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Participatory Video: One Contemporary Way for Cree and Inuit Adolescents to Relate to the Land in Nunavik

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ABSTRACT. Indigenous peoples in Canada's North, especially youth, are increasingly using creative visual arts, such as film, video, and new media technologies to portray their own realities and their personal view of the surrounding environment, thereby contesting colonial, stereotyped media representations of First Peoples. To analyze the youth geography—a sub-discipline of human geography—of *nuna* ("land" in Inuktitut) and *istchee* ("land" in Cree) and to understand the distinctive and contemporary meanings that Inuit and Cree young people give to the land, we carried out participatory video (PV) workshops in three Inuit and one Cree communities in Nunavik in 2016, 2017, and 2019. In this paper, we give an account of the *nuna*/*istchee* PV project as a method for engaging with young Indigenous people, as a means to develop an Indigenous youth cultural geography in the Arctic. We discuss the effects of PV on the different actors involved in the research process: young Inuit and Cree participants and their communities, the participating schools, and researchers.

Keywords: participatory video; Indigenous youth; emic perspective; Nunavik; Canada

RÉSUMÉ. De plus en plus, les peuples autochtones du Nord canadien, plus particulièrement les jeunes, utilisent les arts visuels créatifs comme les films, les vidéos et les technologies de nouveaux médias pour illustrer leurs propres réalités et leurs propres points de vue de leur environnement, contestant par le fait même les représentations médiatiques stéréotypées des premiers peuples. Afin d'analyser la géographie des jeunes — une sous-discipline de la géographie humaine — de *nuna* (« terre » en inuktitut) et de *istchee* (« terre » en cri) et de comprendre les sens distinctifs et contemporains que donnent les jeunes inuits et cris à leur terre, nous avons organisé des ateliers de vidéos participatives dans trois communautés inuites et une communauté crie situées au Nunavik en 2016, en 2017 et en 2019. Nous discutons des effets des vidéos participatives sur les différents acteurs ayant pris part au processus de recherche : les jeunes participants inuits et cris de même que leurs communautés, les écoles participantes et les chercheurs.

Mots-clés : vidéo participative; jeunes autochtones; perspective émique; Nunavik; Canada

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INTRODUCTION

Ethnographic films or videos have long objectified Indigenous peoples. For example, in *Nanook of the North* (1922), Robert Flaherty portrays Inuit through the romantic cliché of "noble savages" unaffected by Western civilization. Huhndorf (2000:124) noted that "*Nanook of the North* became a kind of watershed, the point after which no imagining of the Far North was without the full panoply of stereotypes born in the later nineteenth century."

With the emergence of Indigenous cinema in the late 1970s, Indigenous filmmakers and video artists started to contest these colonial, stereotyped ways of seeing Indigenous peoples. According to Ginsburg (2011), Indigenous films challenge stale stereotypes and offer alternative articulations of Indigenous experience and

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history. A compelling example is the first feature-length film by Inuit director Zacharias Kunuk, *Atanarjuat/The Fast Runner* (2001), shot entirely in the Inuktitut language and permeated by cultural references and codes specific to Inuit. Krupat (2007) argues that the film resists non-northern ways of seeing the world, instead delivering a view of timeless Inuit ways of being. Chartier (2005:190) regards the success of the film as an incitement to "reassess the representation of the Inuit, which cannot become reality without a political denunciation of cultural and economic colonialism" (author translation from French).

In recent years, an increasing number of young Indigenous filmmakers have emerged (Bertrand, 2013). With the arrival of digital moviemaking, any young Inuk who has access to digital technology can make a film using their smartphone or tablet. Enabling this young generation to show their own perspectives of their territory is a way to display and claim their own cultural reality. Raheja (2007:1159) refers to this full claim on reality through visual representation as "visual sovereignty." In accordance with this concept, we understand video as a tool to foster Indigenous narratives and sovereignty over their own world of images (Joliet et al., 2021), and we use video making as a method to develop a cultural geography of *nuna* ("land" in Inuktitut) and *istchee* ("land" in Cree) with adolescents (Chanteloup et al., 2018). That is why, beginning in 2016, we undertook a participatory video project in schools in four villages in Nunavik, one Cree (Whapmagoostui) and three Inuit (Kuujjuaraapik, Umiujaq, Kangiqsujuaq) (Fig. 1). As cultural geographers interested in how *nuna* and *istchee* are being experienced and perceived by young Inuit and Cree today, we encouraged the students to communicate their own perspectives through short films.

Although participatory video (PV) approaches centred on youths have gained growing attention recently (Plush, 2009; Waite and Conn, 2011), implementing this methodology in an Indigenous context in the Arctic entails specific challenges linked to the remote geography and colonial history of the territory. One goal of this paper is to name some of the challenges and offer a method for overcoming them. We analyze the *nuna*/*istchee* video making workshops as a qualitative and empirical methodological approach from within geography that can be part of the decolonial praxis when working in an Indigenous context. By characterizing the impact of the PV methodology used in the Nunavik school context, this article thus contributes to the rich PV process literature (Zoettl, 2013). By analyzing our own experience of PV in Inuit communities, we draw an overview of the main lessons learned regarding this research tool for the different actors involved in the research process. We based our analysis on our PV workshop process. This process involved our fieldnotes, observations, and discussions with students and teachers about the workshops and their aftermath, plus the production of the four videos.

