

**Collaborative Management, Differential Discourse, and Youth Engagement;  
A Case Study of Auyuittuq National Park, Nunavut**

By

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## **ABSTRACT**

The collaborative management arrangements in place for Nunavut's National Parks demonstrated a shifting trend in Canadian resource management, where Indigenous people are increasingly involved in the governance of traditional lands. This work considered the arrangement in place for Auyuittuq National Park, Nunavut, by exploring the effect that differential discourse had on policy formation and implementation. To focus the research on a single management issue youth engagement was selected for consideration. Employing a qualitative case study strategy of inquiry, data was collected by conducting 50 interviews and 7 focus groups in the park adjacent community of Pangnirtung. The project findings indicated that the Parks Canada Agency's discourse maintained a dominant position within the management process, such that many of the youth engagement strategies implemented did not account for Inuit cultural practices. As a consequence of this omission, many of the implemented methods were unintuitive to the community, and in some cases served as a barrier to youth participation.

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**DEDICATION**



Petalu Kakee  
(1981 - 2014)

An Elder in all but years.

## **GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS**

ANP – Auyuittuq National Park

IIBA – Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement

IKWG – Inuit Knowledge Working Group

JPMC – Joint Park Management Committee

NFU – Nunavut Field Unit

NLCA – Nunavut Land Claim Agreement

PPT – Park Planning Team

QIA – Qikiqtani Inuit Association

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## **CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION**

Parks and protected areas have historically been governed by state level organizations that make use of top-down management approaches (Fenge 1993; McNamee 2009). While this approach may address the goals and aspirations of the governing organization, it is equally important to consider how management decisions could affect members of the public (Borrini-Feyerabend 1996). Accordingly, public participation fora are often used to generate a dialogue between the management organization and those whom have a vested interest in a given project (Arnstein 1969; Borrini-Feyerabend 1996). This may take place through a variety of techniques (see Arnstein 1969), yet at the heart of public participation is the organization's willingness to share information and gather input from a variety of stakeholders (Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency 2008).

Although public participation may take place through tokenistic efforts such as information sessions, consultation, and or placation (Arnstein 1969), management organizations that are willing to include the public in the decision-making process may enter into a mutually beneficial partnership (Borrini-Feyerabend 1996). This approach seeks to address the needs of all invested parties by sharing decision-making authority and management responsibilities (Berkes 2009). The organization accordingly, relinquishes some of its power to foster conflict resolution, decentralize authority, and democratize decision-making (Armitage et al. 2007). Should such an arrangement become formalized, this may be referred to as collaborative or co-management (Armitage et al. 2007; Berkes 2009).

What is important to acknowledge is the instrumental role that state level organizations play in the development of collaborative management arrangements. Given that the organization possesses the sole authority over when and how public participation is to occur (Borrini-Feyerabend 1996), it is foreseeable that some of the organizations pre-existing notions of management could be built into the framework that governs the collaborative management regime. Consequently, the organizations discourse and ‘rules of management’ may remain intact following the formation of the new management body, subsequently influencing future policies and initiatives. Acknowledging that parties with a vested interest may hold alternative discourses, it is plausible that some individuals may not feel comfortable participating with policies and initiatives that do not fit within their way of knowing. Accordingly, the collaborative management arrangement in place for the National Park system in Nunavut provided an excellent opportunity to explore the effects of differential discourse on public participation.

### **1.1 Background and Context**

To provide context for the collaborative management arrangement explored through this project, it is first important to briefly review certain aspects of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement. Ratified on July 9, 1993, the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (NLCA) represents the union and legal recognition of Inuit self-government and land title rights (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1993). To ensure that Nunavut’s natural resources would be available to present and future generations of Inuit and non-Inuit residents, several resource specific Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreements (IIBA) were signed, outlining how crown and territorial resources are to be managed by the Canadian

and Nunavut Governments (Parks Canada and Qikiqtani Inuit Association 1999). As parks and protected areas are a form of natural resource management, the NLCA and the IIBA for Auyuittuq, Qutinirpaaq, and Sirmilik National Parks outline a number of specific responsibilities that Parks Canada must satisfy in order to establish and manage national parks in the Territory of Nunavut (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1993; Parks Canada and Qikiqtani Inuit Association 1999).

Of particular importance to this discussion is the legislated requirement to form a collaborative management board through which local residents may participate in park management (Parks Canada and Qikiqtani Inuit Association 1999). This is in response to Nunavut's predominant Inuit population, who a) hold a unique worldview regarding how natural resources should be used and managed, b) maintain a close economic and spiritual relationship with the landscape, and c) possess local and traditional knowledge that may be useful for park planning. Parks Canada has accordingly established a Joint Inuit/Government Park Planning and Management Committee; more commonly referred to as a Joint Park Management Committee (JPMC), in the three national parks mentioned previously (Parks Canada and Qikiqtani Inuit Association 1999). Composed of three government appointed officials and an equal number of Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) representatives, the JPMC's act as an advisory board to Parks Canada's Nunavut Field Unit superintendent. Together, the JPMC and the Park Planning Team (PPT), also composed of local Inuit representatives, develop a Park Management Plan that seeks to satisfy Parks Canada's official mandate (see Parks Canada 2002), while also addressing the needs and aspirations of local residents (Parks Canada and Qikiqtani Inuit Association 1999).

In addition to the legislated requirement of the JPMCs, Parks Canada also initiated the Inuit Knowledge Project in 2005 as a means to further ensure the inclusion of local and traditional Inuit knowledge in the park management decision-making process (Parks Canada 2010). As a result, *Inuit Knowledge Working Groups* (IKWGs) have been established for Auyuittuq, Qutiniirpaaq, and Sirmilik National Parks, and are typically composed of a JPMC member, a Hunters and Trappers Organization (HTO) representative, community Elders, and local youth.

The JPMCs, PPTs and IKWGs have each been designed to facilitate an open and dynamic dialogue where the interests and perspectives of both Parks Canada and local residents may be represented, acknowledged and incorporated into the management of Nunavut's National Parks. In theory, this would imply that Parks Canada's institutional discourse would blend with the discourses held by Inuit to create a unique approach to park management. Through such a process the policies and initiatives subsequently developed would in theory, be well suited to Inuit cultural values and social institutions.

However, given Parks Canada's instrumental role in the establishment of the JPMCs, PPTs and IKWGs, and that these bodies fit within the organizations broad bureaucratic structure, it is foreseeable that Parks Canada's institutional discourse may continue to influence the management decision-making process. Prior to commencing data collection in the fall of 2012, a preliminary review of Auyuittuq National Park's 2010-2015 Park Management Plan suggested that this could be the case (Parks Canada 2010).

As the Auyuittuq National Park JPMC and Pangnirtung IKWG have previously expressed their desire to connect local youth (defined by the Hamlet of Pangnirtung as

individuals aged 13-30 years) to Inuit culture and Elders through the use of the park (Parks Canada 2010; ANP IKWG meeting minutes August 2005), this aspiration and management issue provided an excellent opportunity to explore the influence that Parks Canada's institutional discourse exerts over Auyuittuq National Park's management structure, and determine whether the resulting policies adequately address Inuit cultural values and social institutions.

## **1.2 Research Purpose and Objectives**

The goal of this project is to investigate the effects of differential discourse on youth engagement with Auyuittuq National Park and park related activities. Specifically, the objectives of this research are to:

1. Document the discourses that shape youth engagement opportunities;
2. Understand how social institutions and cultural values influence youth participation; and,
3. Document youth aspirations for participation.

## **1.3 General Research Methods and Methodology**

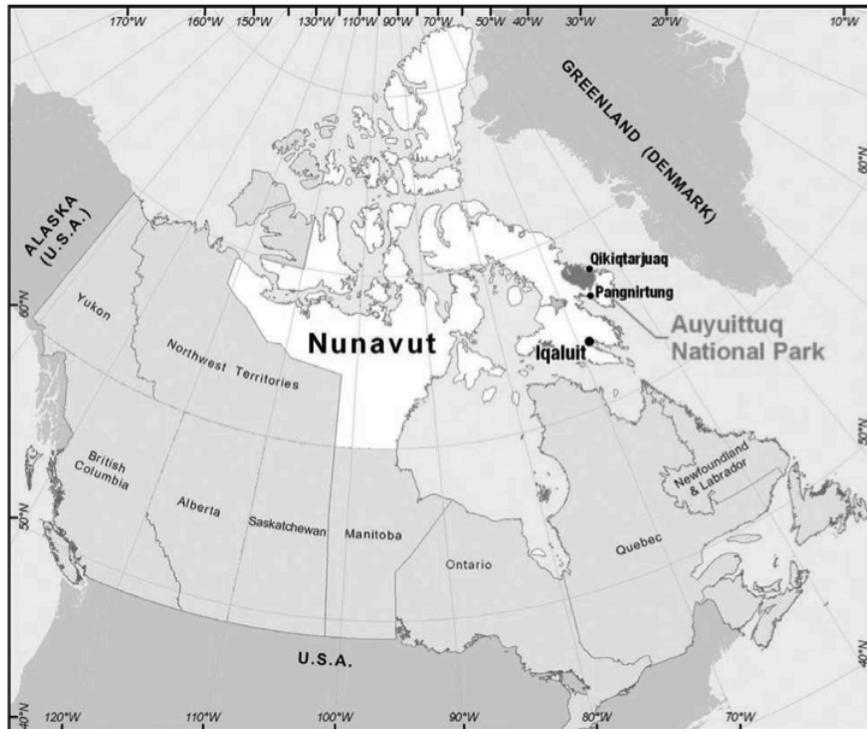
This project was conducted in close association with Parks Canada's Nunavut Field Unit, the Auyuittuq National Park Office, the Auyuittuq National Park Joint Park Management Committee (JPMC), the Inuit Knowledge Working Group (IKWG) of Pangnirtung, and the Pangnirtung Youth Council.

Working within the social constructivist and pragmatic philosophical worldview, a case study strategy of inquiry was employed to guide data collection (Creswell 2009). This methodological framework specifically sought to interpret the world through the eyes of those under study, while also acknowledging that cross-cultural research often

requires an interactive adaptive approach (Nelson 1991). The inclusion of the later strategy was based upon the belief that to understand a social phenomenon, one must first understand how the social actors themselves perceive and interpret their own actions (Hamel et al. 1993). Accordingly, by including a degree of flexibility into the projects methodological framework, the data collection methods employed could easily be adapted to suit the research context (Nelson 1991). Given the two interacting, yet distinct groups involved in this research project, specifically those whom align with Parks Canada's discourse and those whom identify with Inuit values, the data collection methods used were carefully tailored to the needs of each group (Nelson 1991). The specific methods employed included document review, participant observation, photo elicitation, unstructured and semi-structured interviews, and focus groups. Accurate and detailed records were also kept throughout the entire data collection process to facilitate the subsequent data analysis and writing processes.

#### **1.4 Study Area**

This project was focused on Auyuittuq National Park, which is located on Baffin Island, Nunavut (See Figure 1). As there are no permanent residents residing within the national park, data collection took place within the adjacent community of Pangnirtung, Nunavut (66°08'N; 65°41'W).



(Fig. 1. Location of Auyuittuq National Park in Canada. Parks Canada 2010, x)

#### 1.4.1 Auyuittuq National Park

Straddling the Arctic Circle in an ecological transition between the High Arctic and Low Arctic vegetation zones (Parks Canada 2010), Auyuittuq National Park is characterized by deep U-shaped valleys, towering mountains, the Penny Ice Cap, and glacial fed rivers and streams (Miller and Bradley 1976). Established in 1974 as a national park reserve, Auyuittuq received national park status on April 1<sup>st</sup> of 1999 with the ratification of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (Parks Canada 2010; Fenge & Quassa 2009). As Canada's largest, and Nunavut's best-known national park, Auyuittuq receives 400 to 600 national and international visitors, as well as an unrecorded number of Inuit Land Claim Beneficiaries, annually. Visitation takes place through a variety of means, including hiking, backcountry hiking, technical climbing, backcountry ski

touring, glacier travel, guided snowmobile visits, occasional dog team trips, boating, and more recently, through cruise ship expeditions (Parks Canada 2010).

As Inuit have historically used the lands now designated as Auyuittuq National Park for traditional purposes, the NLCA and the corresponding IIBA accordingly stipulate that traditional land use rights be upheld within the protected area (Parks Canada and Qikiqtani Inuit Association 1999). Accordingly, many Inuit continue to use the park and the surrounding landscape to engage in various cultural activities. This includes overland travel, and the collection of terrestrial and marine resources through hunting, trapping, and fishing expeditions.

#### **1.4.2 Pagnirtung, Nunavut**

The hamlet of Pagnirtung, Nunavut, is located roughly 32 kilometers south of Auyuittuq National Park along the Pagnirtung Fjord. Founded in 1921 as a remote Hudson Bay Post, the community is presently composed of 1,425 permanent residents, the majority of whom identify as Inuit (Statistics Canada 2012a). Alongside such modern amenities as personal vehicles, retail stores, and educational facilities, traditional Inuit culture continues to play a vital and vibrant role within the community. Women carrying children in traditional *amauti*, and men departing on hunting expeditions, may regularly be observed.

Pagnirtung is also home to Auyuittuq National Park's primary office, the second less frequently visited office is located in the neighboring community of Qikiqtarjuaq. To access the park, visitors typically travel to the community by commercial airline, where they will register their expedition with the Auyuittuq National Park office,

familiarize themselves with the potential park dangers, purchase supplies, and then secure a local guide to assist with boat transportation to the park entrance.



Auyuittuq National Park Office, Pangnirtung, Nunavut (Photo Credit: Amy Brown 2012)

### **1.5 Research Significance**

The significance of this research is two-fold, being both academic in nature and grounded within a particular case study. From an academic perspective this work may provide insight into the effects of differential discourse within a collaborative management arrangement, and how this social attribute may influence public participation and the meaningful incorporation of stakeholder aspirations into decision-making. In addition to the topic of collaborative management, this work will add to the growing body of literature contemplating youth participation in natural resource management.

For Parks Canada and the residents of Pangnirtung, this project is intended to investigate a community identified research priority, specifically the promotion of youth

engagement with park management and park related activities. Furthermore, the results of this project may shed light into 1) Parks Canada's assumptions regarding youth engagement, 2) social factors that promote and inhibit youth participation with existing engagement methods, and 3) provide guidance on the creation of future engagement opportunities that account for social factors and community aspirations for youth engagement with Parks Canada. With these aspects in mind, the IKWG of Pangnirtung, the Auyuittuq National Park JPMC, and Park Manager; Delia Siivola, each expressed their support for the project's research purpose and objectives in the spring of 2012.

## CHAPTER II – LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of a literature review is to provide the theoretical context within which the project is situated. The following chapter accordingly explores discourse, institutional discourse and power, Inuit social institutions and cultural values, the benefits of youth participation in collaborative management, and a brief discussion on the existing Auyuittuq National Park youth engagement strategies.

### 2.1 Discourse

As this work focuses on the effects of differential discourse in collaborative management, it is important to clearly define the term *discourse* as it is understood and applied to the project. This is an important step as the literature indicates that several different disciplines, specifically those who align with cultural theory, linguistics, and psychology, each make reference to a unique interpretation of the term (Mills 1997). This project will make use of the cultural theory perspective, and draw on the work of Michael Foucault.

To begin this discussion, Fowler et al. (1979) suggests that as individuals experience, interpret, and cognitively organize their physical and social surroundings, language is used to socially negotiate and decipher different aspects of the world. Through this process a segment of society, here-forth referred to as a social group, collectively contemplate a given phenomenon and in doing so determines which interpretations hold truth for the social group, and which are to be understood as false (Douglas 1986; Mills 1997). From here, a collection of words and statements gradually become associated with a specific phenomenon, in turn producing a unique dialogue that is used to discuss and describe this and other similar experiences in the future (Foucault

1982; Mills 1997). As an example, medical professionals make use of a unique set of terms and concepts that have been derived for the sole purpose of exchanging ideas and information between members of a specific social group.

Although linguists argue that such dialogues are intended for communicative purposes (Fowler 1979; Mills 1997), Foucault (1982) suggests that a wealth of knowledge may be gained by understanding the underlying meaning implied through spoken and or written language. From this perspective, he argues that dialogue is a verbal manifestation of thought, which in itself systematically contributes to the collective perceptions and dialogue of the social group. Accordingly, as individuals take part in this process, consistent sets of interpretations are subconsciously perpetuated amongst the social groups membership (Douglas 1986). This uniformity is evident when considering the systematicity of ideas, opinions, concepts, ways of thinking, and behaviors exhibited by a particular social group (Mills 1997). Given such consistency, a discourse may therefore be defined as a standardized category of thought, which is created by and manifested through spoken and or written language, and held in common by individuals within a particular social group (Foucault 1982; Mills 1997). This work accordingly seeks to explore the patterns of thought held in common by a given social group, rather than paying specific attention to word choice.

### **2.1.2 Discourse, Interaction, and Power**

Acknowledging that discourse is based on the social negotiation of a particular phenomenon (Foucault 1982), each independent social group will inevitably make unique interpretations and ergo produce contextually situated dialogue (Fowler 1979; Mills 1997). Yet, as relatively few social groups exist in complete isolation, social interaction

between various social groups allows for the exposure and diffusion of alternative interpretations (Mills, 1997). Such encounters typically cause each social group to critically reflect upon their own way of thinking, and may contribute to one of the following scenarios. On the one hand, if the social group does not consider the other social groups interpretations to be accurate or true, they may reject these notions in favour of their own interpretations, thus reinforcing their existing discourse (Mills 1997). On the other hand, some of the new ideas may resonate with the social groups pre-existing ideologies. Should such a scenario arise, the new ideas may be incorporated into the social groups existing way of knowing, resulting in a modified or blended discourse (Mills 1997).

While social interaction often results in the mutual exchange of ideas, Foucault (1982) has argued that differential access to power may influence the incorporation process. To Foucault (1982), the term power pertains to the authority that some individuals and or social groups hold, which provides them with the ability to produce and define knowledge that is somehow more widely accepted and considered more legitimate than the ideas developed by other individuals or social groups. This suggests that some social roles relate to one another by being in a position of dominance or submission, for example doctors and patients, teachers and students, employers and employees, elders and youth (Erickson and Murphy 2003). Foucault (1982) argues that whichever role dominates the relationship will ultimately control the ideological conditions under which knowledge, truth, and ultimately reality are defined (Erickson and Murphy 2003). This notion also applies to instances where various social groups interact, as differential power and authority will influence the knowledge that is most

readily accepted as truth (Mills 1997). It is therefore not uncommon for the group with lesser authority to defer to the more dominant group's knowledge and opinions, consequently recalibrating their own discourse to meet the initials.

### **2.1.3 Institutional Discourse and Power**

In instances where a collection of individuals from various backgrounds who possess independent discourses are required to approach and contemplate a particular phenomenon, it is common for power dynamics to influence their subsequent discussions and decisions (Mills 1997; Linell 1998). Should this group of individuals be connected through a formal arrangement and meet regularly, such as members of a given organization, it is possible that a hybridized discourse may gradually develop and be used to frame the organization's affairs (Linell 1998). However, it is important to acknowledge that the new discourse may not necessarily be composed of equal contributions from all of the contributing discourses. Rather, the discourse held by those who have power and authority over the other members may strongly influence and dominant the new discourse (Linell 1998). Individuals participating in such a process are generally unaware of the prevailing thought style, as those with alternative discourses are still able to contribute to the group's discussions unimpeded (Douglas 1986). Nonetheless, such contributions are typically filtered through, and adjusted to fit within the dominant discourse, thus the resulting policies and initiatives are typically inline with the prevailing discourse (Linell 1998).

