that make up the community, the complex web of social relationships and its change over time, and the history of important events and their meanings for people. Researchers going into First Nations communities may lack even a rudimentary understanding of the language and culture (p.71).

In the case of Cape Dorset, my social location as the external researcher and socio-cultural contextual factors unique to the case study area effected the manner in which this second stage of collaborative research evolved. My "academic" familiarity with contemporary Inuit culture could not prepare me for the challenges of learning about local affairs, social structures and the workings of the CDSC in Cape Dorset. My lack of understanding of Inuktitut and my inability to function in the language provided additional challenges to the collaborative

research process.

Chapter five traces and reflects upon the creation of a collaborative research framework between myself and the CDSC, as well as the evolution of the collective process of decision-making with regards to the objectives of the Mallik Island Park Study. First, the importance of monitoring social location with the use of intersubjective reflexivity is discussed, after which I discuss my experiences attempting to build a collaborative research framework with the CDSC upon arriving in the community.

5.1 Setting the Stage for Collaborative Decision-making: The Importance of Social Location and Reflexivity in Collaborative Research

The primary characteristic which sets collaborative methodologies apart from positivist social research approaches is the nature of interactive planning and structural relationships which occur between the external researcher and the community group. The intention of collaborative frameworks is to create collective and dynamic decision-making processes between the participants and the external researcher (Castleden 1992) where the researcher "researches from below" (Archibald and Crnkovich 1995). To do so, the researcher must set into place, at an early stage, the type of relationship where the power in decision-making is shared amongst participants. The initiation of this decision-making framework will depend on many contextual factors, including the existing social structure of the group or committee with whom the external researcher is working.

When using emancipatory approaches in community-based research, including participatory and collaborative methodologies, the situational location of the researcher is markedly different than in the positivist tradition (Ristock 1996). Social location is the physical and political relationship between the researcher and researched. In collaborative community-based projects the external researcher locates her or himself in the research process, paying attention to the how their positions may place them in a position of power because they are viewed as "experts" by local participants. Imperative to setting an emancipatory type framework through which to facilitate a truly collaborative research project is the ability of the external

researcher to support and honour participants' utilization of local knowledge and decision-making (Castleden 1992).

5.2 Finding my space as a collaborative researcher in Cape Dorset

Shortly after arriving in Cape Dorset, I became aware that my social location as a collaborative researcher was drastically different than when I had engaged in traditional research using a positivist framework two years previous. A journal entry describing my first day with the Community Development office demonstrates the community participants' reaction and support of the collaborative research approach.

As I walked up the stairs I was greeted by David Patrick (the Community Development Director) and Olayuk Akesuk, the local employment officer whom I had met briefly during my last visit, and some other friendly faces who were employees of the Housing Corporation. David showed me into his office and promptly inquired as to what I would need to get set up. He and Olayuk worked swiftly to find me a desk, phone and a hook up for my computer and faxline. They showed me around the building, and advised me about the coffee fund, break times for lunch, etc. (May 4th, process journal).

I began to reflect upon my last research experience in Cape Dorset. During my stay in 1993, I was stationed at a house, where I would leave every day to wander around town, hoping to bump into someone who might invite me in for tea. I had no affiliation, political or otherwise, with the community, and as such, gained little understanding as to how the mechanics of local government worked and how people functioned around it. My social location was one of outside observer. I believe that I was viewed by the community as "just another student who was doing something on tourism". I made observations and built substantive theory about tourism from a spatial and mental distance.

My current situation, in comparison, was one in which I was temporarily integrated into the everyday operations of the Community Development office in Cape Dorset where I was advocating a political affiliation with development workers, using research as a tool to enact social change. I quickly became integrated into the community development group and was given access to local resources which provided me with a greater understanding about the mechanics of local government and community affairs in Cape Dorset. This level of

knowledge would not have been attainable using a traditional social science methodology. Collaboration in research enabled me to enhance my experiential knowledge of local affairs.

5.3 Collaboration with the Community Development Subcommittee (CDSC): CDSC Meeting #1

Upon settling in the community of Cape Dorset on May 3rd, my first priority was to meet with and become acquainted with the members of the CDSC. This meeting occurred on May 5, 1995. Aside from meeting the members at this meeting, I wished to conduct follow-up from the 1993 McGill Eco-tourism project with a short oral presentation. In preparation for the meeting with the CDSC I paraphrased and translated the 1995 *Polar Record* paper (See Appendix B) in order to present the committee with an Inuktitut summary of this academic paper, highlighting the important conclusions and recommendations which came out of the McGill project.

5.31 *Setting the Structure for Collaborative Decision-making.*

On the day of the meeting, I was extremely nervous, however, I managed to mask my anxiety and remain relatively calm as I walked over to the Social Services office where the meeting was being held. As I walked into the Social Services board room, Olayuk Akesuk (who would be our translator that day) introduced me to the two members of the CDSC whom I had not met before: Mangitak Kellypalik and Pitaloosie Saila.

Mangitak, a well respected elder and hunter in the community, greeted me with a friendly smile and a solid handshake. He is an active member of the local Alcohol Committee and CDSC, and a licensed tourism guide and outfitter. I was also introduced to Pitaloosie, the only woman on the committee. Pitaloosie is a well respected print artist in the community, a mother and grandmother, active on committees and involved in local radio.

The other two members of the CDSC were Timoon Alariaq, who is the Government Liaison Officer in Cape Dorset and David Patrick, the Community Development Officer and my primary liaison in the community. David Patrick was present to report his activities to the sub-committee and to formally introduce me to the CDSC as "the researcher" and sub-delegate at this particular meeting.

The meeting began with a prayer in Inuktitut, after which Timoon read over the minutes of the last meeting. The agenda was concerned primarily with issues related to tourism, including preparation activities for the arrival of summer cruise ships, as well as my arrival in the community. I sat patiently but nervous while the committee dealt with other items on the agenda.

When my turn came to talk, I thanked the CDSC for facilitating my return to Cape Dorset. I informed them of my activities since my last trip and explained that the focus of my research interests had presently become focussed on the application of collaborative methodologies and how they might be applied in community-based settings by scientists in the Nunavut region. I informed the CDSC about my feelings regarding the need for an emancipatory type research in Nunavut, in which scientists worked collaboratively with community groups throughout the research process.

From my perspective, I felt the best way to start a dialogue such as this was to discuss my memories, feelings and ideas about my prior experiences using "traditional" research methodologies in Cape Dorset. By discussing my personal feelings and reflections I was letting the members know that I was aware of the problems which they experienced in relation to outsiders doing research in their community, and that I was committed to find a way to do research which addressed this issue.

During the meeting I attempted to convey to the CDSC my objectives for the summer's activities and my motivations for studying collaborative methodologies. The following dialogue is an excerpt from that conversation with the CDSC.

Shannon: My main purpose for returning is to explore with you, a better way of working with communities from a research perspective. As researchers, it is my belief that we must work together with communities in the North and place increased value on local knowledge and resources.

While I'm here ...I have two main objectives. The first is to help the community to do a research project of their choice. This project will be owned and left in the community. And second, I would like to study and record our experiences of working together. I would like to involve the community in this as much as possible. I am also interested in helping local people who are interested in doing research.

There are a few reasons why I am motivated to do this project. The first is that I think it will help other researchers, who want to work in this way (using emancipatory approaches such as collaborative research) in the north, to better understand how to do it.

Akesuk: Inuktitut translation.

Shannon: And the second will be so the community can also have a record of what I did, not only in terms of the project that I do with the local researchers, but to provide the community with a record of what I'm doing with respect to my observations around collaborative research.

Akesuk: translation.

Shannon: and I hope that we can work together to involve the sub-committee and trainees, Akesuk and David, as much as possible in helping me to explore that part (thesis), so everyone's words will be reflected in the writing of the thesis.

The second objective which I wished to address at this meeting was to initiate a dialogue surrounding ideas for research. By doing so, I hoped that we would indirectly begin to develop a method of decision-making acceptable to the committee.

I was worried about my role in initiating the discussion about research ideas at this early stage for fear that I might be starting to control or guide the process to a greater degree than was necessary. I was also concerned about what the right degree was? Before entering the meeting, I had anticipated that we would automatically be able to discuss how the methodology would work in practice, for example, deciding how to make decisions in a fair and equitable manner before making a decision to discuss research. I soon realized that I would have to be flexible depending on how the CDSC was reacting to my presentation. During this first meeting, my presentation was met with silence. I decided that I would begin discussing research ideas with the intention of generating some discussion and feedback.

This reflection brings to the surface an interesting issue which became a concern for me during the preparatory stages of doing this research; that is, would the group be willing to "buy into the process" of using a collaborative methodology and what effect would this theoretical imposition have on the dynamics being acted out between myself and the CDSC ?

Before leaving for Cape Dorset, I write in my journal:

The subcommittee will want to know what I want to do - I have to be careful not to direct the research process too much. However, they must be willing to "buy into the process" as Don says (an advisor at the University). And if they are not willing - why aren't they? What factors are keeping them from doing so? Time - lack of trust - cost? Anything could happen! (April 27th, Winnipeg MB).

Getting the community to "buy into the process" entailed guiding the committee through the methodology at the onset of the project by attempting to demonstrate the benefits of collaborative decision-making. According to Castleden (1992), it is the job of the external participant researcher to give shape to the research process, especially at the beginning stages of negotiation. He states:

The dependence of the community research group on the external researcher occurs during the early stages of the group's development. The external researcher is generally seen as the most knowledgeable individual in terms of conducting the research. He or she is normally expected to provide direction. This gives the external researcher considerable power and it requires skill and confidence in oneself as well as in the group members to encourage group members to take leadership and, if necessary, challenge the external researcher's position in the group (p.19).

I began by telling the CDSC that I would like to begin a dialogue about possible avenues for a research project. When it came time to begin the dialogue around negotiating a research topic, I felt that in order to help facilitate this discussion, I would provide a number of examples of project ideas that could serve to get the group talking about research. The following is an excerpt from that discussion.

Shannon:.. I've listed a few ideas for research, just very quickly that the Sub-Committee might be interested in, or that they feel need attention.

Akesuk: translation

Shannon: ..I've been working with and talking to David Patrick and Akesuk about their current plans for tourism and this seems to be an area where lots of research could be done, but I'm open to doing any type of research.

Akesuk: translation

Shannon: does anyone have any ideas or comments?

Akesuk: translation

(Akesuk) Mangitak: his question is about your research: is it just going to be in this community or are you going to go outside of the community? To other places and look for other areas that could be possible sightseeing areas for tourists?

Shannon: That could be addressed..... if that's what the community or the sub-committee would like? I'm open to anything at this point in the discussion

Akesuk: translation

(Akesuk) Mangitak: the reason why he asked that question is that eh, as the people who has been living up in the North all our lives....., we hardly notice the stuff that the tourists will be very interested in seeing. We just pass them by because we're used to seeing them a lot. If we were to advertise what we have around the community, or outside near the community, ah advertise to the tourists, or the people in the south, a lot of tourists would come by and probably check what's up in the North, near Cape Dorset.....

Shannon:Yes..... I think that could be something we could address. Now it would have to be something that the entire sub-committee felt was a good idea. But it certainly, in terms of..... if we were going to identify tourism as the main research area, as opposed to something.... say something more....

Timoon:

...arts..

Shannon: yes..arts, or seal harvesting or whatever.., that could be something that we could definitely attempt.

Timoon: timah...Inuktitut

(Akesuk) Mangitak: The idea of researching tourism is a very good idea, cause it will create more jobs for the guides, cause we have people who have certificates for guiding and they hardly use it because we don't have too many tourists coming in to look at bird sanctuaries or seals or anything that we have here.

If we, if we were to advertise it and make a brochure, tourists would be coming in and that would create more jobs for the people who have guide certification and eh, the guides would like to work together more, cause they don't work together as much as they used to.

So they would like to work together more and get more people to work on guiding as they have visitors before.

Shannon: I think that those are really important directions that if we were to look at tourism, we would definitely address as a committee here...

Akesuk: translation.

At this point during the meeting I was feeling very nervous about my abilities to facilitate a dynamic dialogue with the committee members. I was also unsure about how far I should go in providing topic areas for research or to what extent I should just sit back and let the committee provide me with direction. I decided, however, that I should at least provide a framework around the negotiation process which I felt comfortable with in terms of my research abilities and my academic experiences as a Geographer.

I was still nervous that the committee might suggest I help them conduct a project in an area in which I had little experience. As well, during our first rounds of discussion and particularly in my dialogue with Mangitak, I began to feel a sense of worry and frustration that I was not conveying effectively what my role should be as an external collaborating researcher in the community. I was having problems understanding what it was that Mangitak was talking about and knew that I needed more time with all of the committee members to get a sense of their concerns, objectives and modes of conveying their ideas. I kept telling myself, however, that we had only just begun the negotiation process and that I needed time to get my bearings within the context of the CDSC.

After more reflection, I realized that my energy at this meeting had to remain focussed on being an active listener as opposed to discussing what I thought would be a feasible and worthwhile topic in research. Many voices spoke to different issues at this first committee meeting concerning important areas for a research project. Tourism seemed to be the agenda of most members, however, each individual spoke to her or his own personal concerns and about which areas should be addressed within the tourism industry.

Before too long, the discussion began to take an interesting shape of it's own. I sat quietly and attempted not to direct the dialogue.

(Akesuk) Mangitak: He's even willing to help you out with this research...um, when the ice is gone he's even willing to take you out on the land for a couple of nights and show you around the areas, those areas where it's possible for the tourists to walk around. And also he's willing to do this on a volunteer basis, and...eh, if she's gonna be researching something he'd much rather see her research about the tourist's attraction instead of the other subjects.

Shannon: tell him, thank you very much, I'll be looking

foreword to that.

Akesuk: translation

(Akesuk) Pitaloosie: According to the people, we're always hearing about Cape Dorset's arts and drawings and the Mallikjuaq Park area (for tourism). There is also a Thule site, um, in the point of eh, Dorset, out that way. _____ it's called, and they (elders) were leaving artifacts that were on top of the mountain. Some people that go down there are taking them back up here and selling them or keeping for themselves. But that area down that way is a very good place for tourists to go down and look at..

Shannon:so it sounds to me like what Pitaloosie and Mangitak are saying is that maybe what is needed is perhaps other areas of focus for tourism besides arts and crafts?

Timoon: ..besides arts..

Shannon:and besides going to the coop and walking around town watching carvers.

.....There might be some good directions for research in this area.

Akesuk: translation

(Akesuk) Pitaloosie: yes, we can understand that carvings are for the people, for this community. That's their income, even though they won't be making too much money out of it. The Thule sites or the old artifacts, this would be very good educational stuff for the people,....about what really happened before, and what people were doing here in the past (tape erased)....

I think that the traditional knowledge from the elders would be a good idea for, you guys to research, about um the artifacts or the past..

I could begin to see that there existed a diverse set of ideas on the CDSC about what, within the realm of community development and tourism, should be the focus of research. While some members were putting emphasis on tourism, others were discussing the importance of preserving historic sites and the local traditional knowledge embedded within those sites.

On the other hand, I again became insecure about the limitations of my experiences as a researcher. Pitaloosie's comments frightened me because I assumed she wanted us to do some archaeological work of which I am not qualified to do about which I know very little about. I became nervous and quickly informed her of my boundaries and limitations.

Shannon: In terms of doing an archaeological study, I don't know if I would be able to do that because I'm not an archaeologist.

There are other researchers who might be able to come up with a study such as that if you wanted them to.

From a tourism perspective there's a lot of education, I agree, that could go on around going to those sites with a guide like Mangitak or other people to talk about the past and your history as a people.

Akesuk: translation.

(Akesuk) Mangitak: I myself as a citizen of Cape Dorset, I know about the past, what they went through before we were here or before we had houses, and I know the skills of hunting and the way the hunter is supposed to be. I'd like to pass this on to the younger generation, which is us (*Akesuk's generation being those under 40*).

And eh, make it work for these people who don't know the old ways of living,..... you know teach them how to hunt or where the birds are and all that. Eh, I'd like to pass this on to the younger generation and, like I said, I want to take (Shannon) out for a couple of days, out of this town and be camping with young people. I will teach them how to survive on the land, and teach them the cultural way of living on the land, and tell them the stories that they went through.....

Eh, although he's getting old and he's still learning something every day, and eh, he feels he has a university degree hunting wise, surviving wise and traditional wise.

So eh, what he wants to do is he'd like teach what he learned from this, that a long time ago, like using a dog team or not using power tools and all that

Shannon:uh-huh

Akesuk (Mangitak): ...eh, he'd like to pass this on to the younger generation and eh, he feels that like that he can do it, he wants to help you out with whatever you have to do...

Although it seemed to me that members were not always direct in their assertions about what needed to be done in terms of research, they were discussing important concepts which were extremely relevant to the well being of Inuit culture and society, for example, the importance of preserving traditional knowledge and passing it on to the younger generation, and the importance of diversifying the tourism infrastructure to include guiding activities and historical sites as well as arts and crafts. At this point, I realized that my role of external collaborative researcher was to help make the linkages between the issues and concerns raised through the discussion and concepts for research. For example, where Pitloosie discussed the loss of

traditional knowledge of the area, I began to think about the use of oral histories as a research technique to collect and preserve traditional knowledge, although it was not at all clear to me at this point in the negotiation what type of traditional knowledge to collect or to what practical ends the data collected would serve.

At this point I felt it would be a good time to discuss some of the techniques and skills which I possessed as a researcher which could be of some benefit in terms of addressing the issues raised during the conversation. This would help members begin making their own linkages between issues, concepts and research objectives.

Shannon: Nakuqmiik (thankyou in Inuktitut), Mangitak.

One thing that I was just thinking about is that there is also an option, something that I have been learning about at school..... With the use of oral histories we could collect some of this information from the elders. We could collect and record the knowledge that elders have, through interviews that the local youth who would be interested in doing research could conduct. Local researchers could do this job because they have a better knowledge of Inuktitut than I do, and this would be a way for Mangitak and other elders to help preserve their knowledge as hunters and sewers.

This could be a way for us to focus the research as well if that's what the CDSC would like...

Akesuk: translation.

5.32 Addressing Power and Theoretical Imposition with the CDSC

At this point in my investigation into the process of using the collaborative methodology, I began to wonder about the power structure of the CDSC as well as how I fit, as an outsider and external researcher, into the power structure of their committee. Who was driving the decision-making? Was there a collaborative process going on within this committee structure already? Was I about to impose a collaborative decision-making process where a hierarchically based structure existed? And how would the CDSC react to participating in the decision-making process of the research project which would occur that summer? During my initial observations, it seemed apparent that Timoon was adamant about doing a tourism development type project. Did this have to do with his position as chair on the committee?

Timoon: OK, are we getting away from our subject here? or...

Shannon: um, maybe what we could do is just.....

....., ok I'll just say one thing (Looking to Timoon). I'm planning to transcribe, in English, this interview, ah not this interview sorry, this meeting. And what I can do is make a list of things we've talked about, and possibly some other ideas. Maybe the people on the sub-committee should think seriously about what the crucial needs for research are at this moment. Is it tourism? Is it collecting the knowledge from the elders?...

Timoon: ...before you continue, now I wanted to talk about this tourist thing, ah, what you guys are talking about has to be recorded, talked about, researched and everything. That's already been done. But what are we trying to do now is find some people, the tourists,and think about tourism. I think we should stick with that.

I think that if there is time maybe you can do the other stuff, or at another time, but

Shannon: ..ok...

Timoon: ..we have a problem in the community it seems. We are lacking a written form for what to present to the tourist. And that's why we have a problem,... and that's what we'd like to concentrate on.

Timoon: translation

Timoon: eh, is there any other subjects that you would like to discuss?

Shannon: ...Just one last thing, perhaps, ...and a point of clarification. The reason that I presented other topics besides tourism was that I wanted to make sure I wasn't just taking direction from David, and I wasn't sure if tourism research was what the *entire committee* wanted to focus on.

Timoon: OK, now from your list there I like tourism...

Shannon: ...ok..

Timoon:the harvesting study idea..

Shannon:yah..

Timoon: Yes, with renewable resources...I can see dollar signs on these ones..

Shannon: ..ok (laugh)..

Akesuk: translation

(Akesuk) **Mangitak:** yah, he liked the tourism part, for the research. The reason why is that he could also help you research. What about looking at a possible hiking area for the tourists?

Shannon: ..ok..

Timoon: ..tourist attractions..

Akesuk: ..yah..

Timoon: like for instance, eh, there is always talk about a Mallikjuaq, putting a park in Mallikjuaq because of the old site location, yes? But there is a much better place for a park right on this island. It's a, I'd say it's the best kept secret held by local people because eh, they don't see it as an attraction for tourists. Like Mangitak was saying, ah, cause we used to it, we've seen it, we've lived I. But its really different for people of other cultures. That's the area where Mangitak was concentrating on about tourist attractions. You don't have to wait for the tide to go down, you don't..

Shannon:yah, you don't have to get worried about getting stuck on the other side *(laughing remembering that I had almost gotten stuck on the island in 1993)*.

Akesuk: Yes, you can make a trail down that way where they can walk down that way and walk back the same way.

Timoon:Anyway, eh, *(Inuktitut)*. The name of that island is Mallikjuaq. It's actually, "the mountain".. I call it Mallikjuaq but the rest of it was, peoples are calling it Mallikjuaq Island, that island. It's not Mallik Island, it's Mallikjuaq island, yah, because the real name is not Mallik, it's Mallikjuaq.

Anything else?..... Anything you have any other comments you'd like to make Shannon

Shannon:um....no.

Pitaloosic: Inuktitut

Timoon: well, we'll be meeting some more, eh?

At the end of the meeting, I became more concerned about how the collaborative process was going to work within the social power structure of this committee. The observed behaviour of Timoon, the chair of the CDSC, left me with many questions and uncertainties about how decision-making occurred and if specific individuals on the committee exercised more influence in decision-making than others. Driving this concern was my social location as an intimate outsider, particularly my interest in power as it related to contemporary forms of leadership and power in Inuit society and culture. How were gender roles and traditional power structures effecting the decision-making process? As well, how was my inexperience in relating to the culture and language of CDSC members effecting my ability to make informed decisions regarding my actions throughout the research process?

5.33 *The Emerging Roles of the Collaborative Researcher*

The initial process of collaboration with the CDSC during meeting #1 brought many issues regarding the use of a collaborative methodology by an external researcher to the surface, including the importance of flexibility and reflexivity, the challenges of collaborating in a cross-cultural environment without knowledge of the local language, as well as the role of the researcher during the primary stages of collaboration. My role as external researcher during the first meeting was that of participant observer, where I attempted to gauge what was happening within the CDSC in terms of social structure as well as the areas which might be of interest for the committee in terms of a community-based research project.

Between the first and second CDSC meetings, my time was spent researching all areas identified at the first meeting. David provided me with access to local resource materials such as reports and budget information concerning tourism and economic development. I also began to visit individuals in the community involved in tourism to assess their impressions of recent developments surrounding tourism development in Cape Dorset. David and I spent considerable time discussing possible avenues for research which would be attainable during my three month stay at the Community Development office. Our discussions evolved primarily around the evolving tourism industry in Cape Dorset.

In retrospect, it would have been a good idea to conduct interviews with individual members of the CDSC in order to investigate other possibilities for research. Conducting individual or group interviews may have helped me in learning more about the social dynamics of the CDSC and might have given certain members, who did not feel comfortable talking about certain topics within the context of the CDSC, a chance to voice their own concerns. This raises important questions about the alliances which arise during the collaborative process and in particular how they are played out in the decision-making process.

After two weeks of investigating topics which were highlighted by the CDSC, I developed a list of project ideas. In formulating the research topics, I attempted to include all areas mentioned by members of the CDSC to ensure that all identified issues would be considered. It was important to keep the ideas broad so that the CDSC could both choose the topic and help shape the research specifics within the design. I also included additional topics which I

thought would be of some interest to CDSC members. The five major areas discussed and formulated into research topics were:

- (1) The development of a Cape Dorset tourism information package.
- (2) An oral history project highlighting the traditional knowledge and local place names of the Cape Dorset area.
- (3) An Interview and Survey project measuring resident attitudes towards the development of Mallikjuaq Island Territorial Park.
- (4) Working on a development plan to encourage women's economic development, focussing on tourism and traditional knowledge.
- (5) Investigating the availability of country food in relation to tourism development.

In retrospect, the selection of these topics could have been done in a more participatory manner. I did take ideas from the first meeting but I also added some of my own ideas and also an idea which had been discussed between David, Olayuk and myself outside the CDSC meeting. Attempting to avoid theoretical imposition is critical to a successful collaborative process and can be difficult if not monitored by the external researcher. Interviews with each member of the CDSC in addition to the group meetings would have been the more appropriate method for identifying potential areas of research.

5.4 Working Through the Issues: CDSC Meeting #2

On May 19th, I met with the CDSC to conduct further collaborative discussions regarding the development of a community-based research project. In attendance were Timoon Alariaq, Mangitak Kellypalik, David Patrick and Olayuk Akesuk. Pitaloosie Saila was in Iqaluit attending her son's high school graduation and therefore could not be in attendance. After distributing an Inuktitut translation of the five research topics, I began to discuss possible research topics with the members who were sitting around the table. I outlined the ideas behind each topic, offering what I thought were the benefits as well as the limitations of doing each research project in terms of time and access to resources and their suitability for collaborative research in relation to the training needed for doing the research.

5.41 Parks, Economic Development and Public Participation

My presentation of research concepts invited comment from CDSC members. David Patrick was first to comment on his choice for the summer's research project.

David: may I? ...The reason why I'm so interested in number three (survey of community attitudes towards the development

of Mallik Island as a Territorial park), is that we're at a stage now where we're asking Economic Development to come in and tell us where we're supposed to be, where we are, and where we're gonna be with respect to development of that park site, that island.

We're at a stage now where we need to know what's in number three because it may be too late once the control is taken over the island. If it does go to the GNWT and becomes a Territorial park, the community will have a lot less long term say into what happens on the island, correct? So, so that's why it's so important right now.

The long term development of Mallikjuaq Park, that long term plan does call for camp sites on Mallik Island and trails. I don't know if there are gonna be any permanent camps or permanent structures but certainly there will be camping.

Akesuk: translation

Timoon: Inuktitut

From my observations during this meeting, it quickly became evident that there existed different interests and roles around the table, which reflected each member's unique link and underlying motivations within the tourism industry. David's comments seemed directed from the perspective of a Community Development Director, where his primary concern was whether the community should finalize the decision of Mallik Island as a territorial park.

5.42 Diversifying Tourism in Cape Dorset

Mangitak also spoke about tourism.

Mangitak (Akesuk): His idea for Mallikjuaq is ...there's not much over on Mallikjuaq to see, like there's Thule sites and all that, and in other areas such as Niulijuqtaalik, there's more to see down there..., and he's been trying to take Shannon down to Nuilijuqtaalik where there's more Thule sites. It's not very far from this community, and like the people of Cape Dorset know that there's Mallikjuaq that they can show, but that there are also other places that the tourists would be interested in. The people that know where the Thule sites are the people that have boats or have guiding certificates and can take people out to those areas, not just one area. So these tourists will pass on to other tourists that we have more than just Mallikjuaq to see.

Mangitak seemed to present a different concern. As a licensed tour outfitter, Mangitak receives a supplemental income by taking tourists out on day trips to outlying areas around Cape Dorset. His concern was that if Mallik Island became the entire focus for the Park development, then

he and other guides might not benefit from tourist expenditures derived from trips to outlying areas as Mallik Island is accessible by foot, and tourists do not require the assistance of a paid guide.

5.43 Working to Preserve Traditional Knowledge

David, after hearing Mangitak's concerns, raised a point which attempted to address all of the CDSC member's interests and concerns.

David: the process, if we are to, if we do focus, ask Shannon to focus on number three, many of these other issues will come out, parts of number two (traditional place names study) will come out as part of that process. (If) people don't want to be, certain things done with Mallikjuaq Island, then they will present alternatives to their group. And if we record those then we may get a better picture.