PV TO DESIGN CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY RESEARCH IN AN INDIGENOUS CONTEXT

In the context of recent advancements in digital technology, video has become a new field of study for geography that Garrett (2010:521) calls "videographic geographies." Video has emerged as a particularly powerful research tool in cultural geography research, where it can create rich cultural records (Garrett, 2010). This access to the cultural dimensions of the experience of territories also has implications for the sub-discipline of geography known as emotional geography, since it highlights emotional associations with landscapes (Lavarone, 2017). Garrett (2010) argues that video is an excellent tool in geography research because it captures movement and therefore something close to the rhythm of everyday life. In this way, it differs, in its production and reception, from other forms like text, photography, and performance (Garrett, 2010). Video also offers a diversity of places, spaces, and time scales.

PV is a form of participatory action research that integrates video into scientific and community development projects. Plush (2013) values PV as an instrument that supports empowerment and social change through education, persuasion, and advocacy; PV can bring positive change by making audible the voices from marginalized communities. PV lets people represent themselves and what's important to them (Snyder et al., 2019). As a tool in academic research settings, PV shifts the focus from making a film about people to filming with them (Kindon, 2003). It allows for co-construction of knowledge because participants have authorship: they choose what to put in and leave out (Garrett, 2010). PV puts the participants and the researcher in a proactive relationship. For Kinden (2003:142), if PV is based on good relationships, the method can challenge existing power relations by "looking 'alongside' rather than 'at' research subjects."

More critical views of PV point to the pressure of creating a tangible product (the final film), which leaves less room for other processes to unfold between participants and facilitators (Shaw, 2016). Several authors emphasize the unequal power dynamics inherent to PV projects, as it is often the university-affiliated researcher coming from outside who starts and facilitates the PV project, with a different goal than the community, and it is often the researcher who knows the technical aspects of PV (Mistry and Berardi, 2012; Shaw, 2016). Walsh (2016) adds that professional demands researchers (for grants, tenure, etc.) can drive their need to produce videos more than it would for participants, thus deepening power imbalances. Scholars also question the potential of PV to create veritable social change (Plush, 2015).

We decided to use PV in Nunavik because in recent years, innovations have challenged traditional approaches to Indigenous geographies. These innovations, emerging from discussions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous geographers, make more room for Indigenous voices and

ways of knowing and being (De Leeuw and Hunt, 2018; see also Coombes et al., 2014). While Indigenous mapping (Hirt, 2007; Glon, 2012) plays a key role in decolonial and Indigenous geographies, Indigenous video is also being used as an expression of place-based knowledge and identity (Mistry and Berardi, 2012; Smith, 2012). Thus, we conceive PV as a form of collective Indigenous image making (Chanteloup et al., 2018, 2019). Geographers view Indigenous filmmaking as a strong means of self-expression and an efficacious tool in advancing the project of indigenizing research, which involves making Indigenous intentions and processes available in research undertakings (Gergaud and Herrmann, 2019). Smith (2012:330) is among these geographers; she refers to Indigenous filmmaking and the visual sovereignty it creates as "one of the many Indigenous methodologies designed to decolonize knowledge production" and sees Indigenous video as a "post-colonial technoscience characterized by multiple sites of coproduction."

PV approaches centred on youths have gained attention in recent years (Plush, 2009; Waite and Conn, 2011). Video has become part of young people's everyday lives, with increased consumption via the instant sharing of self-made videos on social networks. Lightweight, recording- and broadcast-ready equipment such as smartphones or tablets are extremely popular and common tools among youths for capturing videos. Human geographers are increasingly using youth-centred PV in their research (Blazek and Hraňová, 2012; Haynes and Tanner, 2015). Trell and van Hoven (2010) highlight PV as a creative method to reveal different aspects of young people's sense of place. Scholars also value the use of visual media tools to foster engagement (Singleton et al., 2009). As Orbach et al. (2015:483) note, these tools build people's confidence in the use of technology and give them more creative control as they work together to overcome technical challenges; "it stimulates collective analysis, problem solving, and action."

With the goal of exploring how Inuit and Cree territories evolve, and how, within the same territory, different contemporary ways of relating to land coexist (Chanteloup et al., 2018; Joliet et al., 2021), we developed a research methodology specific to Nunavik based on video workshops in secondary schools.

IMPLEMENTING A PV WORKSHOP

The theme of the workshop was: what does *nuna*/*istchee* mean to you? At the time of writing (April 2021), Nunavik school students had created four short films: *Walking Out Ceremony* (run time 5:01; students at Badabin school in Whapmagoostui, 2016); *Land is Home* (run time 9:08; students at Asimauttaq school in Kuujjuaraapik, 2016); *Our Culture, Our Land* (run time 9:15; students at Arsaniq school in Kangiqsujuaq, 2017); and *Spirits Around Us* (run time 9:52; student at Kiluutaq school in Umiujaq, 2019) (Fig. 1).

Adapting the Workshop to Nunavik Schools

We planned each workshop a year in advance and carried them out in the communities' local schools. After contacting local and regional Inuit organizations for authorization and to make sure the project was in line with community priorities, we met the principal and teachers to organize the workshop. We obtained ethics approval from the Kativik Ilisarniliriniq, the school board of Nunavik, and the Université de Montréal (Certificate n°: CERAS-2015-16-043-P; CERAS-2017-18-180-D; CERAS-2018-19-149-D).