## **2.2 Social Institutions and Cultural Values**

Provided that discourse reflects how a social group understands and conceptualizes the physical and social world (Mills 1997), discourse will also influence

individual practice through social institutions and cultural values (Akhavi 1998; Martin 2004). Here, a set of socially negotiated principles, rules, customs, and norms, crosscut various social groups within a society to guide the collective behavior of individuals (Akhavi 1998; Martin 2004).

### **2.2.1 Social Institutions Defined**

Reflecting on society from a macro scale, the term ‘social institution’ implies definitive organizational patterns of behavior, which guide and influence the collective behavior of individuals within a given society (Akhavi 1998; Martin 2004). Such patterns are profoundly social, as each social institution is based upon social negotiation, recursive practices, and the ascribed association of meaning with particular actions (Martin 2004). Familiar examples include gender, kinship, and religion.

Within each social institution are a series of interrelated social roles, positions, and relationships, which independently and as a collective shape individual behavior (Martin 2004). For example, ascribed and achieved social roles such as woman, wife, and mother, become a part of an individual’s identity, as individuals within the broader society will engage with the given individual, and or a group of individuals, through a series of social expectations, rules, and norms (Martin 2004). This association leads to the promotion or inhibition of certain behaviors and actions (Martin 2004). Furthermore, some social roles have differential access to power, or are positions with allocated privileges and or advantages over subordinate roles (Martin 2004). Thus, as individuals adhere and conform to the expectations associated with their social role, they are simultaneously reinforcing and perpetuating the social role and the social institutions to which they belong (Martin 2004).

### **2.2.2 Inuit Social Institutions**

Contemporary Inuit social institutions, akin to the social institutions of other cultural groups, are complex, multifaceted, and include interrelated concepts such as kinship, marriage, religion, language, gender, and generational sodalities (Martin 2004; Stern 2010). As organizational patterns, beliefs, and principles are based on generations of social negotiation, the social institutions found within any contemporary society are rooted in the way the societies predecessors had perceived and interacted with the world (Martin 2004; Owljot 2008). With regards to the Inuit, many contemporary social institutions remain in tune with those developed, shaped, and shared by their semi-nomadic, hunter-gatherer ancestors. In particular, generational sodalities and gender stand out as two aspects most likely to affect Inuit youth engagement with Parks Canada and Auyuittuq National Park.

#### **2.2.2.1 Generational Sodalities**

The term ‘generational sodality’ has been applied to this project as a means to identify peer groups primarily based on age, and defined in association with distinct social roles and behaviors. While acknowledging the social categories of infancy and childhood, the following section will focus on the generational sodalities described as youth; including both adolescence and young adults, as well as adults, and Elders. As Inuit society tends to apply a fluid and flexible definition to ascribed statuses, it is important to note that an individual’s designation may be adjusted periodically to accommodate situational and contextual factors. With this point in mind, the following section discusses each generational sodality through the general social trends associated with each. Additionally, provided the shifting cultural landscape presently experienced

by contemporary Inuit, traditional and modern examples of each designation have been provided.

As previously noted, the term ‘youth’ has been used to describe those individuals whom range from thirteen to thirty years of age. While prior to European contact and the ultimate settlement of Inuit in permanent communities, individuals within this category were considered to be fully functioning adults. The contemporary designations of adolescence, aged thirteen to nineteen, and young adults, aged twenty to thirty, are characterized by considerably fewer responsibilities and significantly more free time than experienced by their parents and grandparents at similar ages (Condon 1988). Traditionally, well established gender roles and responsibilities would see young men and women taking on household and harvesting responsibilities respectively (Stern 2010). In contrast and in connection to the influence of southern-Canadian culture, modern Inuit youth are encouraged to use this time frame to pursue formal and informal educational opportunities (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). However, provided the Inuit ethos of non-interference, as to be discussed in detail below, Condon (1988) suggests that limited social pressure exists to reinforce the youth’s decision to attend high school or secure meaningful employment. As a result, many adolescents spend a great deal of time socializing with their peers (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). Young adults on the other hand, including individuals aged twenty to thirty, tend to embrace the responsibilities traditionally associated with adulthood.

Akin to historical times, the contemporary Inuit adult is largely concerned with tending to the needs of the family and community. As gender continues to be the primary agent through which labour and social roles are divided, men and women are charged

with a series of socially ascribed responsibilities (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006; Stern 2010). Adulthood is accordingly a period of time where men and women couple, raise children, care for senior family members, and participate in contemporary and or traditional economies. As first hand personal experience is regarded as reflection of knowledge, the more senior an individual within this category, the more merit and respect ones knowledge tends to command within the community.

Acknowledging this point, the final generational sodality to be discussed is associated with the most senior and well-respected group in Inuit society, the Elders. As these men and women possess decade's worth of personal experience, Elders are often regarded as the keepers of Inuit culture, language, and knowledge (Condon 1988; Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006; Stern 2010). Subject to the health of each individual, members of this demographic are known to participate in the traditional Inuit economy of subsistence hunting, fishing, and collecting, as well as serve as a consultant on matters relating to the family and the community.

#### **2.2.2.2 Gender**

A second prominent social institution within Inuit culture is gender. Described by Martin (2004) as a socially constructed and ascribed social status, gender is typically expressed through patterns of behavior, and reinforced through cultural norms, customs, and social expectations. As each society employs a unique and contextually situated pattern of gender, traditional Inuit gender expressions differ widely from the European model.

While traditional western notions of gender tend to link biological sex with masculinity and femininity, anthropologists and ethnographers over the years, including Saladin d'Anglure (1994 and 2005) have argued that the Inuit make use of three genders,

specifically that biological males express masculinity, biological females express femininity, and that a third gender exists where biological males and females perform a blended gender that incorporates aspects of masculinity and femininity. Trott (2006) however, suggests an alternative interpretation, stating that the arctic environment favours those with an aptitude for adaptability and resilience. He dispels the notion of a third gender by emphasizing the ascribed nature of this social institution. Trott (2006) suggests that regardless of biological sex, an individual may be ascribed the masculine or feminine roll, and that a single individual may express either gender given a particular set of cultural circumstances. Trott (2006) goes on to argue that the gender expressed by an individual in a given moment is directly correlated to Inuit cosmology and spirituality. However, such topics fall beyond the scope of this work. Based on Trott's (2006) interpretations, the remaining portion of this section will be used to discuss the social roles associated with masculinity and femininity, acknowledging that each may be performed by either biological sex.

Reflecting on the time period prior to European contact, traditional gender divisions of labour enabled the Inuit to thrive as independent nomadic family units in an environment characterized by widely dispersed natural resources (Briggs 1974; Billson and Mancini 2007). Complementary gender specific roles were able to provide a small degree of specialization, and thus ensure adequate access to food, clothing, shelter, and tools (Briggs 1974; Collignon 2006). Billson and Mancini (2007, 38) state “by specializing, women and men both contributed essential work to the family’s well-being, they create a synergy that benefited both genders far beyond what either could do alone”. Accordingly, the male role was primarily focused on the acquisition of game, and

consisted of the creation, maintenance, and use of specialized tools such as sleds, boats, knives, fishing spears, ice chisels, harpoons, woven seal and fish nets, and various other tools (Briggs 1974). Men were also responsible for the creation of shelter, be it an igloo, a tent, or a more permanent dwelling (Briggs 1974). Women on the other hand were closely associated with reproductive labour in the form of household management, such as cooking, sewing, cleaning, and childcare (Briggs 1974). They were also responsible for butchering meat, or in the case of fish, gutting and filleting for the purpose of drying and storage (Briggs 1974). Yet, the most important and time consuming job for women was to prepare hides and sew protective clothing, as the windproof-waterproof stitch utilized by the Inuit was the premiere skill required for survival in the Arctic (Briggs 1974).

With the arrival of Europeans in the North American arctic in the 1700's, many Inuit were exposed to, and gradually came to incorporate western technologies and social practices into their daily lives. Following the Inuit settlement period of the 1950's, this incorporation and blending of social practices was expedited, further encouraging many Inuit to enter into the wage-earning economy (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). As a result, traditional gender roles shifted and expanded to incorporate western social institutions.

Upon relocation into sedentary communities, women, who were traditionally ascribed camp management responsibilities which required limited day-to-day mobility, found themselves in a position that lended itself well to the westernized day-wage economy (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). Thus, many contemporary Inuit women possess full or part time employment, while also continuing to fulfill their

traditional duties of household management and childrearing. For the purposes of this project, it is also worth noting that many Inuit women have become active in the formation and operation of economic and political organizations, ranging from local to international levels (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). As a result, women are now the primary wage-earners in many Nunavut families (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006; Dowsley et al. 2010).

The contemporary Inuit masculine role remains closely associated with traditional duties, as many individuals continue to hunt and fish as a means to supplement their family's income (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). Yet, given the extended periods of time required away from home to do so, this results in many men accepting seasonal, contract, and or part time employment in order to ensure a flexible schedule that complements seasonal rounds (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006).

### **2.2.3 Cultural Values Defined**

Cultural values on the other hand, are the abstract representation of what is considered to be good, right and desirable within a given society (Schwartz 1998). Such notions are the basis of unconscious and deeply rooted principles and beliefs that inform individuals about what behaviors are considered appropriate and or inappropriate in various situations (Bourdieu 1977; Schwartz 1998). Values are accordingly imparted upon, and perpetuated by social members as they engage with customs, rules, norms, scripts, and organizational practices, such as social institutions (Schwartz 1998). While cultural values do not necessarily predetermine how individuals will behave, they will determine how society at large will react to conformist and or deviant behavior by its membership.

#### **2.2.4 Inuit Cultural Values**

Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit, which often translates to “Inuit Traditional Knowledge” or “The Inuit Way of Knowing” outlines a series of eight cultural values through which Inuit society weighs and measures individual behavior. These laws include (Department of Nunavut Education 2007:32-35):

- Inuuqatigiitsiarniq – showing respect and a caring attitude towards others;
- Tunnganarniq – being welcoming to others, open in communication, and inclusive in the ways of interacting;
- Piliriqatigiinqniq – developing collaborative relationships;
- Avatittinnik Kamattiarniq – environmental stewardship;
- Pilimmaksarniq – the concept of skills and knowledge acquisition;
- Qanuqtuurunnarniq – being resourceful to solve problems;
- Aajiqatigiingniq – consensus decision-making;
- Pijitsirniq – the concept of serving.

Adhering to these cultural values implies that one is willing to place the common good ahead of their own self-interests. In doing so, individuals demonstrate social responsibility, humility, respect for others, and a commitment to maintaining social harmony (Department of Nunavut Education 2007, 28-29).

That being said, independence, ingenuity and patience are also highly valued personal characteristics in Inuit society. For this reason, in instances where collaboration and sharing are to take place, it is important that all parties desire the assistance of others, as the Inuit possess a strong ethos of noninterference. This suggests that each individual is free to live his or her life without the interference of others, be it through verbal criticism or unsolicited assistance (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). Such actions are considered to be ill mannered, and call into question the independence and capabilities of those involved (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006).

Nonetheless, there are instances where interference is inevitable, yet this is largely in relation to organizations and or institutions that have been introduced to Inuit society

following European contact (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). This is particularly evident when differential authority and power exists, and when one's station or job requires an Inuk to exert authority over another. By doing so, the Inuk with authority may be perceived as attempting to influence the thinking or behavior of the other, which in most cases leads both parties to feel awkward and uncomfortable (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006).

The values of non-interference, cooperation, and patience for the sake of maintaining harmony, also influence how individuals will interact within a group setting. For example, in instances where decisions are to be made, it is the Inuit way to respectfully listen to each speaker as they present their knowledge and ideas, and then to collectively embrace a decision made through consensus (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). Individuals that speak during such meetings are typically those who have extensive personal experience with the topic at hand, as it is considered to be ill mannered to discuss second hand knowledge, or topics that one has a limited understanding of (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). In instances where two or more individuals have personal knowledge, it is customary to defer to the individual who has more knowledge, and thus a stronger understanding of the topic (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). As Elders are regarded as the keepers of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ), language, culture, and knowledge, it is not uncommon for the younger generations to defer to their Elders (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006; Olijoot 2008; Stern 2010). This is not to say the younger generations are not knowledgeable in their own right, but rather that the Elders are considered to have substantially more experience to draw upon, and are thus the best source of information

on the topic (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006; Owljoot 2008). Should an individual have opposing views to those expressed during a meeting, it is also customary to withhold such opinions, as a means to avoid conflict and/or competition, both of which are important cultural values in their own right (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). Noninterference allows for individuals to go about their life as they see fit. As a result, the decisions made through such discussions may not necessarily be considered binding; hence individuals are free to disregard them without worry of negative social ramifications (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006). Cultural values accordingly function within a society to shape the behaviors of individuals as they navigate the day-to-day affairs of their ascribed and achieved social roles.

### **2.3 Parks Canada & Youth**

The following discussion outlines the youth engagement opportunities specifically noted in the Auyuittuq National Park's 2010-2015 park management plan (Parks Canada 2010). This includes public consultation, and employment opportunities.

Beginning with public consultation, it is important to reflect on the stipulations outlined by the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (NLCA) and Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement (IIBA) for National Parks in the Nunavut Territory (see Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1993; Parks Canada and Qikiqtani Inuit Association 1999) which require Inuit representation in the park management decision-making process. This being the case, the youth of Pangnirtung are frequently encouraged by Parks Canada employees and community members to participate in and provide feedback at public consultation events (Parks Canada 2010). Such events are typically advertised through such mediums as newsletters, radio call in shows, public notices, and by the word of mouth (Parks

Canada 2010). Additionally, the Inuit Knowledge Working Group (IKWG) of Pangnirtung has a formalized youth representative position. Be that as it may be, prior to entering the field it was unclear as to what degree the youth participated in such events.

With regards to participation in park related activities, the park management plan describes a number of economic opportunities. Yet prior to entering into that discussion, it is first important to acknowledge a few statistics about the Pangnirtung's youth population. Pangnirtung is home to approximately 640 individuals aged 10 to 34 years old, approximately 435 of which fall within the 13 to 30 year old category that is the focus of this study (Stats Canada 2012a). Of these 640 individuals, no one has achieved a university degree, 17 percent possess college diplomas or trade certificates, 17 percent graduated from high school, and a staggering 66 percent do not hold a degree, diploma or certificate of any kind (Stats Canada 2007). Although the IIBA recommends that qualified individuals of Inuit descent are to be given the right of first refusal for employment in Nunavut (Parks Canada and Qikiqtani Inuit Association 1999; Parks Canada 2010), such statistics suggest that an overwhelming number of local youth are under qualified, and therefore ineligible, for many positions available within Parks Canada and other related institutions.

For those who do have the necessary qualifications, the Parks Canada Agency has developed the 'Youth Canada Works' program (Government of Canada 2011), which seeks to hire qualified, local youth as part of the Canadian Government's 'Youth Employment Strategy' (Government of Canada 2012). This program offers students and recent graduates, ages 16 to 30, summer jobs and internships where individuals may put their skills into practice and build career equity (Government of Canada 2010). While

each job is geared to the specific needs of the park and successful applicant, seasonal work is available in interpretive and visitor services, the communication of heritage, culture, and history, as well as work related to the physical sciences and general labour (Government of Canada 2012). The 2010-2015 Auyuittuq Park Management Plan (Parks Canada 2010) accordingly states that three summer student positions are made available annually, shared between the Pangnirtung and Qikiqtarjuaq offices.

In addition to employment within Parks Canada, the tourism industry also provides a number of employment opportunities that may allow local youth to participate in park related activities. For example, Nunavut Tourism (2012) suggests that employment may be found in the airline, hospitality, outfitting, and art industries.

Although the literature on the topic is limited and restricted to public consultation and a handful of employment opportunities, it is foreseeable that the youth of Pangnirtung may participate in park management and park related activities through other, yet undocumented avenues.

## **CHAPTER III – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS**

As this project is intended to explore the effects that interacting yet differential discourses have within a collaborative management arrangement, the research process accordingly required measures that would ensure sensitivity to cultural differences, and an appreciation for the challenges faced by the research participants as they attempt to communicate personal perceptions and meaning. With these factors in mind, the following chapter describes the project's methodological framework and data collection methods.

### **3.1 Research Approach**

As I subscribe to a social constructivist and pragmatic philosophical worldview (Creswell 2009), I made the choice to conduct a research project that was qualitative in nature and made use of a case study strategy of inquiry. Research of this nature seeks to interpret the world through the eyes of those situated within a given context, while also acknowledging that social science research often requires flexibility. For this reason, I employed an interactive adaptive approach for the duration of the project (Nelson 1991).

### **3.2 Strategy of Inquiry**

This project was framed within the case study strategy of inquiry, which is primarily used for explanatory or descriptive analyses that ponder 'why' or 'how' particular social processes occur (Yin 1994). This strategy was based upon the notion that social actors construct, shape, and maintain their reality through contextually situated social interactions (Creswell 2009). Researchers who employ this methodology are accordingly encouraged to spend a considerable amount of time within the context of the case. For this reason, two field seasons were held within the community of Pangnirtung

for the purpose of data collection. The first field season was held between September 1<sup>st</sup> and December 7<sup>th</sup> of 2012, and the second from September 22<sup>nd</sup> to October 6<sup>th</sup> of 2013.

### **3.3 Case Study Selection**

Auyuittuq National Park was selected as the case study for this project, given the Pangnirtung IKWG's aspiration for increased youth engagement with Parks Canada, the management process, and park related activities (Personal communication: Gary Mouland, Parks Canada - Nunavut Field Unit). This context provided a unique opportunity to explore differential discourse in collaborative management.

The community of Pangnirtung was specifically selected as the study site for this project, as this community is located in close proximity to, and maintains a dynamic cultural and economic relationship with Auyuittuq National Park. Although the community of Qikiqtarjuaq is also located along the borders of Auyuittuq National Park, Pangnirtung was selected for data collection given the placement of Auyuittuq National Park's head office within the community, and the active presence of the Pangnirtung Youth Council. In addition, I had previously spent six weeks studying within the community through a University of Manitoba summer field course titled 'The Pangnirtung Bush School'. Thus, prior to entering the field, I had an established connection with the community and its members.

Had this project been conducted within the community of Qikiqtarjuaq, I suspect that the aspirations expressed by the youth participants in Chapter 5 would have been different, due to the relationship that that community has with Auyuittuq National Park and the adjacent landscapes.

### **3.4 Research Participant Recruitment**

Recruiting research participants who were involved with Auyuittuq National Park's collaborative management arrangement proved to be a fairly straightforward process. Individuals employed by Parks Canada, and members of the Auyuittuq National Park JPMC and Pangnirtung IKWG were involved in the project from its initial developmental stages, and were therefore willing to engage in interviews and focus groups for the purpose of investigating a community identified research priority. With regards to youth research participants, unique and creative recruitment strategies were necessary to engage individuals who possessed little pre-existing knowledge on the topic of Auyuittuq National Park and collaborative management.

Given the presence of the Pangnirtung Youth Council, the Hamlet of Pangnirtung's 'Making Connections for Youth' Department, and the aspiration of each to empower, educate, and unify the community's youth, Pangnirtung provided a unique location to conduct youth focused, community-based research. Upon arriving in Pangnirtung, my first priority was to discuss the research project with the Youth Council, the Making Connections for Youth coordinator, and the Hamlet Council. By presenting my project at the September 2012 Youth Council meeting, I was able to address the Youth Council executive, including the Youth Council Coordinator; Tina-Mary Akulukjuk, and the Pangnirtung Hamlet Council Representative to the Youth Council, Sheila Kilabuk. It was at this point that I received verbal support for the project, and an offer by Making Connections For Youth to assist and support the project where possible.