Akesuk: translation

Mangitak (Akesuk): um, your idea of researching is a very good idea for the community, to get prepared for tourists, or future tourists and um, for the park.. area. The research idea is a very good idea for this community, and eh there's not only things that you can research in the Mallikjuaq area, but there's other areas such as Peter Pitseolak's camp. He was growing up in that camp when Peter Pitseolak was the leader. And also, you know, there a lot of other attractions that can be put onto a map, and this research is a very good idea to start so that the community will be prepared for the tourists in the future.

Um, so that we'll show what we did in the past, and whether you're working on the Mallikjuaq research it's gonna come up to the traditional knowledge, um what they were doing before, so this is a very good idea for this community to start researching the process for tourists. And um, it's gonna be a big benefit for the community so that we'll be prepared for the tourists.

Timoon: Inuktittut. Um, any other comments?

David presented an idea which facilitated both his needs as Community Development Director and the needs of the elders, who seemed to have concerns with the preservation of traditional knowledge. What he presented was a combination of an attitudinal survey related to the development of Mallik Island, as well as a traditional knowledge component, where community members who were interviewed could be asked to identify areas outside of the

Mallikjuaq area which could be suitable for day trips for the benefit of guides. Mangitak, in turn, was very supportive of this idea.

5.44 *Turning Issues Into Research Concepts*

During the second meeting, I felt it was necessary to also state my opinions as to what I felt were interesting issues for research - given the time, resources and my abilities as a student researcher. I felt that the oral place names and park survey concepts were feasible and important projects, as they seemed to be relevant to current affairs within the community. They were also based upon practical issues in relation to local decision-making, as well as the preservation of local traditional knowledge. In addition, I felt that they were excellent projects through which to facilitate research training.

Shannon: ...it is of my opinion, ...and this is just my opinion that, I think there's some real potential with both number two and three on this list, both in relation to what we talked about at our last meeting and also from having read over the Mallikjuaq Park Study by Laird and Associates.

Akesuk: translation

Timoon: any more comments?

Shannon: ..eh, not except regarding where we go from here in terms of getting...

Timoon: ..we go fishing.

Shannon: ...Fishing! (laugh) It's Friday, right! Um, I guess I've presented a couple of ideas. What I'd like to know, is how the committee would like to continue? Should I develop some of these ideas further and come back to the next meeting with developed ideas about how we could do some of these projects?

In reflecting upon the initial negotiation process with the CDSC, I realized that the goal of collaboration was to develop bilateral negotiation process, whereby the collaborative researcher acts as facilitator and consultant in order to help the group focus issues in terms of addressing the feasibility of a research project and a possible research design, all the while helping to make linkages between concerns, ideas and potential research projects. For example, at one point in the first CDSC meeting, there had been a request for an archaeological study on Dorset Island. Realizing that this was not an area in which I could lend my skills as a student researcher, I was firm in letting the CDSC know that this would not be a feasible project idea given my research background. At the time, I wasn't sure if this was appropriate, but in

realizing that negotiation should be bilateral, I learned to feel more confident in knowing the difference between controlling the process of research and declaring my own interests and capabilities, thereby influencing the negotiations in a legitimate way.

5.5 Reaching Consensus: The Mallik Island Park Study

Preliminary negotiation of the research question had essentially ended with our second meeting, when it was decided by the CDSC in an informal manner that we would pursue the Mallik Island study with the traditional knowledge place names study as a smaller secondary project.

Timoon (Akesuk): What Timoon's question is are we gonna have to start from scratch again for Mallikjuaq?

David: ...No. We have the results of that steering committee which was a park study. The component we should question at this point in time, is that four years have passed and it seems evident that there is not unanimous agreement that that should be made into a park. So, hence the purpose of Shannon, right?

Akesuk: translation

Timoon: Like, there hasn't been any decision as to whether it will be a park or not. Eh, I think that we should leave that for the people/public. Eh, are we gonna put a road through to Baffin Island one day? Are we gonna have to start building houses over there some day? Is the whole island gonna be a park? That's what we've gotta give back to the community.

David: Well I think, before we bring this to the community and also to the rest of the GNWT, instead of going just arbitrarily now with this study (*Laird Report*) as if it's written in stone, we really gotta get *this study* to find out,.....

I mean I can't tell you what the majority of the community wants, can you, I mean I don't know...

Timoon:no...

David:so that's why we need this study.

Akesuk: translation

Timoon: anything else?So, So - that's a, that's a, start..... Start with that.

David: Will we ask Shannon to focus on three, and record anything pertinent to two? Is that what we're recommending? Cause the way she's setting up her research, she needs this committee to tell her what to research..

Akesuk: translation

Mangitak (Akesuk): What Mangitak is saying is these tourists, our research - community research is a good idea, and he'd

like to, like he himself has two certificates for guiding and when he is guiding he'd like, what he thinks is that it should include what Peter Pitseolak was doing.

Um, when he was growing up he was always with Peter Pitseolak and watching him do filming or taking photographs and eh, he'd like to talk about those but eh, the relatives or the ancestors of Peter Pitseolak, he thinks that they might think that Mangitak is making money for this because he knows the story and the relatives of Peter Pitseolak isn't getting any money, so he doesn't want this to happen, he doesn't want to fight with the um Pitseolak relatives. But Mangitak, so what he thinks is that eh, um the tourist attraction will be with Peter Pitseolak's camp, and with Peter Pitseolak, what he was doing before.

The negotiation process can be summarized in this case as a collaborative effort between myself as the external researcher and principle investigator, the Community Development Director and the CDSC. I make a distinction here between David and the sub-committee as I feel each acted and was motivated separately in the decision-making and negotiation process. I write in my process journal,

Between our first and second meetings, David and I (and sometimes Akesuk) began our own process of collaboration. David's key interests in research are interesting and quite insightful. He seems to believe that there exists some division within the community about what should be done with Mallik Island. As of now, the island has been slated for Territorial park (development) and a large feasibility study has been completed (May 23, journal).

The negotiation process was dynamic and a process in which certain individual's voices may have been more predominant than others. Was it that each CDSC member took a different approach or attitude to the idea of negotiation and participation? David, for example, made it clear that he was primarily interested in the Mallik Island study. I felt confused at times as to my role. I agreed with David that the Mallik Island study was a good direction to go, however, I also attempted to keep my distance from that possibility and tried to listen to all the voices on the CDSC. When some voices, however, are louder than others, it becomes a difficult task! In reality the notion of a consensual and equitable negotiation process may not always materialize given existing power structures within the group or organization in which the collaborative researcher is working. In my case, I also had to represent my interests regarding my knowledge and capability to do certain types of research. This raises the concern

over theoretical imposition and the extent to which a collaborative researcher should critique existing power structures.

5.6 Selecting Research Trainees

This week was a real transition period in terms of the research process. In our last sub-committee meeting the project was essentially agreed upon - Mallik Island study and community survey and traditional knowledge of the island. As the parameters have now been laid out the task begins of hiring the research trainees (Process Journal, June 2, 1995).

The next stage within our collaborative research project in Cape Dorset was to select three candidates from the community who would work with me to conduct research. Funding had been secured by David Patrick for three part time positions through the Pathways program; an Aboriginal employment initiative offered by the Federal government for individuals enrolled in academic programs.

The process of hiring the trainees was discussed during the second meeting held with the CDSC. It was decided that the hiring process would be one in which I would select, using my own criteria, a number of candidates, after which the CDSC would make final recommendations.

David: ..Um, maybe if the community can direct you and agree on where you could focus (for the project), and then once we find out if the funding is approved for your assistants then we can ask the committee to help you select, or at least present your choices to the committee to see if they like it, and maybe a work plan as to how you intend to go about it with time lines. That would,we should come out of it at this point with something very definitive for you, so that you don't necessarily have to come back every meeting..

Shannon: ...uh-huh..

David: ..basically you'll be working, come back and we'll read the report.

Akesuk: translation

Candidate recruitment was approached using two techniques. First, I decided to announce the

positions on the local radio station⁹. The job description was also posted at public facilities around the community. The second approach taken in attempting to locate research trainee candidates was to target high school students. On Friday June 2nd, I arranged to spend the afternoon at Peter Pitseolak High School. Although one of my goals for being at the school was to find students who might be interested in working on the Mallik Island project, my primary purpose was to provide some outreach as part of "giving something back to the community" by talking to the students about the work that had been done on the MTRG eco-tourism project in 1993.

I spoke to grade nine, ten and eleven classes about tourism in their community and told them what I had discovered about tourism in their community during my field season. The talk was accompanied by pictures of my trip, which were later placed in a display cabinet with some written information about the McGill eco-tourism research project (see plate 5.1). At the end of each discussion period I took time to mention that I would be conducting more research with the CDSC and had funding to hire three students who would work with me during the research process.

Selection of the candidates, from beginning to end, became a very challenging task. What was I looking for in a suitable candidate? What could I expect from students in Cape Dorset in terms of writing and reading skills?

By June 5th I had received only seven applications. Because the job was only open to students, the pool of applicants remained small. Summer is a time when many families go out on the land to engage in traditional hunting and fishing activities and many students are eager to leave the settlement. In recent years, however, many youths have become increasingly interested in town activity, earning a summer's wage and spending time with friends.

⁹Local radio in the Canadian Arctic settlement remains an important communications medium. When entering most homes one hears the radio, even if the TV is on. Radio is used for example to announce a successful hunt or to find out if the location of the Monday night bingo has been changed. Radio remains an effective means to disseminate information in town.

In the end I decided that I must use a structured selection criteria. I based this criteria on five factors: (1) education level; (2) job experience; (3) current employment status. (4) enthusiasm and motivation; and (5) ability to work well in a group environment. The first three criteria were ranked numerically according to what was on the written application. Judging the level of enthusiasm and ability to work in a team environment, however, remained a highly subjective task, and as an outsider with no insights into what might signal these criteria, it was a difficult job. In attempting to address this, I held informal interviews with the candidates as they filled out their applications to try to get a sense of how they might function in the position of researcher. As I knew my observations alone would be insufficient, I decided to check references on the applications.

5.7 Looking for Guidance: CDSC Meeting #3

On June 13th, I met with the CDSC. I needed help from the CDSC to finalize the research trainee positions and chose to discuss the selection criteria I used for candidate recruitment and selection. During this process, difficulties had arisen with regards to one candidate. My hopes were that the sub-committee would help me resolve the difficult situation I had encountered. The following discussion illustrates the challenges of collective decision making in collaborative research.

Shannon: I alone ranked the candidates, in order of targeted strengths. My first three choices were x, y, and z.

Joamie: translation.

Shannon: I don't know these individuals very well, so I did for, in the case of the students at Peter Pitseolak high school call some of the teachers - which was helpful in a sense.

I did have one comment about eh, "x", um perhaps "x" might pose problems in terms of showing up and being reliable. But I wanted to ask the sub-committee about that. Do you have any comments.

Joamie: (translation).....how could I put it in the right words in Inuktitut.....(translation).

Timoon (Joamie): Eh, Timoon wants to ask a question. Like, is it because of work experience that you picked "x" ? Timoon's understanding was that this position was for students.

Shannon: Yes, but also if that person is in Arctic College they're eligible for the position as well.

Joamie: translation

Plate 5.1



Eco-tourism display
Peter Pitseolak High School
June 1995

Shannon: "x" on paper was a very strong applicant. "x" has had experience on an oral tradition research project that Noah,Noah,um, (*I scramble for the sheet of paper*) Noah "y", Oral history project 1985/1986.

"x" has had lots of work experience; translating and interpreting. "x" ranked very high in terms of the selection criteria.

Joamie: translation.

Shannon: But my primary,my concern in this is that out of any other strengths this person should have, it would have to be that they were motivated and reliable in showing up to work every day. Um, and I did,..... someone did tell me that I may have problems with "x".

Joamie: translation

Shannon: So I guess I'd like to ask the committee if they could recommend, what they would recommend in terms of this situation.

Joamie: translation.

Mangitak: Inuktitut.

(tape ran out and I did not notice - missed about ten minutes.

Sub-committee discussing "x" and selection)

Joamie: Ok, they have no problem with "x".

Timoon: ..We have a problem with "x".

Pitaloosie: Inuktitut.

Timoon: If "x" is able to make ... appointments, then OK but Pitaloosie kinda said that "x" may not be showing up for work in the morning.

Shannon: ...We are working part time in the afternoons....one until five, Monday to Friday.

Joamie: (Inuktitut)....one to five.

Mangitak: (Inuktitut).

Pitaloosie: (Inuktitut) (laughs).

Timoon: Yah.....OK one to five

Joamie: Ok, we'll give "x" a chance,

Timoon: We'll give "x" an opportunity to improve (him or herself).

Mangitak: Inuktitut (laugh).

Asking the CDSC for guidance with the selection was challenging with reference to their final decision in choosing "x". They seemed dead set against "x" being hired, however, in the end supported the ranking I had chosen. Was this a result of my ranking "x" first and the CDSC members feeling pressured to support that choice? Or was it that they wanted to give "x" a

chance? I was uncertain about this and in the end, did decide to hire someone else as a result of the information I had received about "x" from community sources as well as the unsettled reaction of the CDSC.

Reflecting on this process, it may have been a good idea to let the CDSC each rank their choices, and then compare them to how I had ranked. Instead I imposed my choices of research trainees first before asking for the CDSC's choice. It would be interesting to see how the ranking would have turned out using a collaborative approach.

5.8 Setting the Research Agenda using Collaborative Approaches in Community-based Research: An Overview of the Cape Dorset Experience

This chapter has summarized the second stage of collaborative research in the case of Cape Dorset, primarily characterized by the establishment of a collective decision-making process between myself and the CDSC, as well as the evolution of the primary research objectives for the Mallik Island Park Study. This stage of research in Cape Dorset highlights some of the benefits and limitations of using the collaborative methodology in community-based research in the Nunavut region.

One of the benefits of the collaborative research process occurring during the second stage of work in Cape Dorset included building a relationship with the community as an "intimate-outsider" which helped me monitor my social location in light of the challenges in cross-cultural research (Ristock 1996; Archibald and Crnkovich 1995; Lather 1982). The second identified benefit was in utilizing collaborative processes that mirror the self-government processes currently evolving under the Nunavut agreement. Third, the collaborative processes involved in negotiating the research question introduced the importance of preserving local traditional knowledge, a significant concern in Cape Dorset. Fourth, the collaborative model in these initial stages helped to set in place a framework through which the CDSC could systemically demonstrate a great degree of control over the decisions made regarding the research to be conducted concerning Mallik Island and park development.

Identified limitations specific to the second stage of the Cape Dorset case study were not as prevalent as the benefits, however, some did arise dealing again with the "power plays"

evolving amongst CDSC participants (Ristock 1996), time constraints when working within the CDSC committee structure (Lapadat and Janzen 1994), and the challenges of working in a cross-cultural environment as an external researcher (Archibald and Crnkovich 1995; Lapadat and Janzen 1994; Castleden 1992).

BENEFITS

(1) "Intimate-outsider": Recognizing Social Location Through Collaborative Processes

Shortly after arriving in Cape Dorset, evidence arose almost immediately to suggest that a collaborative relationship was developing between myself and community-based research participants. The physical nature of my position in the community as an external researcher was similar to how Archibald and Crnkovich defined their roles as "intimate outsiders" with regards to their work with the Inuit Women's Organization, Pauktuutit (Archibald and Crnkovich 1995)¹⁰.

My social location in Cape Dorset was determined by my decision to use a collaborative/participatory model which enabled me to take the role of an "intimate outsider". The use of "double consciousness", whereby I kept track of my actions as an outsider from the dominant culture, helped me to recognize the power I held as a researcher and the manner in which my position, in particular how my biases as a Qallunaat (white) feminist academic were influencing how I interacted with the project participants and how they interacted with me.

¹⁰Archibald and Crnkovich discuss their social location in advocacy research within the context of their work with Pauktuutit on the Labrador Justice Project (in Burt and Code (ed) 1995), in the context of being "intimate outsiders". Both situate themselves within the research process by describing their experiences working with Inuit women in the multiple roles of researchers, activists, colleagues and professionals. As non-Inuit feminists working in a cross-cultural setting they use their social location as a way of addressing the challenges and barriers which Inuit women experience in their work with dominant Euro-Canadian institutions. They discuss the effect to which their perceived "expertise" on Inuit women's issues has helped hinder the empowerment of the women they work with, but how the use of feminist participatory methodologies and feminist cross-cultural research methodologies [see Mies (1983)] have helped them to find better ways to work alongside Inuit women at the organizational level in a manner which elevates Inuit women to the level of "experts" with regard to the issues which Inuit women face in their daily lives.

The use of double consciousness helped me to recognize the limitations and challenges in working collaboratively as a university-based researcher in a Northern Inuit community. My initial interactions with the CDSC brought to the surface the issues of power dynamics and decision making, as well as the theoretical impositions which I indirectly had on the CDSC.

Working in a collaborative fashion with the CDSC in research enabled me access to community resources which provided me with a deeper understanding of the social, political, economic and cultural workings of the community than would a positivist methodology. I became, in many ways, a confidante of the CDSC members who shared much about themselves and their lives.

(2) Community-based Self-government and the Collaborative Process

My experiences doing both positivist and post-positivist research in Cape Dorset demonstrate the important application which collaborative approaches in research have in regard to self-government processes at the community level. During my first visit to Cape Dorset at which time the CTI had not been initiated (see Chapter two for discussion of the CTI), local people were not involved in economic or social decision-making at a political level. There were no decision-making structures in place through which to facilitate local decision-making regarding developments in the community. Under pre-CTI conditions, decision-making regarding economic development and tourism excluded the systemic involvement of local citizens. In this case, the implementation of a collaborative framework in research within this structure would not only have been difficult within the structure of local government, but would not satisfy the emancipatory nature of the methodology ¹¹.

¹¹The use of a collaborative methodology may have worked prior to the CTI in Cape Dorset in a different context, for example in work with women's groups, or non-government organizations in the community. Some might argue that using the collaborative framework within the existing framework of local government defeats the underlying purpose of emancipatory research which is to work with marginalized groups. It could be stated, however, that local government is in a sense marginalized from the central authorities in the Arctic who administer services over large regions. Furthermore, within the contemporary Arctic community, particularly those which have gone through the CTI, people are demanding that researchers work in conjunction with established groups such as Hunter's and Trappers organizations, women's groups, artisan collectives and local government in their research endeavour.

Lapadat and Janzen (1994) state, "Collaborative research is research by committee" (p.79). With the inception of the CTI, local people become eligible to participate on sub-committees, thereby contributing their knowledge to local matters and exercising their right, under the principles of the Nunavut agreement, to influence local policy towards such matters as economic development and tourism. The use of a collaborative methodology worked efficiently within the structure of the CDSC, where local input into the research process was facilitated through the committee process.

(3) Collaborative Processes Recognize Local and Traditional Knowledge

Collaborative approaches in cross-cultural research recognize "other ways of knowing" about the world (Colorado 1991) because they recognize that the construction of knowledge is "socially constituted" and "valuationally based" (Lather 1982). In Inuit contemporary culture, both western and traditional ways of knowing are utilized in decision-making and in making sense of the physical and cultural environment.

During the collaboration stages of research with the CDSC, both Pitloosie and Mangitak (elders) raised concern that traditional knowledge of the Cape Dorset people was in danger of being forgotten and suggested that a traditional knowledge component be worked into the research project. The interactive nature of our initial discussions facilitated an environment where committee members felt they could contribute to the collective research planning process.

(4) The Evolution of Community-driven Research Objectives

Through the use of the collaborative methodology during the second stage of the research process, the CDSC was able to identify potential topics for research and discuss them until consensus was reached on a specific topic area. The collective decision making framework helped in initiating a practical project which was of concern to CDSC members and that addressed multiple concerns, including public perception of park planning, traditional knowledge of the island and public input into park development initiatives.

LIMITATIONS/CHALLENGES

- (1) "Power plays" in collaborative decision-making.
- (2) Time commitment and university-based collaborative research
- (3) Working in a cross-cultural environment.

(1) "Power plays" in Collaborative Decision-making

In postpositivist cross-cultural collaborative research, power is shared between the external researcher and the research participants. Sharing power in research from an ideal space is a benefit of the approach, however, it presents a unique set of challenges to the researcher in terms of ethics and confidentiality related to the participants. More often than not, however, the manner in which group dynamics evolve between the external researcher and participants is ignored throughout the research process. Social histories of the researcher and participants effect the manner in which group dynamics, both subtle and blatant, evolve. Ristock (1996) states:

These power issues are not inherently negative; nor are they neutral. They are complex and contradictory interactions that shape what can be uncovered in the research process. Examining these 'microphysics of power' in research (Foucault, 1977) is necessary if we are to understand both the interpersonal and the structural relations that affect the research process (p.57).

Addressing my role and influence as an external researcher in the case of my work with the CDSC was by no means an identified limitation of the collaborative methodology. Addressing power from the vantage point of an external collaborative researcher not only helped me to gain a better understanding of the social structure of the CDSC, but also to address, through the use of reflexivity, my conduct as a researcher.

(2) Time Commitment and Collaborative University-based Research

Committees are often the central social structures through which collaborative processes are facilitated (Lapadat and Janzen 1994), however, democratic or consensus driven committee processes can present "bottlenecks" to the research process. "Consequently, this form of research has the same pitfalls of other forms of committee work: work by committee often moves at a glacial pace, conflicts between participants arise, difficult decisions are avoided, and the result may seem incoherent

and please no one (Borden in Lapadat and Janzen 1994, p.79).

In my case, I was constrained by my role as a graduate student, where my course work activities at the Natural Resources Institute put constraints on the amount of time I could commit to the community-based component of the study. The slow pace of the collaborative research process introduced new ethical considerations, related to maintaining collaborative approaches. Time commitment remains a central issue in the debate as to whether university-based research, in which the researcher is only present in the community for very limited time periods, and collaborative processes are compatible.

(3) Working in a Cross-cultural Environment

My presence as an external researcher during the collaborative decision-making process with the CDSC presented many challenges in terms of language and group dynamics. In reflecting upon these challenges, however, I have learned to recognize and view the linguistic barrier which existed between myself and the CDSC members as a positive aspect of the collaborative process during this stage of research. Archibald and Crnkovich (1995), in their cross-cultural experiences as outside researchers on the Labrador Justice Project, state,

While we are usually at a disadvantage in working with women whose first and sometimes only language is Inuktitut, we do have one clear advantage: at no time can we presume to speak on behalf of Inuit women. At meetings, conferences, and workshops, and often during private conversations, we can only understand the discussions because of the presence of Inuktitut-English interpreters. This interpretation process is a constant reminder that we are outsiders, that no matter how good, bad, or indifferent our work is, we will not have to live with the consequences of decisions based on our work (p.113).

In the case of Cape Dorset, the language barrier became a limitation of the methodology, however, it helped me in many ways to see that I was virtually useless as a researcher without the aid of a bilingual Inuk who could provide that vital link I needed to communicate with participants. The language barrier facilitated much of my exploration into my social location and power dynamics within the CDSC.

CHAPTER SIX

'DOING RESEARCH': Working with The Mallik Island Research Team

This chapter outlines my experiences working as research coordinator and member of the Mallik Island Research Team. Within this chapter a strong transition in the research roles occurs, where I take on multiple tasks as the external researcher, including instructor, research team coordinator, mediator and participant observer of the collaborative research process. With this transition into new roles, new challenges arose, some of which I found very difficult and others extremely rewarding. The majority of "pitfalls" related to the collaborative research process and the role of the external researcher occurred during the third stage, where the multiple roles, time commitment, trust and confidence building amongst research trainees challenged both the external researcher and community participant's commitment to the methodology (Lapadat and Janzen 1994; Castleden 1992).

6.1 Doing Research with Local People

Working with local people in conducting the active stages of research is a major component, and one of the cornerstones of emancipatory research approaches, including the collaborative methodology. The role of the external researcher during research planning, data collection, and analysis is discussed by Castleden (1992).

The external researcher is responsible for structuring the research process, a process which must enable the research group, including both the external researcher and community researchers, to determine the research goal, decide on information that has to be collected, analyze the information, choose the action they will take, act and evaluate the effectiveness of each aspect and phase of the inquiry process. Establishing the structure goes a long way towards establishing a secure working environment for the research group (p.47).

In the case of the Cape Dorset research, the CDSC had taken on the role of research advisors, whereby they identified the research objectives during the second stage of the collaborative process and helped with candidate selection (see chapter five). It was determined through the

initial discussions with the CDSC that the Mallik Island Research Team (MIRT) would do the research and that the CDSC would remain in the role as advisors to the project.

Castleden (1992) discusses the experience of the research participants as they begin the collaborative research process.

The initial experience of participants as they enter into the research group is one of confusion, ambiguity and uncertainty. The external researcher needs to provide stability, allowing the group to feel secure enough that they can focus on the task. The sense of security also allows trust to develop between community researchers and the external researcher. The external researcher must establish a climate which is open, warm, responsive and informal and which invites participants to interact with each other and with the external researcher. Much of the climate setting is achieved by the external researcher modelling behaviour that is open and supportive (p.47-8).

Castleden also addresses the importance of allowing the research group to take it's own shape. He states,

An important goal in collaborative research is the development of the research group as an independent group. This is a difficult task for the external researcher as he or she begins in a position of considerable power, providing both direction for the research and the learning. The willingness and ability to see this power wane and re-emerge in a confident and knowledgeable community research group is not necessarily a smooth transition. It may involve confrontation. It may involve a renegotiation of roles and role expectations. It ultimately leads to disengagement and, if successful, an independent capacity on the part of the community research group to pursue their own research (p.49).

6.2 The Mallik Island Research Team

The third stage of the collaborative research process in Cape Dorset was predominantly characterized by my experiences working with the Mallik Island Research Team over a six week period. During our time together, the group worked to accomplish the research objectives set in place by the CDSC.

The three candidates selected to work as community researchers were Emily Ottokie, Moses Qimirpik and Peter Pitseolak Ottokie (PPO). Emily was a woman in her mid-thirties who was engaged in academic upgrading at Arctic College and had experience working for the Inuit

Broadcasting Corporation in Iqaluit. Emily had a great sense of humour, confidence in her opinions, and a strong connection and interest in her language and heritage. Moses (16 years old) was a high school student who had just completed Grade 10. He was a diligent student, well liked by his peers and teachers and a top athlete. PPO, eighteen years old, had just completed Grade nine. He left his job at the Northern to work for the research team.

The first meeting of the research team was during the afternoon of June 15th. During this first session I informed the group of my motivations for studying the process of using a collaborative methodology in community-based research. I explained that I was interested in understanding how external researchers could better work with communities in the process of research, and that to do that I would be recording the events and experiences of the group throughout the research project.

6.3 Research Planning with MIRT

After getting comfortable with each other as a group and covering issues of ethical review for my research into the process of using a collaborative methodology, we got under way. We began by exploring the CDSC's motivation for requiring the information surrounding attitudes towards park development. To do so, I attempted to convey my perceptions of the issues, by providing the group with resource material about parks in the NT and the costs and benefits of park development in relation to land use, property rights and sustainable development.

This task was challenging, in that few of the existing documents which were pertinent to understanding the issues of park development, for example the Laird Report (1991) and the Territorial Parks Act (1990), were written in an accessible language or at a comprehension level that was inaccessible to all of the trainees, especially the two younger participants (Moe and PPO). As a result, I decided to re-write and paraphrase some of the resource materials pertaining to the development of Mallik Island. Reflecting back upon this process, the document which I prepared was still not as accessible as it could have been for the level at which Moe and PPO were reading. I write

I believe it (Laird Report summary) was too cumbersome in terms of language. I should have paraphrased it into a more accessible format for the younger trainees (Journal, June 20).

The issue of accessibility with respect to the language of resource materials and my ability to bring attention to issues in an appropriate manner would remain a challenge throughout the entire project.