In terms of the level of education attainment, youth participants were between the first and fifth years of secondary school in English- and French-speaking classes. In Nunavik, the first three years of school are taught in Inuktitut, then students must choose instruction in English or French. Participation in the workshop was voluntary and varied between communities, from six students to more than 20 (Table 1). Students who chose not to participate followed the regular class schedule. Each workshop lasted for five days, starting on Monday and finishing on Friday morning with the final screening. This time schedule might seem tight; however, it allowed us to maintain the interest and active engagement of students, which is important in Nunavik, where school attendance is a major issue and the dropout rate is nearly 80% (Breton, 2012).

The workshop methodology was inspired by Wapikoni Mobile, a film studio on wheels that travels to Indigenous communities to offer filmmaking training workshops using their learning-by-doing methodology (Wapikoni Mobile, n.d.; Bertrand, 2013). We adapted this methodology to the objectives of the *nuna*/*istchee* project and the Nunavik local context; we used the schools' technical equipment and designed a workshop to fit the needs and schedule of each school. Consequently, our workshops followed seven phases: watching sample movies (from, for example, Igloolik Isuma Productions Inc., Wapikoni Mobile, and Inuit filmmakers, such as Alethea Arnaquq-Baril); brainstorming the theme; script writing; camera and sound training; shooting and selecting footage; editing; and community screening (Fig. 2).

Informed by the literature on the PV process (Milne et al., 2012), the Inuit and Cree students developed their story, chose the language of the film, and decided what music to include. Cree and Inuit students alone, tablets in hand, went to meet with community members and carried out the interviews in the four films (Fig. 3). We used English and French in our workshops, and Cree or Inuktitut when sessions were co-led with teachers of Inuktitut (Umiujaq, Kuujjuaraapik) and Inuit culture (Kangiqsujuaq).

Building on PV works by scholars who highlight the value of working as facilitators of debate and participant interactions (Shaw, 2007; Boni et al., 2020), our role as researchers was to facilitate and coordinate the different phases and help students use digital media techniques (Decaulne et al., 2020). We did not take professional film cameras with us; nor did we use professional film editing

FIG. 1. Locations for the four participatory video workshops and resulting film titles. Source: MERNQ – Minister of Enegy and Natural Resources Quebec, Geographical and Administrative databaes, scale 1:5,000,000 (BDGM 5M), April 2004.

TABLE 1. Workshop participants.

Location/school	Year of workshop	Video title/duration	Participants	
			Girls	Boys
Umiujaq/Kiluutaq	2019	*Spirits Around Us* (09:52)	11	12
Kangiqsujuaq'/Arsaniq	2017	*Our Culture, Our Land* (09:15)	5	8
Kuujjuaraapik/Asimauttaq	2016	*Land is Home* (09:08)	4	7
Whapmagoostui/Badabin	2016	*Walking Out Ceremony* (05:01)	6	0

software. Instead, we used materials available at the local school: tablets for recording and their built-in software for editing. Thus, students could continue to create videos once the workshops finished.

To better facilitate the workshop and understand the different video software, we took several classes in documentary filmmaking and visual arts prior to the fieldwork. This proved to be very valuable for phase six (editing). The youths learned how to use editing software, and they selected the frames, organized the sequence of clips, and harmonized them with music and voice-over. However, the participants struggled to maintain attention and concentration over a long period of time and, ultimately, to commit to the editing portion of the workshop. In three communities, we finalized editing of the movie ourselves. In one community, a participant who was motivated to become a visual artist and had previous knowledge of editing software and professional photography finished editing the collective video himself and taught his classmates how to edit the film sequences.

Our observations are in line with Mak (2012), Whiting et al. (2018), and other scholars who noticed the innate unequal power dynamics in PV research, especially at the editing stage. Indeed, holding the technical knowledge, we influenced the films' fine-tuning in the editing stage. This experience resonates with Walsh (2016) who argues that