Next, I attended an Attagoyuk Ilisavik High School staff meeting, where I was invited to present the research project to the community's teaching staff, and in doing so established a connection with the Science, English, Culture & Tourism, and Art &

Photography teachers, through which I was invited to make a brief presentation to the grade 11 and 12 students about the research project, and Auyuittuq National Park. These occasions provided the opportunity to meet and interact with high school-aged youth, and subsequently identify and recruit research participants.

From the onset of this project, I was aware of my position within the community as a young female qallunaat (southern) researcher, who was a unilingual English speaker. Each of these qualities at different times served as a barrier and promoting factor in the recruitment of research participants. By spending time within the high school, I found that I was most easily able to connect with the female teenage youth, as these young women were curious about whom I was as a foreign oddity. By forging such relationships, I was able to expand my social network to include the young women's male teenage friends and mixed gendered siblings. Through active social networking, I gradually came to interact with male and female youth in their twenties. Curiously however, the majority of organically cultivated contacts within this demographic were with single individuals, that is those who lived with parents, grandparents or guardians, who were not engaged in domestic living arrangements, nor had any children. I suspect that this was due to the limited familial and economic responsibilities ascribed to such individuals, thus providing time for socializing and participation in the research project. While my presence in the community did generate adult male interest, few such individuals were willing to volunteer to take part in this project as a research participant. Additionally, connecting with young adult women whom had young children proved difficult. I suspect that this was due to the fact that I do not have children. Many of the young adult women whom I sought to engage with were first and foremost mothers, and

as a result preferred private over public spaces for socializing, where their young children would be able to play freely. Consequently, I had to identify alternative methods to connect with the young adult male and female demographics. To do so I attended community organized social events such as feasts, dances, and cultural presentations. Over time I was introduced to individuals whom were former Parks Canada summer students, Youth Council members, assistant teachers at Attagoyuk Ilisavik High School, and Making Connections for Youth employees. Such individuals had a pre-existing interest in the topics of youth engagement and or Auyuittuq National Park, and therefore were interested in and willing to participate in the research project.

### **3.5 Data Collection Methods**

Data collection took place through a series of field methods, each of which fit within the methodological framework described above. These methods included document review, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, photo elicitation, and focus groups. The following section provides a brief description of each method and how they were implemented in the field.

#### **3.5.1 Document Review**

Document review was the initial data collection method used for this project, and largely took place prior to entering the field. As documents are often a written reflection of how an individual or an organization thinks about a given subject (Hammersely and Atkins 2005; Gee 2011), this method was pivotal to address aspects of Objective 1, which sought to document the discourses that shape youth engagement opportunities. By familiarizing myself with the policies that had previously been utilized by Parks Canada in general, and the Auyuittuq National Park in particular, I was able to determine the

purpose and value that the institution had placed on youth engagement in the past, as well as the role that the youth were anticipated to fulfill in the future. Detailed notes made during this process assisted in the subsequent thematic coding and data analysis phase of this project.

### **3.5.2 Participant Observation**

Given the traditional Inuit value of observational learning, participant observation was well suited to the context of Nunavut (Bonny 2008). Employed throughout the duration of my fieldwork, participant observation was used to continuously build my understanding of the research context. This process was intentionally non-structured, allowing for an organic immersion into the community at large. In fact, I chose to ‘leave the clipboard at home’ while employing this method, as I had observed the discomfort and hesitancy exhibited by community members going about their daily routine while under the surveillance of university researchers with open notebooks. Instead, detailed field-notes were recorded in a research journal at the conclusion of each day.

Through this process, I was able to build rapport with community members, and identify knowledgeable and engaged research participants. In addition, by allowing for an immersive experience, I was able to observe and reflect upon subtle social attitudes and behaviors exhibited by community members, attributes that may have been overlooked had my eyes been on a notebook. This process ultimately informed which data collection methods I would later employ with particular sub-groups of research participants. Furthermore, through careful observation, social elements such as the youth’s carefree unstructured lifestyle, the increasing social distance apparent between generational sodalities, and the role that social institutions continue to play within the

community, i.e. the social expectations associated with distinct age and gender demographics, were observed and later served as the foundation of my analysis.

### **3.5.3 Open-Ended and Semi-Structured Interviews**

As participant observation served to generate a base level of knowledge of the context at hand, subsequent conversations with research participants provided additional detail and a robust understanding of what was observed (Bernard 1988). As such conversations became more direct and structured with the intention of uncovering or eliciting new topics and information. In qualitative and mixed methods research, interviews generally take place through structured, semi-structured, and open-ended conversations. For this project, I chose to forgo structured interviews in favour of open-ended and semi-structured styled interviews.

For a clear understanding of how each style of interview was used, consider the following. An open-ended interview is generally a non-directional conversation that allows the researcher to be an active listener, purposely limiting their influence over the topic and flow of discussion (Bernard 1988; Hammersely and Atkins 2005; Creswell 2009). A semi-structured interview on the other hand, occurs when a researcher has a better understanding of the topic of inquiry, and actively guides the conversation towards specific topics of interest (Bernard 1988; Hammersely and Atkins 2005; Creswell 2009). Although semi-structured interviews do contain a degree of directional influence on the part of the researcher, akin to open-ended interviews, this method seeks to provide flexibility so that the informant may freely discuss what they wish (Creswell 2009).

As an interactive adaptive approach is key to the structure of the project, I began the interview process through open-ended interviews with a few select research

informants. Here, I posed general topics in relation to the project's research objectives, and invited the participants to discuss each at will. This process took place amongst each of the four unique and independent research participant groups identified, specifically community Elders, youth, adults, and Parks Canada employees. Having conducted several open-ended interviews, and with a clear idea of the research participants primary topic priorities, I subsequently employed semi-structured interviews with a broader range of research participants, as a means to gain a deeper understanding of the most prevalent issues and themes (Bernard 1988; Hammersley and Atkins 2005). Table 1. provides a summary of the open-ended and semi-structured interviews conducted with various research participant demographics.

	Research Participants										Total of Interviews Conducted
	Elders		Adults (31+)		Youth (14-30)		Parks Canada Employees				
	Inuit		Inuit		Inuit		Inuit	Non-Inuit			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	M	F	M	F	
<b>Open-Ended Interviews</b>	2	1	1	0	1	5	1	1	0	1	13
<b>Semi-Structured Interviews</b>	4	2	1	0	7	12	4	2	2	3	37

Table 1. Interview Summary

### 3.5.4 Photo Elicitation Interviews

Although not a method considered during the project's planning phase, Photo Elicitation Interviews proved to be an invaluable tool while in the field. Clark-Ibanzes (2004, 1512) suggests that photo elicitation interviews are well adapted to the purpose of interviewing youth, as photographs can help to alleviate three key challenges associated with interviewing this demographic: 1) the individual's level of linguistic

communication, 2) the individual's cognitive development, and 3) the power dynamics evident between children and adult researchers. Clark-Ibanez (2004) also goes on to state that photo elicitation interviews are a great way to build rapport between the researcher and the research participant, as the focus is placed upon a photograph and not the informant. Thus some of the inherent awkwardness of an interview may be alleviated, and in turn create a relaxing environment where the research participant may feel comfortable in sharing their knowledge.

As I initially had difficulties in accessing and recruiting youth research participants whom were outside of the school system, that is, individuals roughly aged twenty to thirty, photography provided an interesting access point for individuals to engage with the project. To connect such individuals with the project, I hosted a photography workshop at the "Green Portable", a youth recreation space located close to the Attagoyuk Ilisavik High School. Held on a Saturday afternoon, a day and time frame that I had observed to be the most conducive to the youth's social schedules, twelve youth participants ages 14 to 23 attended. Here the participants took part in a brief presentation about the research project, and then a discussion on the use of digital SLR camera's led by Julie Alivaktuk, a well-respected community youth leader and local photographer. Following the classroom portion of the workshop, participants were provided with one of six digital SLR cameras supplied by the Pangnirtung Hamlet Council's Making Connections for Youth department. The participants were asked to explore the community and take photographs that express their personal connection with Auyuittuq National Park and or Parks Canada.

In conjunction with the photography workshop, a photography contest was held. Here, individuals aged 13 to 30 were invited to submit a photo, and upon the completion of a brief interview pertaining to their experiences with Auyuittuq National Park and Parks Canada were entered in a draw. Six out of the twelve photography workshop participants submitted a photo and completed an interview. Meanwhile, the art and photography teacher at Attagoyuk Ilisavik High School also encouraged his students to participate, resulting in an additional four participants.

Individual Photo Elicitation Interviews were accordingly scheduled. The submitted photographs were printed to ensure accessibility and through the use of prompts, a series of semi-structured interviews took place. The resulting interview sessions proved to generate rich youth focused data, as several subjects that had previously gone undetected by the researcher, yet were apparent to the research participants, were identified (Clark-Ibanez 2004). To exemplify this point, consider the following scenario. Through the submission of a photograph depicting the Parks Canada garage, a high school aged male student recounted a snowmobile maintenance workshop hosted by a Parks Canada employee, a workshop that the employee had modestly omitted during his own interview. This recount proved to be an excellent stimulus that led to further discussions pertaining to the social institutions and cultural values that appear to promote and or inhibit this individual's further involvement with Parks Canada. The use of photography as a prompt also inspired stories associated with, yet not directly related to, the photograph itself (Clark-Ibanez 2004). A second example includes a photograph of a plaque located in the community of Pangnirtung. As this plaque serves to commemorate the Hudson Bay Company and the 19<sup>th</sup> century whaling period, it is in no

way associated with Auyuittuq National Park. During the corresponding interview, the young adult female participant made reference to Auyuittuq National Park and a particular plaque that indicates the location of the Arctic Circle. Using the plaque connection as a launching point, subsequent lines of questioning led to a discussion where the research participant recounted several personal visits to the Auyuittuq National Park, as well as her aspirations for her own children to engage with Parks Canada. Accordingly, this method seeks to promote inductive research, where research participants are empowered to share unique knowledge, as evoked through the use of personalized imagery.

Following the conclusion of the interview process, the names of all of the youth participants who had entered the contest were entered into a draw, and a grand prizewinner was randomly selected. The winner was announced over the community radio station, and posted on the Pangnirtung News Facebook page. Table 2. provides a detailed recount of the number of interviews conducted, and the demographics of the participating research informants. I should point out that the informants listed are unique from those interviewed during the interview and focus group sessions.

	<b>Research Participants</b>				
	<b>Teenaged Youth (13-19)</b>		<b>Young Adults (20-30)</b>		<b>Total</b>
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
<b>Photo Elicitation Interviews</b>	4	1	3	2	10

Table 2. Photo Elicitation Interview Summary

### 3.5.5 Focus Groups

The final data collection method implemented was the focus group. While similarities exist between interviews and focus groups, in the sense that a researcher

meets with research participants to elicit information, focus groups are specifically intended to bring a small group of research participants together for the purpose of generating a dialogue amongst themselves (Bernard 1988; Berg 2004). As the researcher's role in this method is passive rather than active, the research participants are able to highlight the issues that they feel are the most important and frame the discussion as they see fit (Berg 2004; Bonny 2008). By doing so, this method provides a platform through which individuals share their ideas, experiences and aspirations, while also socially negotiating a collective understanding of the phenomenon under study (Bonny 2008).

Focus groups were accordingly implemented on several occasions, and in doing so, facilitated the collection of unique, comprehensive data. Members of Pangnirtung's youth demographic, and members of Parks Canada's Pangnirtung IKWG were invited to take part in separate and joint focus groups. Through this process the topics and themes that had emerged as most prevalent during the interview process were introduced, and space was provided for the participants to discuss and socially negotiate their shared understandings. Table 3. describes the number of focus groups which took place while in the field, the date upon which each was held, and the breakdown of participants by generational sodalities.

	Number of Focus Groups	Date (dd/mm/yy)	Number of Participants		
			Elders	Adults	Youth
IKWG	3	06/11/12	3	1	0
		29/11/12	3	1	0
		20/10/13	6	0	0
Youth	1	29/10/12	0	1	12
Joint IKWG & Youth	3	29/11/12	3	1	4
		01/12/12	3	1	3
		21/10/13	7	2	4

Table 3. Focus Group Summary

### 3.5.6 Data Collection Method Summary

Table 4. serves as a summary of the preceding conversation, highlighting the methods used to collect data on each of the project's three objectives.

Objective	Data Collection Method Employed	Example of Data Collected
1. Document the discourses that shape youth engagement opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Document Review</li> <li>• Participant Observation</li> <li>• Interviews</li> <li>• Focus Groups</li> </ul>	The purpose, role, and value that Park Canada, as a national organization, places upon youth engagement in park management and park related activities.
2. Understand how cultural values and institutions influence youth participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participant Observation</li> <li>• Interviews</li> <li>• Focus Groups</li> </ul>	Community dynamics, such as the youth deferring to Elders during public meetings.
3. Document youth aspirations for participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participant Observation</li> <li>• Photo Elicitation</li> <li>• Interviews</li> <li>• Focus Groups</li> </ul>	Explore the youth's knowledge about, and aspirations to be involved with, park management and park related activities.

Table 4. Data Collection Method Summary

### **3.6 Informed Consent**

The process through which I conducted interviews and focus groups with the research participants followed a reoccurring pattern. First I began by recruiting research participants, an action that typically took place in person, and in due course, an interview was scheduled. Interviews took place at a variety of locations, however most were held at the Pangnirtung Auyuittuq National Park office, or the Nunavut Field Unit office in Iqaluit. Wherever possible, face-to-face interviews took place, however in two instances teleconferences proved necessary with Parks Canada employees. Prior to commencing an interview, I would make it clear that the subsequent process was voluntary, and with the exception of individuals in the employment of Parks Canada, that no monetary funds would be exchanged. Following the review and signing of the research consent form, available in both English and Inuktitut syllabics, I would reaffirm permission to audio record and take notes throughout the interview. Ensuring that each research participant was comfortable and possessed a full cup of tea or coffee, we would begin.

Interviews and focus groups took place in English, Inuktitut, or most commonly, through a blend of both languages. As many of the Elder research participants felt most comfortable conveying their perspectives in Inuktitut, a local interpreter would often sit in on the interviews. Interestingly, the interpreter was a former member of the Auyuittuq National Park Joint Park Management Committee, and thus well versed in the topics at hand. Following the conclusion of an interview, participants were asked to review the consent form one additional time, and asked to indicate whether they would like to attribute their name to the comments made or remain anonymous in the materials produced through the research process.

Focus groups, composed of individuals whom had previously participated in the interview process, were asked to review their earlier consent forms at the onset of the focus group process and to indicate if they would like to make any changes given the new data collection format. As to be discussed in detail during the ‘data verification’ section of this chapter, research participants were provided with opportunities throughout the project to approve, clarify, edit, and/or omit comments collected during the interview and focus group sessions.

### **3.7 Data Analysis**

Data analysis in qualitative research is an interactive process, where the researcher conducts a thorough review of the data with the aspiration of securing a robust understanding of the issues at hand. This process accordingly takes place throughout each stage of the research project (Creswell 2009), yet is most evident during two key phases. This includes the data collection phase, and the post fieldwork period dedicated specifically to data analysis.

Data analysis conducted while in the field was facilitated through the transcription of audio recordings, review of field notes, and reflections made in a field journal. These steps assisted in the identification of trends and themes, and inspired alternative lines of questioning for subsequent interviews and focus groups.

Upon the completion of the data collection phase, all remaining audio recordings were transcribed and electronic copies of the field notes were made. Given the sheer volume of data collected, I employed a qualitative data analysis software package, Nvivo, to assist in data organization. As I uploaded each of the interviews and focus groups to the software package, I read each document as a means to reacquaint myself with the

data. Next, two rounds of thematic coding took place, the first of which was intended to confirm the relationships that I had observed in the field, while the second sought to trace and explore themes that had emerged during the initial round of coding. In doing so, code trees were established emphasizing the relationships evident between various themes. To exemplify this process, I have included two flowcharts below. Figure 2 demonstrates the initial code tree associated with youth identified aspirations for engagement, while Figure 3 emphasizes the trends and relationships that became apparent by coding for age and gender during the second round of coding. Similar code trees were generated for the projects other objectives.