6.31 MIRT's Participation in Community Affairs

Into the second week of the research process, the research team was fortunate to be invited to observe a Hamlet Council meeting where the head of the Parks Division for GNWT Economic Development and Tourism, David Monteith was giving a presentation on Mallik Island and park development. The objectives of Monteith's presentation was to finalize the Mallik Island development project as a result of the communities support during the CLINT¹² process of the early 1990s, to outline future plans for the park's development and to field community concerns.

For the purposes of our research project, participating in this meeting enabled the trainees and myself to get a first hand look at what was occurring politically with the park. It also gave us an opportunity to make an official appearance before the Hamlet Council. Our presence at the meeting validated our importance as a community-based research team and our participation in the meeting gave the trainees and myself a sense of purpose in that we were working on something of importance to the community.

I had asked David Patrick if we might be able to make a short presentation at the meeting if time permitted. PPO had agreed to speak on behalf of the group and decided to say that we were conducting research on whether the community was still in support of the park. Emily and Moe were both prepared to ask specific questions about the park development where we needed clarification. We were introduced as a group of community researchers investigating

¹²The CLINT process was the community lands identification process which occurred during the negotiation of the Nunavut land claim, where all communities voted on which lands would be included or left out of the land claim. In Cape Dorset, Mallik Island was left out of the CLINT process at the request of Parks so that they could retain the property rights for future park development on the island. In leaving the land out of the lands selection process, the community would retain their aboriginal entitlement to traditional uses of the land.

community attitudes towards the development of Mallik Island as a Territorial park. Mr. Monteith greeted our presence with respect and after his presentation, asked us if we had any questions. We were given a short time to speak at the meeting, where I said a few words as project coordinator and thanked the councillors for inviting us into the meeting. PPO became quite nervous and asked me if Emily could say what he had prepared, so Emily spoke on behalf of the group.

At this meeting the development of the park was discussed and various issues surfaced which would affect the activities of MIRT. One issue discussed was the implementation of a park plan and how this development would occur. Mr. Monteith presented a bilingual trail guide to the Hamlet Council. The guide was developed for tourists and local people for those interested in hiking to the Island and learning about its cultural history. Within each trail guide two maps became of interest to some of the elders around the table because, to their surprise, there had been no traditional place names of the Island placed onto the maps.

In the end, I felt the meeting was an extremely positive experience for us in terms of grounding the importance of our research, clarifying some of our concerns regarding particular issues, as well as adding a sense of confidence in the research trainees' purpose and role in the research process. I believe it was an extremely positive and exciting experience for the trainees to be attending a meeting which normally they would not attend.

6.32 Using Culturally Appropriate Resource Materials

Once the research team had investigated the issue related to potential costs and benefits of park development on Mallik Island, I had to provide the researchers with the tools they needed to construct a set of interview questions that would accurately gauge resident attitudes towards park development. I was fortunate to have found an excellent training guide entitled *A Manual for Oral Traditions Research*, written for northerners interested in pursuing community-based social research. The manual covered topics of research design, funding, equipment purchasing and use, conducting interviews and writing up results - all in culturally appropriate language and style.

Upon finding this invaluable resource guide, I knew it would be a vital tool in helping the

trainees get comfortable with the research process. I could not predict at the time, however, just how much I would come to depend upon it. It became extremely relevant during this stage in our research with regards to covering the issues of interview and questionnaire design.

During our daily meetings all ideas, observations from the literature and personal experiences were recorded on flip chart sheets (see Plate 6.1). While designing our information package and interview schedule we utilized brainstorming sheets developed during our discussions of research issues. The use of the *Manual for Oral Traditions Research*, was also suitable for training the researchers about the techniques needed to develop appropriate research questions. For example, in discussing the differences between open and closed interview questions, the manual gives an example which reads:

Closed Question

Mary: Did you grow up around Ft. Hudson?

Lazarus: Yes.

Open-ended Question

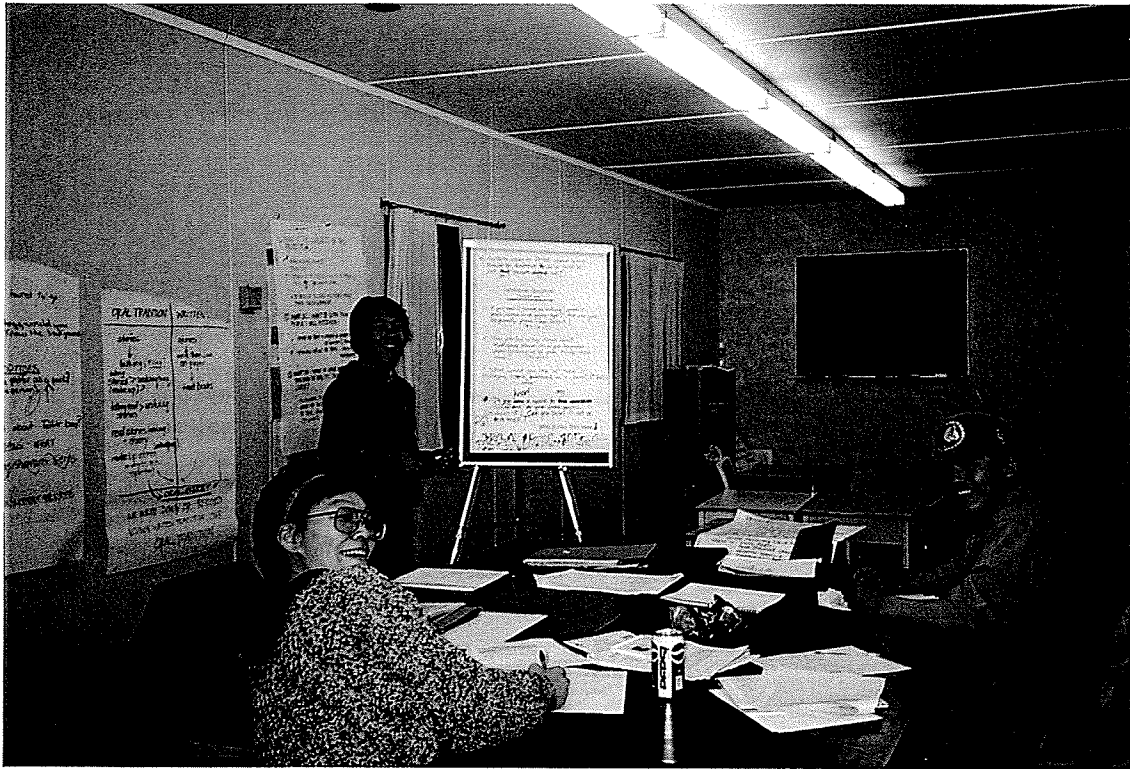
Mary: What can you tell me about the place where you grew up?

Lazarus: I grew up at Nunuk, about 20 miles from Ft. Hudson. It was a good place with lots of fish, and caribou would come there to have their young. There was always lots of driftwood for fires, and....

The above is an example of how the manual helped the trainees grasp the basic concepts of interview question design. The examples provided were culturally relevant and linguistically appropriate for a Northern Aboriginal audience.

Upon completion, the interview schedule consisted of a page long description containing CDSC identified research objectives, information about park development and potential costs, benefits and long-term impacts on the physical, economic and cultural environment. The information package was followed by a section on informed consent, where we told the interviewee that the information collected would remain in the community and would be used only for the purpose of this study. Following the process of attaining informed consent, a series of ten open and closed questions were presented to the interviewee.

Plate 6.1



MIRT members - Emily Ottokie, PPO and Moses Qimirpik
July 1995

6.33 Interactive Research Planning in Action: MIRT and CDSC Work Together

On June 26th, the entire Mallik Island Research Team (MIRT) attended the fourth CDSC meeting to finalize the contents of the interview schedule, and research methods for the data collection portion of the project. I presented a brief report on the research team's progress, our plans for sample sizes and target populations (including elders, and people involved with community development, planning and tourism).

Johnny Manning, who had translated the questions into Inuktitut for us the week previous and who was acting as the meeting translator, read the ten questions to the CDSC members. Following this I asked the sub-committee for their feedback. Mangitak highlighted his concerns about the need to target elders.

Shannon: Will these questions get the type of information the sub-committee feels necessary to get the community's feelings about Mallik Island and the development of the park?

Johnny: translation

Mangitak (Johnny): Ok, yes, I think it would help a lot well,.....it would help a lot if you talked to elders, and targeted the people who may have been living here long, ...because they might know that something we don't know, ...and it might be useful for the future. And that the questions be only to Mallik.

Shannon: ok.

Pitaloosie expressed concerns about the flexibility of using a scheduled structured interview format.

Pitaloosie (Johnny): The questionnaire itself, um, it's numbered and scheduled. But once you start interviewing older people, or elders, they might answer another thing that is along down the questionnaire. It may not necessarily be the first one so, because they answer the way they want.

Shannon: ...right..

Pitaloosie (Johnny): like you ask the first question, they can go from there, then you go from there, from that answer you pretty well could get 25 questions out or whatever, so.. You should expect the elders might have more answers from your one question.

Pitaloosie also raised the question of how we were going to gather traditional knowledge of the island. She was concerned about the lack of traditional knowledge contained on the trail guide maps in the booklets prepared by Parks and felt the question of traditional knowledge

needed more direct attention.

Pitaloosie (Johnny): For instance eh, that Mallik Island, that name, eh is not just Mallik Island. Once you go to another hill there is a new name like _____ or something like that or go along the trail along the side of the island.....Like the island itself, you go down the point near the hill, it's got a name eh _____, and there's another hill, it's called _____. So there are some useful names and this information could be useful. It's just like putting road names or street names.

Shannon: right

Pitaloosie (Johnny): only that it doesn't show.....

Would you like to add to names in the area, because Mallik island itself still might have names.

Shannon: ..ok, thank you.

Timoon: Eh, so you probably need a small map eh, that you can put names to and numbers. Um, what you might like to do is, um, the people you interview what are the names of those parts of the island, and do you know anything about that particular name? What was that or did something ever happen in that area?

Shannon: Yes, no..... that's a good suggestion!

Mangitak raised concerns about how the data from the traditional knowledge component of the study would be recorded and stored.

Mangitak (Johnny): ok, the questionnaire is, he says its serious and gonna produce some paperwork and it's very good planning and eh, it would be very good if we start filing those things to the BTC building so it will be ready and available there for the tourists. Because it's going to probably produce some employmentwe should take it seriously and put it in the BTC building.

Shannon: Eh, I agree that probably a lot of information we collect will be important to tourism, not only in developing tourism but for the community as archival information. Perhaps after I leave, something of that nature could be organized as a secondary project.

Johnny: translation.Mangitak (Johnny): Yes, it's going to have to be serious work because eh, for sure it's going to be computed, eh, the computers are starting to show up around (here). When you leave, or if you leave it's gonna be a sorry sorry time because we'd like to keep you but eh, ...

Shannon: ...laughs

Timoon: there you go!

Johnny: so, we have to seriously plan about this tourism thing

This important interchange which occurred prior to the data collection process illustrates the importance of checking back with the advisory group when using collaborative research, and demonstrates the interactive nature of postpositivist inquiry (Lather 1986). The guidance given, in this case, demonstrates the insight and knowledge which community members possess and their ability to contribute to defining the research question and design. Without consultation, much of the depth in our research investigation, particularly with respect to traditional local knowledge, would not have been uncovered.

David Patrick explained his concern about bias in the survey questions, and warned the committee to look over the schedule carefully for wording or language that could be construed as containing bias in support of or against park development.

Timoon: OK, (Inuktitut). (speaking to David) Do you want to make a comment while we're on the subject?

David: The only comment I want to make is that the purpose of this research is to determine the community attitudes as to what should occur with respect to Mallikjuaq Island. And one of my concerns, and if I could ask the committee members to really look at those questions to make sure they're satisfied that these are objective questions and we're not leading anybody in any way, so that we can't be accused of favouring "yes, no, or otherwise".

Johnny: translation

David: If you do find that you have some objection to a question and you don't think that we are being fair and objective, please let Shannon know.

In reflecting upon the dialogue which occurred at this meeting, one of the most fascinating events of the entire summer had taken place with respect to the emergence of the participatory nature of the project. The process of using a collaborative approach was perhaps at it's most efficient level during this meeting. Upon taking the direction of the CDSC in terms of the research question and the hiring of the trainees, I had left to work as facilitator and project coordinator with the Mallikjuaq Island Research Team. During that time, I had brought the concerns of the CDSC to the research trainees and together we had come up with a research design to present to the subcommittee. Upon reviewing the progress we had made, the CDSC acting in an advisory role, requested that we make some changes to the design of the questionnaire. The interactive nature of collaborative research had re-surfaced during this meeting which helped us to build a stronger and more culturally relevant research design.

The issues covered during this meeting between MIRT and CDSC dealt with five methods topics, which as a student from a western scientific perspective, I had not found easy concepts in academic study. CDSC members spoke about structured versus non-structured interview questions, target sampling, data collection and storage/archiving, use of prompts as a recall technique, and accounting for bias in the construction of interview questions. The CDSC members were as rigorous in terms of their design comments as any university committee I had ever come across! Who ever said that collaborative research was dangerous in that it had no rigour!

The meeting also highlights, in a rather interesting manner, the way in which outsiders view Northern and Aboriginal people as being incapable of conducting research. If given the appropriate access to information, community members are capable of exploring research issues at a rigorous level. This is yet another example of how collaborative approaches in research can help to "demystifying the research process" by providing accessible environments for community members to participate in research. In this case, the CDSC members possessed an organic understanding of specific research methodological considerations which were presented to a university-based researcher who had overlooked specific aspects of the research design.

6.34 Re-working the Survey Design

The following day, MIRT sat down to tackle the issues and suggestions which the CDSC had raised about the research design the previous afternoon. In dealing with the traditional knowledge component of the interview schedule, our first task was to design an eleventh question which would help the elders talk about the island. After some discussion, we came up with an appropriate question which read:

- Do you know any names for any areas on Mallik Island and do you know anything about why they have their names? Can you point any of these places out on our map?

Our second task was to try and target the appropriate interview sample group. Instead of using a random sample we wanted to focus on elders to ensure that we could learn the maximum amount of local knowledge. We were careful, however, not to neglect the younger generations, which made up the majority of the community. PPO, Moe and Emily came up

with the idea of looking at the Hamlet Office community list which contained all community members names and housing unit numbers. They went through the list and identified many of the elders whom they should try to target when doing their interviews.

The third concern identified by Piteloosie was the question of flexibility in the interview technique, which I attempted to address in a workshop we held on June 28th dealing with interview techniques. We prepared by reading over a chapter in the *Manual for Oral Traditions Research* dealing with interview techniques. Following this, we engaged in role play exercise. Each trainee took turns at practicing how to introduce a research topic, asking for informed consent, using a tape recorder and running through an interview schedule. I attempted to give each trainee constructive feedback after each run through, such that they could see where they needed practice in their interview approach.

It is important when using collaborative, participatory or action methodologies to try to help research participants become confident in their roles. Reflecting on some of my techniques which were used throughout the Research Team phase, I was not always focussed on this as opposed to getting the job done. If I could do this again, I would focus more on the goal within the methodology. The trainees, for example, could have taken turns critiquing one another in the interview workshop.

Collaborative methodology in community-based research, as stated by Castleden (1992), is a dynamic process whereby the external researcher at times is a major player within the research process and, at other times, steps back to watch participants make decisions and take action. The key is in recognizing when these shifts in power are occurring and in maintaining awareness of the "power plays" which unfold during these transitions (Ristock 1996). In the case of the Cape Dorset research, the interactive processes which occurred between the CDSC and MIRT at the end of the research design stage are examples of the dynamic nature of the collaborative methodology, whereby the CDSC re-entered the decision-making process, providing constructive feedback on the work completed by the MIRT.

6.4 A Breakdown in the MIRT Group

The issue of group dynamics in collaborative research has been identified as one of the biggest

challenges for the external researcher (Castleden 1992; Lapadat and Jänzen 1994). Perhaps the most challenging issue related to working with groups throughout the research process is related to the level of collaboration with which the external researcher is comfortable when confronted with conflict or a breakdown in group communication. Castleden writes about his experiences working with a community research group.

Later the community research group was confronted by intra group issues including member participation, acceptance of responsibility for administrative tasks, asymmetrical power within the group, authority of the group to engage in the research and dependence and interdependence. The group's growing ability to openly discuss these issues helped it immeasurably in resolving problems that had the potential to block or interfere with its work. It was also important that I help them work through these issues (p.208).

MIRT had been together for two and a half weeks when it was time to leave the research planning stage and begin interviewing community members about their attitudes towards the development of Mallik Island as a Territorial park. Our time together had been challenging and quite productive, however, over the two weeks tensions within the group began to surface which were related to PPO's presence within the group.

When I first began the hiring process, I was worried about only being able to hire students and the restrictions this might place on the research process. I had no choice as our funding required that students be selected. When I hired PPO, he seemed very pleased that he had been selected as a community researcher and I was hopeful that he would excel in the role of research trainee. At first, I was worried about the abilities of Moe and PPO, mostly because I wasn't sure at what level they were functional in both English and Inuktitut reading, writing and comprehension.

During our first week together I observed that Moe and Emily were energized, always sharing stories about the community and their experiences, and they were eager to learn as much as they could about the research process. On the other hand, I observed that PPO seemed despondent and that, from my perspective, he did not feel as comfortable contributing on his own. Before too long PPO's lack of contribution during group sessions seemed to create a

tension amongst us. Many evenings after work, I struggled with my role once again as the project coordinator and as a participant observer of the collaborative process. I knew that the tension was mounting and that one of the other members was threatening to quit the group as a result.

I became frustrated with these additional roles and the situation they had invented for me as a researcher. I started to struggle with my own perceptions of the situation. Was it that PPO lacked self-confidence? Was it boredom? Was he really not serious about the job? Was I intimidating him? I did not know where to turn to get advice in fear of betraying his confidence.

In our second week, I observed, that the tension between PPO and the other group members began to mount. PPO's despondence seemed to be increasing. MIRT was heading towards breakdown, and finally at the end of the second week it hit rock bottom when Emily informed me that if I did not do something about PPO, she was leaving the group.

This was definitely, in retrospect, the most difficult challenge I faced as a collaborative researcher. I felt in an awkward place, knowing that I might have to make a decision about PPO's place on the research team. Had I created this situation? What were my options? Did I fire PPO to save the group and the fate of the Mallik Island Park Study? How was this going to effect PPO? This was not the type of situation I wanted to be in.

I decided not to act too quickly on the issue, but rather to sit back and analyze what was really going on. I avoided thinking about PPO's actions, wondering if it was my place to poke and prod into the motivations behind his behaviour. What I was interested in was how the group began to breakdown.

I had noticed that during our sessions Emily was directing a lot of comments in Inuktitut towards PPO. Of course I had no idea what she was saying, but I could tell by the body language that her comments were not positive ones. I thought that Emily's comments might help motivate PPO, but without knowing what she was saying I couldn't be sure.

As time continued, I began to feel as if it was not my place to motivate someone who either did not want to be motivated or was deeply troubled with issues which were none of my business. During the first couple of weeks, we did a lot of brainstorming and I would usually try to get PPO to talk and contribute. As time continued, I stopped encouraging him directly because I did not want to coerce PPO into doing work. I became extremely frustrated.

Over the weekend, I decided to let PPO go. I kept thinking about how successful the project had been thus far, and how we were so close to starting the research. If I let PPO stay, there was no doubt in my mind that Emily would leave, which would spell disaster for the project because she was the only member who possessed enough knowledge of Inuktitut to interview the elders and to transcribe the data back into English. The CDSC was also relying on receiving a finished research report by the time I left the community.

The incidents surrounding PPO's dismissal, in retrospect, highlight a number of the more challenging aspects of using a collaborative methodology in community-based research. The first issue is related to the outsider's lack of local knowledge. This is amplified by the cross-cultural language barrier. Not having a rudimentary understanding of the local language made it difficult to work effectively with MIRT, especially as tensions rose and intra-group conflict of which I had no knowledge was taking place. It was at this point that I made note of recommending that co-facilitation with a skilled bi-lingual local individual would be a better approach for university-based collaborative research.

It was during the MIRT stage that it became clear that the collaborative methodology was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain, given the time frame I had as a student to complete the study. Working with local people in an educational setting presents the external researcher with an entirely different set of circumstances, where difficult issues related to cross cultural pedagogy put additional stress on the research process. The use of a collaborative educational methodology takes a tremendous amount of time and patience on behalf of both the external researcher and community researchers. In retrospect attempting to fit the entire methodological intent of a collaborative project into a three month time frame was unreasonable.

The dismissal of PPO from MIRT was ultimately the most difficult aspect of the entire collaborative research experience, but it most likely allowed the process of community-based research to continue in a more comfortable environment for the remaining members.

6.5 Cape Dorset Researchers Explore Attitudes towards the Development of Mallik Island: The Data Collection Process

On June 30th, the Mallik Island Research Team did their first interview with Etulu Etidluie, a well known carver in the community and husband of Leetia Etidluie - a clerk who works for the Housing Corporation. We had asked Etulu in advance if he would be willing to be interviewed about the development of a park on Mallik Island and he had agreed.

Upon entering the house, Moe and Emily took a seat at the kitchen table with Etulu, opened their field books and set up the micro cassette recorder. They had decided that Emily would conduct the first interview and Moe would take notes and monitor the tape recorder. I sat in the background and observed.

While I was witnessing the interview, I began to think about what was going on. Moe and Emily were conducting research by themselves and I was completely removed from that process. At the time I felt, as Maguire states, that I was "letting go of the power" in the research process.

I wonder now if going to the interview with Moe and Emily was a poor decision. What impact was this having on the researchers as well as Etulu? In attending the first set of interviews was I really, as Maguire (1987) states, "letting go of the power" in the research process?

For the first week, the three of us travelled together as the MIRT, as Moe and Emily conducted interviews with various community members (see Plate 6.2 and 6.3). Each day we attempted to pre-arrange four to six interviews with people, however, because many community members do not have phones, it was difficult to contact everyone in advance. As well, it was spring and people were always ready to leave on a moment's notice to go hunting

Plate 6.2



Moe and Emily preparing for Interviews, July 1995

Plate 6.3



Emily Interviews Pauta Salla, July 1995

or fishing if the weather conditions were favourable.

6.51 Youth Interviewing Elders in Cape Dorset

As Moses and Emily became more comfortable in interviewing community members, we decided that they should split up in order that they could collect more information, given our time constraints. Emily was very comfortable doing interviews on her own, as she had a better grasp of the Inuktitut due to her age, and was more comfortable speaking to elders. For Moses, speaking to the elders was more of a challenge as a result of his young age and the level at which he was speaking and comprehending the older ways of Inuktitut.

During a workshop with Moe and Emily at the end of the project, Moe and Emily both shared their feelings about interviewing elders. Emily begins by responding to a question about what she enjoyed most about doing the community interviews.

Emily: Interviewing elderly people.

Moe:..That was hard. Shannon: That was hard for you Moe?

Emily: I thought it was going to be harder than I thought, but when they agreed to, when they agreed, that was good. Like they didn't tell us to go out.

Shannon: you thought we would get a more negative response?

Emily: I thought they were gonna tell use, you know, "why don't you just leave!".

Shannon: Uh-huh. And how was that with you Moe?

.....With the elders.

Moe: I was talking more about something else, like. I was really nervous with the elders. I couldn't understand some of the words they said so, that was kind of hard.

Moses had shared with the group that he had a harder time speaking with elders than did Emily, who was twenty years his senior. At another time, Moses stated that when he went to interview an elder by himself, some elders refused to speak to him and that he would feel better if Emily or I was with him.

From Moses' experiences, I began to wonder about the future of community-based collaborative research and whether, if more young researchers evolve in Cape Dorset, there would be incredible challenges to face with respect to language, and what seemed to be a lack

of communication between the generations in contemporary Inuit culture. On more than one occasion I had heard people in the community say "the elders are not talking" as well as that the relationship between youth and elders was not as it should be.

In retrospect, throughout our first couple of weeks together, Emily and Moe often talked about the distance that has been created between the elders and the younger generation in the community. At the time, I didn't make the assumption that this might affect the manner in which Moe would be received by the elders within the interview structure. When Moe first struck out on his own to do the interviews, I sensed his apprehension to go by himself, but I had made the decision that I should really attempt to "let go of the power" during the interview process and I had decided that I would no longer attend the interviews. When Moe approached me to say that he felt the elders would take him more seriously if I or Emily was with him, I decided that I would go with him. After a couple of interviews together Moe made the comment that he felt the interviews had gone smoother with me being in the room. I wondered why this was so. Did I add some sort of legitimacy to the research process? Did Moe feel more confident with me in the background? Are youth in the community being encouraged by their elders and peers to get involved in learning about traditional knowledge? Is age a factor of knowledge and prestige in Inuit culture?

Through the community-based data collection process which occurred between Inuk researchers and local participants, it became apparent that issues of language, loss of traditional knowledge and the relationship between the contemporary Inuit youth and elders were effecting the research process. It raised important issues about the younger generation, who are the future of Nunavut, and their relationship to the elders and traditional knowledge. In learning about Moses' personal experiences doing research with the elders and the challenges he faced it can only be assumed that the role of local youth in research must be encouraged, not only by external researchers doing collaborative research in communities, but by their peers and their elders.

6.6 Data Analysis and Report Writing

Collaborative research processes stress the importance of involving research participants in all stages of the research process, from inception to the sharing of results.

In traditional scientific or positivist approaches to social science research, researchers have viewed communities as statistical populations for testing their models of how the world works. In shared inquiry, research is reconstructed as an enterprise for mutual meaning construction in all the phases of planning, implementation, analysis, and sharing of results....Because they help analyze and interpret findings, inaccurate or decontextualized interpretations and conclusions can be avoided (Lapadat and Janzen 1994, p.75).

It has been noted that maintaining the collaborative nature of the research throughout the final stages of the process the largest challenge to the external researcher (Lapadat and Janzen 1994).

More often, the collaboration is limited to particular phases of the research. For instance, community participation in the problem-definition and data gathering parts of the research does not ensure sharing of findings. It is difficult for local members of the community to have influence in research of this kind when the university researcher has the power and control. For the university researcher comfortable with the isolated routines of research development, implementation, and analysis, the sharing of power and control can be discomfoting and handicapping (p. 80).

6.61 Struggling with Theoretical Purity

By July 18th, with a week left in Cape Dorset, we had completed thirty six interviews. I decided that this was the limit we could perform for two reasons: First, I was leaving the following week and as such, time was needed for data analysis and report writing, and second, the motivation levels of the group had begun to deteriorate as it became more difficult to find community members to interview because of summer camping activities. Moses had been selected to travel to another community for a sports tournament and Emily and I began to "burn out". The amount of time remaining to go through the data and to analyze what the current trends were in terms of park development was running short. I would not be able to return to the community until the following winter.

As it turned out, the task of data analysis and report writing was undertaken almost entirely without the involvement of the research trainees. Moe and Emily did conduct preliminary data

analysis, including transcribing interviews and data entry (see Plates 6.4 and 6.5). Ideally the entire project, including the report writing and data analysis, would have been done collaboratively, however, given the time constraints placed upon the group towards the end of my stay in the community, I decided that it was not feasible to attempt this stage of the research using a collective effort if, in fact, the CDSC wanted a completed report by the 24th of July.