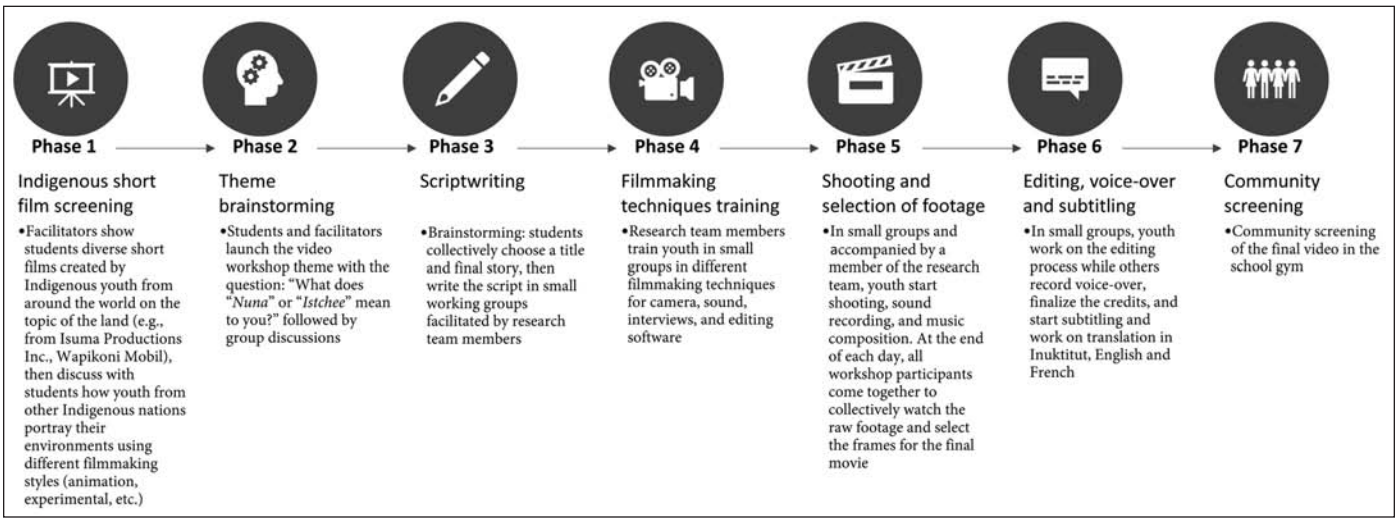

FIG. 2. Seven workshop phases. Figure: Thora Herrmann.

FIG. 3. Video workshop participant shooting images of the land. Photo credit: Rebecca Lessard.

even untrained researchers in participatory video making are positioned as knowing more about media technology. Regarding the underlying politics of visual media projects, and while referencing James Faris' (1992), Crawford and Turton (1992:165) stress that "even when the camera is 'in their hands,"' the project remains "a Western 'project' – something *we* do to *them*." Although visual arts-based methods like PV attempt to address unequal power relations by involving participants in their own data generation, we agree with the critical literature on PV and power relations that asymmetric power dynamics still exist in participatory projects, including in our *nuna*/*istchee* project.

At the end of each workshop, we screened the film in the school's gym (Fig. 4). Family and community members attended. This community screening created a space for relatives, residents, and local authorities to give feedback on the films and share their experiences on the topics students chose and captured on camera. Following the film screening, we encouraged students to participate in a final feedback session to share their overall workshop experience. This was in addition to feedback sessions held at the end of each workshop day, where students reflected on what went well and what did not.

To facilitate dissemination of the films, at the end of each workshop, each student and school received a USB key holding a copy of the film. The young Inuit filmmakers hold ownership of their films; we are allowed to show the films for pedagogical reasons (e.g., academic courses). Thus, the communities screened the films on several occasions, and we showed the films at science festivals and conferences. To reach beyond academic circles, we also helped the young people to submit their film to the 2019 Montréal First Peoples Festival, and the films were screened in downtown Montreal. After that screening, in informal discussion with attendees, we heard from various Indigenous viewers that they appreciated the fact that the young Inuit had made their own films, while settler viewers said they appreciated the young Indigenous people's personal views of the Arctic landscape.

When Working in the North: Limitations

Many filmmakers point out the technical difficulties of working with film cameras in the Arctic due to the harsh weather conditions (Jasen, 2013). With our workshops held in the late autumn and winter, temperatures falling as low as minus 38°C, and numerous blizzards, we encountered technical issues like fully charged tablets freezing after three minutes and howling wind affecting sound recording.

Carrying out video workshops in Nunavik schools also presents challenges. Attendance at the workshops differed considerably across the four communities. It depended on the school and the interest and willingness of teachers to become actively involved in the project. One of the participating schools had a specific art program, and the art teacher facilitated our workshop in coordination with the entire teaching team. The workshop schedule was planned in accordance with the class schedule and every teacher got involved. This resulted in a high participation rate.

Furthermore, due to competing projects in the schools, it was challenging to keep students committed and engaged. Nunavik communities and schools have various in-school

FIG. 4. Community screening of *Land is Home* in the school gym in Kuujjuaraapik. Photo credit: Laine Chanteloup.

and after-class projects. Often, several projects take place simultaneously. This became a challenge for organizing our workshop in two communities, where two other art-based projects (i.e., Cirqiniq, a social circus program and a video project on snowmobile and ATV safety) were carried out in the same week as our video workshops.

Moreover, because school disengagement and absenteeism behaviours remain high among Inuit in Canada (Bougie et al., 2013), from day to day, we never knew in advance how many participants would return to pursue our project. That is because schools in Nunavik have to cope with several factors unique to the North. Among these, Garakani (2016) names ongoing colonial trauma, high teacher turnover, and limited parental involvement.

A related challenge was obtaining consent forms from those who participated in the different stages of the workshop. In some cases, images recorded by some youths had to be excluded from the final film due to missing image-release forms consenting to the use of their images. Carrying out video workshops in Nunavik required the research team to be adaptable, flexible, and open to changes. Being a team of three researchers and initiating and maintaining collaboration with teachers and extracurricular resources (i.e., the Youth Fusion, an organization that offers diverse activities to historically underserved youths in schools across Quebec) was critical to building this adaptability and flexibility in the field.

Finally, a limiting factor for the reach of our project was the digital divide (Meloche, 2017) in the North. The slow internet network in the Arctic and the high cost of internet access, combined with the fact that many people cannot afford computers, smartphones, or tablets, hindered wide online dissemination of the final short films. To counteract this limitation, the final screenings in the school gym allowed parents and relatives to watch the movie together. Two northern villages also decided to screen the films at major community events. After we left, *Land is Home* was screened at the opening of the multimedia centre in Kuujjuaraapik. The school also took the initiative to screen and discuss the film at major school events. One Kuujjuaraapik teacher recalled that, "we showed the movie again at graduation. People were cheerful about it. We got a positive reaction from people."