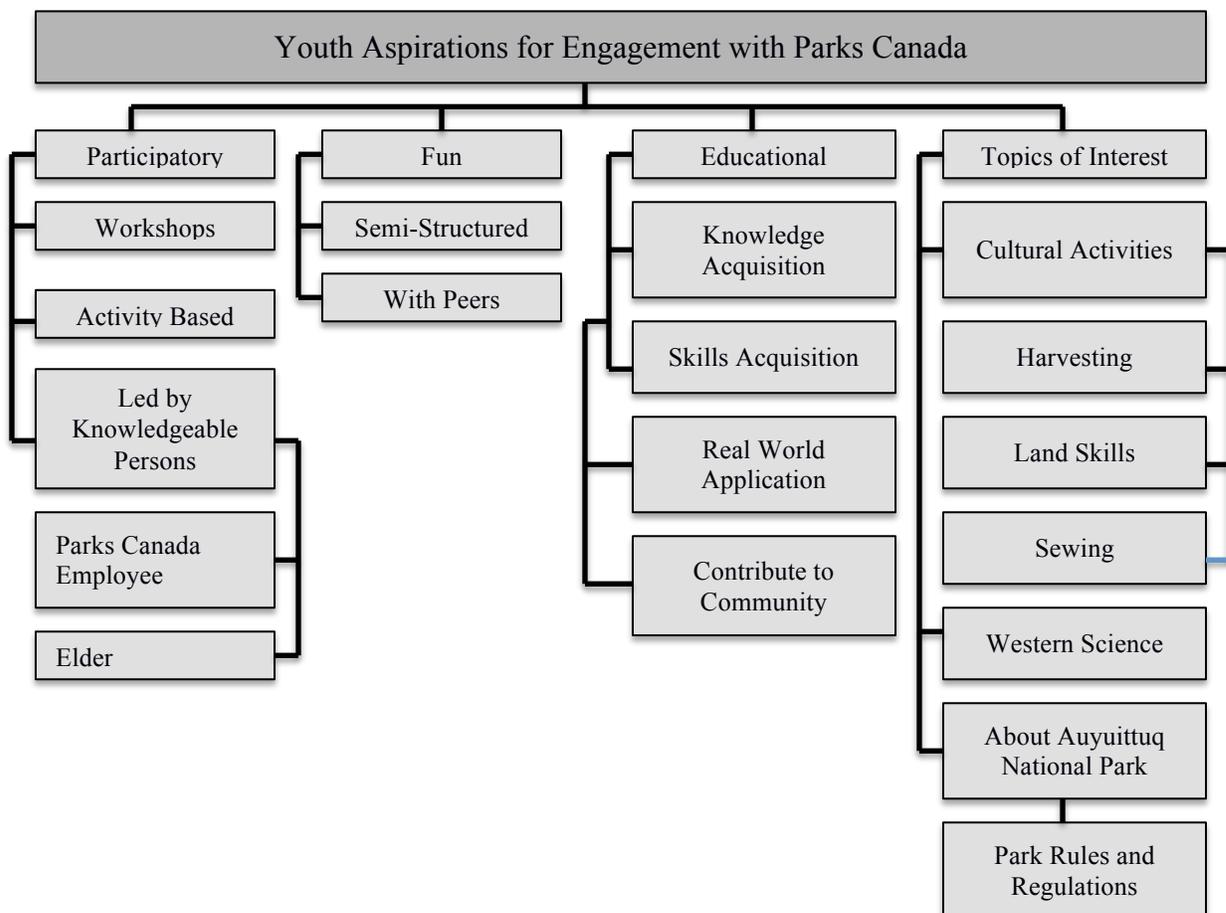
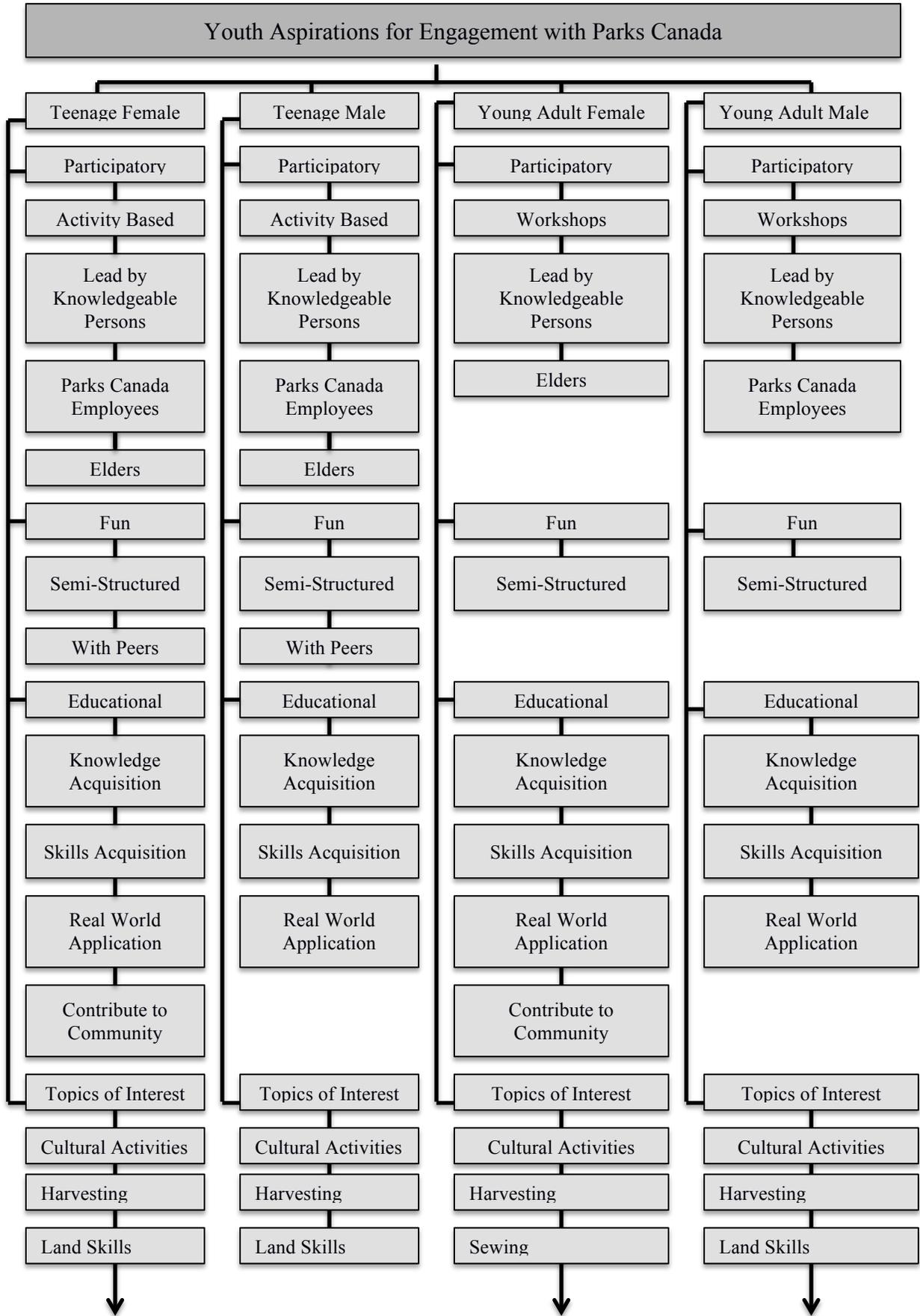


Fig 2. Coding: Round One



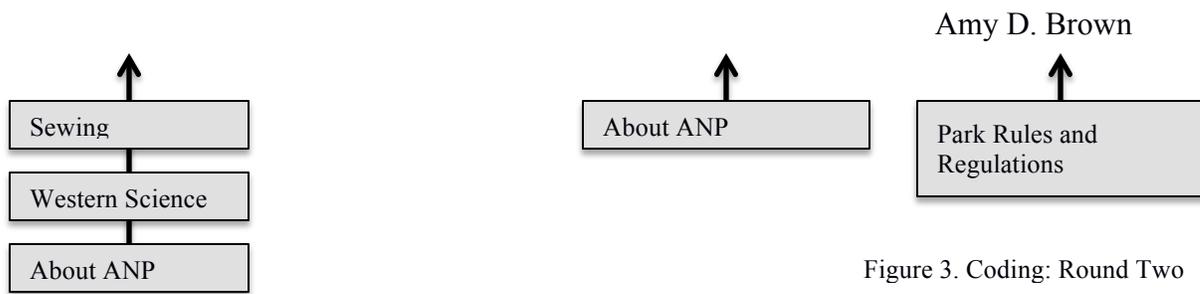


Figure 3. Coding: Round Two

### 3.8 Validity and Verification

As qualitative research is subjective in the sense that all interpretations are made through the researcher's perspectives, and acknowledging that my observations are spatially and temporally situated, and further distorted through my own interpretations, I have acknowledged from the onset of this project that my observations may or may not be an accurate representation of how the research participants observe or understand an action or interaction (Bernard 1988; Creswell 2009; Friesen 2010). To account for this limitation, I made the point of implementing a series of verification procedures that were used throughout the research process. This specifically includes the use of multiple data collection methods, and in situ member checking.

First, Yin (2009) suggests that those whom employ multiple data sources are generally more accurate in their interpretations than those who use a single data collection method. With this in mind, and as described in the preceding sections, multiple data collection methods were used to consciously pursue data saturation and triangulation while in the field (Guest et al. 2006; Creswell 2009). In doing so, I was able to secure several different accounts describing specific events and interactions, which in turn corroborated and strengthened the data set. Second, I made a point of conducting in situ verification of data prior to closing an interview. That is, I would clarify the major themes with the research participants as a summary of the interview. In addition, I also provided follow up opportunities for the research participants to review audio

transcriptions, field notes, and my subsequent interpretations. For example, in the fall of 2013 I met with the Pangnirtung Inuit Knowledge Working group and then with the Pangnirtung Youth Council to discuss the themes that had emerged through the data collection and analysis phase. By doing so, the research participants were provided with an opportunity to add, omit, edit, and or verify the data set. Furthermore, the community research participants expressed their approval of the project's findings.

### **3.9 Dissemination**

When designing research outcomes certain issues must be considered, including, those who will benefit from the research; and how will the results be made available to the community as well as other audiences. Three major outcomes are anticipated from this research, each with their own beneficiaries, 1) a University of Manitoba Masters thesis, 2) a synthesized report highlighting the major project findings for the Parks Canada Agency, and 3) a community-based outcome. While the initial two outcomes will be academic in nature, the later must suit the context of the research community. Hence, the report issued to Parks Canada will be adapted for the community members, such that plain, non-technical language will be employed. This report will be translated into Inuktitut and made available to the research participants, the Auyuittuq National Park JPMC, the Pangnirtung IKWG, the Pangnirtung youth council, and the Pangnirtung hamlet council.

## **CHAPTER IV – The Creation of Youth Engagement Opportunities**

Collaborative management in theory strives to carefully intertwine the aspirations of various stakeholder groups to form policies and initiatives uniquely suited to the context at hand. Yet through the discussion, drafting, and implementation processes of collaborative management, the ideas contributed by each party may become blurred and obscured as each becomes replaced by a final, seemingly cohesive, collaborative decision. Reminded that in instances where state level organizations have historically held the sole decision-making authority over a given natural resource, and that once formed, power within a collaborative management arrangement may be inequitably distributed, it is plausible that pre-existing notions of management may be built into the new regimes governing framework (Borrini-Feyerabend 1996). With this notion in mind, the data collected throughout this project indicates that the various levels of Parks Canada's management structure, as well as the Inuit representatives who advise them, each engage with the collaborative management process in possession of a unique discourse and clear ideas surrounding *why* and *how* the youth may be encouraged to participate in park management and park related activities. The following chapter therefore serves to: 1) illustrate the aspirations of each contributing party, 2) describe the existing youth engagement opportunities, and 3) deconstruct said opportunities to determine whether Parks Canada's institutional 'rules of management' persist, or if there is evidence for a new, blended discourse.

#### **4.1 Influential Discourses**

To achieve the chapter objectives noted above, one must first acknowledge the participating parties, the discourse that each party possesses, and how power dynamics between said parties may influence the collaborative management process.

As the Parks Canada Agency is a national organization under the direction of Canada's federal government, it is important to note that the agency's bureaucratic structure is top down in nature, where the Minister of Environment holds final decision-making authority over all Parks Canada related matters (Parks Canada 2012). The hierarchy of power within the agency therefore includes the Minister of Environment, the chief executive director of the Parks Canada Agency, the regional superintendents who are responsible for a collection of geographically associated parks, and the individual park managers (Parks Canada 2012).

Although the Parks Canada Agency historically held sole decision-making authority over the national park system in Canada, with the implementation of the land claims in the nation's northern territories, legislative requirements have been put in place that ensure the inclusion of indigenous people in the park management process (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1993; Parks Canada and Qikiqtani Inuit Association 1999). Collaborative management facilitated through the Nunavut Field Unit therefore takes place through the Joint Park Management Committees (JPMC), which serve as a platform for Inuit representatives to share their aspirations for, and perspectives on, park management. As emphasized by Maryse Mahy (2012) the Nunavut Field Unit District Planner, such a process serves to facilitate the creation of a mutually agreeable park plan by meshing the agency's strategic plan with the local realities of the park.

Provided Parks Canada's bureaucratic structure, the following section which is descriptive in nature, seeks to illustrate the transmission of management aspirations through the agency. To do so, each of the contributing discourses that shape the Auyuittuq National Park youth focused initiatives will be discussed with specific attention paid to the invested parties perspectives on *why* and *how* the youth may be encouraged to participate in parks management and park related activities.

#### 4.1.1 Parks Canada: The Corporate Plan

Every five years the Minister of Environment and Executive Director of Parks Canada releases a corporate plan outlining the agency's strategic direction. Implemented as a means to unify and streamline the national park system, the corporate plan is composed of the agency's mandate (Figure 4.), a clearly stated strategic outcome, a list of organizational priorities, and a series of steps referred to as 'program activities' through which each of the proceeding goals may be achieved (Parks Canada Agency 2012).

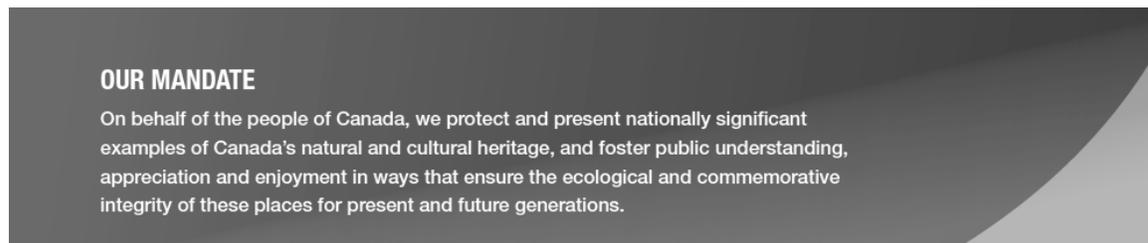


Fig. 4. The Parks Canada Agency Mandate (Parks Canada Agency, 2012)

The organizational priorities listed in the 2012-2016 corporate plan highlights the agency's desire to foster increased public appreciation for and understanding of the parks and protected areas under the agency's care. As emphasized by Dearden and Rollins (2009), public appreciation for the national parks system is integral to the success and survival of the Parks Canada Agency, an institution entirely reliant on government, and therefore public support. Acknowledging this and the fact that national park visitation in

Canada has steadily declined since 1995, the apex of baby boomer park use (Dearden and Rollins 2009,12), the Parks Canada Agency now seeks to connect a new wave of Canadians with its parks and protected areas. As demonstrated in Figure 5., two out of the agency’s six 2012-2016 organizational priorities specifically seek to foster an increased connection between Parks Canada and the nation’s youth.

Priority	Type*	Program Activity
Increasing Canadians' Connection with Parks Canada Places	Previously committed to	Public Appreciation and Understanding
<p><b>Description:</b> Parks Canada will undertake activities to connect and interact with new Canadians, youth and young adults in Canada's largest cities by working with partners and supporters, and by employing channels such as mass and social media. A number of actions will focus on raising awareness and increasing connection with audiences in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver.</p>		
Priority	Type*	Program Activity
Increasing Visitation	Previously committed to	Visitor Experience
<p><b>Description:</b> Targeted Parks Canada initiatives will attract 22.4 million visits annually to national parks, national historic sites and national marine conservation areas by March 2015 up from 20.7 million visits in 2008–09. This will be done by diversifying and renewing visitor experience opportunities and increasing the desirability of these locations as travel destinations.</p>		

Fig. 5. Parks Canada Agency, 2012-2016 Organizational Priorities (Parks Canada Agency, 2012:12)

In order to do so, the plan emphasizes the importance of providing opportunities for youth to engage with Parks Canada in a manner that the individual will deem meaningful and relevant. Thus, an increased emphasis has been placed on ‘Public Appreciation and Understanding’ and ‘Visitor Experience’. Adapted from the agency’s corporate plan, Table 5. outlines the Parks Canada Agency’s proposed plan on how to achieve the goal of increased youth engagement. This includes a diverse range of activities for the public to engage with Parks Canada, people and places, as well as new marketing strategies to target the desired demographic.

Acknowledging the corporate plan’s role as a guide upon which all subsequent Parks Canada decisions may be based, it is clear that the agency itself possesses specific ideas

surrounding *why* and *how* the nation’s youth may be encourage to participate. How such aspirations come to be implemented depends largely on the interpretations made by the Parks Canada staff members at the field unit and park management levels.

Program Activity	Description	Action/Strategy
<p><b>Public Appreciation and Understanding</b></p>	<p>“This program activity aims to increase Canadians’ understanding, appreciation, support and engagement with respect to the natural and historical heritage of Parks Canada administered places. This is accomplished by reaching Canadians at home, at leisure, at school and in their communities through relevant and effective communication and public outreach education initiatives as well as by engaging many stakeholders and partners in the development and implementation of the Agency’s future direction” (Parks Canada Agency, 2012:26&amp;27).</p>	<p>Provide opportunities for youth and young adults to interact with Parks Canada, people and places;</p>
		<p>Provide increased opportunities for Canadians to be involved with Parks Canada places in activities they consider meaningful and relevant, including consultations, open doors and an increasing array of volunteer activities; and</p>
		<p>Finalize the framework to engage Aboriginal peoples in the planning and management of heritage places administered by Parks Canada.</p>
<p><b>Visitor Experience</b></p>	<p>“This program supports the opportunities provided for the more than 20 million visits that are made annually to Canada’s national parks, national historic sites and national marine conservations areas by Canadians and international visitors. The visitor experience is the sum total of a visitor’s personal interaction with the protected heritage place that helps them create meaning and establish connection with the place. The experience begins with awareness of the site, followed by planning the visit, traveling to and welcoming and orientation upon arrival. During the visitor’s time on site, it includes participation in recreational and interpretive activities and the use of accommodation, trails, facilities, services and supporting infrastructure. This</p>	<p>Market aspects of the park that may be of interest to youth and new Canadians, and infuse such aspects into visitor experiences by renewing and/or diversifying existing opportunities;</p>
		<p>Developing new visitor experiences that appeal to young families and young adults in order to increase their visitation.</p>

	<p>is followed by departure and post-visit relationship. Investments in the different stages of the visitor experience cycle facilitate opportunities for enjoyment and learning, leading to a sense of personal connection and the continued relevance of Canada's protected heritage place for Canadians" (Parks Canada Agency, 2012:28).</p>	
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Table 5. Youth Engagement Program Activities (Adapted from: Parks Canada Agency 2012:26-28)

#### 4.1.2 Parks Canada: Nunavut Field Unit

The Nunavut Field Unit (NFU), responsible for overseeing and finalizing the management plans of the territory's four national parks, seeks to create policies that adhere to the priorities set out by the Parks Canada Agency's Corporate Plan while also addressing the biophysical and social realities of the northern context. Part of the social context includes meeting the legislated requirements of the Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement, specifically the collaborative park management arrangement. As will be seen, the Joint Park Management Committee of Auyuittuq National Park, independent of the Parks Canada Agency, also aspires to increase youth participation in park management and park related activities. Thus, the NFU has been tasked by two separate, yet interrelated parties to foster a sense of connection between the Agency and the territory's youth.

This is not to say that the NFU is without agency. Rather, the field unit system has been arranged in such a manner that allows each field unit to mold the corporate aspirations to best suit the context of each park. Thus, the NFU is free to include its own

aspirations for youth engagement into the public appreciation and understanding, and visitor experience opportunities provided.

While the corporate plan and southern national parks seek to bolster appreciation, understanding, and visitation by targeting urban youth in the Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver markets (see Table 5.), the NFU acknowledges that efforts to target such populations would yield little return in the form of visitation, for its parks. Instead, resources have been allocated to engage with local, often Inuit, youth.

Firstly, the NFU seeks to engage with the territories youth in order to foster a sense of appreciation and understanding about the park system amongst those individuals who may become involved with the consultation and/or park management process in the future. Leese Papatsie, a former NFU Outreach and Education Officer whose role was primarily responsible for youth engagement, emphasized this point during a telephone interview by stating:

*“...[I]t is important to educate the public about Parks Canada. The more youth that understand what the Parks are about, and why they are there, there will be better decision-making coming from the youth, for now and for the future” (2012).*

Efforts to engage the youth have included collaborations between the NFU’s external relations branch and various organizations operating within the park adjacent communities. This includes the Arctic College and grade schools, as well as youth focused agencies such as Outward Bound and Students on Ice (RP: Leese Papatsie NFU Outreach and Education Officer 2012). The resulting programs strive to skillfully infuse lessons of environmental stewardship into activities that are of interest to the youth participants.

*“In Nunavut, where almost half of the population are youth, there are hardly any activities made for youth in the communities. Youth need something to do (...), youth need direction on what is right and what is fun. There is huge potential to promote Parks Canada in this area” (Leese Papatsie 2012).*

Secondly, through the aforementioned IIBA (Parks Canada and Qikiqtani Inuit Association 1999), Parks Canada has made a commitment to hire qualified Nunavut Land Claim Beneficiaries wherever possible, and as a result seeks to promote personal and professional development through youth engagement opportunities. To do so, the centralized External Relations staff of the NFU work closely with the territory's four National Park Managers and Visitor Experiences Officers to develop and implement youth programming that are both educational and relevant to the context of Nunavut (RP: Leese Papatsie NFU Outreach and Education Officer 2012). In the past this has included Parks Canada led presentations, experiential learning opportunities, career fair presentations, and student/youth employment opportunities with Parks Canada and affiliated researcher teams. Furthermore,

*“When working with youth in Nunavut, the staff needs to be Inuit. This is a good way to promote Parks Canada as a career in the north. The NFU can show that the jobs in Parks Canada are doable by the Inuk. Inuit youth need to see Inuit working adults, to see that jobs in Parks Canada are reachable” (Leese Papatsie. 2012).*

Reflecting on each of the aspirations noted, the Nunavut Field Unit strives to adapt the national corporate strategy to meet the biophysical and sociological context of Nunavut. To do so, youth engagement strategies are implemented with the intention of fostering public awareness and appreciation for the agency's work. This is an attempt to garner support for the agency's future operations within the territory (RP: Leese Papatsie NFU Outreach and Education Officer 2012). The Nunavut Field Unit is also charged with balancing an additional layer of aspirations related to park management in general, and youth engagement in particular. Here I specifically refer to the aspirations expressed by the Inuit representatives who participate in the territories Joint Park

Management Committee's (JPMC), Park Planning Team's (PPT) and, to a lesser extent, the Inuit Knowledge Working Group's (IKWG) of park adjacent communities.