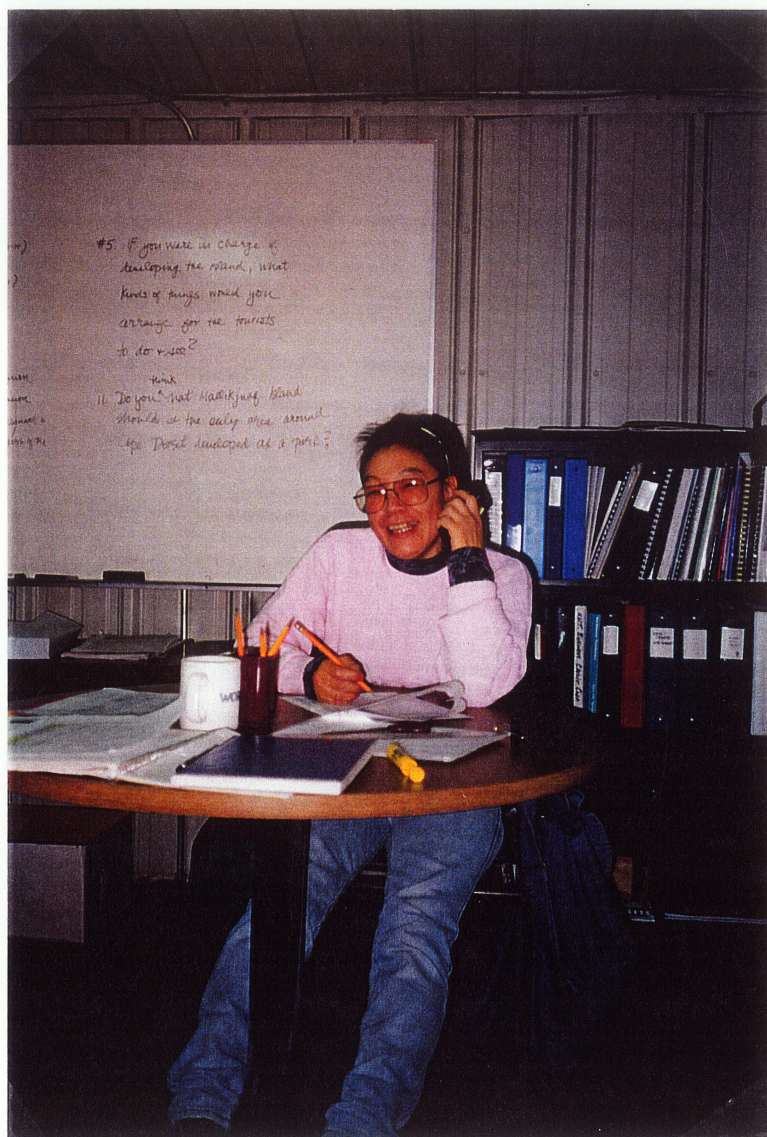
Deciding to abandon the collaborative method at this stage was a major disappointment for me, however, I felt that getting the report finished was a priority. The researchers and I had exhausted much of the energy we had collectively built during the early stages of the project and I knew that attempting to involve them in a truly collaborative process of data analysis and report writing would be impossible in the time we had left - It seemed futile to even try.

This event, in retrospect, brings to the surface the struggle the external researcher may have between the needs of the community and the goals of the collaborative methodology. The CDSC wanted the report finished before I left, knowing that it would be difficult for us to finish the project once I was in the south. Completing the project, however, meant taking control and finishing much of the work on my own. At the time, I felt that I had failed at using the methodology. In hindsight, I was putting the needs of the CDSC before the collaborative methodology.

I discussed this issue with Emily, as Moe had already left for Clyde River, and she agreed that I should just go ahead and do the work on my own as long as we discussed my interpretations and findings before they were presented to the CDSC the following week.

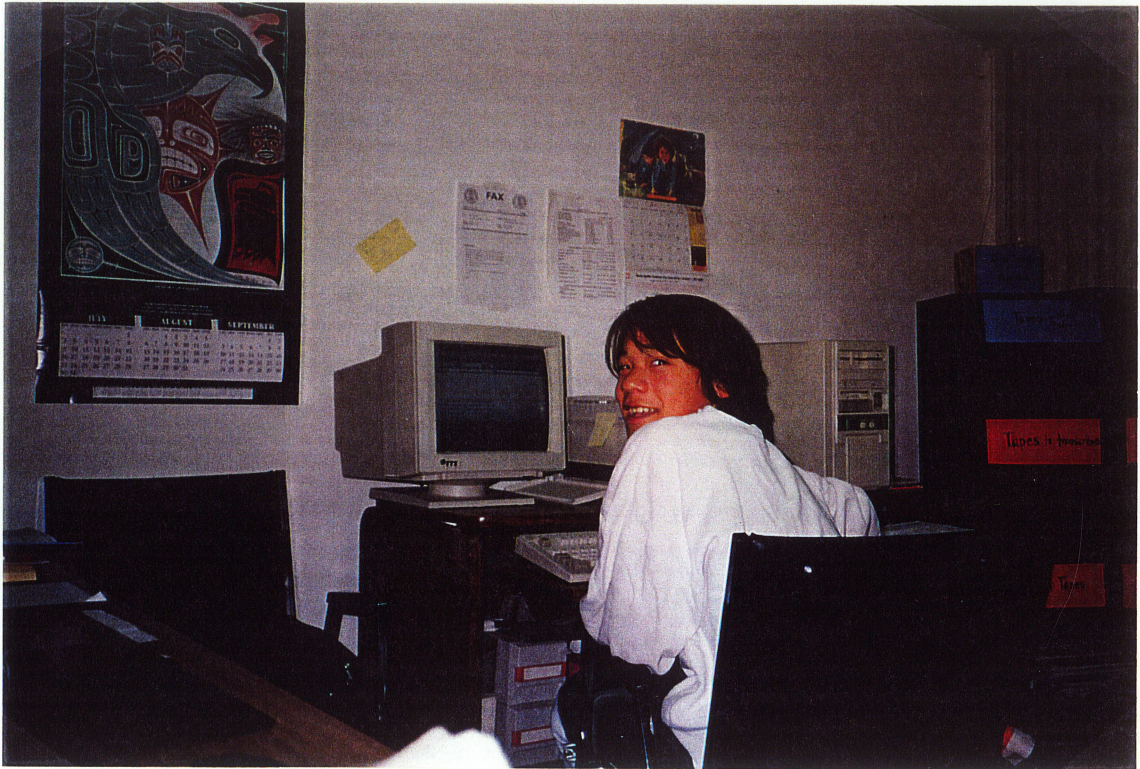
I began to work on a technical report for the CDSC. Topics covered in the report included the importance of public participation in planning for sustainable economic development in the Nunavut Territory, park development in tourism planning and a community profile of Cape Dorset and its existing tourism infrastructure. After I had analyzed the transcribed data which Moe and Emily had collected for basic trends, I compiled a chapter in the report entitled "Community Attitudes Towards the Development of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park: A Community-Based Survey", containing the results of the survey.

Plate 6.4



Emily Ottokie transcribing Interviews, July 1995

Plate 6.5



Moses Qimirpiq entering data into computer from interviews, July 1995.

A final chapter, containing conclusions, recommendations and suggested actions was also compiled from findings (see Appendix C).

As I got deeper into the report writing and data analysis I wondered how realistic it was to involve the community researchers in the analysis of the data, given the actual circumstances of the summer's project. My feelings were mixed about it. First of all I wondered if, given the structure and funding of the participants involvement, the researchers saw any benefits to becoming involved in a stage which would be the most challenging in terms of technical ability and time? On the other hand, if I could stay another month in the community and there was more access to more funding for the participants, perhaps we could have managed a collective and constructive data analysis and writing experience.

Once the report was finished I realized that the non-involvement of the researchers during this phase of the research process had resulted in the construction of a document which marginalized many of the local people who would now not have access to the information. By working in isolation on the research report writing, I realized that I had written a very "academic" report, suitable for a graduate level course as opposed to the average local person in Cape Dorset. There were, however, a number of factors influencing the manner in which the report was constructed, including targeting the proper audience: Was it the community at large? Was it the CDSC? Or should it reach a wider audience including government policy makers and consultants involved in park planning? I wrote the report initially thinking that it should reach the latter audience, but then realized that I had marginalized many of the individuals for whom this collaborative research had been done!

Upon realizing that I had written the report for a non-Northern audience I recognized the need for an accessible summary of the project for the citizens of Cape Dorset. I decided to construct an executive summary at the beginning of the paper which outlined in general language the purpose, goals, and objectives of the study, methods used, followed by a summary of the study with the seven conclusions, recommendations and suggested actions. The summary was translated into Inuktitut and attached to the front of the report (see Appendix C).

6.62 "Winding Down" with the MIRT

As a result of not being able to include the community researchers in the final stages of the research process, a meeting was scheduled on July 21st to discuss and finalize the conclusions and recommendations which I had arrived at in isolation. The meeting gave us a chance to reflect upon the entire research experience and to talk about the highlights, challenges and frustrations in working together using the collaborative approach in our research project.

At a second attempt to share the data analysis process with MIRT, I felt I should present the findings to them with the understanding that there was room for discussion and re-evaluation. I discussed the results of my analysis, the techniques used, and briefly broke down each interview question and response, general trends and other points of interest. Following this a discussion ensued regarding the trainees interpretation of results. They were fairly quiet and generally agreed with all the results that I presented.

I have thought a lot about my reason for trying to include them at this stage when they had already left the research process and most likely were feeling marginalized from the it. My motivations were self-interested, as I wanted to stay loyal to the methodology in fear of my own failure. To expect Emily and Moses to actively participate in criticizing my work was presumptuous. This brings up the issue of power in the role I was playing as the "expert" researcher and project coordinator. I most likely made them feel uncomfortable by asking them to be critical of my work. I began to wonder whether sticking with the methodology would have produced an entirely different set of conclusions and recommendations.

This incident highlights once again, the conflict between the needs of the CDSC, of MIRT, the external researcher and the principles of collaborative research. I made a decision to step away from the methodology in order to fulfil the set objectives. In doing so, I had abandoned the collaborative methodology with the community researchers. At some points during the research process the needs and goals of the CDSC and MIRT seemed in conflict with each other, and I was forced to make decisions about which to put first, due to the time constraints under which I found myself.

6.63 *Sharing our Experiences About the Process of Collaborative Research*

As a participant observer of the collaborative research experience in Cape Dorset, I felt it important to discuss openly with the researchers, my experiences using the methodology and hoped that they might share their feelings about their experiences as well.

Shannon: OK what I'd like to do now is, if you don't mind, just talk about this entire experience. I had a really good time doing this project. I thought it was great....

Emily: ..me too!

Shannon: ..to me it was very rewarding.

Moses: ..yah.

Shannon: A lot of the time, you know, as we talked about in the beginning, it would have been easy for me to come in and do this research by myself and for myself, but never really get to know people and never give anything back. I think.....I don't know.....I guess I'd like to know how you have experienced this thing? How are you feeling about it?

Emily: I learned about interviewing.

Moe: ..I learned a lot too. I had a good experience.

Emily: And I learned more about my own language.

Moe: ..me too.

Emily: The way I can make my own race understand me

Shannon: ..uh-huh...

Emily: Those two I learned a lot.

Emily: And I learned too, not to be nervous interviewing a person (laugh).

Shannon: What about you Moe? How do you think this has effected you?

Moe: I think it will help me do research and , um, transcribing and all that, the computer, interpreting.

Shannon: Good. What was the worst thing, what was the most frustrating thing about this project?

Emily: When the interviewee doesn't agree to be interviewed (everybody laughs). That was, that was the worst thing.

Moe: Translation,

Shannon: ..Translation was hard for you?

Moe: ..yah.

Emily: I've a little bit of that....I have done it before so it didn't bother me.

Moe: At first I really didn't know how to,....know what to do!

Shannon: Yah, ...I think, from what I understand, translating is very difficult. From what Leetia said it's really hard to do it well, and eh, I think if you keep, um, you know with practice you know, it might be an interesting job for the future.

Emily: It is,....like, there are hardly people now a days who

want to do some interviewing, interpreting and translating.
But when you get used to it, it's very good.

6.7 Presentation of the Mallik Island Park Study to the Community Development Sub-Committee

On July 24th, MIRT met with the CDSC to present the findings of the three month long project. I gave a presentation of our findings by summarizing our methods, number of interviews conducted, and then reviewing the seven recommendations and practical actions the community could take in addressing the issue of potential development of Mallik Island as a Territorial park. I thanked the committee for allowing me the privilege to work with them in research, for their time, effort and cooperation. I expressed the great sense of excitement I felt in having used the collaborative research methodology with the community in doing the Mallik Island Research project.

Shannon: The last thing I want to say is Thank you very much to everybody who was involved in this project. It's been a great learning experience for me and eh, it's helped me tremendously in my study on trying to figure out if this kind of approach works or not - and I believe it does. I think with the short amount of time that we've had I think it's been pretty successful.

Timoon: So you think it's possible for researchers to come up here and do research in the community, work with local people in like a couple of weeks or something? Or can it be a couple of days or?

Shannon: Well,..... I believe after having looked back on this entire experience,..... if you're going to use this kind of approach, you should give yourself a lot of time. We did not have enough...

I think it's also good to have a sense of the community by having been in the community before. When I showed up here I had at least made a basic connection already. You knew, you had seen my work before.....

I don't think you could come into a community like this without ever having been here and attempt this type of methodology

Timoon: ..right.

Shannon: To have at least a bit of understanding about the place is of benefit. I think the major barriers that I came to was with language. If I had basic understanding of Inuktitut I think things would have

gone better. But I also think, I think the fact Emily and Moe took on the responsibility, and they did very well in conducting the interviews, transcribing the information and recording the data into the computer. They did a wonderful job and I'd just like to say that on record that they did extremely well. And it was fun,we had a really good time.

Timoon: Yes, thank you for coming and doing this research that otherwise would have just been not thought about and never put on paper.

Shannon: ..Your welcome.

Timoon: ..Which is usually the case..... Thanks.

Emily: Nakormiq.

Shannon: ...Nakormiq everyone.

6.8 Working Collaboratively with Community Researchers: An Overview

In the case of Cape Dorset, I experienced the most challenging and limiting aspects of using a collaborative methodology while working with the MIRT. During the third stage in the collaborative process, my social location and power as an outsider (Ristock 1996) seemed to present the most conflict, multiple roles presented the most challenge (Maguire 1984), and time commitment placed considerable pressure on the collaborative process (Lapadat and Janzen 1994). Working collaboratively with community researchers meant dealing with and solving difficult personal conflicts (Castleden 1992). As well, working through the data collection process with local people, presented some interesting challenges related to inter-generational communication and "power plays" in contemporary Inuit culture.

Working collaboratively with the MIRT did present many benefits connected to the general principles of collaborative research, including local involvement in research planning and data collection, where the interactive nature of the methodology provided a means through which to facilitate a culturally relevant and sensitive design that included the incorporation of local knowledge. As well, the collaborative process was helpful in demystifying the research process for local people, and validated the need for community involvement in research in Nunavut.

6.81 *Juggling multiple roles in Cape Dorset*

Preparing to work with the research trainees was challenging, and at times extremely difficult, as I found myself taking on multiple roles which seemed at times to be in conflict and which challenged my ideas about and commitment to collaborative research. Maguire (1984) discusses her struggle with multiple roles as a feminist participatory action researcher in New Mexico.

I had great difficulty juggling the demands of the participatory researcher roles of researcher, educator, and organizer. At times, the roles appeared to be in conflict. For example, in the organizer role, I motivated women to attend meetings and to increasingly participate in decision-making, discussion, and group actions. Yet, I often questioned this role. By motivating women, was I trying to make the project, my dissertation, a success? ...

Self-censorship was a problem. Afraid of being pushy, overbearing, intimidating, or culturally inappropriate, I initially refrained from utilizing many trainer skills, techniques, and exercises which would have contributed to group skill development. I struggled with the educator role.

Throughout the research team stage in Cape Dorset, I too struggled with self-censorship as a result of the large number of roles I had taken on. The two roles which seemed to be in conflict was my role as project coordinator and my role as a participant observer of the collaborative process. It was difficult to monitor my own actions in a position of power, however, the feminist approach of recording these events and my interpretations of these events at least helped me to identify them as points of concern.

Although my wishes were that the group function on a non-hierarchical basis, it became inevitable that I would take the position of project coordinator to provide structure to our daily activities. The research trainees had not been involved in setting the research objectives with the CDSC, and as such, were not aware of many of the issues driving the research objectives. As project coordinator it was my job to ensure the research team could accomplish the goals set by the CDSC, and that a final report on the attitudes and perceptions of local residents towards the development of Mallik Island as a Territorial park could be completed in the time allotted for the project. As well, it was my responsibility to provide the research trainees with enough guidance and support to feel comfortable as community researchers. Facilitating workshops and research training in basic social science methodology would help us to

accomplish these goals.

Preparing for the role of facilitator and project coordinator at first, seemed out of context to the research process. I had a lot of anxiety about the capabilities of the trainees as well as my own, particularly with respect to whether I would be able to effectively tap the abilities and skills of the group. I felt uncomfortable within this role and at times worried about the short amount of time we had to complete the research. I worried about juggling my roles in terms of my abilities to see the process of collaborative research clearly.

My role as participant observer of the collaborative research process took on a new dimension when I began my work with the MIRT. My social location within the collaborative research process became entangled in a complex web of multiple roles and new pressures which began to challenge my abilities to successfully implement a collaborative process.

When using collaborative approaches in research, the external researcher works together with the research participants to find methods of getting to the root of the research problem or issue. The external researcher's role in this process is to act as a facilitator, whereby they use techniques such as brainstorming and workshops to help research participants prepare for the identified process.

In the case of the Cape Dorset research, I attempted to act in the role of facilitator but found myself slipping at times into the role of teacher and trainer. The emergence and divergence away from facilitation occurred depending on the experiences and confidence levels of the research team members during different stages of the research process. Certain tasks were more difficult than others, and I found myself adjusting the level of instruction depending on the comfort level of the participants.

At this stage, I also began to see a conflict arise between the research objectives set by the CDSC and the objectives of doing collaborative research, specifically as they related to my social location as a university-researcher with limited time and the desires of the CDSC to have a completed study before I left the community in six weeks. Could I really mobilize this group of individuals in that period of time? Should I abandon the process to get the product? Should

I abandon the project for the sake of theoretical purity?

As well, I was able to identify a new and highly problematic "power play" emerging, whereby my role as research coordinator wielded a higher degree of control and power over this group of participants than with the CDSC. During my interactions with the CDSC I was integrated into a committee structure where the power rested largely in the hands of the CDSC. The transition from the CDSC stage to working with the research trainees was marked by a transfer of power to myself as the research coordinator.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FOLLOWING UP IN CAPE DORSET: Exploring Community Attitudes Towards Collaborative Research and the Mallik Island Research Project.

This chapter outlines the events surrounding my return to Cape Dorset in February of 1996. The purpose of this excursion was to conduct follow up work on the Mallik Island research project and to collect data on the CDSC participant's attitudes towards the collaborative methodology used throughout the project. First, the narrative outlines the work completed in preparation for returning to Cape Dorset. Following this, the narrative explores the participant's attitudes towards and reflections of their experiences in the collaborative research process.

7.1 The Importance of Follow-up: Building Dialectical Theory Through Collaborative Processes

In Arctic cross-cultural community-based research, conducting follow-up in the community with participants is one method to facilitate dialectical theory building as opposed to theoretical imposition by the external researcher (Lather 1986). Emancipatory research design attempts to build in maximal levels of dialectic process and reciprocity, such that participants reflections and understanding of their experiences are entrenched in the researcher's results throughout the research process. "Reciprocity implies give-and take, a mutual negotiation of meaning and power. It operates at two primary points in emancipatory empirical research: the junctures between researcher and researched and between data and theory" (ibid., p.263).

For the university-based researcher doing collaborative inquiry in Nunavut, conducting follow-up to reach the maximal level of reciprocity which Lather (1986) and other feminist researchers support can be difficult. Challenges for the university-based researcher include: attaining adequate funding to return to the community to do longitudinal work, and finding appropriate means through which to engage in dialectical theory building in a cross-cultural environment where language barriers and high cost of interpreters and translators can impede follow-up activities.

7.2 Preparing for Follow-up in Cape Dorset

After leaving Cape Dorset in August of 1996, I returned to the Natural Resources Institute in Winnipeg. Quickly I became swept up in student life, scrambling to get papers done, and Cape Dorset seemed to fade into the background.

My return south after an intense summer in Cape Dorset, brought many issues to the surface related to the ideology of collaborative research, particularly the pitfalls which I encountered by trying to do collaborative work in the Canadian Arctic in the context of my role as a university graduate student (see Lapadat and Janzen 1994). My time commitments to the community and the rigour of university life seemed to be in conflict, and quickly I began to wonder how effective collaborative research would ultimately be for southern university students with a desire to do social science research in the North, as a result of the physical and cultural isolation between each environment.

It was, however, evident that I should continue my investigation into how collaborative processes continued after the community-based stages. I wished to attempt building dialectical theory with Cape Dorset participants, however, I knew that many challenges lay ahead in terms of negotiating my return to the community in light of school commitments and funding, and in finding appropriate and effective ways to get the participants to engage in follow-up activities.

7.2.1 Preliminary Data Analysis of Collaborative Processes in Cape Dorset

In recognizing the need to begin dialectical theory building with community participants, I began by drafting a re-construction of my experiences in the role of external researcher in Cape Dorset. While reconstructing the events of the Mallik Island Park study, the use of a constant comparative method (Kirby and McKenna 1989) helped me to begin building grounded theory which highlighted, from my perspective, the relevant themes which arose while using the collaborative methodology in community-based research in Nunavut¹³.

In December of 1995, the preliminary narrative was complete, and a review by an external

¹³See Chapter two for a description of methods.

thesis committee was conducted which helped me in my data analysis efforts. At this meeting I presented some ideas about how I might begin to present the work to community participants and engage in dialectical theory building during my trip back to Cape Dorset the following February.

By January of 1996, I had set some specific objectives for my return trip to the community.

They were:

- (1) To interview the research participants in order to explore their experiences throughout the Mallik Island Park Study and the collaborative research process.
- (2) To present interested participants with my case narrative and encourage feedback regarding my perception of events which had occurred throughout the project.
- (3) To give an oral presentation and slide show to the CDSC and the Hamlet Council, regarding the use of collaborative methodologies in Nunavut communities, using the Mallik Island Park study as an example.
- (4) To conduct a meeting with the CDSC, Hamlet Council and Renewable Resources, to generate a list of principles and guidelines for future research in Cape Dorset.
- (5) To conduct educational outreach in the high school by giving students a presentation of my research, as well as the research that the MIRT conducted on community attitudes towards the development of Mallik Island as a Territorial park.

In preparing to go back to Cape Dorset, I began to design an interview schedule for data collection. Through the use of the interactive interview (Oakley 1984), I designed questions to generate discussion between myself and the participants regarding their experiences throughout the research process.

7.3 Returning to Cape Dorset, February 1996

On February 8th, I returned to the community of Cape Dorset to conduct follow-up on the Mallik Island Park study and research on community participant's perceptions of the collaborative research experience of the past summer.

7.31 Presenting the Case Narrative to Research Participants

David Patrick and Timoon Alariaq were the two English speaking members of the CDSC who I thought might be interested in reading and commenting on the case narrative, so I decided to approach each of them with a copy of the work I had completed. While meeting with David,

he agreed to read the document and seemed very interested in what I had done.

After a fast read through the document, he informed me that he had gotten a better sense of why I was so interested in studying the process of using participatory research (field notes, February 9th).

7.311 Reciprocity as a Way to Validation: David made comments about some of my observations dealing primarily with my perceptions of power within the CDSC. In my initial draft I had suggested that there was a certain "power play" happening on the CDSC, where meetings seemed to be dominated by specific member's agendas. David refuted my perception of the social power structure on the CDSC and asked me to discuss my thoughts about power. After listening to my response he pointed out that, from his perspective, power works at a different level in Inuit culture, even on contemporary committee structures, such as the CDSC. The following is an excerpt from that conversation.

Shannon: I'm interested in how decisions were really being made on the CDSC. I couldn't get a sense of it because of my inexperience with the group and the language barrier of course, but I felt that certain members were not as much in control as others?

David: Pitaloosie and Mangitak always speak out if they have any significant disagreements with something that is going on.

"Power" is an interesting concept. What is it? Different people will define and think about power differently.

David: Who do you think held the most power on the committee? (*looking at me for an answer*).

Shannon: Timoon?

David: While he is the chair of the committee, I would disagree and say Pitaloosie. She may have been the most quiet when you were in there,but I think....and I think other people would agree, that she held in many ways the most power (February 9th, field journal).

Discussing group dynamics with David, who is involved with the CDSC on a regular basis lent some interesting insights from his perspective, into my perceptions of leadership and group dynamics on the CDSC. It was my perception that the one female member of the CDSC, Pitaloosie, was in the background and I wondered now whether it was my tendency, coming from a southern feminist perspective to look at many situations of power from

different perspectives, including gender dynamics. David highlighted that power in Inuit culture, from his perspective as a Qallunaat administrator, was based more on age and prestige in the community than it was along gender lines. I wondered how Pitaloosie would react to my perception.

Listening to David's perception on the decision-making processes and the power dynamic on the CDSC made me realize that some of the underlying assumptions which I brought to the table in negotiation may have been influencing the manner in which I saw Pitaloosie's and Timoon's roles respectively. From my perspective, I saw a woman who was rather quiet and who did not seem to me to assert a firm decision-making presence during our meetings. I had made the assumption that gender inequity was occurring on the CDSC. This was no doubt being informed by my biases as a southern female researcher, concerned with gender politics and the role of women in contemporary Inuit culture and society.

From David's perspective, Pitaloosie holds a considerable amount of influence on the committee. She is a well respected elder and print artist in the community who apparently wields a fair amount of power in the community as an informal leader and as a CDSC member. In asking David for his opinion, however, I realized that I was getting an "intimate outsider's" perspective. I recognized that I could have asked other members the same question and received a much different response.

David made an interesting observation about the process from his perspective as Community Development officer. He stated that, although he was very pleased with the collaborative approach to research, the methodology did put increased demands in terms of time commitment and financial resources, on the community and on his job as Community Development Coordinator (field notes, Feb. 9th, 1996). As well, David provided critical reflection about the use and potential abuse of the collaborative methodology, and validated one on my assumptions that the success of many collaborative research endeavours will be based on contextual factors, including the effectiveness of the community group, the personality and ability of the researcher to work in a cross-cultural environment, as well as the genuineness of the researcher (field notes, Feb 9th, 1996). As Castleden states in his experiences of the collaborative research process,

The researcher must have a profound faith in the people with whom he or she is working, a faith that Alinsky (1969) claims is essential in working with people in social change. Anything less is transparent and will be readily perceived as such by community researchers" (p.49).

7.312 Balancing Reciprocity and Theoretical Imposition: The Challenge of Dialectical Theory Building in a Cross-cultural Environment: The following Monday I interviewed Timoon Alariaq. At the beginning of the interview I told him that I had written up some of my preliminary findings about the process of working with the CDSC and the research trainees, and inquired as to whether he would be interested in reading the document. Timoon glanced at the work, handed it back to me, silent. He suggested we start the interview.

Cultural and social factors were weighing heavily upon my ability to achieve validity in this case. In Canadian Inuit communities, many of the adult population do not read or write English, and transmission of knowledge has traditionally been based on oral modes of communication. In reflecting upon attempting to get Timoon to comment on the text, the issue of how to achieve creative methodologies to facilitate the sharing of written information in a cross-cultural environment emerged.

At the time I knew that Timoon would be the only local CDSC participant likely to read my work, but due to his decision not to read the narrative, I realized that one of my only options, given the amount of time I had in the community, would be to attempt to verbally raise issues during the interview process.

In reflecting upon this process, I believe that given the context of each researcher's situation, it may not be possible for the researcher to get everyone's feedback. As well, the researcher should never have to coerce a participant to do so, as this would be counter-productive to the primary objective of the collaborative methodological approach. The process of getting community participants to review what is essentially very academic and potentially dry material presented many raises questions about how to obtain validity in the collaborative process in a cross-cultural situation.

7.4 Interviewing Community Participants: Exploring Participant's Reflections of Collaborative Research

The application of Oakley's (1984) interactive interview method was used to explore how the participants experienced the collaborative process of the research. In the case of David and Timoon, interviews were conducted in English. The interviews with Mangitak and Pitaloosie, were conducted in Inuktitut with the aid of a translator- interpreter, Geenie Manning (see Plate 7.1).