DISCUSSION

Reflecting on lessons learned about our method, we can note, first, that in each of the Cree and Inuit communities, the four videos are strongly shaped by culture and can therefore be regarded as tools for addressing the different socio-cultural spheres in which the young filmmakers are embedded. These spheres include their adolescent group and the different generations in their community whom they mobilized during the video making process (a collective cultural identity); their community and the Cree and Inuit Western schools (a shared educational medium); and the sphere of the other, the Western media, and scientists (a distinguished visual sovereignty medium) (Fig. 5). Below we offer insights into the use of PV in this context.

For Participants: Indigenizing Their Own Image

Self-appropriating PV to Represent Oneself in Relation to the Other: The project participants used the workshop to emphasize their cultural identity by showing very strong images attached to Inuit and Cree culture (Chanteloup et al., 2018; Joliet et al., 2021). Students used video creatively to express their personal vision, feelings, and thoughts according to their own aesthetics. They also made individual choices about imagery and narratives. In this way, the students put forward their specific cultural geography of *nuna*/*istchee* and an anticolonial representation of the Arctic (Chanteloup et al., 2019; Joliet et al., 2021).

Giving youths a platform and tools to speak up and voice their concerns and opinions is key in Nunavik, where over half the population is below the age of 30 (Kativik Regional Government, 2014). One Kuujjuaraapik teacher said he valued a project that engaged young people and expressed appreciation for the workshop because the young people in his school:

> … are used to watch[ing] movies on TV, and now they could do their own movie, not a Hollywood production but their own. They have a lot to say. The kids didn't realize that they have something to say and to present about their Inuit culture. But everybody outside would like to know about Inuit culture, but not from me, a Qallunaat [term used to describe a non-Inuit person], but from them!

This insight has previously been formulated by the Inuk filmmaker from Nunavik, Asinnajaq, as quoted in *Inuit Magazine*, where Asinnajaq contended that the most

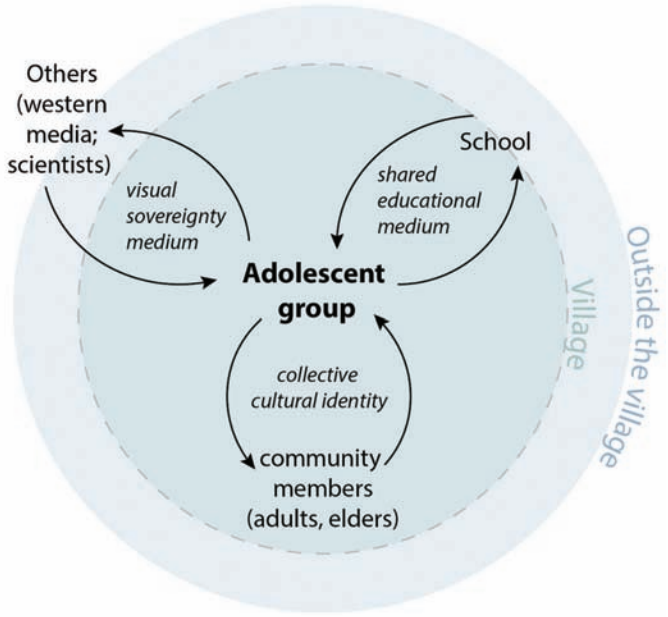

FIG. 5. Spheres and connections addressed by the video making process. Figure: Laine Chanteloup.

significant and impactful films for her community are the ones community members make themselves. "Without that opportunity, I think people are missing a beautiful chance to understand, express, and fulfil themselves" (Asinnajaq in Folie-Boivin, 2019:14).

As we reported in previous content analyses of the four videos, the young Inuit and Cree students portrayed the diversity of contemporary daily life in their villages in an emic way (Fig. 6) (Chanteloup et al., 2018; Joliet et al., 2021). Students became dynamic advocates of today's Inuit and Cree culture. For example, images of beluga and seal hunting included in *Our Culture, Our Land* could be a tool for young people to raise awareness in the wider public about Inuit values and ways of being and Indigenous rights. Students' choices recall those of Alethea Arnaquq-Baril (in Pope, 2018), director of *Angry Inuk* (2016), who offers an Inuk point of view on the impact on northern communities of the European Union's seal product ban and anti-sealing protests. Arnaquq-Baril has said, of her own motivations: "I wanted to make this film because it bothered me when I saw animal welfare groups portray seal hunting as an evil and greedy thing."