#### **4.1.4 Inuit Representation: JPMC, PPT & IKWG**

Prior to discussing the aspirations of the Auyuittuq National Park JPMC, PPT, and Pangnirtung IKWG, it is worth taking a moment to consider the structure of each committee. Composed of representatives who seek to instill local, Inuit perspectives into the park management process, members are predominantly community Elders and/or seniors who were either nominated or volunteered for their positions. Although membership for each committee is distinct, it is not uncommon for individuals to hold positions on two or more committees during simultaneous and or consecutive terms. As this was the case when interviewing members of the Auyuittuq National Park JPMC and the adjourned Auyuittuq National Park PPT who reside in Pangnirtung, and the community's IKWG, the youth participation aspirations expressed by each committee have been analyzed as a collective under the banner of Inuit representation.

By doing so, it became very clear that the Inuit representatives desired increased youth engagement with Parks Canada as a means to facilitate youth capacity building opportunities. Acknowledging Parks Canada's status in the territory as an established, well-funded organization, the representatives believe that the agency has a responsibility to implement youth engagement strategies that will assist in the personal and professional development of participating individuals. The representatives accordingly envision youth engagement strategies that facilitate the acquisition of knowledge and technical skills (see Table 6.). Such opportunities may take place through three avenues: 1) Parks Canada led

presentations & workshops, 2) employment opportunities both with Parks Canada & interrelated industries, and 3) the participation of youth in the park management process.

<b>Administered By Parks Canada:</b>		
<b>Acquirable Knowledge</b>		
<i>Topic</i>	<i>Examples</i>	
Practical Knowledge of Landscape and Environment	Safety Lessons	
	Modern Navigation Techniques	
Western/Southern Science	Geology	
	Climatology	
	Meteorology	
Inuit Culture and History	Historical & Traditional Place Names	
	Technical Inuktitut Vocabulary	
Knowledge Specific to Auyuittuq National Park	Rules & Regulations	
	Historical Park Area Use By Inuit	
<b>Acquirable Skills</b>		
<i>Topic</i>	<i>Examples</i>	
Practical Land Skills	Safety Lessons	Avalanche Preparedness
		River Crossings
		Sea Ice Travel
		Boat Travel
		Fire Arm Safety
	Operation and/or Maintenance of Equipment	Snowmobile
		Outboard Motor
		GPS
Two-Way Radio		
Confidence in Hiking & Camping		
Work Experience	Exposure to an Office Environment	
	Time Management	
	Self Discipline	
	Public Speaking	
	Computer Skills	

Table 6. Inuit Representatives Aspirations as Disseminated by Parks Canada.

While the representatives suggest in individual interviews and during focus group discussions that Parks Canada employees may facilitate the transmission of knowledge and skills through presentations, workshops, employment opportunities, and the creation of youth representative positions on the advisory committees, the JPMC, PPT, and Pangnirtung IKWG members feel that as leaders in the community, they too are responsible for assisting in youth capacity building.

Emphasizing that ‘the youth are the future’ and that ‘the Elders will not be around forever’, the representatives believe that through youth participation in advisory committee meetings, the Elders may disseminate traditional knowledge sets to the younger generations. They suggest that not only will such knowledge be of use to the individuals personal and professional life, but will also ensure the continuity of Inuit culture.

*“It is really important that the youth get involved with this group [Pangnirtung IKWG] (...). The youth need to learn about our land and how it works. I want youth to be involved so they know. Today is today, but the future is going to be a lot different. I want youth to be involved so they know [about traditional Inuit culture], when we are gone” (Leesee Mary Kakkee - Pangnirtung IKWG, 2012).*

Furthermore, given the acceleration of natural resource development in the territory, the representatives believe that the future of Nunavut is closely tied to the youth’s knowledge of, and participation in advisory councils such as those associated with Parks Canada. While this includes the current youth representative position on the Pangnirtung IKWG, the representatives also expressed interest in the creation of youth positions on the JPMC and PPT boards. Thus, the current representatives wish to inspire, guide, and mentor the next generation of advisory committee members.

*“Using myself as example, I am really happy that we are talking about youth today. I ran as HTO [Hunters and Trappers Organization] in 1972. This was my first committee, and I didn’t have any idea what was going on, but I learned. Since then, I have been a board member on several different boards within the community. It is going to be the same thing for the youth who participate in this board. The youth will learn as they attend the meetings. They will learn how a committee works. Then they can take that knowledge and use it somewhere else, even if it’s not just about Parks. They can use it at the HTO or Hamlet” (Zaypatee Qappik, ANP JPMC, ANP PPT, & Pangnirtung IKWG, 2012).*

Examples of knowledge and skills that the representatives aspire to share with the youth representatives have been compiled in Table 7. Andrew Nakashuk, the Pangnirtung Hunters and Trappers Organization representative to the Pangnirtung Inuit Knowledge Working Group suggests that as the youth representatives acquire

information, they may consciously or subconsciously diffuse local and traditional knowledge to their peers.

Administered by Inuit Representatives:		
Acquirable Knowledge		
<i>Topic</i>	<i>Examples</i>	
Practical Knowledge of Landscape and Environment	Safety Lessons	
	Traditional Navigation Techniques	Weather Patterns
		Constellations
		Inuksuk
	Traditional Use of Flora	
Traditional Place Names		
Inuit Culture and History	Inuit Stories and Legends	
	Technical Inuktitut Vocabulary	
	Traditional & Historical Sites	
Advisory Board Membership	Exposure to the operations and procedures associated with management and advisory councils	
Acquirable Skills		
<i>Topic</i>	<i>Examples</i>	
Practice Knowledge of Landscape and Environment	Safety Lessons	Avalanche Preparedness
		River Crossings
		Sea Ice Travel
		Boat Travel
		Overland Travel
Advisory Board Membership	Experience participating in an advisory board	
	Confidence interacting in a professional setting	
	Confidence interacting with community Elders	
	Confidence in Public Speaking	

Table 7. Inuit Representative Aspirations as Disseminated by Community Elders

Through the youth’s exposure to Parks Canada and Auyuittuq National Park, the Inuit representatives hope to provide youth capacity building opportunities that will not only benefit the individual participants, but may also encourage a strengthened relationship between the community and the agency. In particular, this relationship has potential to provide a diverse range of economic opportunities that may benefit Parks

Canada and the residents of Pangnirtung. This could include direct employment with Parks Canada, and indirect park related activities such as outfitting services, translation and interpretation services, research assistant positions, and advisory committee membership.

#### 4.1.5 Discourse Summary

With the understanding that the term discourse has been defined and applied to this project as a ‘standardized category of thought, created by, and manifested through spoken and/or written language, and held in common by individuals within a particular social group’, the proceeding section demonstrates that each of the parties who contribute to the creation of youth engagement opportunities do so in possession of a distinct discourse pertaining to why and how the youth may be encouraged to engage with Parks Canada.

<b>Contributing Discourse</b>	<b>Why</b>	<b>How</b>
<b>Parks Canada Agency Corporate Plan</b>	Increase national youth connection to Parks Canada	Provide opportunities for youth to engage with Parks Canada
	Increased public appreciation and understanding of Parks and protected areas under Parks Canada’s care	Identify and market aspects of the parks that are of interest to the public.
	Increase visitation	Create, renew, and diversify visitor experience opportunities
<b>Nunavut Field Unit</b>	Satisfy the agency’s institutional priorities	Efforts correspond with corporate plan
	Foster public support for Parks Canada lead initiatives in the territory	School presentations
		Experiential learning workshops
Recruit local/Inuit staff	Parks Canada’s participation in career fairs Provide student and/or youth employment opportunities	
<b>Inuit Representatives</b>	Capacity building opportunities	Adapt Parks Canada lead initiatives to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge and skills
		Youth representation and participation on advisory board(s)

Table 8. Contributing Discourse - Aspiration Summary

Table 8. provides a bulleted recount of each party’s aspirations, as described in the preceding section. Figure 6. demonstrates the directional flow of management aspirations within the Parks Canada Agency and Auyuittuq National Park’s collaborative management arrangement.

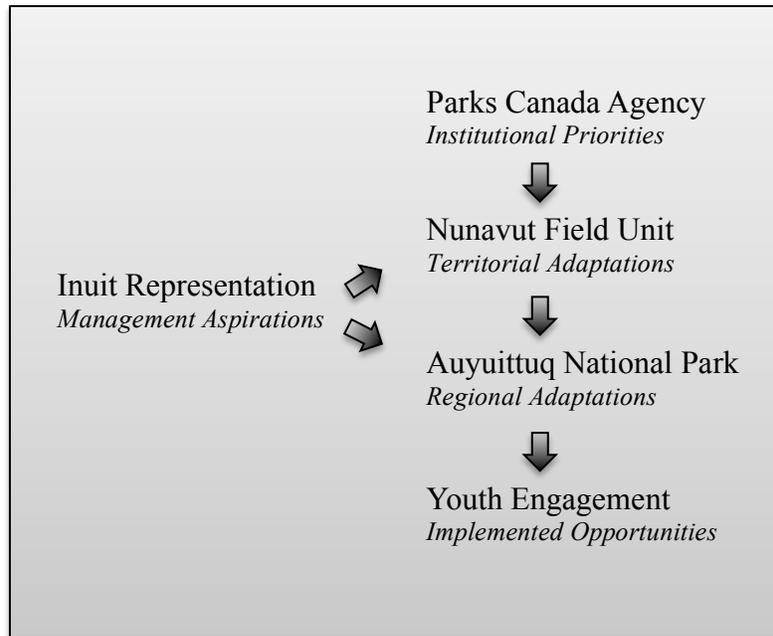


Fig. 6. The Transmission of Management Aspirations

#### 4.2 Implemented Youth Engagement Strategies

At the park level, youth engagement appears through the 2010-2015 Auyuittuq National Park Management Plan as emphasized by the corporate plan, as adapted by the Nunavut Field Unit, and as recommended by the affiliated Inuit advisory councils as expressed during the public consultation process(es). With respect paid to the social and physical context of the Qikiqtaaluk Region, Auyuittuq National Park’s youth engagement strategies specifically seek to “strengthen the connection of youth to Inuit culture and history and to the Park’s glaciated landscapes and fjords” (Parks Canada 2010,18).

Acknowledging the Inuit representatives desire to provide the youth with opportunities

for knowledge and skill acquisition, Auyuittuq National Park proposed to: 1) “Provide educational materials related to the parks’ ecosystems, cultural resources and Inuit culture and history to educators in Pangnirtung and Qikiqtarjuaq and education institutions in Nunavut”, 2) “Develop a program to bring youth of the communities of Pangnirtung and Qikiqtarjuaq into the park with Elders, with a focus on sharing knowledge about park ecosystems, Inuit culture and land survival skills”, and 3) “Use Inuktitut place names in all interpretive products and programs for youth” (Parks Canada 2010,18-19).

Coordinated and implemented jointly by the NFU’s centralized external relations branch and the Auyuittuq National Park’s Visitor Experience Manager, a series of youth engagement strategies were delivered during the 2010-2013 period, the initial date reflecting the onset of the current Auyuittuq National Park management plan and the latter reflecting the end of this projects data collection phase. Designed in accordance with the objectives listed above, the delivered youth engagement opportunities included Parks Canada led classroom presentations, workshops, the recruitment of seasonal summer student employees, and to a lesser extent educational movie nights, research and monitoring assistance positions, and youth Inuit Knowledge Working Group representatives. The following provides a detailed account of the three most prevalently employed youth engagement opportunities: 1) classroom presentations, 2) workshops, and 3) summer student employment.

#### **4.2.1 Presentations**

The most obvious method to access the community of Pangnirtung’s youth demographic is through the public school system. As noted, the ANP management plan seeks to “provide educational materials related to the parks’ ecosystems, cultural

resources and Inuit culture and history to educators in Pangnirtung and Qikiqtarjuaq and education institutions in Nunavut” (Parks Canada 2010,18). However, reminded of the 2012 federal budget cuts, which took place two years following the release of Auyuittuq National Parks 2010-2015 management plan, ANP’s engagement strategies have been amended to suit the agency’s emerging economic landscape. Thus, resources previously allocated for curriculum development, specifically for the *Environmental Stewardship Certificate Program*, have been redistributed to support Auyuittuq National Parks amended educational goals (RP: Delia Siivola ANP Park Manager 2012). As a result, between 2010 and 2013 the Auyuittuq National Park office actively pursued a partnership with the teaching staff of two local grade schools, Alookie School, composed of kindergarten to grade 6 students, and Attagoyuk Ilisavik High School, where the grade 7 to 12 students attend. Presentations informing students about Auyuittuq National Park, environmental stewardship, safety, Inuit culture and history, and employment opportunities available through the Parks Canada Agency, were delivered in the classroom, or should the teacher prefer a fieldtrip, at the Auyuittuq National Park Pangnirtung office (RP: Billy Etooangat ANP Visitor Experience Manager 2012). Such presentations were intended to supplement the existing curriculum by providing a local context for learning materials.

#### **4.2.2 Workshops**

As a means to put boots on the ground and increase youth visitation to Auyuittuq National Park itself, the Nunavut Field Unit and Auyuittuq National Park actively pursue partnerships with local and regional youth focused organizations to develop and deliver engaging trips to, and workshops in the park proper (RP: Leesee Papatsie NFU Outreach

and Education Officer 2012). As example, in the winter of 2012, the ANP manager approached the Hamlet of Pangnirtung's Making Connections for Youth department to organize a youth activity in the national park (RP: Delia Siivola ANP Park Manager 2012). Accordingly a workshop was developed that would see the youth of Pangnirtung and Qikiqtarjuaq each hold a dance workshop within their respective communities, with the two parties converging for a Hip Hop Summit in Auyuittuq National Park (located between the two communities). While the former part of this initiative went as planned, the Qikiqtarjuaq youth were unfortunately unable to reach Summit Lake by snowmobile due to an unexpected and early spring thaw. Nonetheless, this activity provided an opportunity for both sets of youth to spend time out on the land and interact with Parks Canada's people and places. Additionally, in the fall of 2013 a second workshop of this nature was held in connect to this research project, which I coordinated. Here, a group of youth, Elders and parks Canada employees took part in two, daylong workshops on the outskirts of Pangnirtung. Each party was invited to lead a discussion and/or activity focused on contemporary land skills or natural resource uses. Some of the Elders chose to lead an Inuksuk building workshop, rich with historical knowledge and navigation techniques, while the youth opted to teach the Elders how to operate a modern GPS device. Both workshops served to connect community members to one another, and to the Parks Canada Agency.

#### **4.2.3 Youth Employment**

According to the Agency's website (accessed February 16, 2015) each year Parks Canada hires over 1000 summer students to fill seasonal staffing requirements at Canada's national parks, national historic sites, and national marine conservation areas.

Largely dependent on available funding Auyuittuq National Park annually strives to provide two such positions (RP: Delia Siivola ANP Park Manager 2012), one in Pangnirtung and one in Qikiqtarjuaq. While in the south, recruitment occurs through the Federal Government Student Work Exchange Program (FSWEP), an online application process, in Pangnirtung, ANP staff actively participates in career fairs to advertise the position. As an excellent example of Parks Canada adapting to the social context in which ANP operates, once a suitable candidate has been identified, ANP staff will assist the student to fill out the official FSWEP application (RP: Delia Siivola ANP Park Manager 2012, RP: Billy Etooangat ANP Visitor Experience Manager 2012).

With regards to the duties associated with this position, the role of the summer student at the Pangnirtung ANP office is two-fold. On the one hand, the summer seasons marks a clear departure from the park offices quiet off-season as visitation steadily begins to climb as the snow recedes. Hence, the summer student becomes largely responsible for greeting and registering park visitors whom check in at the Pangnirtung office (RP: Delia Siivola ANP Park Manager 2012). Reminded that all expeditions to ANP take place in a backcountry setting, the registration process is considered a matter of public safety and must be electronically recorded. Through this process, the student has an opportunity to develop their confidence through public speaking, and gain the knowledge and skill set required to work within an office setting (RP: Delia Siivola ANP Park Manager 2012).

Additionally, the summer student's role also includes "acting like a sponge to learn everything and anything that they can about the way the office works, the other jobs available through Parks Canada, and about Auyuittuq National Park itself" (Delia Siivola,

ANP Park Manager 2012). Siivola suggests that through the summer student position, the youth may be exposed to, and develop a passion for a particular aspect of the job, subsequently pursuing post-secondary training in that area. While quick to point out that Parks Canada is simply one piece of a larger puzzle, Siivola highlighted the success of former summer students, several of whom have gone on to secure permanent positions with Parks Canada, the RCMP, and the Government of Nunavut.

Beyond the potential to acquire new knowledge and skills, Auyuittuq National Park also hopes that past, present, and future summer students may assist the agency to diffuse knowledge throughout the community.

*“They [the summer students] become a spokes person, because they start to learn more about how things run, and get to know the office here. So when they go out into the community they can talk about the park, or if it comes up, and someone asks a question, they have knowledge and they can help share that. And the best way to distribute knowledge is through people, so the more people who know what is going on, the better it is for everyone” (Delia Siivola, Auyuittuq National Park Manager, 2012).*

#### **4.3 Discussion: The Unraveling of Existing Youth Engagement Strategies**

At the onset of this chapter, I proposed three key objectives, to: 1) illustrate the aspirations of each contributing party, 2) describe the existing youth engagement opportunities, and 3) deconstruct the said opportunities to determine whether Parks Canada’s institutional ‘rules of management’ persist, or if there is evidence for a new, blended discourse. The following section seeks to address the third and final objective.

As a means to shed light onto the power dynamics and collaborative nature of Auyuittuq National Park’s management structure, I propose that youth engagement may be conceptualized as a tapestry of interwoven aspirations. Each thread in this metaphorical tapestry therefore represents an idea contributed by a particular discourse and party. While the youth engagement strategies may at first appear cohesive, by

teasing apart and tracing each thread back towards its origin, it is possible to determine the influence that a particular party held in the creation of each. Consider the youth engagement strategies outlined above, classroom presentations, workshops, and summer student employment opportunities. Table 9. demonstrates the unraveling process, emphasizing the aspirations expressed by the Parks Canada Agency’s corporate plan, the Nunavut Field Unit, and the Inuit representatives who advise the collaborative management and park planning process (See Table 8. for detailed aspiration summary).

