Evaluation for Land-Based Programming:

A Literature Review

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Executive Summary

This literature review discusses approximately twenty academic and “grey” sources relevant to the evaluation of on-the-land literature. In order to be as comprehensive as possible and cast a wide net, it includes ethnographic research on land-based programming, and research on evaluation methods for Indigenous programs more generally.

The analysis is divided into two sections: *Challenges* and *Paths Forward*.

The major identified challenges were as follows:

1) **Organizations offering on-the-land programming struggle with limited resources for both program delivery and evaluation.** This is particularly difficult when organizations are reliant on good evaluations for continued funding.

2) **Evaluation using quantitative data and double-blind studies is often logistically difficult, ethically questionable, and culturally inappropriate for on-the-land programs.** Several sources in this review discuss abandoning the formation of control groups or the use of quantitative methods during the research process because of participant objections, ethical concerns, and the failure of the instruments to produce meaningful data.

3) **The imposition of non-Indigenous modes of evaluation, thought, and values is a major obstacle for on-the-land programs.** In particular, on-the-land program staff find dominant non-Indigenous modes of evaluation too narrow, short-term, and fragmented to fairly and comprehensively consider the holistic, long-term, and community-wide impacts of their programs.

4) **Power disparities between evaluators and the group being evaluated are wide and can replicate a long history of colonial exploitation of Indigenous communities by researchers, particularly when the evaluator is not Indigenous and/or not from the community in which they are conducting evaluation**. For this reason, communities and groups may mistrust evaluators or view them with suspicion.

5) Programs have difficulty maintaining contact with, and finding support for, participants once the on-the-land portion of the program is over. On-the-land programs often represent the beginning of participants’ healing and learning journeys, and sustained contact with participants is not only necessary to evaluate the long-term impacts of programs, but it also supports participants to integrate their on-the-land experiences into their daily lives.

The second section, Paths Forward, discusses some of the more promising ways of doing evaluation discussed in the literature.

The major findings are as follows:

1) **Evaluators can put effort into developing relationships with evaluated communities based on respect and trust.** Developing and sustaining relationships is important even when the evaluator comes from the community being evaluated. This process is time-intensive and

requires attention to cultural protocol, flexibility, and a willingness on the part of the evaluator to interrogate their own assumptions and beliefs.

2) **Evaluators can use flexible, open-ended interviewing techniques.** This involves more uncertainty, as it precludes conducting interviews with a pre-set list of questions. However, many sources agreed that open-ended interviewing resulted in much richer data and more sharing from the participants.

3) **Evaluators can encourage participants to use narrative and story-telling methods in their interviews.** Story-telling is often a culturally appropriate method for Indigenous communities, and it generally puts the power in the hands of the participant telling the story. It has also been documented to help participants remember and recall events they might otherwise forget.

4) **Evaluators should respect cultural context and the sovereignty of the community in which they are working.** Again, following and respecting cultural protocol and norms are important here. Furthermore, because of a long history of colonial exploitation, it is important that Indigenous groups and communities are the primary beneficiaries of any evaluation done in their communities. This means they must have a say in defining the goals and measuring the outcomes of their programs.

Parameters

This literature review was conducted on behalf of Hotıì ts'eeda (the NWT SPOR SUPPORT Unit) and the NWT Recreation and Parks Association (NWT RPA). Its purpose is to review current literature about evaluation of on-the-land programs, or programming that involves the learning and practicing of Indigenous land-based customs and skills with a variety of goals that include but are not limited to education, "celebrat[ing] and strengthen[ing] tradition," "healing," and "respite from a challenging situation" (Wenman and Jensen 2019, 4). Further discussion of land-based programming's unique aims can be found in Section 2: Defining Land Based Programming.

Examining what has been written on the evaluation of land-based programming will enable the organizations and others with like interests to develop a common approach to evaluation that is accessible and credible. Such a framework will not only enable communities to advance and support their programs, it will also create a body of evidence-based work demonstrating the impact and effectiveness of on the land programming.

This literature review began with a variety of searches that combined keywords and phrases like "land-based"; "program"; "on the land"; "evaluation"; and "Indigenous" in both Google and academic search engines, including JSTOR, ProQuest, and Taylor & Francis. Both academic and "grey" (e.g., non-profit reports, governmental policy papers, etc.) literature were consulted. Depending on the database and the combination of words used, the number of results varied widely, from less than ten to tens of thousands. The chart below gives examples of keyword combinations used and the number of results.

Database	Search Term Combinations	Number of Results
Google	"land-based program" AND Indigenous AND evaluation	13 800+
Google Scholar	"on the land program" AND Indigenous	28
	"land-based program" AND evaluation AND Indigenous	65
JSTOR	"land based" AND evaluation AND program	4100+
	"on the land" AND indigenous AND evaluation	2200+
ProQuest	Indigenous AND program AND evaluation	1900+
	"land based" AND program	3700+
Taylor & Francis	"land based program"	18
	Indigenous AND program AND evaluation AND land	20 000+

In reviewing the results, because there is not a great deal of work existing on the topic, a decision was made to include literature discussing land-based programming, regardless of whether or not it discussed evaluation; and to include some research on Indigenous program evaluation that was not necessarily land-based if it appeared to be seminal (i.e., it was cited by multiple other sources used in the literature review), and/or if it spoke to issues germane to land-based programming (e.g., decolonization, cross-cultural evaluation, Indigenous sovereignty). Exclusion criteria included sources discussing programs not designed for Indigenous populations; studies on Indigenous land rights and Indigenous land management; and studies produced by institutes that explicitly adhere to ideologies that are hostile to the ethics of on-the-land programming (e.g., neoliberal think tanks). Once relevant sources were identified, their bibliographies were used to find additional sources.