Embedding Video Creation in Cree and Inuit Ways of Life: In addition to working on their Indigenous identity, the young people adapted the PV process to Inuit and Cree ways of doing things. For instance, they used PV to strengthen intergenerational links, passed on knowledge in a way reminiscent of oral traditions, and improved their self-confidence. Even if the workshops focused on young people's voices and aimed to highlight the stories they wanted to tell about *nuna*/*istchee*, the students insisted on involving and including elders' voices. In the four short films, Cree and Inuit students combined elders' storytelling with their own stories (Fig. 7). This is quite visible in *Land is home*, where the students built their film script around shared stories of how the use of outdoor camps has evolved. They interspersed their own stories with testimony from an elder they interviewed (Chanteloup et al., 2018), creating a multigenerational dialogue through film. By video recording oral conversations with their elders, the participants also integrated the traditional Inuit and Cree ways of passing on knowledge (Canadian Council on Learning-Conseil canadien pour l'apprentissage; CCL, 2007a) into the act of documentary video making. This was evident in the creation process for *Walking Out Ceremony*, where one of the Cree filmmakers engaged in a dialogue with her grandmother on the importance of carrying on this spiritual ceremony. All participants agreed that it was important to integrate this scene into the final video. Orbach et al. (2015:485) relate a similar situation in the context of the Mapuche School of Filmmaking and Communication, where traditional knowledge-holders and elders guide the youth filmmaking process: "Elders are responsible for passing on the knowledge, oral tradition, history, and customs of Mapuche society. For this reason, the young filmmakers validate and strengthen their bond with the elders."

The films therefore, offered a space for young people to show their attachment and reconnection to certain traditions. The resulting long dialogues between young people and elders created a practice of meaningful connection. This is seen in *Walking Out Ceremony,* where the filmmaker explains a Cree ritual in which the child is first introduced to the land. The students deliberately chose this topic for their video to advocate for the revitalization of this spiritual ceremony in their community, and also to make the ceremony known. For another of the videos, *Our*

FIG. 6. Stills from *Our Culture, Our Land* (09:07) and *Land is Home* (0:22; 07:52). Stills credits: Arsaniq students (Kangiqsujuaq) 2017; Asimauttaq students (Kuujjuaraapik) 2016.

FIG. 7. Young Inuit students visiting an elder who shares his knowledge and stories for their video. Water colour pencil painting based on authors' fieldnotes. Artist: Orsan Rousset.

Culture, Our Land, the students of Kangiqsujuaq decided to film an elder who works at the Hunters Support Program office, who shows and explains to them the tanning process for seal skins. They then invited two elders recognized in the village as knowledge-bearers and who teach Inuit culture at school to participate in their film by sharing their knowledge about the importance of *nuna* for the well-being of Inuit and about the tools used for hunting seals. Through video recording, these elders became communicators who transmit Inuit values and culture to youths. Most of the elders who were filmed preferred to speak in Inuktitut in order to underline the attachment to, and importance of, the language and to inspire younger generations to reconnect with their language. Going to meet their elders, tablet in hand, to capture their knowledge and experiences is a way for these adolescents to (re)connect with Cree and Inuit traditions: "Aboriginal people across Canada are engaged in a process of recovering cultural traditions, turning to Elders for guidance in searching out the enduring knowledge that will serve the people in contemporary times" (Brant-Castellano, 2002:24) (Fig. 8). This (re)connection by the adolescents inspired younger children in the community to follow the same path. For example, at the primary school in Kangiqsujuaq, children came to watch the final screening of the video created by their older schoolmates, and they loudly expressed their amazement, admiration, and enthusiasm each time the video featured scenes of a first harvest of country food. Thus, engaging students in video making helped develop a sense of pride, self-confidence, and self-esteem throughout the PV phases of our workshop. This finding aligns with those of Tremblay and de Oliveira Jayme (2015) who noted that PV can empower participants.

The four films include interviews based on storytelling, which aligns with Inuit and Cree oral traditions. As Kovach (2010) points out, these traditions are governed by particular protocols that revolve around relations between active listening and storytelling. The interviews led by the youths relied on the storytelling of elders and adults about past experiences. The youths chose to use video (not just audio) to record the stories shared by peers and community members, which is crucial in order to capture the whole Inuit communication, including gestures and facial expressions (Ferreira, 2006). In this way, and more than print or writing, video is an apt medium for capturing the methods of traditional language transmission (Murasugi and Ittusardjuat, 2016). By combining digital media technology with traditional elder–youth dialogue, the Cree and Inuit youths transformed video making into a contemporary storytelling tool. Moreover, to create their videos, the youths filmed and watched (through the tablet camera) as the people they interviewed showed them things. This is congruent with Indigenous traditions for passing on knowledge, in which, according to Goulet (2001:70), "learning occurred through observation and doing" rather than by instructing others in what to do. During the process of shooting *Walking Out Ceremony,* one girl filmed her father drumming and singing a traditional feast song. After filming this sequence, she sang the song with her father, learning the song and practising it with him. Thus, the video creators are not just passive filmmakers who aim the camera at a subject; they are actively engaging in the

FIG. 8. Stills from *Land is Home* (06:14), *Our Culture, Our Land* (06:20), *Spirits Around Us* (03:59). Stills credits: Asimauttaq students (Kuujjuaraapik) 2016, Arsaniq students (Kangiqsujuaq) 2017, and Kiluutaq students (Umiujaq) 2019.

activities they are capturing in their videos. Hence, we argue that the PV method of video making is in line with Indigenous ways of transmitting knowledge and practices.