<b>Contributing Discourse</b>	<b>Aspiration</b>	<b>Presentations</b>	<b>Workshops</b>	<b>Employment</b>
<b>Parks Canada Agency Corporate Plan</b>	Increase national youth connection to Parks Canada	✓	✓	✓
	Increased public appreciation and understanding of Parks and protected areas under Parks Canada’s care	✓	✓	✓
	Increase visitation	✓	✓	✓
<b>Nunavut Field Unit</b>	Foster public support for Parks Canada lead initiatives in the territory	✓	✓	✓
	Recruit local/Inuit staff	✓	✓	✓
<b>Inuit Representatives</b>	Capacity building opportunities	✓	✓	✓

Table 9. Unraveling Existing Youth Engagement Strategies

The findings of this analysis indicate that the collaborative management arrangement has been successful at incorporating the aspirations of all three contributing discourses into the formation of Auyuittuq National Park’s youth engagement strategies. It is, however, important to acknowledge the position of power and authority that Parks Canada holds in the creation of each. A document review of the corporate plan and the

management plans for national parks, protected spaces, and marine reserves under the Parks Canada Agency's jurisdiction indicate that the youth engagement methods utilized in Pangnirtung are consistent with those found across the country (Parks Canada Agency 2012, 2011, 2010, 2007). In order to do so, the educational topics presented, activities incorporated into workshops, and employment opportunities made available to the youth are adapted to suit the physical context of the park or protected area. In the case of Auyuittuq National Park, the recommendation of the Inuit Representatives to the JPMC and IKWG serve to ground and infuse each method with local, traditional, and cultural knowledge. Parks Canada uses a consistent set of methods across all of its locations with the intention of streamlining the youth engagement strategies delivered nationally. However by doing so I argue that this process limits the inclusion of local aspirations for park management, such that the Parks Canada Agency at its various management levels 1) maintains directional power and authority over the types of initiatives developed and implemented, 2) extracts information from the Inuit Representatives for the purpose of fleshing out a predetermined model, 3) possesses the ability to include or omit Inuit Representative aspirations for park management, and 4) restricts the management narrative such that it appears as though Inuit aspirations are included in all park management decisions, while in fact those which fall outside of the preexisting model rarely come to fruition. To exemplify this argument, consider the Inuit Representative identified aspiration for increased youth representation in the collaborative management process.

#### **4.3.1. Alternative Aspirations: Youth Representation**

To fully appreciate this example, it is worth taking a moment to discuss the history of Auyuittuq National Park youth representation. While any individual over the age of majority is welcome to seek nomination to the Joint Park Management Committee, Park Planning Team, and Inuit Knowledge Working Group, only the later has created a specific position to be filled by a youth representative.<sup>1</sup> This was the result of an August 2005 Auyuittuq National Park Inuit Knowledge Working Group meeting, where the members expressed their desire to include a youth in the discussion and planning process (Auyuittuq National Park Inuit Knowledge Working Group meeting minutes). As a result, the inaugural meeting was adjourned until a suitable candidate could be found.

That being said, since the inception of the Pangnirtung IKWG, formerly joint with the Qikiqtarjuaq IKWG under the banner of the ANP IKWG, the Auyuittuq National Park and Nunavut Field Unit have encountered significant difficulty in recruiting and retaining an individual to fill the youth representative position (RP: Manasa Evic ANP JPMC, & Pangnirtung IKWG 2012, RP: Zaypatee Qappik, ANP JPMC, ANP PPT, & Pangnirtung IKWG, 2012). Furthermore, efforts to partner with Pangnirtung's youth council have resulted in inconsistent attendance by the nominated individual(s). Consequently, the Pangnirtung IKWG members have expressed frustration over the limited youth involvement in park management.

During my 2012 fieldwork, at the request of the Pangnirtung IKWG members, I did attempt to recruit youth candidates who possessed a previously established relationship with Auyuittuq National Park. In doing so, I encountered a series of barriers

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<sup>1</sup> As of October 2013, no individuals between the ages of 18-30 were active members of the ANP JPMP, or adjourned ANP PPT.

that prevent the youth from taking part. This includes: 1) no preexisting knowledge of the collaborative management process and therefore limited interest, 2) shyness, and 3) schedule conflicts, as most youth are in school or at work during the Inuit Knowledge Working Group Meetings which typically occur during regular business hours, Monday to Friday, 9am to 5pm. As part of the data collection process, I held a series of joint Elder and youth focus groups that fit the youth's pre-existing schedule. This led the IKWG members to identify three suitable youth representative candidates, who they invited to share the single youth representative position on a rotating basis. This was in acknowledgement of the previous youth representative's difficulty in committing to regular meeting attendance. Nonetheless, following the conclusion of my 2012 fieldwork, the Parks Canada Agency did not invite these individuals to any subsequent Inuit Knowledge Working Group meetings citing financial restrictions.

Data collected through the interview process indicated that while the Inuit Representatives felt strongly about the recruitment and retainment of youth representatives, Parks Canada officials continue to struggle in their justification of youth representation. This is due largely to Parks Canada's intended purpose for the Joint Park Management Committee, Park Planning Team, and Inuit Knowledge Working Group, which seek to supply active Parks Canada initiatives with grounded traditional ecological knowledge and cultural insights. The youth, as members of an increasingly urban, technologically focused society, have been consciously or subconsciously labeled by Parks Canada as without possession of the type of knowledge that the agency and Auyuittuq National Park seek to acquire. Furthermore, the inclusion of youth representatives falls outside of the agency's pre-existing model of youth engagement.

Nonetheless, some Nunavut Field Unit and Auyuittuq National Park employees have echoed the Inuit representatives, stating that there is value in creating a youth representative position. I believe that this is the reason that efforts have been made to recruit a youth representative in the past. However, more to the point, I suspect that the primary reason for Parks Canada to support youth representative recruitment remains for the purpose of placating an Inuit identified aspiration within the context of the collaborative management arrangement.

This notion is supported by the tapestry metaphor and analysis previously introduced. Reflecting on the purpose for and success of the youth representative position, the aspirations satisfied through this youth engagement strategy include those most strongly associated with localized circumstances, and not those aligned with the agency’s national objectives (See Table 10.).

<b>Contributing Discourse</b>	<b>Aspiration</b>	<b>Youth Representation</b>
<b>Parks Canada Agency Corporate Plan</b>	Increase national youth connection to Parks Canada	
	Increased public appreciation and understanding of Parks and protected areas under Parks Canada’s care	
	Increase visitation	
<b>Nunavut Field Unit</b>	Foster public support for Parks Canada lead initiatives in the territory	✓
	Recruit local/Inuit staff	
<b>Inuit Representatives</b>	Capacity building opportunities	✓

Table 10. Unraveling the Aspirations Associated with Youth Representation

### **4.3.2 Persistent Rules of Management**

The preceding discussion demonstrates the Parks Canada Agency's persistent rules of management. Although I had hoped to identify a blended discourse, one that could stand as a shining example of the collaborative management process, it is apparent that the Parks Canada Agency's deep seated and firmly maintained social institutions prevent an equal distribution of power and collaborative decision-making. The only example of a blended discourse that I observed were within the Inuit Parks Canada employees, who appear to be caught between the institutional rules of their employer, and the cultural values of their community. These individuals walk a tight rope between two worldviews and do their best to approach park management initiatives such as youth engagement in a manner that will merge the aspirations of both parties.

## **4.4 Chapter Summary**

Collaborative management, in theory, strives to carefully intertwine the aspirations of various stakeholder groups to form policies and initiatives uniquely suited to the context at hand. The preceding chapter illustrates that through the discussion, drafting, and implementation process, the ideas and aspirations contributed by each party often become blurred and obscured, replaced by seemingly cohesive, collaborative decisions. By deconstructing four key youth engagement strategies; classroom presentations, workshops in collaboration, summer student employment, and youth representations, this work was able to determine that the Parks Canada Agency's ingrained rules of management have persisted beyond the foundation of Auyuittuq National Park's collaborative management arrangement preventing the formation of a blended discourse.

## **CHAPTER V – Social Factors That Influence Youth Participation**

Through this project three social groups have been discussed, this includes the Parks Canada Agency, the community Elders who act as advisory council members, and the youth of Pangnirtung. While Chapter IV provides a detailed account of the aspirations and relationships apparent between the initial two groups, missing from the conversation thus far are the perspectives and aspirations of the youth themselves. Given the structure of the advisory committees, such that Parks Canada predominantly consults with the community's Elder and adult populations, the youth have had relatively little input into the development of the engagement initiatives delivered within Pangnirtung. In this chapter, I report on research that presents the youth's thoughts and perspectives on the existing youth engagement opportunities and share their aspirations for future involvement.

### **5.1 The Social Construction of the Youth Demographic**

In order to explore how Pangnirtung's youth perceive, react, and respond to Auyuittuq National Park's engagement strategies, it is first important to understand the social institutions and cultural values that influence the communities discourse on youth. Let us consider the social expectations ascribed to the demographic by the community's two dominant discourses, chiefly those associated with western ideologies, and traditional Inuit ways of knowing.

The Hamlet of Pangnirtung defines the youth demographic as composed of individuals whom are between the ages of thirteen and thirty (RP: Chris Heide, Making Connections for Youth Coordinator, 2012). With an age span of seventeen years, I observed this category to include middle years and high school students, individuals

whom have graduated and or left school for various reasons, individuals whom are independent and employed, individuals whom are dependent on family members and are under or unemployed, parents of young children, individuals whom participate in the traditional economy, and every possible combination of the aforementioned characteristics.

From the western perspective, the age range characteristically associated with youthhood spans from the ages of fifteen to twenty four (UNESCO 2016). Such individuals are considered to be transitioning from childhood into adulthood. That being said, UNESCO (2016) notes that the “latter age limit has been increasing, as higher levels of unemployment and the cost of setting up an independent household puts many young people into a prolonged period of dependency”. This socially constructed life stage is acknowledged as a period of learning, where individuals as of yet unburdened by adult responsibilities are encouraged to freely discover, explore and attempt a range of academic and extra curricular activities. Generally speaking, individuals modernly associated with adolescence are considered to be individualistic, urbanized, and technologically focused. Upon the completion of high school, individuals are expected to take steps towards independence, be it through the pursuit of specialized educational training, or by accepting a position within the wage economy. Individuals in the latter stage are generally not considered to be youth, but rather young adults.

In contrast, traditional Inuit society did not recognize a social category between childhood and adulthood (Condon and Stern 1993). “Due to the marginal nature of the arctic habitat, parents simply did not have the resources to support a large number of nonproductive offspring” (Condon and Stern 1993, 390). Rather as small children,

individuals were expected to observe, listen, and attempt to refine the physical and social skills demonstrated by their elders (Condon and Stern 1993). This included a series of eight cultural values that served to create uniformity in action and response amongst a geographically dispersed group of people. Modernly referred to as Inuit Qaujimagatunqangit (IQ), such principles included Inuuqatigiitsiarniq (respect), Tunnganarniq (inclusiveness of others), Piliriqatigiinqniq (patience), Avatimik kamattiarniq (environmental stewardship), Pilimmaksarniq (an emphasis on skills and knowledge acquisition), Qanuqtuurunnarniq (innovation), Aajiqatigiingniq (consensus decision-making), and Pijitsirniq (the concept of serving) (Department of Nunavut Education 2007, 32-35). Such lessons served to pass cultural information onto successive generations through observational, experiential, and participatory learning methods. This process ensured that upon reaching puberty, each individual would be fully capable of, and therefore expected to meaningfully contribute to the community's physical and social needs (Condon and Stern 1993). Thus, by age twelve or thirteen, an individual would be expected to complete all tasks socially ascribed to their gender (Condon and Stern 1993). In short, childhood was characterized as a period of experimental learning, while adulthood required tangible action.

The present however is a time of social negotiation, during which traditional Inuit ideologies, values, and beliefs have begun to blend with those of mainstream Canadian culture. Inuit children bound by the educational system's formal structure have been removed from the immersive learning setting that had previously served to pass knowledge between successive generations. Consequently, generational sodalities have emerged in which Inuit children, adults, and Elders spend an increasing amount of time in

the company of their peers, removed from the intergenerational social communities of the past (Condon and Stern 1993).

Based on my personal observation, a social shift is currently underway in the community of Pangnirtung where particular social responsibilities have begun to align with emerging generational sodalities, and many community members are beginning to recognize the western social constructs of adolescence and young adulthood. Curiously however, unlike the western perception that adolescence is a period for learning and that young adults have largely completed their education, the community of Pangnirtung appears to consider young adulthood as a second phase of knowledge and skill acquisition. In this case individuals are encouraged by their elders to seek out formal and informal education opportunities that will provide insights into such adult responsibilities as child rearing, the application of traditional ecological knowledge, the dissemination of cultural information to successive generations, and skills associated with the traditional and wage economies. This second phase of learning is reminiscent of the gender realignment and associated gendered learning processes that had traditionally occurred within Inuit society following the onset of puberty (Trott 2006). Modern efforts seek to correct the youth's perceived deviant behavior and realign physically mature individuals with the social expectations of the community's social institutions and cultural values. Accordingly, the community recognizes young adulthood as an extension of adolescence, thus, the inclusion of twenty to thirty year olds in the community's definition of youth.

## **5.2 The Emergent Youth Discourse**

In response to the competing and often conflicting discourses present within the community of Pangnirtung, the youth have developed an independent discourse that

reflects their unique placement within the cross-cultural community. Raised in a blended social context, the youth are required to balance the traditional Inuit social institutions and cultural values that their family members and peers perpetuate, with those of the western institutions with which they interact. During my fieldwork, I observed the community's youth pulled simultaneously in two different directions as they attempted to socially negotiate the behaviors and attitudes ascribed to them by each discourse. The youth, who do not appear to fully identify with either discourse, responded by selectively applying aspects of the western and Inuit ideologies, in an attempt to socially navigate the situations and contexts that they encountered. To do so, the youth have adopted an adaptive strategy where individuals conform to the discourse that was most strongly present in a given circumstance.

A fluid discourse of this nature often led to what the Elders perceived as the youth's inconsistent application and adherence to traditional social expectations. Acknowledging the apparent disconnect that exists between the traditional Inuit discourse and the emerging youth discourse, tensions and discord were increasingly evident between the two generational sodalities.

*“Youth and Elders have a hard time getting along these days. When we [the Elders] were children, we would listen to our parents. If they told us to do something, we would do it. That's just the way it was. But things are different now. The youth are on their own too much. They don't listen to their parents and grandparents. They do what they want. Even if a parent says 'you have to do something' or 'you have to be at this place for this reason' the youth refuse. This happens all over the territory. Not just Pangnirtung. Youth even take boyfriends and girlfriends without asking for their parent's permission. They do what ever they want to do. They won't listen, even though we tell them what they are supposed to do”* (Mary-Leese Qakki, 2012).

This scenario is amplified by the Elder's commitment to their ascribed role as stewards of Inuit culture, language, and heritage. The Elders consulted for this project seek to foster and develop avenues through which the youth may acquire the traditional

skill set, as a means to facilitate the youth's transition from elder children to contributing young adults.

*"I want to share what I know with the youth, so they will know it when we [The Elders] are gone. We won't live forever. And those teenagers, they can bring it [land based knowledge] into the future. We don't write it on a piece of paper. We just pass it on from generation to generation"* (Mary-Leesee Qakki, 2012).

The youth in response suggested that given the modern context, many of the traditional ways are no longer relevant to their contemporary lifestyle. Given the presence of conflicting aspirations, the youth have developed avoidance strategies that seek to evade the Elder's educational efforts. Now, it is important to note that such avoidance tactics do not imply that the youth do not have respect for the Elders. In fact, quite the opposite is true. Although the contemporary youth exist in a social context where two distinct worldviews interact, blend, and repel one another on a daily basis, many traditional Inuit values such as harmony, patience, noninterference, and respect remain instilled within the attitudes, actions, and behaviors of individual youth (personal observations confirmed during the interview process). On that account, as a means to avoid disrespecting or wasting the time of the Elders, the youth often attempt to avoid situations that are anticipated to generate feelings of discomfort or boredom, thus running the risk of disrespecting the speaker or becoming a distraction to those whom are genuinely interested in the topic or activity at hand (personal observations confirmed during the interview process). What this implies is that amidst the emergence of a distinct youth discourse exists an underlying adherence to many traditional Inuit social institutions and cultural values.

It is with this point in mind, that the conversation will now turn towards the youth's thoughts and perspectives on the existing Auyuittuq National Park youth engagement initiatives.

### **5.3 The Youth Response to Existing Parks Canada Engagement Strategies**

At the onset of the 2012 data collection phase, I met with a classroom full of grade 11 students and asked them two simple questions: 1) What did they know about Auyuittuq National Park, and 2) Does the park effect the community in any way? The near unanimous response was that the student knew very little about Auyuittuq National Park beyond the fact that southern tourists seem to go there and that the park does not affect their lives in any way. The other youth research participants' subsequently echoed similar answers. In contrast, when I specifically asked about Auyuittuq National Parks youth engagement strategies, such as classroom presentations, workshops, and employment opportunities, I received a diverse array of answers. For a detailed account of each method, please refer to section 4.2.

To facilitate an in-depth analysis of the data collected from youth participants, the decision was made to divide the youth category into four overlapping yet distinct social groups, specifically female adolescent youth, male adolescent youth, female young adults, and male young adults. Such groupings were based on the complex roles and responsibilities ascribed to the distinct youth categories by the broader cross-cultural community. The initial two groups were composed of school-aged individuals ranging from thirteen to nineteen years of age, while the later two groups were composed of individuals aged twenty to thirty. Reflecting on Auyuittuq National Park's existing youth

engagement strategies, the following section describes the result of the youth interview and corresponding focus group process.

### **5.3.1 Presentations**

Beginning this analysis with female adolescent youth, the most prominent group within the research participant pool, these individuals suggested that when confronted by an Auyuittuq National Park guest lecture that they would frequently tune out the speakers voice, or physically walk out of the classroom as to avoid the situation all together. In explanation, the girls suggested that the topics presented upon by Parks Canada were of little personal interest or relevance to their lives. The girls frequently referred to such presentation as “boring” and “lame”. The male adolescent youth used similar language, stating that although the topics presented were of interest, the fact that the youth were required to sit and patiently listen to a monologue was considered by many to be a “waste of time”. The male youth reported using the time allotted for the presentation to take a nap, or to exit the classroom in search of truant peers.

When interviewed, the young adults recounted their own high school experiences, stating points similar to those expressed by the adolescent research participants. However, when asked about more recent presentations, these individuals could not recall a single instance where they had freely attended a Parks Canada led presentation nor could they recall Parks Canada offering such a presentation outside of the school system. During my interview with Billy Etoangat, Auyuittuq National Park Visitor Experience Manager, he noted that very few youth engagement initiatives were intended to engage with the young adult demographic, thus confirming the young adults memories. When asked if they would like to attend an educational presentation each gender had a unique

response. The young adult women suggested that they would if the topic was of interest, while their male counterparts insisted that they would prefer to learn by doing.

### **5.3.2 Workshops**

With regards to learning by doing, all four sub-demographics unanimously supported the idea of participating in a workshop over that of a presentation. Nonetheless, very few participants could recall having participated in a Parks Canada led workshop. The exception to this rule being the adolescents who had participated in the 2012 Hip Hop Workshop, 2013 Cultural Landscapes Workshop, and a few grade 12 boys who had taken part in an informal snowmobile repair seminar lead by Billy Etooangat. When asked if they would be like to participate in future Parks Canada led workshops, the youth demographic as a whole emphasized that the topic of the workshop would promote or inhibit their participation. The female and male adolescent youth as example emphasized that they would like to take part in workshops that were fun, in the company of their peers, and were preferably out on the land. The young adult women suggested that they would like to learn cultural skills such as skinning and sewing seal skins, while the young adult men stated that they would like to learn skills that are applicable to time spent out on the land, such as fire arm safety, and avalanche preparedness.