7.5 Community Participants Discuss Benefits of the Collaborative Methodology

Generally CDSC members gave positive feedback in support of the use of collaborative research in Cape Dorset. Responses, however, were diverse and highlighted specific aspects of the methodology's benefits.

Timoon identified the importance of the personal interaction as well as the consultation process which the collaborative methodology brought to the research process. Pitaloosie addressed the issue of participant learning as a result of the collaborative process. Mangitak felt the community members at large became a part of the project and that there was a high level of organization around the project. David used terms such as "ownership" and "action" and stated that there was a "tradeoff" in the research between "perceived" objectivity versus the "depth of understanding" and "gain in knowledge" which was achieved by participants and the community.

Timoon: I've never had the chance to work with researchers before.....I've never seen any other researchers or gotten to know researchers. Researchers don't consult normally and are not normally informative towards the community. It was a big difference to sit in a meeting with a researcher. And the average person in the community was informed about the Mallik research - not just the government officials (February 12, 1996).

Pitaloosie (Geenie): She was very pleased with the way it went, um, the progress went well, the research process was very well organized. She learned some things that otherwise she would not have learned. She was pleased with the way it went.

She likes the approach that you used because if

someone were to come up and do research and not involve the community at all and just leave without informing the community about what discoveries had been found with that research then it's not worth it to the community,..... it's nothing. The people from the community don't benefit from that research. So, she's pleased with the approach that you take because you come back to the community and you involve the community. You keep the community informed of the progress of the research and the members and former members involved. She feels that the approach that you take is the right approach (February 13, 1996).

Mangitak (Geenie): Well he wants to tell you that of all the research he's ever known to be conducted in the North, this is the most organized and, it went a whole lot better than a lot of research which has been done. And, he also mentioned that there was more community involvement in the research and more interviews with the local people as well in regards to the making of Mallikjuaq park or what's going to become of it (February 13, 1996).

David: I swear to God,... I haven't had dealings with a lot of researchers, but with the ones I have had contact with in the last couple of years, I really think that this experience was good and the approach should be used as a model in the future. What it really does, aside from requiring a more active interface with the community, is it also gives the community ownership of the project and eh, that has a lot of benefits. The community feels a part of it - feels that they've requested and initiated the actions. You've taken a situation where you have a goal of conducting some research and you've turned it into something worthwhile for the community as well, instead of it being just one sided. So, eh, in those terms I think it was excellent.

It also eh,builds a much better network and working linkages with the community. And while there's a tradeoff I guess with eh, perceived objectivity of the researcher, I think the gain in knowledge by the community and the depth of understanding is well worth the tradeoff (February 16, 1996).

7.6 CDSC Members Discuss Participation

An interesting theme which kept emerging throughout the process of the entire research project, was the issue of "participation" and to what extent it occurred in reality. Participatory, action and collaborative methodologies are aimed at facilitating the

Plate 7.1



Shannon and interpreter, Geenie Manning, February 1996



Shannon and Mangitak Kellypalik (former CDSC member) Feb 1996.

empowerment of the "researched" to various degrees where participants become researchers and begin to transform fundamental societal structures (Maguire 1987; Ryan and Robinson 1991).

During each interview I asked each participant to describe how they felt about the level of participation achieved in the process. I wanted each participant to speak freely about their individual experiences in the research process.

Timoon: Yes, I feel I was given lots of opportunity to cooperate.....like in terms of discussing the subject of research - I was able to say what I thought was important. That was very important to me. It made me feel more comfortable about the research (February 12, 1996).

Pitaloosic (Geenie): Although the project went really well, eh, there was more that could have been done. Like eh, you were the principle investigator and there was a lot to do, but there's still more that could have been done. The research trainees came to you for guidance and suggestions or advice or whatever. The committee was there and um, but if there was more investigation than the committee could have asked the people of the community as to what really should be researched and what ideas they had. We should have dug deeper into it.

She's concerned that the members of the committee were not too,.....how do you put it? The research project was not their main concern. They didn't put their all into it because they were committed to other organizations or they had to do something for their families, or they had other concerns that were occupying their minds. And they didn't put as much of themselves into this project as they could have. So, that was another area where improvements could have been made (February 13, 1996).

Mangitak (Geenie): He was pleased with the way it was prepared and he was pleased with the way he was involved. Because he was so involved, he now knows a lot more about the project, whereas if he hadn't been too involved, or nobody had involved him or there was little involvement,..then he wouldn't know as much about it. He was involved with the preparatory stages and the execution of the project and so he was pleased (February 13, 1996).

David: I think that, um.....my role (*as Community Development Director*) in many ways was more demanding than if a traditional research approach was used. You required much more of me than other researchers who come in here. But I think it's much more gratifying as well, and I bought into the ownership and became defensive of the process of the project as well.

I think for this type of research to be effectively conducted, anywhere, it requires some key local contact - someone who is credible. I trust that I served that role for you (February 16, 1996).

As David mentioned, in this case the use of the collaborative methodology can put increased stress on community members who would normally just observe research activities. He actualized this in our conversation in stating that I demanded more energy as a collaborative researcher than the traditional researcher, who would remain distant from the workings of local government and not actively participate in community activities within a defined role. He countered this, however, by mentioning that he, once subjected to my approach in the research process, "bought into the process" of research; becoming a believer in the methodology and therefore did all he could to defend it's workings.

Pitaloosie aired a sense of frustration that increased participation could have been achieved at the negotiation stage in terms of involving more people in the decision making and thus increase participation of the CDSC in the research process.

7.7 Community Participants Discuss Limitations of Collaborative Methodology

Another area of interest which arose from the narrative that needed further inquiry in the interviews with individual participants was further investigation of each person's perception of the limitations of the collaborative process. As a primary investigator I had spent considerable energy thinking about the successes and roadblocks which occurred within the context of the Cape Dorset project. I wondered, however, if participant's saw this differently and what factors, be they cultural or otherwise, were influencing their perceptions of the collaborative process. Below are responses to a question relating to what they felt were weaknesses in the process and retrospectively what they would have done differently.

Mangitak (Geenie): The only area where he would have seen where it could have gone better, because it really, it ran so

well, ...the only area where it could have gone better is more community involvement because it is just going to continue to grow and people are going to see money making opportunities in the future with regards to tourism and people will take advantage of those opportunities for themselves. He would have liked to see more locals involved with this project (February 13, 1996)

Pitaloosie (Geenie): She said, eh, there was one thing that disturbed everyone - that was the removal of one of the trainees. Eh, in the future if there was going to be any more research done then she would suggest that the research trainees that are hired not be too young and have some knowledge of the Inuit way of life and the traditions and that they are able to identify the stuff that Inuit say - they must understand the Inuit language.

It's good that these young people get involved, but it would be good to hire older research trainees. And if you had more time that would be better too (February 13, 1996).

David: The only thing that I think would probably be done.....I think you needed more time.....to conduct the project. And I think if we were to do it again, I would spend more time with the community, or eh, the subcommittee and encourage the subcommittee to publicize it more than it actually was. You did a pretty good job, and I don't think that the committee did a good enough job to let the community know what was going on. I think that more awareness in the community, probably.....and that didn't seem so apparent then, but understanding what you're doing now, it would have been a lot more beneficial for the community to understand it then.

....Yes, probably I would have had the committee go onto the radio much more andpublicize it and let them know that.....eh, there was some, but I think there could have been more (February 16, 1996).

The responses of participants seemed to correlate to issues which I had identified in my preliminary analysis, including the amount of time which a collaborative researcher needs to effectively use the methodology in the community, as well as the challenge of the emerging multiple roles of the external researcher, particularly in a cross-cultural setting where language barriers and cross-cultural differences place additional challenge to doing research.

7.8 Making Research Accessible to the Community

Follow up is a process whereby the researcher returns to the community to present the findings of their research in a culturally appropriate manner to relevant groups, committees and the general public. Follow up allows interested community members to review the research findings and provide critical feedback if needed. It also provides an educational opportunity for many members of the community, especially for the younger generations.

7.81 *Cape Dorset Participants Discuss their Attitudes Towards "Research"*

Unfortunately, Inuit across Canada have commonly raised concerns about the elusive nature of most researchers in their communities when it comes to doing follow up (Flaherty 1995; ITC 1994). This concern was raised by the research participants in Cape Dorset during interviews, when I asked each to discuss the collaborative research experience in light of past research projects conducted with the use of a traditional methodology.

Timoon: Usually what I hear from researchers is "May I come in.....?"and then, "Thank you very much". So most of the time you don't meet them or see them while they're here - only at the beginning and at the end (February 12, 1996).

Pitaloosie (Geenie): The other researchers that have come up here in the past just went about their business and didn't bother to do any interviews with the elders of the community.

The strangers will be here one day and the next they're gone - before you know it they are gone, and you don't even know, you have no idea what they were up here for. Although there was a mention of research or a project before we even know that it began - its over (February 13, 1996)!

Mangitak (Geenie): ...And eh, as for other researchers like, there's never been involvement in preparatory stages before,so they didn't know what was being researched or what was done.

I can think right now of three occasions where three people came up to do interviews.....or he has had a lot of interviews....but he can think of three, where he was asked questions and pictures were taken and he was promised that the interviews would be sent back with the pictures and he never saw them again. Never even saw the documents of the research (February 13, 1996).

The use of collaborative, participatory and action methodologies seek to mitigate the problems

around the lack of communication and partnership between researchers and community members prevalent in positivist approaches in research, particularly surrounding follow up activities. For example, towards the end of the Mallik Island Park Study, the CDSC inquired as to when I would return to give them my final comments regarding the Park Study and my own research concerning our experiences using the collaborative approach in research. Using the collaborative methodology seemed to make the CDSC feel comfortable in inquiring as to when I would be coming back. They were setting the agenda and demanding specific commitments within the research process.

7.82 Meeting and Group Discussion with CDSC, Renewable Resources, Hunter's and Trapper's Association (HTA) and Mayor Qavavau

When I arrived in Cape Dorset in February, I had plans to give presentations to the Hamlet Council, the CDSC¹⁴, Peter Pitseolak High school and Arctic College (see Plate 7.3). My goal in meeting with Council and CDSC members was to give them an overview of the research I had conducted on the uses of collaborative methodologies, using the Mallik Island Park Study as an example. Furthermore, I wished to provide the community with some sort of result from my work which would be practical and useful, but related to the purpose and objective of my study. I decided that it would be interesting to get the group discussing what they could do to promote better linkages between community leaders and external researchers. From the discussion, a set of guiding principles for research could be generated and be used to foster better research experiences in the future for Cape Dorset residents. I decided it would be useful for the Renewable Resources officer, Andrew Keim, and the HTA president, Goo Pootoogoo, to attend, seeing as they would be dealing with any land-based researchers coming through the community.

I met with the invited participants on the morning of February 14th at the Hamlet Chambers (see Plate 7.2). At the meeting, I thanked the community for their work and input on the project, and proceeded to discuss the process which the community went through using

¹⁴The original members of the CDSC which I had worked with the previous summer had left office on January 1st, 1996. A new group of individuals had been voted onto the CDSC and were not familiar with my work.

Plate 7.2



Meeting with CDSC, MIRT, Mayor Qavavau and Renewable Resources, February 1996

Plate 7.3



Standing with Mayor Akalayak Qavavau, February 1996



Follow up with Arctic College Students, February 1996

collaborative research as it pertained to the Mallik Island Park study. I talked about the benefits of the approach as well as its limitations in the context of the Cape Dorset work.

After the presentation the group discussed directions for developing better communication between researchers and community groups. The following issues were identified during our discussion:

- Researchers often do not contact the appropriate community representatives before they start their research.
- Documentation doesn't always reach the community once the research is completed.
- When documentation does reach the community, sometimes it doesn't get read because it doesn't get distributed or it's not in a format which people can understand.
- Often local people are not asked to participate in research.
- Sometimes artifacts are taken from the community by researchers.
- Research is beneficial to our cultural and environmental well-being.
- Research must involve the elders.
- Community-based organizations, such as Community Development and Renewable Resources have to cooperate and make linkages about the research which is being done in the community.

During this meeting I had hoped to take the identified issues and ask the group if they could come up with a set of solutions to the issues raised, recognizing that research remained beneficial to the well-being of Cape Dorset culture and surrounding environment.

Unfortunately, the meeting was cut short and we were not able to do so. As a result, I asked the group if I could draw up a list of identified issues and provide suggested solutions for each and send it back to the community.

It felt extremely rewarding to be back in the community presenting my work and the results of the Mallik Island Park Study to various community leaders. What made it so rewarding I think, is that the community felt a sense of ownership over the Mallik Island Park Study. We had accomplished the work together as a team and I believe my follow up report gave the community a sense of satisfaction in their contributions to the work.

7.83 Ethical Challenges: Dealing with Pitfalls During Follow-up

On February 15th, I spent the entire day at Peter Pitseolak High school talking to Grade nine, ten and eleven classes, as well as an Arctic College class, about the experiences of the Mallik Island Research Team (see Plate 7.3). I had planned to give the same slide presentation to the students as I had to the group of community leaders the previous day, but to focus on the work of the research trainees and the educational aspects of that experience.

I was rather nervous and uncomfortable about this part of the follow up trip, because I would be facing two of the research trainees who I had worked with the previous summer, one of whom I had decided to let go part way through the summer field season. I had intended to talk to PPO before the classroom presentations, but had unfortunately missed all opportunities to do so. I ended up giving the presentation in front of PPO and his classmates.

I felt awful about this because I was putting PPO in a position where he may have experienced embarrassment and humiliation in front of his class mates. He seemed to be OK about it, but nonetheless I could not be certain of his feelings and was mortified that this was occurring. This is just one of the few challenges of the realities of using alternative approaches. You open yourself and the participants up to a new set of pressures in the research process where there exists the potential for a new kind of marginalization. The events which surrounded the dismissal of PPO from the research team remained a central aspect of the methodology's challenges, in terms of the relationship between the external researcher and community researchers, and as was the case, the external researcher's role as research coordinator.

7.9 Wrapping up the Mallik Island Research Project

The community-based research surrounding the Mallik Island Park Study had essentially been completed in July 1995 (see Appendix C for final report), however, the collaborative research process would continue into the summer of 1996, with the completion of this document.

When I returned to the Cape Dorset in February 1996, I wondered what the CDSC thought about the completed report. Did they feel that it was a credible piece of work that they could use in support of the park's implementation on Mallik Island? Did they feel they wanted to

act on the suggested recommendations? At this point, I was uncertain of my role as the external researcher and when I should assume the role was extinct.

After my presentation to the CDSC and other community representatives on the 14th of February, I addressed the issue of wrap up with David Patrick. As Community Development Director and only remaining member of the Mallik Island Park Study participant group, he was able to give me an indication of how the community wished to proceed with the development of Mallik Island as a Territorial park.

David informed me that the completed research report gave the CDSC the answers they needed in order to support the establishment of the park, and that it would be tabled at a public meeting as research conducted on behalf of the community to explore resident attitudes towards park development on Mallik Island. He felt that the additional recommendations to come out of the study would provide the community with further ideas for research once the park was established. He stated that it was now up to the community to take the work that we had completed and implement it as they saw fit, and that my role as external researcher had been complete (field notes, February 16th).

In retrospect, the process of doing community-based research with the CDSC and MIRT group had ended for the community when I left the previous summer. My return visit to the community to conduct follow-up was complete and I had collected more participant perceptions of the collaborative process in order to help me produce an dialectical narrative and overview of the collaborative process in Cape Dorset. My role as external researcher in the collaborative process was winding down.

On the morning of the 16th, David drove me to the airport and we waited in the truck for the steward to wave people on to the plane. We chatted about the successes and challenges of the project and wondered what the following summer would bring Cape Dorset in terms of research. We shook hands, and waved goodbyes as I walked for the plane. I wondered when I would see Cape Dorset again.

7.10 An Overview of Follow up in Cape Dorset

Conducting follow-up in Cape Dorset, when I returned to the community after the completion of the project to report preliminary findings to key members of the community who had been involved in the research or who now held positions on relevant committees, facilitated the incorporation of community participant's attitudes and perceptions of the collaborative process. As well, my return to the community and the sharing of results with participant's allowed me the opportunity to attempt validation of preliminary findings and to build dialectical theory with those interested (Lather 1986).

Conducting follow-up research in a cross-cultural environment presented challenges to the external researcher. Language barriers and the style in which the narrative was written inhibited participant accessibility and presented challenges to working dialectically with all participants, especially the Inuk participants for whom English was a second language or who did not speak or read English.

Benefits highlighted by community participants included: increased community participation in research, community control of information, increased accessibility to decision-making in research as well as the increased educational benefit for participants and community members (field notes/transcripts, February 1996). Limitations of the methodology raised by community participants included: time commitment of the external researcher, the contextual sensitivity of the methodology, greater strain on community participants in terms of time commitment than with positivist investigation, managing sensitive personal matters, commitment of community researchers, and their ability to speak and understand Inuktitut.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DOING COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH IN NUNAVUT: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations.

This chapter concludes an analysis of collaborative research in Cape Dorset by highlighting the benefits, challenges and limitations of using an alternative methodology as identified from the perspective of both the external researcher and community participants. First, a general discussion of the collaborative research process is summarized within each of the four stages of the methodology highlighting the roles and processes used by the external researcher. Benefits and limitations of the collaborative methodology are then noted as they pertain to the multiple roles and social location of the external researcher, and community participants. Finally, personal reflections regarding the use of the methodology in Cape Dorset are described along with suggested recommendations for future study of alternative postpositivist methodologies in the Nunavut region.

8.1 Collaborative Research in Nunavut: A Summary of the Cape Dorset Case Study

As the use of alternative methodologies, including collaborative research, is being demanded by Aboriginal people in the Canadian north, one realizes that very little is known about their functional processes, particularly in the context of collaborative research done by external researchers from the south, where distance and conflicting demands on the external researcher seem to present the highest degree of risk for the community participants (Lapadat and Janzen 1994). In recent years investigations into methodological process in the Canadian North have begun to surface within academic literature (see Castleden 1992; Ryan and Robinson 1992; Lapadat and Janzen 1994; Archibald and Crnkovich 1995), where reconstructions and critical analysis of collaborative and participatory processes offer insight into the sub-processes, challenges and limitations of using alternative methodologies.

This study has sought to provide social scientists and communities in the Nunavut region with an account of a university student's experiences using a collaborative methodology during a community-based research project in Cape Dorset, NT. Measured attitudes, perceptions and reflections of the collaborative methodological experience in Cape Dorset demonstrate that collaborative research methodologies have the ability to work effectively in conjunction with evolving community-based self government processes in the Nunavut region. Furthermore, the use of collaborative research methodologies in the Nunavut region work to elevate community participants from the position of "the researched" to the position of "researcher" and decision-makers in the research process.

At a theoretical level, positive results evolved from the use of the collaborative methodology. There did exist, however, contextual challenges and limitations which occurred as a result of self imposed time constraints and cross-cultural factors which were unique to the Cape Dorset case study. As a result, one can only conclude that it is impossible to discuss collaborative methodologies from purely a theoretical perspective (Tandon in Maguire 1987).

The alternative methodology utilized in Cape Dorset was characterized largely by it's collaborative nature, whereby the external researcher used a participatory approach with a number of community members and organizations in setting research objectives, participating in research design, data collection and the dissemination of findings (Lapadat and Janzen 1994). This alliance presented challenges as a result of cross-cultural factors, including language barriers, time constraints and multiple roles of the external researcher.

This study addressed two questions: First, the community-based research project was concerned with community attitudes towards park development on Mallik Island. This component of the study evolved as a result of the collaborative approach employed in Cape Dorset (refer to Appendix C for Park Study). The second component, and focus of this practicum has been an analysis of the benefits, limitations and challenges of using the collaborative approach of inquiry in community-based research.

The process of engaging in collaborative research in Cape Dorset can be broken down into four primary stages (see Figure 8.1):

- 1. making contact
- 2. building collaborative frameworks for research
- 3. doing community-based research with local people
- 4. conducting follow up in the community

Each stage occurred within unique spatial, temporal and political contexts over a two year period. These stages, similar to those identified by Castleden (1992), emerged as categories as a result of the collaborative research process, but within each stage emergent characteristics were linked to the working of the methodology and cross-cultural factors. The external researcher took on multiple roles at various stages of the research process which presented logistical and theoretical challenges to the collaborative process (see Castleden 1992; Maguire 1987). Each of the four collaborative stages are discussed below as they relate to methodological and social theory.

8.11 Stage One: Making Contact

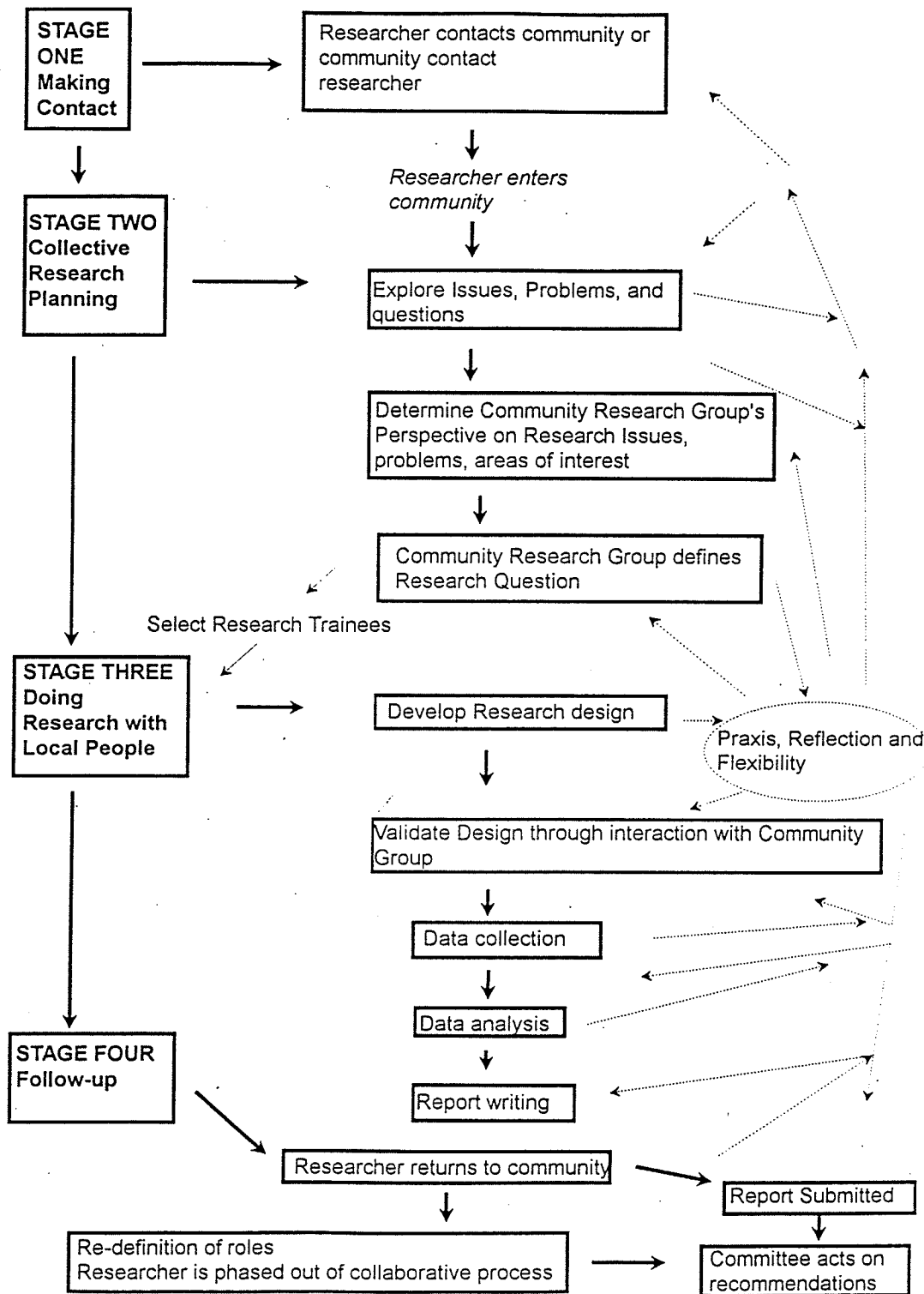
The collaborative research process, in the case of Cape Dorset, began with "making contact" (see Chapter four). Making contact begins either when a community contacts a researcher or research organization to achieve a set of research objectives, or when an external researcher or research organization contacts a community organization with the aim of working collaboratively on a community-based research project, defined and driven by community needs and interest (Maguire 1984).

"Making contact" should begin well in advance of the external researcher's arrival to give the community group enough time to make an informed decision about whether they wish to participate in the research. Initiating the "making contact" stage well in advance is important in the Nunavut region in that the researcher needs to give her or himself enough time to attain community approval necessary to receive proper research licensing from the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI).

8.12 Stage Two: Building Collaborative Frameworks with the CDSC

Once the external researcher and community participants have identified the need for research and come to an agreement on the role of the external researcher, the process of working

Figure 8.1
Collaborative Research Process



collectively to identify research objectives begins. The identification of the research objectives is a dynamic process which will be unique given the context of the research environment. Through collective discussion, pertinent issues are raised and the external researcher works to achieve "research as praxis" (Lather 1984) in which linkages are made between issues and problems, theory and research practice.

In the case of Cape Dorset, the identification of research objectives was facilitated through a local committee called the Community Development Subcommittee (CDSC), which provided a structured forum to discuss research possibilities (see Chapter five). A series of four meetings with the CDSC took place over a six week period. The collective research planning process worked to raise issues relevant to the CDSC, including the role of tourism and parks in community development and the preservation of traditional knowledge. As issues were raised my role as the external researcher was to help make linkages between the specific context of each issue to larger debates in northern social science, including: the importance of Inuit participation in rural planning; the role of parks in natural resources management, heritage protection, sustainable development and the role of traditional knowledge in contemporary Inuit culture.

8.13 Stage Three: Doing Community-based Research with Local People

In the third stage of collaborative research, the external researcher works with local people to conduct the research project, including data collection, data analysis and compiling research findings. In the case of Cape Dorset, the external researcher took on multiple roles, including research coordinator, facilitator, trainer and participant observer. This stage in the collaborative process was highly complex, where the movement into multiple roles with the MIRT put a high degree of stress on the external researcher. Conflicts arose where the external researcher struggled with methodological purity during data analysis (Maguire 1987), intra-group dynamics (Castleden 1992), the conflict between the needs of the community, the overarching principles of the collaborative methodology and the time constraints related to the duration of the community-based component (Lapadat and Janzen 1994).

8.14 Stage Four: Doing Follow-up in Cape Dorset

Conducting community-based follow-up is an important aspect of collaborative research. Follow-up facilitates the community's involvement in the data validation process, where

research findings are reflected upon and discussed. During follow-up a re-definition of roles takes place between the community group and researcher, where the researcher is phased out of the process. Follow-up is an essential means for drawing the collaborative process to a conclusion, enabling the participants to reflect upon the process of collaborative research.

In the case of Cape Dorset, I returned to the community six months after the community-based research project had ended to discuss my perceptions of the collaborative methodology in terms of how it had been implemented, utilized and received by community participants (see Chapter seven). During the follow-up visit the participants explored their attitudes towards the Mallik Island Park Study and the collaborative research methodology used to complete the study. Reports were given to the Hamlet council and new CDSC, and an opportunity was presented for those interested, to give feedback about the collaborative research findings. Finally, I returned to Peter Pitseolak High school to talk to students about the previous summer's project and the results of community participation in research.

Geographical isolation, the high cost of travel to Arctic communities from the south and limited access to funding for field research may, as in this case, present challenges to the external researcher attempting to conduct follow-up with community participants.