For the Participating Schools: A Mixed Pedagogy

The implementation of the workshops would not have been possible without the involvement of the schools. They found in PV a pedagogical tool that allowed them to better relate to Indigenous values in a school space that is not always adapted to Indigenous cultures. Elders traditionally play key roles as teachers in the transmission of knowledge in Cree and Inuit communities, from early childhood to adulthood. However, today, education program and services are delivered in a formal, Canadian-style system where Indigenous students face many challenges. This is despite growing recognition among educators that elders and the extended community are foundational in young people's success in schools (Garakani et al., 2015). The PV process in this project provided a mobilizing tool for re-enhancing the role of elders as knowledge transmitters.

We found that interest in video-making workshops was particularly high. For instance, interest in the video-making workshops in all four villages was particularly high among students who have difficulties adjusting to the prevailing Western model of teaching in school, where theory comes before practice (CCL, 2007b). Since the workshop provided hands-on experience for pupils, which is in line with Indigenous ways of learning (Hogue, 2016), those students seemed more motivated than others to participate. Also, many scenes for the film where shot outside the school, and students particularly enjoyed spending time on the land surrounding the community with teachers, and sometimes accompanied by elders (Fig. 9). In one community, teachers were positively surprised to see students who usually did not come to school returning each day to the video workshop. This suggests that PV can align with the call to increase land-based education for Indigenous youth, such as the call by Korteweg and Oakley (2004:131) to counter settler ignorance of land with "Indigenous focused land education." The teachers in the schools we worked in witnessed how the PV process helped to create a group dynamic and fostered a common goal among the participants, which enhanced commitment. By collectively creating a film, the students were led to help each other and to cooperatively develop skills to coordinate and complete missing elements of the films. While each student was involved in a task that motivated them more specifically, groups collectively pooled ideas and chose sequences. They also searched for new ideas together when gaps were spotted, such as silences that appeared too long during the editing, or the choice of a title. During these moments of pooling and searching for solutions, some students stepped out of their comfort zones and became leaders, getting involved in tasks that were recognized as necessary, but which initially had few volunteers.

The video making process strengthened participants' capacity, agency, and leadership. Working with PV offered a space to support communication, interviewing, camera, and music skills. As one Kangiqsujuaq teacher pointed out, with respect to two participants who otherwise rarely speak up: "I am surprised, I would have never imagined that these two girls speak in front of the camera."

By creating a film, the students also had to communicate in Inuktitut and provide English and/or French translations, improve their listening and oral expression skills, and mobilize their Inuit or Cree culture, history, and geography, while developing artistic and creative skills. Thus, the PV workshop demonstrated a project-based pedagogy that transcends disciplinary learning, linking certain skills, know-how, and attitudes to Indigenous communitarian practices. In turn, the video can become a pedagogic tool for many teachers to work on language, Inuit and Cree culture, history, geography, and social and literary sciences.

The facilitation of the creative process by the teachers and researchers provided an opportunity to collaborate between Inuit and non-Inuit teachers, and for teachers from the South to deepen their understanding of Inuit culture. When the researchers visited one of the participating schools a year later, one teacher who had co-organized the video workshop proudly pointed out that the school "did a couple of video projects after the workshop. Last year, for example, we had a self-esteem montage with little kids" (Kuujjuaraapik teacher). Other teachers were inspired to try out video making in their own classes: "We talked about it [the movie] among all the high school teachers. For example, S. the teacher of grade x and secondary x wished she could do such an activity too. It would be good to do some workshop with her class" (Kuujjuaraapik teacher, 2018).

FIG. 9. Young Inuit students get ready for a day of filming. Water colour pencil painting based on authors' fieldnotes. Artist: Orsan Rousset.

For Researchers: Elucidate Youth Emic View Through Creativity

Employing PV methods helped our research project overcome limitations linked to the reliance on words emerging in interviews conducted with Indigenous people that are afterwards transcribed by non-Indigenous researchers (Searles, 2000). By relying on the words in interviews, a traditional Western science method, researchers are unable to capture people's nuanced, multi-sensory expressions that appear in video.

This methodology also allowed for the emergence of unexpected themes. The only open question we asked, at the beginning of the video workshop, was: what does *nuna*/*istchee* mean to you? This left a great deal of freedom for participants to define and show what they wished to put forward, and to share with us their lifestyles and ways of thinking. It was a surprise for us when students in Umiujaq decided to speak about the spiritual world in *Spirits Around Us*. Given the colonial history of Christian evangelization in the North, many people in Inuit communities now perceive spirituality as an intimate subject. However, since it was the students who chose to speak about this topic and who wanted to learn more by meeting with their own community members, people in Umiujaq felt comfortable talking about the spirits on the land and openly shared their experiences with the spiritual world. When *Spirits around us* was screened at the gym, residents and families not only approved of the movie, but shared their own experiences and encounters with spirits, thereby creating new knowledge on the subject. The screening also created a local desire to set up a new research project focusing specifically on the relationship with spirits, which is still very present in the villages, but, according to a participant observer at the Umiujaq screening in 2019, is often a taboo subject to discuss with *Qallunaat* researchers. This finding reveals the value of public screenings based on PV projects. Rouch (1995:96) called these kinds of screening "audiovisual counter-gifts," where communities could provide feedback in return for the community's support during the documentary's production phase (see also Henley, 2020). In our project, PV became a collective tool allowing youths to reach out to the wider community and engage community members in a dialogue about the meaning of *nuna* and *istchee*. We see parallels between how the Umiujaq screening created a space where community members suggested ideas for new projects, and Jean Rouch's feedback screenings, when community members submitted fresh ideas for new films after the viewing. According to Henley (2010), feedback screenings were at the heart of Rouch's concept of "shared anthropology," where community members who suggested an idea for a

FIG. 10. Inuit students at a filming location. Photo credit: Water colour pencil painting base on authors' fieldnotes. Artist: Orsan Rousset.

new film became active collaborators in the film. As such, we see in PV a meaningful tool to foster co-production of knowledge (Cooke et al., 2020) and co-creative processes in Arctic research (Wilson et al., 2020).