### **5.3.3. Youth Employment**

With regards to youth employment opportunities, no other youth engagement method was as polarizing in response. The adolescent females were surprisingly enthusiastic about working with and for the Parks Canada Agency. These individuals were keen to work within an office and acquire the skills necessary to succeed in the

wage economy. The adolescent males in contrast were steadfast in their distaste for the agency's reputation as a stern, firm employer. They did however express interest in the type of work that the Parks Canada employees conduct in the park itself, referencing the duties of a park patrol person. Young adult females had again a unique response, emphasizing their domestic responsibilities as preventing them from working as a park patrol person. Suggesting that they could not be away from home for long stretches of time, as was required by such positions. Finally, the young adult males echoed their younger male counterparts stating that the office responsibilities of the summer student position were of little interest. They did confess the allure of working for Parks Canada as a park patrol person, citing the draw of being paid for spending time out on the land.

#### **5.4 Discussion**

Acknowledging that western institutions have a habit of extracting and removing traditional ecological knowledge *data* from the cultural context in which it developed (Casimirri 2003), and provide the discussion in Chapter IV of this work, it is perhaps not surprising to learn that the youth engagement strategies implemented in Pangnirtung do not adequately account for the social context in which they are delivered.

Reminded that in instances where an external society, in possession of distinct social institutions and cultural values, attempts to impose alternative practices or beliefs upon another, it is not uncommon for the foreign, unintuitive ideologies to be actively or passively rejected by the receiving society (Mills 1997). Given the youth's underlying adherence to many of the traditional Inuit social institutions and cultural values, data collected through this work indicates that many of the education methods utilized by Auyuittuq National Park are unintuitive to Inuit culture, in turn creating subconscious

barrier to the youth's engagement with the agency. The following section discusses the two major themes that emerged during the data analysis process, specifically the educational topics presented and the unintuitive strategies used to convey such messages.

#### **5.4.1 Educational Topics and Gender**

By and large, the Parks Canada Agency engages with the Auyuittuq National Park's Joint Park Management Committee and the Pangnirtung Inuit Knowledge Working Group as though they were repositories of local knowledge. Although the Nunavut Field Unit and Auyuittuq National Park have gone to great lengths to ensure the incorporation of Inuit knowledge into the park's management plan and corresponding youth engagement strategies, such efforts have primarily focused on the topics of conservation, protection, safety, and land use planning. By engaging with the public consultation process through this lens, the type of information gathered and subsequently disseminated to the public subconsciously alienated a significant portion of the youth population.

Inuit land based knowledge is inherently gendered, as exemplified by the traditional gender division of labour (Billson 2007; Briggs 1974). Individuals are accordingly acculturated to observe the landscape in a manner that emphasizes the natural phenomena that are most pertinent to ones ascribed roles and responsibilities (Collignon 2006). Male traditional ecological knowledge, which emphasizes ecological niches, game species behavior, seasonal weather patterns, and geographical landmarks, vastly differs from female traditional ecological knowledge that is more closely associated with campsite management, working skins, sewing, and the procurement of localized resources (Collignon 2006). Beatrice Collignon comments on this point stating that

*“The strict division of tasks between men and women results in different sets of geographic knowledge. Men have one set of experiences, and so they have one kind of geographic knowledge, and they look at the space around them in a special way, a way that derives from their knowledge. Since the women have a different set of experience, their knowledge and their view of space is also different” (2006:31).*

Naomi Musmaker Giffen echo’s this sentiment emphasizing that “while we commonly think of this divergence in male and female division of labour as relating to the economic sphere, these differences are carried over into every phase of the life of the group, so that we find the men and women in the same locality to be living very different lives” (1930, vii).

While contemporary gender roles are expanding to include the introduction of western responsibilities, lessons pertaining to land based knowledge continue to disseminate along traditional gendered lines, mother to daughter and father to son (Condon and Stern 1993). Thus much of the information shared through the agencies youth engagement strategies, such as sea ice conditions, avalanche safety, overland travel, and river crossings, are strongly associated with male traditional ecological knowledge, and considered to be irrelevant to the vast majority of Pangnirtung’s female youth. Meanwhile, topics pertaining to female traditional ecological knowledge are notably absent.

*“I want to learn about the land, what plants are growing, what their uses are, and what they are called in Inuktitut” (Mandy Qaqasiq, 2012).*

Further compounding the female youth’s disconnection from Auyuittuq National Park is the fact that the vast majority of Pangnirtungs residents, inclusive of the male and female populations, do not have familial or historic connection to the practice traditional Pangnirtung Fjord interior, the marine entrance to Auyuittuq National Park, rather

preferring Cumberland Sound and neighboring fjords for camping and practicing traditional subsistence strategies (personal communication: Dr. Chris Trott, May 2016).

*“As an Inuk, it [Auyuittuq National Park] is just another land for us. Unless there is something amazing up there that we have to see, we won't go up there”* (Andrew Keenainak, 2012).

As such, youth of both genders do not readily practice cultural activities within the park's physical boundaries. Thus, not only are the women removed from the Auyuittuq National Park's social role within the community of Pangnirtung, they also do not have a direct connection with the park itself.

#### **5.4.2 Educational Methods and Age**

In terms of the male youth, an alternative set of barriers has been noted as hampering engagement. In this case, it is not the topics of discussion themselves, as the male youth have expressed interest in the type of knowledge and skills that the Agency holds in theory, but rather the methods used to deliver such messaging.

The Elders consulted for this project emphasized the importance of traditional learning methods, suggesting that the methods currently employed by Auyuittuq National Park are counterintuitive to the community's way of knowing. As noted, Inuit learning methods have traditionally relied upon observational, participatory, and experiential learning. Such methods promote respect for those who possess knowledge and skills, and provide opportunities for experimentation, self-discovery, patience, and skill refinement. In contrast, western methods seek to provide the students with theoretical knowledge through time efficient discussions, on occasion including a tactile activity, but most often delivered through a lecture based, question and answer style format. Presentations, and employment opportunities that are led by a central facilitator are noted by the boys and young men as stagnant, noninteractive, boring, and restrictive. Put off by such methods

in the past, these individuals expressed a great degree of hesitancy at engaging with Auyuittuq National Park in the future, as they feel that their time may be better spent in pursuit of alternative tactile experiences.

*“I wouldn’t want to work for Parks. Too strict.”* (Anonymous Male Grade 11 Student, 2012).

*“I like Billy and the Mathew’s [Auyuittuq National Park Employees]. They have good stories about the land and the park. (...) I’ve actually been to the park a few times through school and other programs. I don’t know why we keep going there though. We don’t do anything but walk around a bit, maybe have some tea, and then go back to town. It’s kind of boring”* (Anonymous Male Grade 12 Student, 2012).

### **5.4.3 The Physical Response**

Acknowledging that the community’s youth demographic is composed of independent individuals, the aforementioned analysis outlines the general patterns observed. Nonetheless, individuals of both genders report actively engaging in avoidance tactics to evade the perceived discomfort associated with Auyuittuq National Park led education. This is most apparent given the youth’s intermittent interest and limited willing engagement as exemplified by how frequently the students will skip class when a guest speaker is scheduled to attend, or disappear during a fieldtrip on the brief walk between the high school and the Pangnirtung Auyuittuq National Park office. Such actions demonstrate that the existing engagement strategies are unintuitive to the youth, and therefore serve as barriers to past and present participation.

However, this is not to say that the youth have outright rejected all of Auyuittuq National Parks efforts. Given the youth’s unique placement in Inuit society, straddling the social institutions of western and Inuit ideologies, some aspects of Parks Canada’s existing youth engagement strategies do resonate with the young men and women of Pangnirtung, for example, workshops and employment opportunities. The following section demonstrates the social institutions that influence which sub-groups within the

broader youth demographic are interested in the existing engagement strategies, and how the youth would like to see such strategies applied in the future.

## 5.5 Youth Aspirations

While a gendered analysis serves to shed light into institutional barriers pertaining to participation, when future engagement is considered, it appears that an individual's age more heavily influences ones



(Photo Credit: Jerry Liasa, 2012)

aspirations. The following section outlines the aspirations of each of the youth sub-groups discussed, and in doing so the reader is provided a glimpse of the future role that Auyuittuq National Park could serve within the community of Pangnirtung.

### 5.5.1 Adolescent Aspirations

Adolescent youth overwhelmingly aspire to participate in fun, hands-on activities, which take place in the company of their peers. These individuals are eager to learn from those whom they perceive to be knowledgeable on particular subjects, for example local Elders and Parks Canada employees, so long as such lessons are delivered in a semi-structured or non-structured manner that encourages self-discovery and an organic transfer of knowledge and skills.

Land based workshops were emphasized as the type of activities in which adolescent youth were most likely to take part in. As an example, both male and female adolescents youth spoke fondly of the 2012 Hip Hop Workshop and the 2013 Cultural



Following an Elder led discussion and demonstration a group of youth built an Inuksuk next to Pangnirtung, Fjord. (Photo Credit: Amy Brown, 2013)

Landscapes Workshop hosted by this project and supported by Auyuittuq National Park. With regards to the later example, participants suggested that land based knowledge was of pre-existing interest to the youth, and that the topics discussed provided opportunities to learn new skills from someone whom the youth deemed to be knowledgeable on the subject, i.e. Parks Canada employees about Auyuittuq National Park and community Elders about traditional ecological knowledge and cultural history.

Here, lessons were delivered in a fluid semi-structured manner, out on the land, in the company of the youth's peers. However, most importantly this workshop was fun for the youth. The participants suggested that they would be keen to participate in a similar workshop in the future.

*“Youth today are disconnected from the land. There are so many distractions. Youth are doing things on their own. I think if youth had more opportunities to be out on the land, and to have that direct experience with the land, they would understand the importance of why places like the parks are important to preserve” (Shawn Innuksuk, 2012).*

*“In order to increase youth involvement in the park, more fun activities need to be organized. Like a fishing derby, hiking competitions, or weekend snowmobile trips to the Arctic Circle” (Anonymous Male Grade 10 Student, 2012).*

*“I would like for parks to plan a cool scavenger hunt for youth and adults. We would have to start in Pang and find a boat then go to the park and find them [the scavenger hunt items] and then get back to town before the end of the day. Fun prizes would encourage people to join” (Avery Keenainak, 2012).*

However, the timing of such workshops appears to influence youth participation. Youth interviewed suggested that they would be more likely to attend workshops and participate in activities that recognize and account for the youth's preference to stay out late and sleep in, often well past the nine o'clock school bell. The students also suggested that if snacks and or dinner were provided, they would be further incentivized to participate.



Youth consume frozen raw caribou meat during the Cultural Landscapes Workshop. (Photo Credit: Amy Brown, 2013)

In addition, many of the youth interviewed suggested that they would like to work for, or in association with Parks Canada in the future. The youth acknowledge Auyuittuq National Park as an economic driver within the community and demonstrate an entrepreneurial spirit by proposing the expansion of existing, and the implementation of new, employment opportunities.

*“Maybe youth would get more involved with the Park if there were more interesting jobs. Like, teaching kids at Alookee School about the Park with fun presentations with pictures and cartoon comics and facts about the park. Also for some students to go on cruise ships that pass by to represent Parks, and to go to different communities that have conferences to present about the Park” (Avery Keenainak, 2012).*

*“More youth should be able to outfit by shadowing outfitters. More youth should be helping the visitors or tourists” (Anonymous Male Grade 10 Student, 2012).*

### **5.5.2 Young Adult Aspirations**

Parks Canada, a southern organization steeped in the traditions of western social institutions and cultural values, engages with the topic of youth engagement through the lens of adolescent engagement (RP: Delia Siivola ANP Park Manager 2012, RP: Billy

Etooangat ANP Visitor Experience Manager 2012). This is chiefly due to the accessibility of adolescents through the congregational structure of the educational system (RP: Delia Siivola ANP Park Manager 2012, RP: Billy Etooangat ANP Visitor Experience Manager 2012). Hence, the application of engagement methods that are consistent with the educational system, such as presentations and student employment opportunities. Employing the western notion that young adults have largely completed their education and are therefore capable, fully functioning adults, Auyuittuq National Park grants this portion of the youth demographic relatively little attention (RP: Delia Siivola ANP Park Manager 2012, RP: Billy Etooangat ANP Visitor Experience Manager 2012). In some regards, park management is accurate to assume that the senior youth, or young adults, are not interested in the type of educational experiences characteristically offered, for example presentations and hip hop workshops. However this does not imply that the demographic is disinterested in engaging with Auyuittuq National Park all together.

Akin to the Inuit advisory council representatives who, in Chapter IV, emphasized the role that Parks Canada could play in knowledge and skill acquisition, the young adult's interviewed would like to engage with Auyuittuq National Park for the purpose of advancing their personal and professional lives. Once again, gendered differences emerge indicating that the young men interviewed would like to participate in skill building workshops, such as firearm safety training, avalanche awareness, small engine maintenance and repair, and first aid training, while, as we will see below, the young women have alternative aspirations.

As noted during the description of the contemporary youth demographic at the onset of this chapter, through the incorporation of western social institutions into the community of Pangnirtung, associated social responsibilities have been adopted by and incorporated into many pre-existing Inuit customs. As example, prior to the onset of the settlement period, Inuit families would participate in traditional rounds. Here, an egalitarian relationship existed between the men and women, such that while the men traveled out on to the land and sea in search of game, the women would handle campsite management and localized domestic duties (Billson and Mancini 2007, Collignon 2006). Upon transitioning into sedentary westernized communities, many families continued to participate in the traditional economy (Condon and Stern 1993). While their male counterparts required a flexible schedule that would support the men's extended periods away from the community, the women would often remain in the community to tend to household duties and school-aged children. Over time, these individuals gradually came to enter the western economy, and in many cases became the family's primary wage-earners (Dowsley et al. 2010; Condon and Stern 1993).

This relates to Parks Canada and youth engagement, as many contemporary young women are keen to acquire the knowledge and skill set necessary to succeed in the western economy.

*"I would be interested in working for Parks, because I am interested in trying all kinds of different jobs in Pang. I would also like to know what they do in their office all day long"* (Anonymous Female Young Adult, 2012).

*"I would love to work for Parks Canada. It's not even about the money. There are so many things I would like to learn from them [the employees]"* (Anonymous Female Young Adult, 2012).

Nonetheless, many of the young women interviewed were ineligible for the youth employment opportunities provided by Parks Canada, as these positions are exclusively



Corrina Kuluguqtuq with her son Darin  
(Photo Credit: Amy Brown, 2012)

reserved for returning students. While other employment opportunities with Auyuittuq National Park do present themselves on occasion, for example Park Patrol Officer positions, such roles are strongly associated with traditional male Inuit knowledge. This in turn creates a barrier for female applicants who subconsciously perceive themselves, and are likewise subconsciously perceived by others, as under qualified for such positions.

On the other hand, many of the young mothers interviewed suggested that full time employment was not possible due to their domestic and child rearing responsibilities.

These women suggested that they would

however be interested in engagement opportunities that were geared towards their preschool-aged children on topics pertaining to Inuit culture, history, and relationships with the natural environment. For example, a ‘mom and me’ style program. Through such efforts Auyuittuq National Park would have the opportunity to engage with, and educate two independent demographics.

*“I want my children to learn about our culture. I want them to know how our grandparents used to live so they feel a connection to the land” (Mandy Qaqasiq, 2012).*

### 5.5.3 Consultation Aspirations

In addition to workshops, employment, and intergenerational learning opportunities, many of the adolescents and young adults interviewed suggested that they would also be interested in participating in the community consultation process. As previously stated, Pangnirtung's Elder and youth populations each possess a distinct and independent discourse. However, acknowledging that Pangnirtung society for the most part continues to value lived experience over theoretical knowledge, the community's youth expressed on various occasion during the interview and focus group processes that they do not feel qualified to attend advisory committees or public consultation events. This hesitation directly correlates with the presence of the Elder and adult participants who possess decade's worth of lived experience and first hand knowledge on the subject matter. Although the Elders often encourage individual youth to attend such events (this was particular evident during the November 29, 2012 joint youth and Elder focus group), specifically for the purpose of learning about the consultation process through observation, the youth are conflicted by western messaging that suggests that they should become politically active by voicing their own ideas, perspectives, and aspirations. The youth, frustrated by their perceived lack of meaningful participation in local consultation processes choose not to participate given these circumstances.

*"I was taught not to talk back to my elders. If I had a different idea than they did, I would be afraid to say anything"* (Janet Evic, 2012).

In addition, the traditional Inuit value of noninterference influences behavior, such that the youth do not perceive themselves to be bound by the decisions reached by the community's Elder and adult populations (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006, Department of Nunavut Education 2007). Thus, the youth do not campaign to take part in the consultation process, as they do not perceive a direct correlation between the

decisions made and themselves (Youth Focus Group, November 10, 2012). As a consequence of this withdrawal, the youth are largely perceived by western organizations as disinterested in public consultation, when in fact conflicting institutional expectations have created a barrier to their participation.

*“I think that everyone should have a chance to speak up. We are all a part of this community. It’s not just adults and Elders, there are kids and youth here too. We should all be involved [in the consultation process]”* (Anonymous Female Grade 12 Student, 2012).

*“I would like to be a part of the Inuit Knowledge Working Group. To help pitch in ideas that the youth thought in Pang so they can enjoy the community more and not say “boring town, what to do?”. I would want to see something different that we, my peers, thought of, and not adults that they think is ‘teenage’ fun. Maybe I would ask what the teenagers would want from ages 15+. So they won’t complain and say it’s for little kids. Like they always do”* (Avery Keenainak, 2012).

## **5.6 Chapter Summary**

This chapter presents the Pangnirtung youth demographics’ thoughts and perspectives on the existing youth engagement opportunities and their aspirations for future involvement. This occurred through three key analyses. First, steps were taken to describe the responsibilities and stereotypes ascribed to the demographic by the western and Inuit discourses present within the community. This was done with the intention of identifying the social factors that contribute to the creation and reinforcement of the contemporary youth discourse. Although influenced by western social institutions and cultural values, the youth discourse continues to closely resemble the traditional Inuit discourse. This information provided context for the second analysis of the chapter, shedding light into the demographics’ response to existing Auyuittuq National Park youth engagement initiatives. Here we came to understand that the existing youth engagement opportunities do not account for Inuit social institutions and cultural values such as gendered land based knowledge and the community’s partiality for experiential learning methods. Consequently, the use of unintuitive topics and methods in engagement

strategies has created a sense of discomfort amongst the youth, and subsequently serve as a barrier to participation. The third and final topic addressed through this chapter is in regards to the youth’s future aspirations for engagement. Although specific educational topics and methods divided the demographic by age and gender, as a unified whole the youth expressed their desire to engage with Auyuittuq National Park for the purpose of enhancing their personal and professional lives. Table 11 provides a summary youth aspirations.

<b>Contributing Discourse</b>	<b>Aspiration</b>	<b>Presentations</b>	<b>Workshops</b>	<b>Employment</b>	<b>Youth Representation</b>
<b>Adolescent Youth</b>	Capacity Building Opportunities	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Experiential Learning		✓	✓	✓
	Delivered on the Land	✓	✓	✓	
	Fun		✓		
<b>Young Adults</b>	Capacity Building Opportunities	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Experiential Learning		✓	✓	✓

Table 11. Youth Aspirations Summary

## **CHAPTER VI – DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

### **6.1 Project Overview**

The goal of this project was to investigate collaborative management and the effect that differential discourse has on public participation. The legislated arrangement in place between the Parks Canada Agency and the Government of Nunavut provided an opportunity to study this topic, and as a result one national park operating in the territory and a corresponding management issue was selected as the project's case study.

Auyuittuq National Park subsequently became the focus of this work, with particular attention paid to the agency and community identified research priority of the increase youth engagement with Parks Canada and park related activities. The project's objectives were to: 1) document the discourses that shape the existing youth engagement opportunities, 2) understand how social institutions and cultural values influence youth participation, and 3) document the youth's aspirations for engagement.