8.2 Identified Benefits of the Collaborative Research Methodology in Cape Dorset

Benefits of the collaborative methodology, as experienced and identified by the external researcher and research participants throughout the process of collaborative research in Cape Dorset included its ability to:

- (1) Facilitate "meaningful" research objectives for community research participants.
- (2) Facilitate a link between traditional knowledge and western science.
- (3) Support self government structures currently evolving in Nunavut.
- (4) Facilitate meaningful Inuit participation in research.
- (5) Teach the external researcher about him or herself.

8.21 *Meaningful Research Objectives*

The underlying values and ideologies which drive alternative methodological processes are based on the belief that research must be useful, meaningful and offer an interactive

experience for research participants to facilitate positive social change (Brown and Tandon 1983; Maguire 1987). The collaborative methodology used by the external researcher and community participants in Cape Dorset worked to identify a set of research objectives which facilitated the evolution of a useful and pertinent project for the community. The identification of the Mallik Island Park study by the CDSC helped the group gauge resident attitudes towards a government development initiative which had been negotiated with the community, but over which the community was now experiencing some doubt and uncertainty.

8.22 Links Between Traditional Knowledge and Western Science

Collaborative methodologies aim to create bi-cultural research models which recognize "other ways of knowing" about the world (Freeman in Berkes (ed) 1989; Colorado 1991). Inuit elders have retained a great deal of traditional knowledge about life before modern Arctic settlement. This knowledge of Arctic environments and traditional Inuit culture is in danger of being lost, as younger generations lose Inuktitut language and lifestyle.

The interactive nature of the collaborative methodology in Cape Dorset facilitated the evolution of a traditional knowledge study concerning traditional place names on Mallik Island. The collaborative methodology facilitated the involvement of elders on the CDSC who identified this component of the study and were able to advise the MIRT on ways to collect data effectively.

8.23 Collaboration Supports Self-government Principles in Cape Dorset

The collaborative methodology was effectively facilitated through the CDSC committee structure which was recently implemented in Cape Dorset as part of the Community Transfer Initiative (CTI), a joint policy initiative between the Nunavut Implementation Committee and the Government of the Northwest Territories (see Chapter Three). The existence of the CDSC enabled the external researcher to implement the collaborative methodology within the context of local government and provided the researcher and CDSC members representing Inuit in the community with a structured environment through which to conceptualize and facilitate the Mallik Island Park Study.

8.24 Meaningful Inuit Participation in Research

Community researchers and CDSC members identified aspects of the collaborative approach used in Cape Dorset which were meaningful to them. These included; participant learning, personal interactions with the external researcher, public consultation, achieving a depth of understanding about the process of research, normally inaccessible to local peoples, community ownership of the project and building strong networks between the researcher and the community. One participant stated, "It made me feel more comfortable about the research".

Conducting research in Inuktitut, although presenting challenges to the comfort level of the unilingual external researcher, presented participants with a greater sense of control and ownership over the research process (Archibald and Crnkovich 1995), where it was noted that Inuktitut speaking individuals who participated in the community survey regarding Mallik Island were pleased to be asked questions by an Inuktitut speaking researcher.

8.25 Teaching External Researchers About Themselves

Collaborative approaches use methods which come from a postpositivist tradition where tools such as reflexivity and flexibility help the external researcher to develop an understanding of his or her social location in the research process and how his or her influence as an external researcher effects the actions of research participants and the events which unfold during research (Maguire 1987; Castleden 1992; Archibald and Crnkovich 1995; Ristock 1996).

In the case of Cape Dorset, the interactive and collective nature of the collaborative methodology helped me to understand that there existed a much higher level of knowledge and resourcefulness amongst community members with respect to "doing research" than I was initially aware. This was demonstrated, for example, at CDSC meeting #3, when elders highlighted specific concerns over the research design and the incorporation of traditional knowledge into the survey. I developed, while in the community, a profound faith in the abilities and knowledge of CDSC and MIRT members, essential in working towards social change with the community of Cape Dorset.

8.3 Identified Limitations of the Collaborative Research Methodology in Cape Dorset

Throughout the collaborative research process in Cape Dorset, limitations and challenges of the methodology were identified and discussed between the external researcher and community participants. The root of the identified limitations in this case, were linked in many instances to the conflict between the social location of the external researcher, specifically with regards to the conflict between university student life and obligations to the community. The identified limitations relate to the larger challenges of cross-cultural research, including time constraints related to working with local researchers and language barriers (Lapadat and Janzen 1994). "To collaborate, co-researchers need time, they need to develop trust, and they have to be prepared to offer long-term commitment" (p.81).

A number of limitations and difficulties related to the use of a collaborative methodology in Cape Dorset were identified by the external researcher and community participants. They are summarized as:

- (1) Language as a cross cultural barrier
- (2) Time limitations of doing graduate studies research on collaborative processes
- (3) Difficulties with conflicting and multiple roles of the external researcher
- (4) Theoretical Imposition
- (5) "Keeping the faith" in collaborative methodologies

8.31 *Language as a Cross-cultural Barrier*

The most obvious limitation of the collaborative methodology was the language barrier which exists for an external researcher from the dominant southern culture doing work in Nunavut. The challenge of being a non-Inuktitut researcher emerged at all stages of the research process, particularly during the third stage, where the external researcher was working with local people in conducting the data collection.

Language in cross-cultural collaborative research is the medium through which many challenges in relation to the identity and social location arise, both for participants and the external researcher (see Castleden 1992; Archibald and Crnkovich 1995). Being a non-Inuktitut speaking researcher presented the author with personal challenges in terms of "feeling out of control" of the process, particularly where inter and intra-group dynamics arose when working with the Mallik Island Research Team.

8.32 Time Limitations of Doing Graduate Studies Research on Collaborative Processes

The time needed to complete the four outlined stages of collaborative research spanned a two year period during the completion of my Master's degree at the University of Manitoba. It became apparent at an early date that juggling university obligations and doing collaborative research with Cape Dorset residents was not only difficult, but in conflict with the time frame indicated in theoretical models of collaboration present in the literature (see Maguire 1987; Castleden 1992; Lapadat and Janzen 1994).

The four stages of collaborative research were time consuming and involved working around the schedules of committees, informal activities and events which took place in the community. From the case study, it became clear that fitting collaborative research into a prescribed time frame or "field season" proved problematic, because the external researcher could not predict in advance how long the process would take. This limitation remains pertinent within a Nunavut research context, particularly for university-based work, where short summer seasons in which most university field work is conducted puts time constraints on the research.

Time became most problematic in the Cape Dorset case study during the third stage at which point the researcher abandoned the collaborative process. Factors influencing this transition were related to the multiple roles taken on by the researcher and external factors taking place in the community. Creating an environment in which community researchers begin to assert independence in the research process takes time (Castleden 1992). In the case of Cape Dorset time constraints and the inexperience of the external researcher in areas of cross-cultural training and "education" prevented the Mallik Island Park study from becoming a purely collaborative project.

8.33 Conflicting and Multiple Roles of the External Researcher

Doing collaborative research demands that the external researcher take on multiple roles which at times may come into conflict both with each other and the goals of the methodology (Maguire 1987). Taking on multiple roles, however, is the reality of doing collaborative research, and for the process to remain manageable for the external researcher, it is important

to clarify these roles with the research participants at the beginning of the research process (Castleden 1992).

As the research process entered the third stage, the number of roles increased dramatically. In the case of Cape Dorset, the external researcher took on multiple roles, including sub-delegate to the CDSC, negotiator, facilitator, organizer, research coordinator, trainer and participant observer of the collaborative process. The process became very involved and required a fair amount of emotional energy on the part of the researcher.

8.34 *Theoretical Imposition*

From a critical standpoint, the very nature of the inquiry into the use of a collaborative methodology in Cape Dorset could be defined as theoretical imposition. As Maguire (1987) states regarding her work with battered women,

Conscientisation was my own agenda, not theirs (participants). This raises a basic issue with participatory research in that it assumes that people are oppressed and need to develop critical consciousness. Participatory research begins from a clear values position....Clearly the issues I chose to raise in discussions were based in part on my feminist belief that certain issues need to be addressed (p.190).

My previous experience using traditional approaches in social research in Cape Dorset and my discomfort with traditional methodologies influenced my decision to use a collaborative approach upon returning to the community. Throughout the collaborative research process, I struggled with "selling" the collaborative framework to participants. If they had shown a lack of interest in exploring the collaborative methodology my proposal for exploring the collaborative research would have been a failure.

8.35 *"Keeping the Faith" with Collaborative Methodologies*

Postpositivist methodologies are rarely applied to their utmost potential, as every situation in which they are utilized will present pitfalls which challenge successful and "ideal" implementation. As Tandon states,

Participatory research principles are not purist. You can't sit and wait for the ideal situation. Waiting to do it right is paralyzing (in Maguire, p.127).

Events in Cape Dorset verify Tandon's assertion regarding achieving theoretical purity. There were points during the collaborative process where the external researcher, both consciously and unconsciously, modified the methodology in order to maintain momentum in the research process, particularly where external factors placed constraints on the MIRT's activities in stage three of the research.

External to the workings of the methodology, environmental factors are constantly at work which shape the process of research. The external researcher must be flexible and reflective to accommodate the external and extraneous forces which challenge the implementation of a "pure" collaborative process. For example, a tragic death occurred in the community during data collection. The research trainees suggested it would be appropriate to stop all interviews until the following week, out of respect for the family and the grieving process of the entire community. This unforeseen event, was one of many which influenced the time frame of the research process, leaving only a week to complete the project. I had to be flexible to facilitate community needs which created increased time constraints. When it was appropriate to resume data collection, I decided to abandon the collaborative research process and take on the data analysis and report writing stages myself (see Chapter six) in order to meet both my own needs and the needs of the CDSC. The collaborative process of working through the data analysis and report writing with MIRT was abandoned.

One can conclude, therefore, that the importance of using alternative methodologies is not to focus on maintaining their theoretical purity (as Tandon asserts, a purist methodology does not exist), but to use them to the best of one's ability in support of the principles of an emancipatory social science (Lather 1986). Sometimes there is no way around the constraints placed on our work - whether, in this case, by self imposed constraints (i.e. unrealistic time frame) or by unforeseen constraints in the community (i.e. tragic events or challenging group dynamics) over which the researcher has no control.

8.4 Conclusion

Inuit participation in Arctic social science demands a new approach in research which addresses the inadequacies of positivist approaches. The Cape Dorset case study of collaborative research enabled an external researcher and community participants to build

collective ideas around the issue of Territorial park development within the framework of a community based set of decision makers. The CTI helped to facilitate the collaborative methodology, working in concert with the principles of postpositivist research. The use of a postpositivist approach in analyzing the effectiveness of collaborative research in Cape Dorset provided an opportunity for both participants and the external researcher to build theory which recognized and validated traditional and contemporary Inuit knowledge. The project conducted on community attitudes towards the development of a Territorial park on Mallik Island was identified by the CDSC as a meaningful project which would help them, if necessary, to validate community concerns over a the Territorial economic development initiative.

Collaborative research demands a higher level of commitment on behalf of the researcher and community members than does a traditional positivist methodology, however, the results of the research in this case produced practical results for the community where participants gained in their understanding of research. As one CDSC member stated,

While there's a tradeoff I guess with, "perceived" objectivity of the researcher, I think the gain in knowledge by the community and the depth of understanding is well worth the tradeoff (February 16, 1996).

Community participants offer context to the research question as a result of their organic knowledge of the culture, environment and economy of the research setting. This is important to building bi-cultural research models (Colorado 1991) between Inuit and non-Inuit scientists and to the development of an emancipatory social science (Lather 1986) in the Nunavut region. Community participants are more willing to absorb costs of research when they feel they have ownership of the research and feel they will benefit from it's process and results. It was estimated, for example, that the community of Cape Dorset donated approximately \$8,000 to the Mallik Island Park Study in the form of facility use, communications, wages and translation costs (D.Patrick, pers. comm., January 1996).

The external researcher offers community participants their skills in research and organization, and a possible link to a wider university community (Lapadat and Janzen 1994). This has the potential to be of great benefit to Arctic communities with regards to training in community-

based research, as well as in building long term relationships with researchers and university networks. In the case of Cape Dorset, communication with the Community Development Office is ongoing and have been deliberations over conference attendance in the south related to Aboriginal tourism and Inuit Studies.

Collaborative research in Cape Dorset provided the external researcher with many challenges, including the time constraints, taking on multiple roles, and the difficulties presented by not speaking Inuktitut. Cost of travel to Nunavut and the distance between southern based researchers and communities presents a problematic scenario for those interested in utilizing collaborative methodologies.

8.5 A Caveat: Final Reflections Regarding My Experiences Doing Collaborative Research in Cape Dorset

Upon beginning my investigation into the workings of alternative methodologies in the context of Arctic social sciences, university-based research in Nunavut, and the development of meaningful Inuit participation in research, I knew that somewhere and somehow there existed a better way to work in the process of research with Inuit communities.

My exploration into the theoretical nature of alternative methodologies, while providing me with the value base I needed to justify abandoning the "scientific method" as defined by positivism in social inquiry, left me with a new set of ethical challenges and questions about how to achieve what Lather (1986) names "research as praxis". According to Lather,

For praxis to be possible, not only must theory illuminate the lived experience of progressive social groups; it must also be illuminated by their struggles. Theory adequate to the task of changing the world must be open-ended, nondogmatic, informing, and grounded in the circumstances of everyday life; and moreover, it must be premised on a deep respect for the intellectual and political capacities of the dispossessed. This position has profound substantive and methodological implications for postpositivist, change-enhancing inquiry in the human sciences (p.262).

Lather's words address the critical question which has been asked throughout this inquiry, that being, in cross-cultural community-based research how do we achieve the goals of

emancipatory research? How do our actions in the community, our interpretation of events and our interactions with research participants effect shared findings? At what level can alternative methodologies in reality function in their efforts to address issues of power and social change?

In light of these comments, it should be noted that this narrative is the product of my interpretation of events in Cape Dorset. Perhaps in many ways my anxieties, biases and sometimes awkward feelings about working in another culture have shaped this narrative. I have tried to the best of my ability to validate ideas by checking back with the participants, however the challenges noted in the document have influenced the level of effectiveness at which this has occurred. As such, more time spent in the community would have been an asset. This personal confession in itself points to the challenges of doing good postpositivist research.

This study is not a recipe book for those interested in collaborative methodologies in Nunavut. Rather, it has attempted to raise important debates surrounding the need for "research as praxis" in Canada's eastern Arctic region, particularly as they pertain to Inuit participation in community-based scientific inquiry. It has raised questions surrounding the changing roles of the university-based social scientist doing research in the Arctic. For whom are we setting research objectives? How can we build positive links between universities and Arctic communities? Can methodology make a difference in the way we view and interact with the "other"? These results and findings only just begin to scratch the surface.

After having been privileged to explore the nature of using a postpositivist methodology with the community participants in Cape Dorset, I believe firmly that scientific inquiry by external researchers is only helpful to Inuit communities and organizations if, in the long run, Inuit communities are benefiting from process as well as results. This can only be accomplished through collaborative and participatory means of public participation in research. Altering our methodological approaches is a logical place to begin in building bridges to support meaningful Inuit participation in scientific inquiry.

8.6 Recommendations for Future Research

The process of examining the collaborative research process in Cape Dorset raised many questions, not only about how the collaborative methodology functioned in general, but also questions concerning the application of alternative approaches to methodology in Nunavut, specifically in the context of university-based application. Recognizing the outlined benefits and limitations to the use of collaborative methodologies as experienced in the Cape Dorset research, five recommendations for future research have been provided.

- Scientists must continue to document collaborative, participatory, and action research processes in the Nunavut area to provide a wider set of case studies for those interested in investigating the use of these methodologies. Specifically, solutions to overcome the challenges facing external researchers need continued exploration.
- In future case studies, external researchers interested in using collaborative methodologies should work in conjunction with an experienced and bilingual community researcher to manage problems which present challenges to the non-Inuktitut speaking researcher. A local researcher would also be in a position to carry on with research activities after the external researcher has left the community.
- Funding for local community-based researchers needs to be re-assessed by the Nunavut Research Institute in order to encourage local methods of inquiry and to promote research as a positive and useful employment opportunity for future generations in Nunavut.
- Exploration into the application of alternative methodologies in physical and biological scientific modes of inquiry as well as social sciences in Nunavut is needed, particularly where southern research objectives may coincide with the activities of Nunavut management structures or policy initiatives, such as the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board (NWMB) or the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS).
- Continued research is needed to build on existing links between the activities of southern based research organizations, universities, agencies, and organizations such as ACUNS (Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies), to northern institutions such as Arctic College and the Nunavut Research Institute. Continued strengthening of these linkages

will create more effective modes through which to discuss Inuit involvement in research and the challenges this can present north/south research interests in the Arctic.

- Comparative research on alternative methodologies should be conducted within the Circumpolar Arctic region to identify the cultural, political and environmental factors affecting the applicability and feasibility of using alternative approaches. Comparative results and data will be useful to organizations such as the Arctic Council which will be working to develop participatory approaches to Circumpolar cooperation and protection of the Arctic's cultural and physical environment.

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APPENDIX A

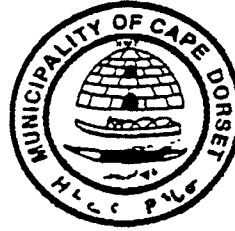
Municipality of Cape Dorset

H L C P L C

Cape Dorset, N.W.T. X0A 0C0

P L C A S S I O N

(819) 887-8896 Fax (819) 887-8476



Department of Community Development

March 28, 1995

Sharon Troke
Science Institute of the Northwest Territories
Box 1198
Iqaluit, Nunavut, NT X0A 0H0

Dear Sharon:

Re: Shannon Ward Proposed Research Project in Cape Dorset 1995

The Municipality of Cape Dorset, through the Community Development SubCommittee, has considered the request made to return to Cape Dorset this year to conduct research.

The community welcomes Shannon back to the community and looks forward to working with her in researching the community's tourism needs and directions to fulfil those needs.

The community also understands that Shannon will be conducting research(as will be the focus of her thesis study) on the feasibility of using Participatory Action Research as a method of working collaboratively with communities on tourism and research planning. This could involve forming a research committee, and hiring three or four local research trainees who will work with Shannon defining, designing and conducting the research and analyzing the research findings.

It is understood that Shannon will report her findings to the Community Development SubCommittee and possibly the Hamlet Council as well. The Municipality expects to be provided with a copy of all reports generated by Shannon in relation to this project, as well as a copy of her completed thesis study.

Sincerely,


Timoon Alariaq
Chair, Community Development SubCommittee

cc Shannon Ward, Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba

COLLEGE EAST

SCIENCE INSTITUTE - HEAD OFFICE

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENCE

LICENCE # 0100795N

ISSUED TO: Shannon Ward
University of Manitoba
606 Avila Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R2T 3A4
(204) 261-1007

TEAM MEMBERS: Four Cape Dorset Inuit Residents (TBA)

AFFILIATION: University of Manitoba

FUNDS AGENCY: NSTP

TITLE: Research and Empowerment in the Eastern Arctic: The Role of Participatory Action Research

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:

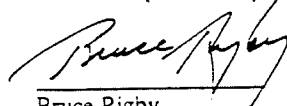
To look at how scientists can forge new research relationships with communities through the exploration of alternative methodologies such as Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR focuses on working with small groups, encouraging community participation in research, as well as breaking down the objective barriers between researcher and the researched.

DATA COLLECTION IN THE NWT:

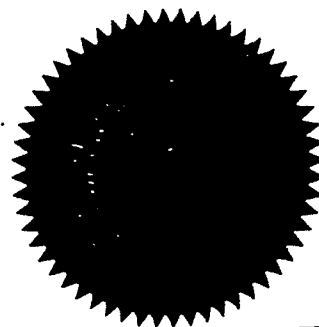
DATES: May 01, 1995 - July 30, 1995

LOCATION: Cape Dorset, NT

Scientific Research Licence 0100795N expires on December 31, 1995.
Issued at Iqaluit, NT on April 27, 1995.



Bruce Rigby
Science Advisor



COLLEGE EAST

SCIENCE INSTITUTE - HEAD OFFICE

27 April 1995

Shannon Ward
University of Manitoba
606 Avila Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R2T 3A4

RE: 1995 Science Research Licence

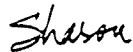
Please find enclosed your 1995 Science Research Licence No. 0100795N which was prepared under the *NORTHWEST TERRITORIES SCIENTISTS ACT*, and forwarded to you today via mail. Should you require further support from the Science Institute's Research Centre, please contact the Research Managers to discuss your research needs.

According to the *Scientists Act*, researchers issued licences must furnish an *Annual Summary Report* of their research. Upon completion of your 1995 field work in the Northwest Territories, please ensure that you submit a 200 word (maximum) non-technical summary of your research findings to our office by June of the following year, or with your new year's application, whichever is earlier. In addition, we require a copy of your *Final Report* and would appreciate copies of papers that you publish.

Thank-you in advance for assisting in the promotion and development of a scientific research community and database within the Northwest Territories. The reports and information you provide are utilized to prepare our annual research compendium, which is distributed to communities and organizations in the NT as well as to researchers across Canada.

Please accept our best wishes for success in your research project.

Sincerely,



Sharon Troke
Science Liaison Coordinator

iii



APPENDIX B

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Sub-Committee Report
May 4, 1995

Shannon Ward
University of Manitoba

Linking Tourism and art in Canada's eastern Arctic: the case of Cape Dorset.

S.Milne, S.Ward, and G.Wenzel.
McGill Geography Department.

In an attempt to develop the connections between tourism and local economy, the GNWT has been trying to tie tourism more closely to one of the region's economic success stories - the arts and crafts sector. The arts sector has proven successful as compared to other forms of economic development because less money leaves the community as most resources, both materials and labour, are found in the community.

Although the government and communities want to link tourism and art in the Baffin region, there has been little research conducted on the problems and prospects of adopting an art tourism strategy. The goal of the Cape Dorset research was to find out some of these questions by interviewing community members about their attitudes towards tourism in the community. We also wanted to try and analyse how tourism and art were linked in the community. The conclusions of this paper summarize the information from the interviews and also present ideas on how arts and tourism can be more effectively put together to meet the needs of the community for tourism development.

Cape Dorset is an attractive destination for "cultural ecotourists" interested in the highly successful commercial carving and printmaking industry. The natural surroundings, such as Maliqjuak Island, local bird sanctuary and archaeological sites also attract nature tourists, whom are more likely to purchase art than adventure or hunting tourist. Cruise ships often choose Cape Dorset as a destination to purchase art and view carvers and print makers at work.

Community attitudes towards tourism and art

While Shannon Ward was in Cape Dorset in 1993, she and Tiraq Etidlui interviewed 43 residents (41 Inuit and 2 Qallunaat), 58% female, 42% male. 47% of those surveyed were aged 18-30, 26% were 31-50, and 27% over 50 years of age.

More than 95% of those surveyed in Cape Dorset said they favoured tourism development in the community, with 63% stating that more jobs and employment opportunities would be created. When asked who would benefit most from increased tourism, 25% pointed specifically to carvers, while another 25% stated the Coop would directly benefit from tourism. Throughout the survey it was obvious that the arts sector would benefit most from tourism.

When asked about the social and environmental costs of tourism, 33% of respondents stated that there would be little impact on the community. 12% responded that they were worried about a possible increase in drug and solvent abuse, and 27% referred to problems such as increased pollution, loss of artefacts from the community, and other negative cultural impacts such as loss of local control over the tourism industry. As with

other community surveys done in the Baffin region, most residents felt very strongly about the importance of keeping control over any development related to tourism.

From the results of the research, it seemed that residents had little knowledge of tourism activities in the community and few people were aware that the government and community were trying to develop a community-based tourism industry.

The arts sector.

From our research we concluded that the coop held a negative attitude toward tourism development. Although the coop is the major attraction for tourists, its main role is not tourism-related, and tourism activities are at their peak when activity at the coop is at its lowest (July-August). Aside from large organized tours, management often has little warning of when tourists arrive, which disrupts day to day operations at the coop.

Government

Research indicated that local government officials feel tourism's potential is not being exploited effectively by the community. First, the EDO (R.Jaffrey) felt that the community was getting limited assistance from the GNWT for tourism development. Second, there seemed to be little co-operation between key people/organisations in the tourism industry (i.e. WBEC and lack of co-operation between ED&T and Hotel Kingnait).

Recommendations

(1) **Develop market niches:** By identifying and catering to the nature and art tourist it will be possible to begin to build upon and strengthen the linkages between tourism and art. Cape Dorset should continue to develop arts-related tourism.

(2) **Facility Development:** a visitor's center is needed to facilitate tourism activity. The proposed Kingnait Cultural Center will also attract visitors as well as release some of the pressure on the coop regarding tourist traffic.

(3) **Communication, co-operation, and community participation:**

Overall success of a community-based approach will depend on improvements in communication between key players in the industry (WBEC, ED&T, Hotel, etc.). Better communication between tour operators and the community is also needed. This is the responsibility of the GNWT and the community, as well as tour operators. Cost effective brochures and resource material should also be developed and distributed to tour operators, cruise operators and available for tourists in the community. An active tourism committee is needed to prioritise and execute short and long term planning of tourism activities. Without these structures in place local residents have little voice in participating in and benefiting from tourism development.

APPENDIX C

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 MALLIKJUAQ
 HISTORIC PARK

[illegible]

**COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT:
RESIDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT
OF MALLIKJUAQ ISLAND HISTORIC PARK,
CAPE DORSET, NT.**

*A Report submitted to the Community Development
Sub-committee
Cape Dorset, NT.
July 1995.*

By

The Mallikjuaq Island Research Team
Emily Ottokie
Moses Qimirpik
Shannon Ward (Research Team Coordinator)



Acknowledgements

The *Mallikjuaq Island Research Team* (Emily Ottokie, Moses Qimirpik, Shannon Ward) would like to thank all those who so willingly participated in the community survey. We would also like to thank the Community Development Sub-Committee for giving us direction and resources during the study without which we would not have been able to complete the project.

Shannon Ward, the prinipal author of the report and research coordinator, would like to thank everyone in Cape Dorset for their warm recpetion during her three month stay in the community. Special thanks to David Patrick, Community Development Officer, for making this idea a reality. Additional thanks to members of the Community Development Sub-committee (Mangitak Kellypalik, Pitaloosie Saila and Timoon Alariaq) for giving me the support and direction I needed to facilitate this project.

adΓ⁶

Nakurmiik

Thank you.

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Mallikjuaq Island Park Study

May - August 1995

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

***This summary is meant for a general audience in Cape Dorset. For a more comprehensive overview of the project, background, conclusions and recommendations, please refer to the attached report.*

A: Background

As part of a plan to bring increased tourism into the community of Cape Dorset, Economic Development and Tourism made plans during the 1980s to designate and develop Mallikjuaq Island into a Territorial park. Laird & Associates developed a detailed planning and development report in 1991 and worked closely with members of the Mallikjuaq Island Steering Committee to ensure that the community was involved in the initial stages of planning. During the Nunavut lands selection process, public meetings concerning the park ended in the island being left out of the land claim so that the government could plan and develop the park.

During the spring of 1995, four years after the Laird report and little activity surrounding the development of Mallikjuaq Island, the official application for land reservation was sent to the community for signature. The Community Development Sub-Committee, unsure of the current feelings towards park development in the community, felt it necessary to ask the public how they felt about the park, in order to re-assess the development plans for the island.

The study was organised by Shannon Ward, a Master's student from the Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba. Ward conducted the study under the direction of the Community Development Sub-Committee and worked in conjunction with Emily Ottokie and Moses Qimirpik, who were hired to participate in the study as community researchers. Research training was provided, after which the *Mallikjuaq Island Research Team* designed and carried out a community survey to help in assessing community attitudes towards park development.