The video making process, as distinct from photography or interviews, makes accessible multi-sensory narratives, points of view, and an emic understanding of the land, which we have analyzed elsewhere (Chanteloup et al., 2018) in order to better understand youth perceptions, values, and attitudes linked to *nuna* and *istchee*. The PV process in our *nuna*/*istchee* project was instrumental in mobilizing students to collect and create multi-sensory data. Through it, students united different art forms, including music, drawing, sound, animation, and narration to explore visible and invisible dimensions of lived spaces. The project's unfolding resonated with insights from PV scholars Blaze and Hraňová (2012), who argue that video can help young people get involved in multifaceted and multi-sensory knowledge production. In this respect, capacity building went both ways: the youths learned visual arts techniques, and we learned about Inuit and Cree emic views of the land and the multiple ways young people are interrelating with *nuna* and *istchee* (Fig. 10) by accessing multi-sensory data. This also brings a more in-depth understanding of Inuit and Cree ways of being and worldviews that interconnect with all living beings, the surrounding environment, and the universe. This is evidenced in *Spirits Around Us,* where the Inuit adolescents chose to portray personal stories of encounters with three non-human beings: the *Tuurngak*, the *Tarriasuk,* and the *Inuarulik* (Fig. 8). Their video highlights the importance of the spirituality that guides Inuit relationships with *nuna* (Joliet et al., 2021). We argue that using video making methods in an Indigenous youth context can facilitate a holistic experience, which is an aspect of PV that has yet to be fully explored. This holism is similar to what Absolon (2016:48) calls a "wholistic framework" and what Ginsburg (1994:368) refers to as an "embedded aesthetic," where art is interwoven with wider socio-cultural relations (see also Santo, 2004).

While we have worked with First Nation and Inuit communities for over 10 years, working with an Inuit and Cree teenage audience was new to us. Each video workshop represented our own hands-on learning and helped us to improve our interpersonal skills for interacting in the multicultural context of Nunavik, especially with youths. Thus, we worked on our skills in knowing how to behave with teenagers and adapted our posture in the classroom and our modes of interaction with them. As mentioned in a guide to understanding Inuit culture, "to the outside observer, Inuit children enjoy an incredible amount of freedom" (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2006:16). This may be disconcerting for a foreigner accustomed to a Western school, where a teacher's consent is required before a child speaks, and the children follow the teacher's instruction. Instructions set by the teacher play a central role, and emphasis is put on sitting still in class. Conversely, in the Inuit way of raising children, the child usually shows verbal restraint (Briggs, 1970), and silences are very important in interpersonal relationships (Benoit, 2017).

During the video workshops, we tried to promote these modes of functioning, both in our body positioning and in oral exchanges. For instance, we adopted an invisible position in the classroom, that is, we did not intervene in how the youths organized themselves spatially. They could work on desks or on the floor, on a variety of supports, and we let them practise filming techniques in a corridor or in a room when they did not want an audience. During fieldtrips, if an adult from the community was not present, we would

accompany them, watching the filmed scenes without necessarily standing behind or directly next to them. We did not organize the workshop around strict instructions, but rather, as a learning exchange; we managed and left silences and avoided asking too many questions. Each video workshop was unplanned; we discovered the process as we went, allowing stories to emerge and interconnect in what Styres (2019:29) deems"layers upon layers." Teachers valued this approach. One Umiujaq teacher stated:

> I really liked the team's approach, which was to get the young people talking, and to find the topics and tools on their own. Their approach tends to give the students full control, rather than imposing a subject or style on them. The young people were very proud of the result of their video as it perfectly reflected something they wanted to express at a specific moment.

CONCLUSION

Through the workshop, participants used video to showcase a lively and contemporary portrait of lived spaces in northern villages, expressed from an emic perspective. Young Cree and Inuit put forward their self-image through video productions and controlled the video making process, from writing the story, to choosing the dialogues and voices, to composing the music, and applying all other multi-sensory elements. These films offer a language that goes beyond visual sovereignty (Raheja, 2007) to align with what Ginsburg (2016:385) calls "media sovereignty," as Inuit and Cree adolescents "control their own images and words, including how these circulate."

Carrying out the workshops in schools provided hands-on learning experiences that proved effective in involving youths in school. The workshop also provided opportunities for intergenerational bridge building, and for creating multiple dialogues with elders by transforming video making into a contemporary, intergenerational storytelling tool. Through video making, the young people started a process of recapturing and recovering cultural traditions. In contrast to photography and interviews, PV allowed us to collect multi-sensory data on the multidimensionality of human–land relationships among Cree and Inuit youths. Through PV, the youths made choices about what to show regarding their daily lives and relationships to the land. Whatever form of language the youths promoted, from film language to music to interviews, they made choices about what to show regarding their daily lives and relationships with the land.

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