### **6.2 Discussion**

#### **6.2.1 Objective 1: Discourse Documentation**

Through the collection and subsequent data analysis processes, this project identified three distinct discourses that contributed towards the management of Auyuittuq National Park and the creation of the park's youth engagement strategies. This specifically included the Parks Canada Agency's national corporate strategic plan, the Nunavut Field Unit's territorial interpretations of the aforementioned plan, and given the legislated collaborative management arrangement, community perspectives as communicated by Inuit Representatives on the Joint Park Management Committee, Park Planning Team, and Inuit Knowledge Working Groups. All three of these parties entered into the collaborative management arrangement in possession of independent

perspectives on: 1) the roll that each party serves, 2) how the management process should function, and 3) how best to address specific management issues.

While the Parks Canada Agency has taken steps towards the incorporation of Inuit knowledge and local aspirations into Auyuittuq National Park's park management plan, the organizations position of power and authority continue to dominate and heavily influence the decision-making process. As discussed in Chapter IV the underlying purpose for the promotion of youth engagement with Auyuittuq National Park and the corresponding strategies implemented are consistent with those found throughout the Canadian National Park system. Previously, in an attempt to communicate traditional ecological knowledge to the youth of Pangnirtung, the Inuit representatives have been willing to forgo hallmark cultural values, such as traditional learning methods, to adhere to the Parks Canada Agency's persistent westernized social institutions and rules of management. Therefore, the Agency's corporate plan served as a template for youth engagement, which the Inuit Representatives fleshed out by contributing local and traditional ecological knowledge.

### **6.2.3 Objective 2: The Influence of Social Institutions and Cultural Values**

Social institutions and cultural values are the framework through which individuals belonging to a given culture or social group perceive and understand the world. Although western institutions that engage in cross-cultural work often use an ethnographic lens to identify and reflect on alternative social practices, such organizations also adhere to, promote, and perpetuate their own set of customs.

The Parks Canada Agency, as an organization, predominantly subscribes to the western epistemology. While the collaborative management arrangement in place for

Nunavut's National Parks strives to acknowledge and account for Inuit cultural practices, upon the establishment and implementation of this management arrangement, the Agency does not appear to have gone through a self-reflective process to evaluate the influence that the organization's social institutions and cultural practices have upon the new management regime. As a result, pre-existing rules of management continue to shape and influence the decision-making process for Auyuittuq National Park.

This is problematic for the community, as the Inuit Representatives and the community with whom the Agency seeks to engage, subscribe to an alternative worldview and management discourse. This management process accordingly served to promote the basic inclusion of community members in decision-making process, while simultaneously stripping the Indigenous knowledge from the cultural context in which it has developed. As a consequence, the youth engagement strategies implemented in Pangnirtung do not adequately account for the social context in which they are delivered.

I suspect that the Parks Canada Agency takes for granted the youth's adherence to westernized social institutions and cultural practices, when in fact such individuals more closely align with Inuit values. This includes the adherence to socially ascribed roles and responsibilities, most pointedly those associated with gender and generational solidarities. As discussed in Chapter V, such social trends influence the topics and the dissemination methods that individuals are willing to engage with. Thus, by and large, the strategies implemented by Auyuittuq National Park are unintuitive to the Inuit youth of Pangnirtung, effectively creating barriers to engagement.

### 6.2.3 Objective 3: Documented Youth Aspirations

Acknowledging that the youth engagement strategies implemented by Auyuittuq National Park and discussed throughout this work were created without the input of the targeted youth demographic, this work, specifically Chapter V, provided a platform through which the youth could express their own aspirations for engagement. In doing so, it became evident that the youth and the Inuit Representatives held common aspirations for the youth’s engagement with the Parks Canada Agency. Table 12, which illustrates all of the aspirations discussed throughout this piece; inclusive of the Parks Canada Agency corporate plan, the Nunavut Field Unit, the Inuit Representatives to the Auyuittuq National Park Joint Park Management Committee, Auyuittuq National Park Park Planning Team, and Pagnirtung Inuit Knowledge Working Group. Here you

<b>Contributing Discourse</b>	<b>Aspiration</b>
<b>Parks Canada Agency Corporate Plan</b>	Increase national youth connection to Parks Canada
	Increased public appreciation and understanding of Parks and protected areas under Parks Canada’s care
	Increase visitation
<b>Nunavut Field Unit</b>	Foster public support for Parks Canada lead initiatives in the territory
	Recruit local/Inuit staff
<b>Inuit Representatives</b>	Capacity building opportunities
<b>Adolescent Youth</b>	Capacity build opportunities
	Experiential Learning
	Delivered on the Land
	Fun
<b>Young Adults</b>	Capacity building opportunities
	Experiential Learning

Table 12. Aspiration Summary: All Contributing Parties

can see the community's desire to engage with the Parks Canada Agency for the purpose of capacity building via knowledge acquisition and skill building opportunities. This directly correlates with the community's perception of the Parks Canada Agency as an education, recreational, and economic resource to the community.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

#### **6.3.1 Youth Engagement**

The youth are interested in engaging with Auyuittuq National Park, should the topics proposed and methods implemented adhere to local, social institutions and cultural values. Acknowledging this point, the opportunity for Auyuittuq National Park to deepen its connection with the community at large, and the local youth in particular, exists and could be further enhanced following these recommendations. Firstly, the Nunavut Field Unit and Auyuittuq National Park must acknowledge that the community of Pangnirtung does not have a historical, economic, or cultural connection with the park's physical location. Thus, to foster and deepen the community's appreciation and understanding of the Parks Canada Agency, Auyuittuq National Park would do well to focus its community engagement efforts upon the role that the park plays within the social context of the community. Comments made by this project's research participants suggested that the Auyuittuq National Park could strengthen its relationship with the community by: 1) focusing community engagement efforts on topics that are of pre-existing interest to the community, and 2) delivering such messaging in a manner that is familiar and consistent with the community's values. To do so, it is suggested to offer targeted workshops that seek to connect with particular youth subgroups, or demographics within the community. This would allow the Parks Canada Agency an opportunity to engage with the public and share the institutions key messages surrounding conservation and protection.

Simultaneously this will provide participants with knowledge, information, and skills that they are keen to acquire. Furthermore, such workshops could take place within the Pangnirtung Auyuittuq National Park visitor center, thus removing the physical barrier of distance between the community and the park, which may otherwise hamper participation. Examples of desirable workshops include firearm safety training, navigation routes through the park, traditional plant use, and story telling. Auyuittuq National Park could coordinate and deliver such workshops, or alternatively engage knowledgeable community members to lead the discussions and activities. The initial strategy would serve to further connect the community to Auyuittuq National Park's employees, while the later could provide a new avenue to foster intergenerational learning. In addition, it may be advantageous for Auyuittuq National Park to host such workshops, as such activities may be of interest to southern / foreign park visitors who wish to partake in cultural events while visiting the community of Pangnirtung.

### **6.3.2 Collaborative Management**

As a means to strengthen the collaborative management process in place within Auyuittuq National Park and Canada's other collaboratively managed national parks, I recommend that the Parks Canada Agency take steps to reflect upon the organization's social institutions, cultural values, and management discourse. By doing so, the agency may come to understand the unspoken, unconscious rules of management utilized, and the associated power dynamics that dictate the collaborative management arrangements in which they engage. The Parks Canada Agency will then be better equipped to meaningfully incorporate alternative, often Indigenous management aspirations into the decision-making process.

The Nunavut Field Unit could lead this initiative by reflecting on the existing collaborative management arrangements in place within the territory of Nunavut. Practices that are unintuitive to the territory may be identified by working with the various Joint Park Management Committees, Park Planning Teams, and Inuit Knowledge Working Groups composed of individuals who are well versed with the current management structure. Subsequent steps may be taken to mitigate for any barriers to meaningful participation created as a result of conflicting social institutions and cultural values. This would serve to strengthen the collaborative management arrangement by adapting the management style to the social context, further ensuring the incorporation of local knowledge and contemporary community-based aspirations for park management.

#### **6.4 Discussion: Youth Representation**

A final topic worthy of discussion is in regards to the Inuit Representative identified youth engagement strategy of youth representation, which falls outside of the Parks Canada Agency's traditional engagement scope.

The basic idea behind public consultation and collaborative management is for the purpose of involving those who will be most affected by management decisions in the decision-making process (Berkes 2009). While stakeholder groups are often composed of an identifiable collection of individuals who share common interests and concerns, Arnstien (1969) and Gurstein et al. (2003) argue that upon closer inspection, a single stakeholder group may in fact be composed of several smaller sub-groups, each of whom possess unique aspirations and divergent perspectives pertaining to management. Given the independent youth discourse identified through this work, the argument may be made

for the inclusion of youth representatives in the JPMC, PPT, and IKWG, based on the demographics' unique worldview and aspirations for engagement with Auyuittuq National Park. While it is important to consider and address as many of the sub-groups concerns as possible, the youth are of particular importance as they will directly inherit the outcomes of today's management decisions (Frank 2006).

By allowing space within the management process for the youth, opportunities will be created where the youth may: 1) bridge the cultural divide between traditional Inuit culture and contemporary western institutions, 2) demonstrate their capabilities and desire to positively contribute to their communities (Checkoway et al. 2005; Frank 2006), 3) strengthen their own understandings about environment issues, traditional knowledge, and collaborative management (Schlag 2004; Frank 2005; Lowan 2009), 4) foster or strengthen the relationship evident between community members and the Parks Canada Agency (Cook 1999; Frank 2006; Lowan 2009), and 5) develop a sense of environmental responsibility and stewardship that may last a lifetime (Lowan 2009).

Thus, I recommend that the Nunavut Field Unit and Auyuittuq National Park make a concerted effort to consult with the youth of Pangnirtung. This not only applies to future youth engagement strategies, but also on topics pertaining to park management in general. Such efforts would serve to connect a future generation of Inuit adults and Elders to the national park system by providing opportunities for the youth to express their own ideas, aspirations, and perspectives, while fostering a genuine interest in such topics as park management and environmental stewardship.

Should the Nunavut Field Unit and Auyuittuq National Park decide to explore youth consultation further, Checkoway and Gutierrez (1997) suggest that the presence of

the youth, or stakeholders in general, at public consultation events will not necessarily imply that such individuals are meaningfully involved in and contributing to the collaborative management and decision-making process. Participation cannot be measured quantitatively through the frequency and/or duration to which an individual or group of individuals participate, speak, or contribute, but rather should be measured qualitatively to determine if the contributions made are subsequently incorporated into the final management decision (Checkoway and Gutierrez 1997). I suggest that this process could be initiated by hosting information and consultation sessions that are exclusively intended for the youth population, which occur outside of regular office hours so that such individuals who wish to participate are not hampered by educational, employment, or familiar responsibilities. In addition, I strongly recommend that the format used to host such an event be meaningful and relevant to the lives of the community's youth. For example, through hands-on, participatory learning experiences, which are coupled with the consultation sessions. Subsequent efforts should be made to recruit and retain a youth representative for the territories Inuit Knowledge Working Groups, Park Planning Teams and Joint Park Management Committees, even if such positions are, for a time, unofficial in nature.

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## APPENDIX A: Ethics Approval & Sample Consent Form



Human Ethics  
208-194 Dafoe Road  
Winnipeg, MB  
Canada R3T 2N2  
Phone +204-474-8880  
Fax +204-269-7173

### APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

October 10, 2012

**TO:** Amy D. Brown (Advisor M. Manseau)  
Principal Investigator

**FROM:** Wayne Taylor, Chair  
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

**Re:** Protocol #J2012:145  
"Youth Participation in the Management of Auyuittuq National Park and Park Related Activities"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2). **This approval is valid for one year only.**

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

**Please note:**

- If you have funds pending human ethics approval, the auditor requires that you submit a copy of this Approval Certificate to the Office of Research Services, fax 261-0325 - please include the name of the funding agency and your UM Project number. This must be faxed before your account can be accessed.
- if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

The Research Quality Management Office may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans*.

**The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study** (available at: [http://umanitoba.ca/research/orec/ethics/human\\_ethics\\_REB\\_forms\\_guidelines.html](http://umanitoba.ca/research/orec/ethics/human_ethics_REB_forms_guidelines.html)) **in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.**



## RESEARCH PROJECT INFORMATION SHEET

**Research Project Title:** Youth Participation in the Management of Auyuittuq National Park and Park Related Activities

**Researcher:** Amy Brown

**Sponsor:** Parks Canada - Nunavut Field Unit - Inuit Knowledge Project

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This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

-----

**Project Summary:** This work is part of an international project, and seeks to explore the cooperative management of resources by government and indigenous groups. Examples of this considered in the present study include Auyuittuq National Park in Canada, Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia, and Te Waihora in New Zealand. Through these three case studies, we hope to determine if collaborative management does a good job at addressing indigenous aspirations, by incorporating and applying local knowledge to decision-making.

Acknowledging that government officials and indigenous people may think about the world in completely different ways, my contribution to this project is to investigate how different perspectives interact while addressing a single aspiration. As the residents of Pangnirtung and Qikiqtarjuaq have previously expressed their desire for youth participation in the management of Auyuittuq National Park and park related activities, I will explore how Parks Canada and the Inuit think about youth participation, and how these two perspectives interact. To do so I intend to (1) document Parks Canada's perspective(s) surrounding youth participation, (2) understand how Inuit cultural values and institutions influence youth participation, and (3) work with the youth of both communities to document their own aspirations for participation. The results of this project will subsequently be forwarded to Parks Canada's Nunavut Field Unit and Auyuittuq National Park's Joint Park Management Committee.

**Research Participants:** As this project is interested in Inuit and Parks Canada's perspectives, a number of people will be involved in the research process. This includes local elder and youth (ages 13-30), as well as Parks Canada staff, members of the Joint Park Management Committee, and members of the Inuit Knowledge Working Groups.

**Research Timeline:** Data collection (document review, interviews, focus groups and participant observation) will be carried out during the fall (August to December) of 2012 and spring of (April or May) of 2013.

As a participant, you will be involved in individual open ended or semi-structured interviews and/or focus groups. Interviews are expected to take approximately two hours. Focus groups are expected to last between one and two hours.

Over the next several months (up to the fall of 2013), I may contact to you with follow-up questions, or to ask for clarification or confirmation of the information you have provided.

**Data Gathering and Storage:** Interviews and focus groups will be documented through note taking and the use of a digital recording device. All recordings, notes and transcripts will be stored in password protected computer files and any hard copies will be stored in a locked cabinet. No digital recording devices will be used or photographs taken during interviews or focus groups without written consent from all participants involved in the interview or focus group session.

The information resulting from this interview/focus group will be kept confidential. If you wish to retain anonymity, a participant number, rather than your name, will be used to identify you on transcripts and any other reproductions of the information you provide. No one other than myself will have access to the real names of interviewees who choose to remain anonymous.

**Risk and Benefits:** No information will be used in a way that could put at risk the integrity or safety of participants. You should be aware that some context specific responses might make it easy for other to identify you when reading project outcomes. If this is of concern to you, you may choose to use a research participant identification number rather than your real name, choose not to respond to some questions, and/or carefully word your responses. This research will benefit the communities of Pangnirtung and Qikiqtarjuaq by helping the Inuit Knowledge Working Groups and Auyuittuq's Joint Park Management Committee in their decision-making processes surrounding youth participation in park management and park related activities.

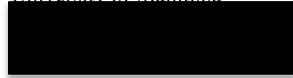
**Expected Outcomes:** A Master's Thesis, academic publications and audio/video recordings will result from this research. Your real name, direct quotations, nor photograph will be used in any publication without written consent.

The findings from this research project will be made available to the residents of Pangnirtung and Qikiqtarjuaq, as copy of all produced materials will be shared with the Hamlet councils of both communities. Copies will also be shared with the Auyuittuq National Parks JPMC, both IKWG's, and any research participants who request these materials.

**Compensation:** A per diem will be issued to community Elders, IKWG and JPMC members. A donation will be made to the Youth Centre in lieu of direct compensation to youth participants. No direct compensation will be made to other research participants.

**Questions:** If you have any questions either now or in the future, please feel free to contact any of the following.

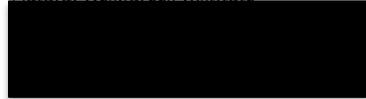
**Amy Brown**  
Graduate Student Researcher  
Natural Resources Institute  
University of Manitoba



**Dr. Micheline Manseau**  
Academic Advisor to Amy Brown



**Dr. Iain Davidson-Hunt**  
Academic Advisor to Amy Brown  
Natural Resources Institute



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**This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board of the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat, Margaret Bowman, at (204) 474-7122 or e-mail [margaret\\_bowman@umanitoba.ca](mailto:margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca). A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.**



## CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

**Research Project Title:** Youth Participation in the Management of Auyuittuq National Park and Park Related Activities

**Researcher:** Amy Brown

**Sponsor:** Parks Canada - Nunavut Field Unit - Inuit Knowledge Project

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**This consent form is only part of the process of informed consent. Please be sure to read and understand the provided RESEARCH PROJECT INFORMATION SHEET prior to filling out and signing the following.**

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Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. You continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

**Please indicate whether or not you agree to the following:**

Yes / No	1. I am 13 years of age or older.
Yes / No	2. I agree to participate in this research project.
Yes / No	3. I agree that the researcher may use a digital (audio/video) recording device during this interview/focus group.
Yes / No	4. I agree that the researcher may take notes during this interview/focus group.
Yes / No	5. I agree that the researcher may cite my name and directly quote me in future publications. I understand that as a result it will be possible for others to recognize me. (Please, feel free to answer this item at the end of the interview)
Yes / No	6. I agree that the researcher may directly quote me using pseudonym rather than my real name (Please feel free to answer this item at the end of the interview)
Yes / No	7. I agree that photographs of myself may be taken and used in reports and publications connected to this research.
Yes / No	8. I agree that the researcher may use any photographs of video footage created for the purposes of this project, in reports and publications connected to this research.
Yes / No	8. I wish to receive a summary of this interview/focus group.
Yes / No	9. I agree to future contact and/or research involvement on behalf of Parks Canada and/or the University of Manitoba.

**Research Participant Contact Information:**

Participants Name	
Affiliation (Please Circle)	Parks Canada Staff JPMC Member IKWG Member Elder Youth      Age: _____ Other
Mailing Address	
Phone Number	
Email Address	
Date	

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Parent/Guardian's Signature (if between the ages of 13-17)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Researcher's Signature

**APPENDIX B: Nunavut Research Institute Research License**

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**Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijjikut / Nunavut Research Institute**

Box 1720, Iqaluit, NU X0A 0H0 phone:(867) 979-7279 fax: (867) 979-7109 e-mail:  
mosha.cote@arcticcollege.ca

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**SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENSE**

LICENSE # 01 026 12N-M

ISSUED TO: Amy Brown  
University of Manitoba



TEAM MEMBERS: A. Brown, M. Manseau, I. Hunt, C. Jacobson

AFFILIATION:

TITLE: Youth Participation in the Management of Auyuittuq National Park and Park Related Activities

**OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:**

This work is part of an international project, and seeks to explore the cooperative management of resources by government and indigenous groups. Examples of this considered in the present study include Auyuittuq National Park in Canada, Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia, and Te Waihora in New Zealand. Through these three case studies, we hope to determine if collaborative management does a good job at addressing indigenous aspirations, by incorporating and applying local knowledge to decision-making.

**TERMS & CONDITIONS:**

**DATA COLLECTION IN NU:**

DATES: September 01, 2012-August 01, 2013

LOCATION: Pangnirtung, Qikiqtaaluk

Scientific Research License 01 026 12N-M expires on December 31, 2012

Issued at Iqaluit, NU on October 22, 2012



Mary Ellen Thomas  
Science Advisor