B: Objectives of study

The project's objectives, as requested by the Community Development Sub-Committee, focused on three goals:

1. To inform community members about recent events concerning the development of Mallikjuaq Island. This included discussion at the beginning of the interview around traditional land use, facility development, and community participation.
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2. To collect community attitudes towards the development of Mallikjuaq Island as a Territorial Historic Park. This was accomplished by conducting interviews in Inuktituut with 34 members (n=34) of the community about different aspects of park development.
3. To collect any traditional knowledge related to Mallikjuaq Island in the way of stories or place names. A small place names project was started in which people would identify the traditional place names on a map during the interview.

C: Conclusions and Recommendations

This report has attempted to highlight the links between public participation in decision-making related to park establishment and sustainable development in Cape Dorset. Gauging community attitudes in Cape Dorset towards park development helped in identifying the major areas of concern in relation to the development of Mallikjuaq Island as well as highlighting the general attitude towards development.

By surveying residents it was found that the major issues surrounding park development related to the continuation of traditional land use, how to create community "ownership", management structures and community involvement in decision-making, the linkages between park development and tourism, and conservation of the island's physical and cultural resources. Sustainable benefits were identified as an increase in long term employment, use of the park for educational purposes and the protection and preservation of the heritage sites on the island. Costs were identified as the uncertainty of how park regulation would infringe upon traditional use of the island and future municipal land use.

The exploration into resident attitudes towards the development of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park, however, did reveal general support for the project. The survey proved beneficial in serving to educate those interviewed about park development and in helping to gauge the feeling in Cape Dorset with regards to the initial stages of infrastructure establishment.

Recommendations drawn from conclusions of the community-based survey and a review of relevant literature on tourism and park development are outlined below. The *Mallikjuaq Island Research Team* has produced seven basic recommendations to be considered by those involved in community development and tourism in Cape Dorset.

Recommendation 1

According to survey results, community attitudes towards the development of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park are positive and development should proceed. Before proceeding, however, it will be necessary to ensure that issues surrounding park developments are made public to the community and can be dealt with at the community level.

ACTION: The re-organization of the Mallikjuaq Island Steering Committee may help to establish a link between Parks and the community in the future.

Background: Residential attitudes towards the development of Mallikjuaq Historic Park were positive. Over 93% of those surveyed were in favour of park development. The level of knowledge about local and regional plans for park development was relatively low (50% did not discuss specifics of park development or did not know about the plans for park development.), which means that the information surrounding park plans has been non-existent in recent years. Over 91% of those surveyed felt that the community should be involved in the management of the park.

Recommendation 2

Although links between park development and tourism exist, they are not strong. As such, community involvement in decision-making concerning community benefits from park development should not be sacrificed in order to coincide with increased tourism. Park establishment should, therefore, be implemented in conjunction with the community's land use and recreational needs as well as for tourism development.

ACTION: Coordination between the Mallikjuaq Steering Committee and Tourism Coordinator or Committee through regular meetings should help to create linkages between these issues.

Background: Survey results and previous research (Milne et al. 1995) indicate that links between park development and tourism are weak in comparison to the potential links between tourism and the arts and crafts sector in Cape Dorset. As was reflected in the survey response, the primary lure for tourists to Cape Dorset is for its carving and printmaking. Mallikjuaq island will stand to serve as an addition to a "cultural" tourism concept for the community.

The development of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park provides a strong link to cultural education. As was shown by survey results, 27% felt that a more positive benefit to park development will be the educational benefits for Cape Dorset's younger generation as well as the preservation of the archaeological heritage of the island.

Recommendation 3

Efforts should be made to investigate the possibility of transferring management of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park responsibilities from Economic Development & Tourism to the Hamlet.

ACTION: Individuals involved in park planning at the community level should contact the communities of Arviat and Baker Lake for more information.

Background: With the transfer of services and programs to the Hamlet through the community transfer initiative, management of the park could be effectively handled

under Community Development. This would help in the community becoming involved in park management. Other communities in the Canadian Arctic such as Arviat and Baker Lake, which have developed territorial parks using a community-based approach have had success due to a feeling of ownership in the development process.

Recommendation 4

An attempt should be made to re-design the maps contained in the Mallikjuaq Island Trail Guide such that they reflect the traditional knowledge of the island with respect to local place names.

ACTION: The results of the place names project should be sent to David Monteith, (Parks Supervisor Baffin district) to be incorporated into the second production run of the Mallikjuaq Island Trail Guide. This will make the map section of the guide accessible to Inuit residents, both for educational and recreational purposes.

Background: The Mallikjuaq Island Trail Guide is a bilingual document which takes the user through the history and landscape of the island. The maps located at the back, however, do not contain any of the local place names for the island. English constructs have been literally translated and do not make sense to Inuit users. The Mallikjuaq Island Research Team collected place names and their meanings which will be superimposed on the map for future publication.

Recommendation 5

The development of a successful tourism infrastructure in Cape Dorset is contingent upon linking the commercial arts sector with tourism. The development of Mallikjuaq Park should enhance the tourism package in Cape Dorset, but alone will not effect tourism significantly.

ACTION: (a) Efforts to lobby the government for funds to build the Kingnait Cultural Center should be kept up and those involved in arts and crafts in the community should make an attempt to forge realistic links with those involved in the tourism sector, (b) A small carving and craft shop should be implemented into the plans for the BTC Visitor Center when it is built (c) The establishment of a tourist hostel or the development of a home stay program may be a more positive alternative to the Kingnait Inn, which has been unsuccessful at catering to tourists.

Background: Survey results showed that few people talked about the benefits the park would have on tourism (10%). In relation to tourism and sustainable economic development in Cape Dorset, the establishment of Mallikjuaq Island is one step towards building a tourism infrastructure in the community. It alone, however, will not attract tourism to the community unless other essential infrastructure is developed.

Recommendation 6

The Laird report should be used by the tourism committee in Cape Dorset as a guideline for park development. It should, however, be re-evaluated on a regular basis and used alongside community-based strategies in managing Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park.

ACTION: As part of the re-evaluation of the Laird study, the community's tourism coordinator should keep in contact with Laird and Economic Development and Tourism to help build linkages and partnerships in park planning. This will help the tourism coordinator in her/his efforts to develop methods of community-based park planning.

Background: The Laird report (1991) is a document which reflects the historic significance of Mallikjuaq Island and the people of Cape Dorset. Information regarding planning and development collected during the survey was similar to community feelings outlined in the report during 1990/91. The "phased development" approach will allow for control of planning steps, depending on demand and the level of development which residents wish to see occur.

Recommendation #7

When soliciting the help of outside consultants in community affairs the Council should insist that a participatory framework be used in the consultation or planning work. Participatory methods in research and community planning ensure that community members are involved in the identification, design and planning of the project. This creates community-based ownership and fosters positive partnerships between outsiders and communities, instead of producing "top down" initiatives which may not be sustainable according to community members.

ACTION: Before consultants or researchers enter the community or are hired to complete a contract where appropriate the Hamlet should enquire as to how the individual will involve community members, what plans the person is making to conduct follow-up and what funds are available to employ locals during the project.

Background: The *Mallikjuaq Island Development Survey* was initiated, organized and implemented by the community of Cape Dorset. The facilitator of the project took direction from an advisory committee and then helped to organize the survey with a team of local researchers. The *Mallikjuaq Island Research Team* were able to conduct all interviews in Inuktitut and questions were asked in a culturally appropriate manner. The project was completed and presented to council for approval and follow up was negotiated in the community before the facilitator left.

I: INTRODUCTION.

The community of Cape Dorset, situated off the Southwest tip of Baffin Island, Northwest Territories (NT), is in the midst of a development project which centers around the establishment of a territorial historic park on Mallikjuaq Island. Like many communities in the Baffin region, Cape Dorset is trying to build a sustainable future for its younger generations, and has been looking to tourism and park establishment as part of its community development plan.

"Sustainable development" is a concept upon which many governments are attempting to implement economic development projects, in hopes of lessening the economic gap between core and periphery and in lessening the impact on their physical and cultural environments. It has become somewhat of a "buzzword" in development circles, and is often spoken about but not defined. What, then, is "sustainable development"? How does it relate to park development and tourism in the NT? And why is public participation in decision-making and planning such a fundamental part of a "sustainable development concept"?

To build a sustainable tourism industry in the Nunavut region which focuses on principles of community-based planning and participation in development, local administrators and residents are looking at methods in which community members can be included in the planning process. Gauging community attitudes towards tourism development (including parks) is one approach which helps in determining directions for tourism planning (Milne et al. 1995; Reimer

1993; Nickels et al 1991). The development of a sustainable tourism industry, therefore, is partly accomplished with the use of local traditional and contemporary knowledge of surrounding physical and social environments and how they can be preserved both for the benefit of local residents and for the enjoyment of tourists. Tapping this knowledge is becoming an increasingly important facet of tourism planning in peripheral areas where both the physical and cultural environments are sensitive to outside disturbances and southern domination. Collaboration in tourism planning has, as well, served in developing the uniqueness of Inuit culture into a tourism concept which reflects the community and its people.

This report on the development of Mallikjuaq Historic Park in Cape Dorset, NT will focus upon the importance of public participation as an indicator of sustainability. Following a discussion of the linkages between tourism, park development and public participation in planning and how this leads to "sustainable" development, results will be presented from a community-based survey administered in Cape Dorset during the summer of 1995. The survey was designed in order to gauge resident attitudes towards the development of Mallikjuaq Island as a Territorial Historic Park, and was requested by the Community Development Sub-committee as a result of uncertainty amongst local administrators as to the general public's knowledge and perception of park development in Cape Dorset. It will be presented in relation to issues of sustainable development in the Nunavut

region vis a vis tourism and park development.

The report will be organized into three major sections. First, sustainable development will be discussed in relation to tourism and park planning in the NT. Second, background information will be given of the study area in relation to tourism and park development. The final section will introduce and discuss the results of the community-based survey administered to community members concerning attitudes towards the development of Mallikjuaq Island as a territorial historic park.

II: BACKGROUND

Sustainable Development: What does it mean for the future of Nunavut?

According to Slocombe, sustainable development can be defined broadly in two ways. The first focuses on continued economic growth with fewer environmental impacts (Slocombe 1992, p.14). For example, the Bruntland report [1987 World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED)], defines sustainable development as "*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (WCED 1987, p.8). Although the WCED has set into place a blueprint by which developing and industrial nations can discuss sustainable development, critics argue that it does not go far enough (see Rowe in Mungall et al. (ed.) 1991).

Slocombe's second category is one which attempts to go beyond the economic aspects of "development" to look at issues such as equity, integrity

and empowerment through social change. The International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), for example, defines sustainable development as, "*(A) process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development and exchange, and institutional change reflect both future and present needs. The notion of equity is central to sustainable development and implies a more equal distribution of assets and the enhancement of capabilities and opportunities of the disadvantaged*" (1994, p.2).

What does sustainability entail in relation to economic development within the Nunavut territory? Equity in planning and decision making is central to the foundation upon which the Nunavut land claim was built and is an important notion in relation to tourism and park planning in Cape Dorset. In order to implement sustainable economic development in Nunavut, it's members must have access to the tools and resources needed to build a strong foundation. They must also be able to approach planning and development in a way which reflects the Inuit culture. As will be discussed in the case study, public participation in the planning of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park has been successful thus far in the community's attempt to engender community ownership of the project. Continued success will be dependent upon building partnerships between the community and regional Economic Development and Tourism officials in the development of the park's planning and management structure.

Sustainable economic development and tourism in the Baffin region, NT.: Is tourism sustainable?

Tourism has been identified as a sustainable development option for many peripheral areas of the world, such as Canada's Arctic, where losses of traditional economy, such as the trade in seal skins, has caused a re-direction in economic development initiatives (Wenzel 1991).

Is tourism sustainable?

According to the GNWT, building a sustainable tourism industry depends upon the compatibility between the use of northern natural and cultural resources for tourism and future use of those resources (1990: 13). Sustainable indicators selected by the GNWT include: broad geographic distribution of tourism benefits; tourism and parks development which are compatible with land claims; community and tourism industry co-operation; building on community strengths and developing public infrastructure; involving the private sector; and the ability to follow international market trends.

In many regions of the NT, tourism has created employment opportunities for local residents, helping to contribute both directly and indirectly to the local economy. Many of the benefits from tourism activities in the NT are due in part to the focus on traditional activities -- such as local arts and crafts and hunting and fishing -- which have proven successful in creating opportunities for local residents to practice and preserve traditional ways.

In the Baffin region of the NT, tourism has become a major focus in regional economic development and the area is becoming a popular destination for many of the world's eco-tourists.

According to the McGill Tourism Research Group, which has conducted extensive research on the growing trend in eco-tourism in the eastern Arctic, package tours that focus on wildlife/nature and cultural tours promise the highest level of economic benefits and pose the least hazard for socio-cultural disruption (GNWT 1995a).

In 1994, the Eastern Arctic received over 3,500 visitors from May to September, two thirds (2,430) of whom went to the Baffin region. From 1979 to 1989 the number of visitors to the Baffin region doubled to 3000 visitors, and from 1989 to 1994, there was a 7% increase in the number of visitors to the area (GNWT 1995a.). As the industry is still in its youth, it is presented with challenges such as training local residents in hospitality vocations, facility development, and co-operation between businesses at the local level (Keller, 1987).

Ensuring sustainable economic development goals in relation to tourism will depend upon building a strong structure for decision-making and economic planning which is community-based. In doing so, communities have begun to demand that government organizations (both local and regional) involve local residents in development plans. Recent studies on community attitudes towards tourism development in the Baffin region (Nickels et al. 1991; Greckin 1994; Milne et al. 1995), as well as community-based approaches to tourism development and research (Reimer 1993), have helped to support the idea that tourism planning should be based on the priorities and goals of community residents.

Territorial parks, tourism and sustainable development in the NT.

Territorial and national parks are a large draw for the tourism industry in the NT. Many tourists travel to Canada's Arctic to enjoy the experience of an outdoor adventure in a "pristine" environment, which is often facilitated through the national or territorial park system. As the tourism industry in Canada's Arctic develops, an increase in the demand for the establishment of territorial parks has also occurred. With the establishment of territorial parks comes economic spin-offs at the community level both directly, in the way of guiding, outfitting and interpretive employment, and indirectly with the increase in tourism dollars entering the community.

The Canadian territorial parks system has been in existence for 25 years and includes some 45 parks which are administered through the Territorial Parks Act and the Travel and Tourism Act. Unlike the national parks system, which was created to protect the ecological integrity of Canada's natural regions, the territorial system was created to "generate benefits through the use of natural and cultural heritage assets, with the benefits being generated only if the heritage assets are effectively protected" (GNWT 1995b: 15).

The Territorial Parks Act gives the Department of Economic Development & Tourism the jurisdiction to establish and maintain five different types of parks in the NT, which are designated to best reflect the environmental and developmental needs of specific regions. Wayside parks, Community parks, Historic parks, Outdoor Recreation parks and Natural Environment Recreation parks are

developed and implemented to reflect the emphasis or primary purpose of that park (ibid.: 6).

The park establishment process.

Plans for park development have increased dramatically with the development of community-based tourism industries in the NT. How does the idea of establishing a park become a reality? And, what must be done to ensure that all interested parties, especially the communities in which the parks will be situated, are given a voice in whether they want a park? If so, how should plans for the park be implemented?

The implementation process, as outlined by a recent policy paper on NT parks development (1995b), is one based on consensus-building between all levels of planning organizations. First, all interested parties must reach a consensus as to whether a park should be established. This is most often accomplished through a set of public meetings with parks officials and community organizations. The process then turns to generating a concept on which the park will be developed. In most cases, outside planners are brought into the community to survey the area and produce a planning and development report which outlines the phases of implementation (for example, see Laird 1991). 'The intent of such studies and consultations, in brief, has been to determine whether or not the proposed parks would be likely to achieve the various kinds of goals outlined....with respect to tourism, employment, community benefits, and sustainable development' (GNWT 1995b: 30). If the area in question for park development is under land claim

agreement, consultation with relevant aboriginal and land claim boards is necessary before application is made for land transfer to the GNWT.

Once the plan for establishment is accepted, extensive market analysis must be done to ensure that the anticipated socio-economic benefits of the park will exceed the social and economic costs. For example, will the benefits of park establishment -- such as increased tourism revenue, conservation, and heritage preservation -- outweigh the costs of development -- such as lost opportunity costs from alternative plans for land use?

If community consultation and market analysis are positive, the government must secure the property rights to the land base in question. With many regions in the NT currently under land claims negotiation, the government must ensure that the community is willing to cede the property right to the land within the context of all relevant land claim stipulations and the Territorial Parks Act.

Aboriginal rights and territorial park establishment in the Baffin region.

The establishment of territorial parks creates shifts in property rights structures in relation to traditional land use and occupancy of local aboriginal residents. Areas which were once occupied under the commons of Inuit, for example, in the Baffin region become the jurisdiction of the GNWT and managed by the territory. What implications does the transfer of property rights have upon the traditional rights of local people?

Current shifts in property rights within the context of park establishment in the Nunavut region, are facilitated by

the Territorial Parks Act and the land claim negotiation. With the Nunavut land claim currently in its implementation stage in the eastern Arctic, the establishment of territorial parks must be done in congruence with Nunavut land claims processes. As well, successful implementation of territorial parks in the context of aboriginal rights and self government is dependent on effective consultation at the community level during all stages of negotiation, planning and development. New parks policy in the NT states, 'The establishment, development and operation of existing or future territorial parks must be consistent with or complement, all agreements, policies, and legislation related to the settlement of aboriginal claims' (GNWT 1995b: 8).

How does Territorial legislation affect traditional land use? Under the Territorial Parks Act, aboriginal people are entitled to hunt, fish and trap within territorial park boundaries, "with the proviso that due regard be given to the need for general public safety" (ibid.: 9). The Act also specifies that aboriginal people are guaranteed the right to extract and remove carving stone and other biophysical resources used in traditional activities from park areas. The above provisions were established within the context of park development to recognise both the cultural and economic significance of traditional harvesting, and profits generated from local arts and crafts production, in order to ensure the perpetuation of these activities for future generations.

Community perception of and participation in territorial parks development.

To ensure sustainable goals in economic development which reflect "culturally appropriate" economic development, communities are demanding that regional planning authorities involved in park planning not only consult the communities in question prior to development, but see that communities are structurally integrated into the planning and management process. In doing so, survey research, public education and outside consultation have been applied at various stages during planning, development and management of parks (see Laird 1991). This task is undertaken by parks officials, community organizations, individuals with park planning experience and outside groups interested and concerned with sustainable economic development issues in the NT.

According to a recent policy paper released by the Department of Economic Development and Tourism in the GNWT, "...Territorial parks will be established only after extensive community participation and public consultation. Ample opportunity will also be provided for the public to contribute their views concerning subsequent development and operation of parks' (GNWT 1995b: 10).

Community attitudes towards park development which have been identified as concerns include: socio-economic costs and benefits; property rights structures and traditional land use; facility development; management, enforcement and maintenance structures; protection of heritage sites and cultural artifacts; wildlife conservation; and

public safety (GNWT 1995a; Mallikjuaq Island Development Survey, Cape Dorset 1995).

Socio-economic benefits of park development have been identified as: increased employment; increase in tourism dollars to the community; potential for cultural education for local youth; and protection of heritage sites. Costs have been identified as: loss of property rights through imposed park regulation; alteration of natural physical landscape; vandalism; and public safety (GNWT 1995b; Mallikjuaq Island Development Survey 1995)

Public participation in park planning in cases of other communities in the NT, such as Arviat and Baker Lake, has proven a successful venture from the view of Economic Development and Tourism and the communities. Although ownership of land jurisdiction, in these cases, has remained with the territorial government, the day to day maintenance and management rests in the hands of the community, where a majority of the maintenance and capital plans budgets are administered. As a result, the interest in management and maintenance has facilitated a feeling of ownership in the communities towards their parks (F. Weihs, personal communication, June 1995).

The following case study is concerned with the plans for establishing a Territorial Historic Park at Mallikjuaq Island, adjacent to the Inuit settlement of Cape Dorset, NT. With hopes of building a sustainable tourism industry, based primarily on the lure of its successful arts and crafts sector, the community became interested in the potential for park development on

Mallikjuaq Island during the 1980's. As the park entered its initial stage of development in 1995, it was necessary to survey the community members about their attitudes towards park development as well as inform them of the plans for the island.

III: PARK DEVELOPMENT AND TOURISM IN CAPE DORSET, NT.

Cape Dorset: a community profile.

The community of Cape Dorset is located on Dorset Island, off the Southwest tip of Baffin Island, approximately 400 kilometres from Iqaluit. The island is part of a chain of islands off the Foxe Peninsula which are connected to the mainland during low tide.

Inuit and their predecessors of the Pre-Dorset era, have occupied the *Seekooseelak* region (south Baffin coastal area) for thousands of years subsisting from hunting and whaling activities. It was not until the late nineteenth century, however, that Inuit came into regular contact with European explorers, whalers and missionaries. In 1913 the Hudson's Bay Company established a permanent trading post in Cape Dorset where Inuit began travelling to trade furs for staples such as flour, tobacco, sugar and ammunition.

Until the 1940's most Inuit on Baffin Island lived in camps along the coast where they lived a traditional lifestyle which revolved around the harvesting of available land and marine resources. During the 40's the decline in the trade of white fox and the availability of medical and educational services at Hudson's Bay Post settlements, facilitated the movement of many Inuit into settlement areas. In the

case of Cape Dorset, a mission was established by the Roman Catholic Church in 1938, and a year later, as trading grew in the area, the independently owned Baffin Trading Company moved to Cape Dorset. One of the first schools in the Baffin region was built at Cape Dorset during 1949, and it was during this time that Inuit of the region started to settle in Cape Dorset (Hamilton 1993). In 1953 local Inuit built their own Anglican church, financed by the trade of musk-ox hides. The Catholic Church closed down in 1960 as the majority of residents had been converted by the Anglican missionaries. A permanent federal nursing station was established in the late 1950's and in 1962 an RCMP detachment was stationed in the community (BHRB 1994: 8).

One of the earliest and most successful ventures of southern investment in the south Baffin area was the arrival of James Houston in Cape Dorset in 1953. Houston was sent by the federal government to encourage local Inuit to carve soapstone figures that could be sold in the south. After having spent 10 years in Cape Dorset, Houston had helped to build a successful carving and printmaking industry through the establishment of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative (WBEC) (Milne et al. 1995: 29).

Today, Cape Dorset is a thriving community of approximately 1200 people. The local economy is fuelled by a combination of government assistance, public sector, and sale of arts and crafts. Although the commercial arts and crafts sector has been highly successful in supplementing wage economy in Cape Dorset, the community still endures many of the socio-economic ills which

are common in many communities throughout the Canadian Arctic. Many of the higher-paying wage labour jobs are held by southerners due to low levels of education in the community.

According to a 1991 Census survey, 44.2% of residents in Cape Dorset over the age of 15 had less than Grade nine, 12.6% had between Grade 9 and 11, while 2.7% had achieved a Grade 12 diploma (BHRB 1994: 15). In 1991 unemployment in Cape Dorset was 15.3%, average for the Baffin area and a great improvement from the mid 1980s when unemployment figures reached as high as 34% (ibid.: 12).

A step towards Nunavut in Cape Dorset: the community transfer initiative.

In early 1995, Cape Dorset was the first community in the Nunavut settlement area to undergo the first step toward community-based self government. The transfer of four primary services to the Hamlet Council (Economic Development & Tourism, Housing, Public Works and Social Services), formerly administered through the GNWT, has resulted in most programs and services being designed and delivered at the community level.

Although difficult to predict the long term success of the community transfer initiative in Cape Dorset, the short term benefits can already be measured in fiscal terms, as well as in the new approaches of administration within various departments. Previous to the transfer, duplication of resources and services (particularly in housing and public works) caused tremendous overlap resulting in inflated infrastructure and maintenance costs. Secondly, it was difficult for community

members to attain access to the developments occurring within departments like social services and community development. As a result, the community transfer initiative has designed and implemented a sub-committee structure to which community members are elected. Each director is directly responsible to his/her sub-committee where all projects and developments are discussed and approved through consensus (Gilhuly 1994). The local radio station is used as a mechanism through which to disseminate the minutes of each sub-committee meeting to the general public. As a result, ideas and concerns of local residents are being dealt with on a more efficient level, and culturally appropriate approaches to development and management are slowly beginning to be worked into departmental agendas.

Tourism in Cape Dorset: a way forward?

The plans to establish Mallikjuaq Island as a territorial historic park are linked into regional and local attempts to develop a community-based tourism infrastructure in Cape Dorset. Although the existing tourism industry in Cape Dorset has primarily catered to tourists interested in Inuit art, members of the tourism industry in the community hope the development of Mallikjuaq island will lend to a more balanced experience for the tourist and extend the number of days spent in the community.

Tourism development in Cape Dorset dates back to the early 1980's with the Marshall, Macklin & Monaghan report, part of a wider GNWT tourism policy that focused on developing a community-based tourism industry to be substantially planned, owned, and

operated by northerners, and which reflected community aspirations (MMM, 1982). It's findings indicated that Cape Dorset should be marketed as a 'destination community' as opposed to a 'destination area' as the majority of it's attraction rested in the community-based commercial arts and crafts industry. The report recommended the development of an arts and crafts historic center and an increase in hospitality services as first priority for tourism development. The formation of a tourism committee which would oversee developing a market for tourism was also seen as an imperative step in developing a tourism industry.

The number of visitors to Cape Dorset has remained small in comparison to other communities on Baffin Island such as Pangnirtung and Lake Harbour. In 1994, roughly 115 tourists visited Cape Dorset, with gross receipts totalling \$78,555.00, with each individual spending approximately \$685.00. In that same year Pangnirtung received 155 tourists with gross receipts reaching to \$180,052.00, meaning that each visitor spent approximately \$1,161.63 (GNWT 1995a). The figures indicate two characteristics of the tourism industry in Cape Dorset: first that the cultural tourist spends less than the adventure tourist as a result of outfitting and guiding costs. Second, that the tourist in Cape Dorset spends less time in the community due to a lack of tourism infrastructure.

Since the early 1980's and the MMM report, tourism development indicators -- such as a tourism co-ordinator position, tourism facilities and community-based tourism packages -- are developing but are in need of drastic improvement. A tourism infrastructure in Cape Dorset is needed if plans to

build a sustainable tourism industry are to be met. The primary stumbling block to development of tourism in Cape Dorset, however, has been it's inability to link it's primary attraction, the WBEC and the arts and crafts sector, successfully to tourism (for a more detailed discussion on this topic see Milne et al. 1995). As well, the two basic priorities laid out in the initial tourism planning report -- a development of tourism-oriented accommodation and the construction of an arts and historical center -- have not occurred to this date. Facility development, a full time tourism co-ordinator, the development of package tours which focus on carvings, prints and small crafts markets, and better accommodation services are needed in order to build a strong and sustainable tourism market in Cape Dorset (see Milne et al. 1995).

On a more positive note, since the 1995 Milne study, *Linking tourism and art in Canada's eastern Arctic: the case of Cape Dorset*, the community has undergone the Nunavut community transfer initiative, as discussed previously. With the transfer of the Economic Development and Tourism portfolio to the Hamlet Council, the community is now taking measures to focus on tourism as one of their most important development strategies. Chuck Gilhuly, the SAO of Cape Dorset states, "*Since the community transfer we have begun to focus on tourism again*" (pers.comm., July 1995). Since the transfer, the Community Development director has been focusing on increasing cruise ship tours to Dorset and is in the process of hiring a full time tourism co-ordinator (D.Patrick, pers comm. May 1995). With more control over tourism planning at the local level, the

implementation of a community-based tourism planning infrastructure should ensure the influx of more tourism dollars into the community.

Building an infrastructure for the future: the establishment of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park.

Territorial parks are an important component of building a sustainable tourism industry in the NT. Parks provide benefits to residents in terms of education, wildlife conservation, and heritage preservation.

The plans for the establishment of Mallikjuaq Historic park have been extensive, both in the community and from the regional level. Community consultation during the initial stages of the Nunavut land identification process proved favourable on the side of reserving the island for park land, and an intensive planning and development report was completed in 1991 (see Laird, 1991). Upon what concept is the park being developed? And how did the plans for park development evolve?

Mallikjuaq Island.

Mallikjuaq Island lies immediately adjacent to the community of Cape Dorset (refer to Appendix B). On the island lay the remains of ancient dwellings which offer the visitor clues to the past of ancient northern peoples. The earliest were the Tuniit, of whom very little is known by anthropologists. Traces of the Thule culture, the predecessors of the present day Inuit, can be seen scattered throughout the island and remain clues to the past of the Seekoseelak peoples who inhabited the area. The island offers the tourist or visitor a spectacular view of the region atop Mallikjuaq hill and a variety of

historic sites including old tent rings, kayak stand, fireplace, caches, seagull rockery, all connected by undeveloped trails (see GNWT 1995c for more information about Mallikjuaq Island).

The name "Mallikjuaq Island" was given to the island after European contact. The island is traditionally referred to as "Akia" which means, "the place across from where I am" (M. Joanessie, pers. com., July 18, 1995). The word "Mallikjuaq" originates from the mountain on the island known to locals as Mallikjuaq (hill), and means, "the big rolling wave" (N. Hallandy, pers.com. June 1995). By the younger generations in the community, however, the island is referred to by the name "Mallik" or "Mallikjuaq".

Initial planning and development: the Laird Report.

During the early 1990's Laird & Associates was contracted to produce a detailed planning and development report for Mallikjuaq Island. The plan included an archaeological inventory of the island (see Stenton 1994; 1990), as well as a detailed "phased development" approach to help facilitate both the initial and subsequent development of the island pending user demand (Laird, 1995).

The first phase focuses on small scale development of the park based on its existing natural environment and archaeological features of the island. The plans include restoration of Thule houses, development of a trail guide, and selection and training of community representatives and personnel. During the time of the survey research (summer 1995), the trail guide for Mallikjuaq Island had been completed and warmly received by most community members, a

guiding and interpretive course was under way, and work on the Thule houses had been completed the previous summer (author's field notes 1995; Stenton 1994).

Pending user demand and capital expenditure plans, the second and third phases of development offer the visitor a wider experience with increased service and facility infrastructure. "This point is reached when the number of tour leaders, guides, outfitters and services in the Hamlet will not be sufficient to take care of tourists" (Laird 1991). Plans for facility development include walkways, emergency shelters, toilets and marked trails. A seasonal full time interpreter and guide would be employed.

The rationale behind the third stage of development is to facilitate trips to the outlying camps along the Baffin coast. Places such as Keatuk (Peter Pitseolak's camp), would be restored and made accessible to tourists. The final stage would also be contingent on user demand and community initiation.

During the primary negotiation process the Mallikjuaq Island Steering Committee was formed which worked closely with Laird in reviewing plans and sharing the community's concerns about development. According to Chuck Gilhuly, SAO in Cape Dorset, "*(The committee) was effective in that a lot of the (information) was reviewed. They acted together with Laird at the time and ...were his direct point of contact in the community*" (pers comm, July 18, 1995).

As it was also a period in which the Nunavut Land Identification process was occurring in reference to the land claim, a number of public meetings were held in which the community was able to discuss the park development. Gilhuly

states, "*There were some very good discussions that went on for a long time. All the way from people wanting it excluded but become part of the municipal boundary so that we could start (park) development, up to nobody want(ing) to do anything over there, and whether people wanted tourism at all. The final decision was that the community was in support. It would be excluded from the land claim. The government had a couple of years to get it's act together and follow through on the plan, and if the plan wasn't carried through then it would revert and become part of the municipal boundary*" (pers comm., July 18, 1995).

Currently, the general feeling in the community is that the initial planning and development conducted by Laird & Associates concerning the Mallikjuaq Island was achieved successfully with strong support from the community. The success of the development plan was a result of effective public consultation and working closely with local people. According to Laird, "*The study encourages a sense of involvement and ownership by the Cape Dorset community in planning and operating the park right from the early planning phases*" (p.1).

Since the Laird report was completed in 1991, however, focus upon the community transfer initiative has left the plans for park development in the background until the spring of 1995 with plans to file for land application this year. As such, the Community Development Sub-Committee has had reservations about signing the document without the reassurance that community members were still in favour of park development on Mallikjuaq Island.

IV: COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF MALLIKJUAQ ISLAND HISTORIC PARK: A COMMUNITY-BASED SURVEY.

During the spring of 1995, the Community Development Sub-committee requested that a survey be developed to gauge resident perceptions of and attitudes towards the developments on Mallikjuaq Island. Their concern was that it had been a number of years since the Laird report had been released and, with the onset of development of the park, the Committee wished to re-evaluate the development plan. Had people's feelings changed towards development? What was the understanding of park development? How developed should the park become? How should ownership of the park be facilitated?

Objectives

The objectives of this study were three-fold. The first goal was to disseminate information about the recent events regarding park development based primarily upon a Council meeting held by David Monteith, head of the Parks Division, Economic Development and Tourism in Iqaluit, held in June, 1995. The second goal, and most important, was to collect people's feelings about park development and tourism and to collect any traditional knowledge related to Mallikjuaq Island. The third goal was to collect any traditional knowledge regarding the island, specifically in reference to local place names. This information was requested in an attempt to preserve the traditional knowledge of the area and for use of educators and tourism officials.

Methodology and research planning

The study was initiated and designed using a participatory action research (PAR) approach, a methodology in which the scientist acts as a facilitator in research, where the goals of the project are set by the community. The community is involved at all stages of the decision-making related to the research and training is provided to local people interested in acquiring skills in community-based research (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992; Ryan & Robinson, 1990; Maguire, 1987)

Upon the identification of the Mallikjuaq Park study, three research trainees were selected by the research co-ordinator and the sub-committee¹. After two weeks of preliminary research, survey design, and workshops on the basics of social survey research, the *Mallikjuaq Island Research Team* presented the survey questions and information package to the sub-committee for approval.

Upon approval of the survey, thirty-four interviews were conducted (n=34) with members of the community selected by the research team. Elders and individuals involved in tourism were targeted, however, a good portion of the sample was chosen at random. Fifty-six percent of the sample was male, and 44% female. Four interviews were conducted with Qallunat (whites), and over 50% of the sample were above the age of 50.

The interviews were conducted and taped in Inuktitut by the research trainees, and roughly transcribed into English. The first stage of the interview was an information session in which

¹ Only two trainees participated in and completed the project.

details of park development, pertaining to the current planning activities and implications of park development on traditional land use, were explained by the research trainee to the interviewee. The interview questions were administered after informed consent was granted (refer to Appendix A for interview schedule in English and Inuktitut).

Survey Results

Attempts to understand the links between park development and tourism as well as the general attitude towards park development in Cape Dorset can be more readily accomplished by communicating with individuals in the community who are cognisant of these areas. It is also important to talk to the general public in order to gauge resident attitudes towards and knowledge of park development.

In developing Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park, tourism officials hope to preserve the archaeological heritage of the island as well as protect the site from gravel extraction, much needed for the maintenance of Dorset's road network. The development is also attractive from a tourism perspective in that it is a way to strengthen Cape Dorset's appeal as a tourist attraction. The hope is that increasing numbers of tourists arriving in the community to experience the commercial art industry may also be interested in a park which focuses on the pre-historic nature of the area. Do the aspirations of tourism planners in the community reflect those of the general public?

When asked about attitudes towards tourism development in Cape Dorset, 85% responded they were in favour of more tourists coming to the

community, with the most common response being that it would help boost the local economy in way of employment and purchases at local businesses. As was shown in previous studies (Milne 1995; MMM 1982), tourism has remained a visible force in the community as a potential means for sustainable economic development. Although many responded that they would like to see more tourism in Cape Dorset, over 50% were uncertain as to how it would bring direct benefits to them, which reinforces the reality of little tourism infrastructure in Cape Dorset.

More than 93% of those surveyed were in favour of the development of Mallikjuaq Island Historic park. When asked about the positive aspects of park development, however, it was interesting to note that very few people mentioned the increase in tourism (only 10%), which suggests that the majority of people believe that the arts and crafts sector in Cape Dorset will remain the primary lure for tourists entering the community. The responses may also suggest then that the links between park development and tourism are much weaker than the links between tourism and art in Cape Dorset.

Approximately 35% of those who discussed benefits from park development talked of the employment the park would create for people in the tourism industry, in the way of guiding and interpretive jobs. Twenty seven (27%) percent of those surveyed focused upon the educational and cultural relevance of the park and stated that it would provide a key to the past for the younger generation in the community.

When asked about park development, perhaps the most

interesting responses were concerning the impacts which park development may pose on traditional land use of the area. Over 20% of those surveyed felt that the park would impose too many restrictions upon their traditional use of the area, after having been told that, under the Territorial Parks Act, park development would not infringe upon their aboriginal rights to the land in question.

Over 50% stated that park development would not affect their traditional hunting activities. It was determined from survey information that Mallikjuaq Island has not been traditionally used as a camping spot for local people for a number of years, but it is still used throughout the year for hunting and primarily as a route to the outlying hunting and camping areas along the Baffin coast. Many people responded that they used other routes to get to their hunting and fishing spots. Under the Territorial Parks Act, as stated previously, Inuit retain rights within park boundaries to travel on motorized vehicles through the area, as well as the right to hunt, fish and extract stone for traditional purposes. These stipulations, however, are often worrisome to local people whom are removed from the legalities of what establishing a park entails. Over 50% of respondents stated that they would be willing to follow any rules about using the area as long as these did not effect their access to areas of importance for them and their family.

When asked about their feelings towards the establishment of Mallikjuaq park, the most common concern, particularly from male hunters, was, "I am in favour..... *as long as it will not effect the path that I chose to take to go hunting*" (Mallikjuaq Island

Development Survey). Other concerns included maintaining control over the organization, development and maintenance, soil conservation and municipal development constraints.

Information gathered from those surveyed pertaining to activity and facility development was generally reflected in the planning report produced by Laird (1991). Over 64% of those surveyed suggested activities for the park which included: enhancement and protection of Thule sites; informative signs containing historical information of the area; hiking trails; and walkways covering sensitive areas. Over 91% of those surveyed agreed that facility development, such as toilets, resting areas, shelters and walkways should be considered if demand reached a point whereby these structures were necessary. Ten percent of those individuals mentioned concerns about maintenance, and of those opposed to facility development, the most common concern was preserving the natural landscape of the area.

An important step in helping to facilitate community-based ownership of the park is deciding how the community should maintain involvement of the park's management plan. Over 85% of those surveyed responded that they were in favour of community-based management. Over 20% of those surveyed stated that Inuit know and understand the area best and, therefore should be an integral player in park development. Ten percent stated that a committee should be set up to deal with management issues. Approximately 7% stated that the community should not ignore help from outside experts in the efforts to run the park, and another 7% of the sample stated that a Inuktitut and

English speaking tourism co-ordinator and park manager should be hired to oversee the management of Mallikjuaq Island.

When asked about other areas which could be suitable for park development, 35% mentioned areas such as Keatuq, Tellik Bay, Qulutuk and Parketuq, all of which are included in the final development phase of development for surrounding Baffin coastal areas in the Laird study (see Appendix B).

During the time of the survey, the Department of Economic Development and Tourism delivered the *Mallikjuaq Island Trail Guide* which contained maps of the island with Inuktitut phrases. As part of the study, we wanted to collect traditional place names and meanings of the area, and we used the maps in the trail guide as prompts during the interview. Over 50% of those interviewed were unable to identify any place names other than *Mallikjuaq* (which is not the name of the island, but the highest hill on the island). Most of the remaining 50% who were able to respond were males over the age of 50, and are considered Elders in the community.

Upon examination of the maps, many of the Elders commented that the traditional names were missing from the map. The research team was able to collect over eight place names and most meanings. From this exercise it was determined that the guide had failed in one respect -- which was its inability to reflect the historic and cultural significance of the island to the residents of Cape Dorset through the mis-use of language.

V: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has attempted to highlight the links between public participation in decision-making related to park establishment and sustainable development in Cape Dorset. Gauging community attitudes towards park development in Cape Dorset helped to identify the major areas of concern in relation to the development of Mallikjuaq Island as well as highlighting what residents see as benefits and costs of the park development.

By surveying residents it was found that the major issues surrounding park development related to; the continuation of traditional land use, how to create community "ownership", management structures and community involvement in decision-making, the linkages between park development and tourism, and conservation of the island's physical and cultural resources.

Sustainable benefits were identified as an increase in long term employment, use of the park for educational purposes and the protection and preservation of the heritage sites on the island. Costs were identified as the uncertainty of how park regulation would infringe upon traditional use of the island and future municipal land use.

The exploration into resident attitudes towards the development of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park, however, did reveal general support for the project. The survey proved beneficial in serving to educate those interviewed about park development and in helping to gauge the feeling in Cape Dorset with regards to the initial stages of infrastructure establishment.

Conclusions and recommendations, drawn from conclusions of the community-based survey and a review of relevant literature on tourism and park development, are outlined below. The *Mallikjuaq Island Research Team* has produced seven basic recommendations to be considered by those involved in community development and tourism in Cape Dorset.

Recommendation 1

According to survey results, community attitudes towards the development of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park are positive and development should proceed. Before proceeding, however, it will be necessary to ensure that issues surrounding park developments are made public to the community and can be dealt with at the community level.

ACTION: The re-organization of the Mallikjuaq Island Steering Committee may help to establish a link between Economic Development and Tourism, park activities and the general public in the future.

Background: Residential attitudes towards the development of Mallikjuaq Historic Park were positive. Over 93% of those surveyed were in favour of park development. The level of knowledge about local and regional plans for park development was relatively low (50% did not discuss specifics of park development or did not know about the plans for park development.), which suggests that the information surrounding park plans has been non-existent in recent years. Over 91% of

those surveyed felt that the community should be involved in the management of the park.

Recommendation 2

Although links between park development and tourism exist, they are not strong. As such, community involvement in decision-making concerning community benefits from park development should not be sacrificed in order to coincide with increased tourism. Park establishment should, therefore, be implemented in conjunction with the community's land use, educational and recreational needs as well as for tourism development.

ACTION: Co-ordination should be attempted between the Mallikjuaq Steering Committee, Tourism Co-ordinator, Recreation committee and interested Education officials through regular meetings should help to create linkages between these issues.

Background: Survey results and previous research (Milne et al. 1995; MMM 1982) indicate that links between park development and tourism are weak in comparison to the potential links between tourism and the arts and crafts sector in Cape Dorset. As was reflected in the survey response, the primary lure for tourists to Cape Dorset is for its carving and printmaking. Mallikjuaq Island will stand to serve as an addition to a "cultural" tourism concept for the community.

The development of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park provides a strong link to cultural education. As was

shown by survey results, 27% felt that a more positive benefit to park development will be the educational benefits for Cape Dorset's younger generation as well as the preservation of the archaeological heritage of the island.

Recommendation 3

Efforts should be made to investigate the possibility of transferring management of Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park responsibilities from Economic Development & Tourism to the Hamlet.

ACTION: Individuals involved in park planning at the community level should contact the communities of Arviat and Baker Lake for more information on the strategies employed in park development in their communities.

Background: With the transfer of services and programs to the Hamlet through the community transfer initiative, management of the park could be effectively handled under Community Development. This would help in the community becoming involved in park management. Other communities in the Canadian Arctic such as Arviat and Baker Lake, which have developed territorial parks using a community-based approach have had success due to a feeling of ownership in the development process.

Recommendation 4

An attempt should be made to re-design the maps contained in the Mallikjuaq Island Trail Guide such that they reflect the traditional

knowledge of the island with respect to local place names.

ACTION: The results of the place names project should be sent to David Monteith, (Parks Supervisor Baffin district) to be incorporated into the second production run of the Mallikjuaq Island Trail Guide. This will make the map section of the guide accessible to Inuit residents, both for educational and recreational purposes.

Background: The Mallikjuaq Island Trail Guide is a bilingual document which takes the user through the history and landscape of the island. The maps located at the back, however, do not contain any of the local place names for the island. English constructs have been literally translated and do not make sense to Inuit users. The Mallikjuaq Island Research Team collected place names and their meanings which will be superimposed on the map for future publication.

Recommendation 5

The development of a successful tourism infrastructure in Cape Dorset is contingent upon linking the commercial arts sector with tourism. The development of Mallikjuaq Park should enhance the tourism package in Cape Dorset, but alone will not effect tourism significantly.

ACTION: (a) Efforts to lobby the government for funds to build the Kingnait Cultural Center should be kept up and those involved in arts and crafts in the community should make an attempt to forge realistic links with

those involved in the tourism sector. (b) A small carving and craft shop should be implemented into the plans for the BTC Visitor Center when it is built. (c) The establishment of a tourist hostel or the development of a home stay program may be a more positive alternative to the Kingnait Inn, which has been unsuccessful at catering to tourists.

Background: Survey results showed that few people talked about the benefits the park would have on tourism (10%). As well the research coordinator talked to many tourists during June and July of 1995, all of whom addressed the inability of the Kingnait Inn to cater to their needs.

In relation to tourism and sustainable economic development in Cape Dorset, the establishment of Mallikjuaq Island is one step towards building a tourism infrastructure in the community. It alone, however, will not attract tourism to the community unless other essential infrastructure is developed.

Recommendation 6

The Laird report should be used by the tourism committee in Cape Dorset as a guideline for park development. It should, however, be re-evaluated on a regular basis and used alongside community-based strategies in managing Mallikjuaq Island Historic Park.

ACTION: As part of the re-evaluation of the Laird study, the community's tourism co-ordinator should keep in contact with Laird and Economic Development and Tourism

to help build linkages and partnerships in park planning. This will help the tourism co-ordinator in her/his efforts to develop methods of community-based park planning.

Background: The Laird report (1991) is a document which reflects the historic significance of Mallikjuaq Island and the people of Cape Dorset. Information regarding planning and development collected during the survey was similar to community feelings outlined in the report during 1990/91. The "phased development" approach will allow for control of planning steps, depending on demand and the level of development which residents wish to see occur.

Recommendation #7

When soliciting the help of outside consultants in community affairs the Council should insist that a participatory framework be used in the consultation or planning project. Participatory methods in research and community planning ensure that community members are involved in the identification, design and planning of the project. This creates community-based ownership and fosters positive partnerships between outsiders and the community, instead of producing "top down" initiatives which may not be sustainable according to community members.

ACTION: Before consultants or researchers enter the community or are hired to complete a contract, when appropriate, the Hamlet should enquire as to how the individual will

involve community members, what plans the person is making to conduct follow-up and what funds are available to employ locals during the project.

Background: The *Mallikjuaq Island Development Survey* was initiated, organized and implemented by the community of Cape Dorset. The facilitator of the project took direction from an advisory committee and then helped to organize the survey with a team of local researchers. The *Mallikjuaq Island Research Team* were able to conduct all interviews in Inuktitut and questions were asked in a culturally appropriate manner. The project was completed and presented to council for approval and follow up was negotiated in the community before the facilitator left.

Appendix A:
Mallikjuaq Island Development Survey

RESEARCH TEAM:

1. Emily Ottokie
2. Moses Qimirpik
3. Shannon Ward

INTRODUCTION

- Good afternoon, we would like to interview you about the development of Mallikjuaq Island as a Territorial Historic Park. Are you interested in talking to us? We will give you some background information first about who we are and what has happened with Mallikjuaq Island in the last couple of years.

- We are part of the Mallikjuaq Island Research Team, which was formed by the Community Development Sub-Committee and Shannon Ward from the University of Manitoba. My name is _____ and this is _____ (etc.).

- In the early 1980's Mallikjuaq Island was selected by some consultants as a good place to put a Territorial park. Since that time some detailed plans have been made by Economic Development and Tourism in Iqaluit about how the park should be developed. In 1991 a study was completed by John Laird in Iqaluit regarding a development plan.

- We are asking questions to you about Mallikjuaq Island because the community development sub-committee feels it is important to get your opinion on park development before the project is fully implemented. We also want to collect any information that you have on Mallikjuaq Island and the other sites around Cape Dorset, for example

Keatuk, which might be of interest to tourists.

- Last week a representative from Economic Development and Tourism, David Monteith, gave Council an updated report about the progress made with tourism development in Cape Dorset. This is what he told us. This summer the old Baffin Trading Company Building (Beside the hotel) will be partly renovated as a tourist information center for tourists to visit. It should be ready next summer. A detailed hiking and trail guide has been developed for Mallikjuaq Island (have guide with you to show person). So the first phase of development has begun. A crew of archaeologists has begun to restore the Thule houses on Mallikjuaq. And plans for park development should be occurring over the next ten years.

- We also learned that the development of the park will not effect your hunting or fishing rights on Mallikjuaq Island. You will still be able to use the island as a way to travel to Fish Lakes in the spring. You will not, however, be able to disturb the tundra areas on the island by irresponsible use of your ski-doo or four wheeler.

- If developed, the park will be a place for local people as well as tourists. It could be a place to educate your children about the past and to provide jobs and attract tourists. There could, however, be some drawbacks to having a park developed in Cape Dorset and it is important that the community be included in the planning and running of the park. That is why we are here to talk to you about your opinions.

- We would like to tape this interview. The tape will remain in the Hamlet office and will be kept for

historical purposes. We will not use this tape, or the translation for any other purposes other than this study. Can we ask your permission to tape this interview? (If yes, turn the tape recorder on).

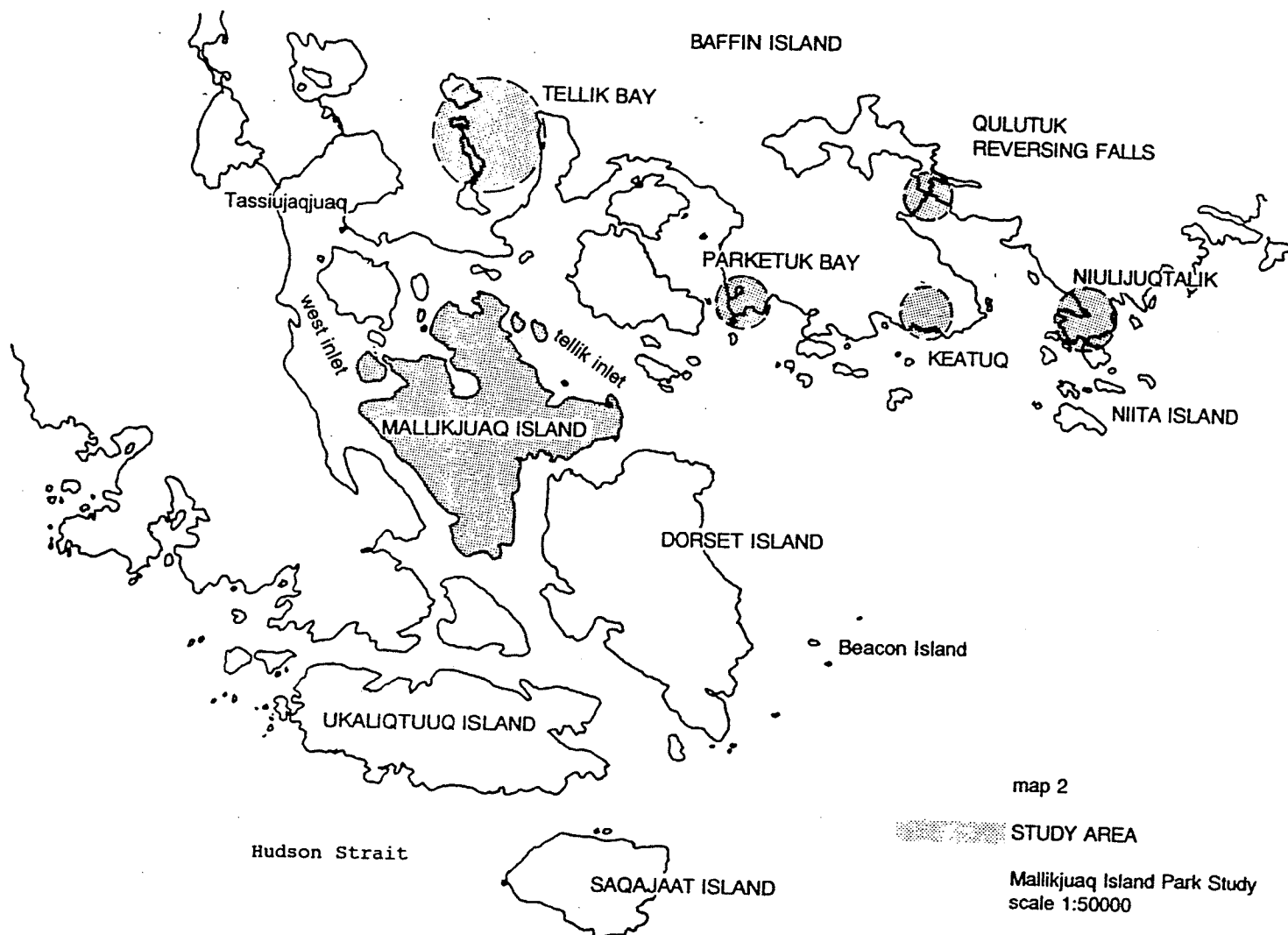
• **Given what we have just explained to you, do you agree to talk to us about Mallikjuaq Island and park development?** (you should get this part on tape).

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) If you don't mind us asking, what is your name and your age? And are you originally from Cape Dorset?
- 2) Can you tell us any stories about Mallikjuaq Island which you remember from growing up or from having visited there?
- 3) What do you think about the tourists coming in to our community?
- 4) What would you like or think of Mallikjuaq Island being developed as a park?
- 5) What kind of activities can you suggest for the park if it is developed?
- 6) How will you and your family benefit from Mallikjuaq Island being turned into a park?
- 7) If Mallikjuaq Island becomes completely developed as a historic park, the plan from Yellowknife (Parks) is to build toilets, shelters, walkways, and other facilities to make it comfortable for the tourists. Would you like to see this happen? Why or why not?
- 8) Should the community be involved in the organization, development and administration of Mallikjuaq Island if and when it becomes a park? If so, how?
- 9) If Mallikjuaq Island becomes a Territorial park you will still be able to hunt and fish on the island and travel across it to fish at the fish lakes or to other hunting grounds. You will have to be more aware, however, of tourists during tourist season and not use Mallikjuaq Island for recreational ski-doo and 4 wheeler use. How will that effect you and your traditional hunting activities?
- 10) Do you know names of any areas on Mallikjuaq Island? And do you know anything about why it has this name? Can you point it out on this map?
- 11) What other areas around Cape Dorset would be suitable for park development?

- [illegible]

Appendix B
Map of Seekooseelak Area²
 (Includes Cape Dorset, Mallikjuaq
 Island and surrounding Baffin
 Coastline)



² Source: Laird 1991.

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APPENDIX D

ENGLISH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE MALLIK ISLAND PARK STUDY

- If you don't mind us asking, what is your name and your age? Are you originally from Cape Dorset?
- Can you tell us any stories about Mallikjuaq Island which you remember from your childhood or from having visited there?
- What do you think about tourists coming to our community?
- What would you think of Mallikjuaq Island being developed as a park?
- If you were in charge of developing the island what kinds of things would you arrange for the tourist to do and see?
- Do you think you and your family will benefit from Mallikjuaq Island being turned into a park? If so, how?
- If Mallikjuaq Island becomes completely developed as a historic park, the plan from Yellowknife (Parks) is to build toilets, shelters, walkways, and other facilities to make it comfortable for the tourists. Would you like to see this happen? Why or why not?
- Should the community be involved in the organization, development and administration of Mallikjuaq Island if it becomes a park? If so, how?
- If Mallikjuaq Island becomes a Territorial park you will still be able to hunt and fish on the island and travel across it to fish at the fish lakes or to get to other hunting grounds. You will have to be more aware, however, of tourists during tourist season and not use Mallikjuaq Island for recreational ski-doo and four wheeler use. How do you think this will effect you and your traditional hunting activities?
- What other areas around Cape Dorset can you think of that would be suitable for park development?