The kinds of literature consulted fall into three categories:

1. Program evaluations and/or toolkits/guidebooks prepared by organizations providing land-based programming.
2. Academic literature (often ethnographical) discussing land-based programs.
3. Academic literature discussing evaluation methods for Indigenous programs.

Although much of the academic literature in the second category does not specifically discuss evaluation methods, there is merit in discussing these works here. Many are critical ethnographies, and while ethnography and evaluation are different processes with different goals, they have some meaningful similarities, recognized by the emerging "subfield" of evaluation anthropology, which addresses the "continuum bridging the concern of evaluation professionals with discovering the value of human activities and the anthropological understanding of evaluated entities as culturally embedded processes" (Copeland-Carson and Butler 2005, 1). Ethnography's focus on "thick description" of a culture, which involves attempting to understand people's speech and action within its cultural context, is in line with the calls from many academics and Indigenous community members who want Indigenous programs to be evaluated within the context of their community (Chouinard and Cousins 2007, 48; LaFrance 2004; Mamaril et al. 2018; Morelli and Mataira 2010; Redvers 2016; Sahota and Kastelic 2012). Critical ethnography is also self-reflexive, meaning that the academics undertaking it reflect on their practices of engaging with the community they are studying (Madison 2012). These reflections can be useful when considering the ethical and relational issues arising in the evaluation process. The issue of how outside evaluators interact with the community in which they are conducting evaluation is considered of prime importance to Indigenous community members and leaders (Morelli and Mataira 2010; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Critical ethnographers are often concerned with creating knowledge that deconstructs oppressive power arrangements adversely affecting the lives of their research participants (Madison 2012). Similarly, many authors discussing Indigenous program evaluation state that an evaluation must first and foremost seek to be of benefit to the program and community under evaluation (Chouinard and Cousins 2007, 49; LaFrance 2004; Mamaril et al. 2018; Morelli and Mataira 2010). Because these ethnographic works discuss the merits and challenges of on-

the-land programming, the issues arising from the presence of (often external) researchers, and methods of gathering data and research in culturally specific contexts, they are germane to a literature review of evaluation practices.

Defining Land-Based Programming

On the land programming is more than just outdoor or "wilderness" programming. The Kwanlin Dün First Nations (KDFN) have defined land-based healing in particular as "a health or healing program or service that takes place in a non-urban, rural or remote location on a land base that has been intentionally spiritually cultivated to ensure the land is honoured and respected" (Hanson qtd. in Redvers 2016, 102).A definition of land-based programming was developed for this review using a "conventional content analysis," a form of qualitative content analysis that organizes research data not by using predetermined categories, but rather through a process of immersing oneself in the data (in this case the literature sources), inductively "coding" it for "key thoughts and concepts," and then using these codes to sort the data into "meaningful clusters" (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1279). For the purposes of this review, land-based programming is defined as programming taking place in culturally significant locations facilitated by and for Indigenous communities and groups that can take a variety of forms, but involves most or all of the following: a focus on healing from colonial violence or reclaiming knowledge marginalized by colonialism; a holistic outlook; experiential learning, intergenerational connection, skill development; and a strengthening of Indigenous cultures. Its goals are thus "multiple" and "go far beyond individual learning" (Mamaril et al. 2018, 43). However, the philosophy underpinning all of these programs is "an Indigenous understanding of the importance of Land-based connection as a central component of Indigenous health and wellbeing" (Redvers 2016, 3).

The notion of on-the-land activities as formal "programming" "is rooted in mainstream funding and organization" that requires groups to create formalized plans, goals, and budgets in order to obtain the financial support necessary to take community members onto the land (Redvers 2016, 77). Formal "programs" are also necessary in a colonial context that makes it difficult for Indigenous communities to access the land (e.g., demands of waged work, scarcity of supplies, inaccessibility of transportation, etc.) (ibid.).

The key features of on the land programming, as listed above, are described in more detail below. However, it is important to note that these key facets are interconnected and no one feature stands on its own. For example, intergenerational contact not only strengths culture, as Elders pass down values and knowledge to younger people, but it also facilitates intergenerational healing, and often involves a great deal of experiential learning, in which youth develop skills.

Recovery from Colonialism

Land-based programs offer psychological and/or cultural healing from colonialism. Obed (2017) points out that as trauma for Indigenous peoples "has arisen from the violence of colonialism and capitalism that are built upon rupturing Indigenous people from their lands, and thus, themselves/ourselves," land-based learning "as a cultural resource . . . holds much potential in facilitating recovery and healing from colonial trauma" (62).

Intergenerational Contact

Most land camps involve intergenerational connection and learning, particularly between youth and Elders. One of Takano's (2005) research participants explained, "There are a kind of the

spiritual aspects [in which] you have to train the young people including survival skills. With that comes the pride, dignity and a sense of self-worth, so we are working towards the self-determination [where] young people can work on their own with proper coaching from the Elders" (477). Similarly, one of Mearns' (2017) participants stated that land-based camps involved "a reciprocal relationship between the Elders and the youth," where "the youth are helping the Elders in an effort to reciprocate the learning that they had received" (94). Intergenerational connection and learning strengthen individuals, community, and culture; as the Elders, as traditional cultural knowledge holders, pass down their knowledge to younger generations, ensuring cultural transmission and survival.

Strengthening Culture

Strengthening culture is an important tenet of land-based programs. The program studied by Takano (2005) had as one of its goals "to preserve and promote Inuit culture," (471), while the Chisasibi "land-based healing model" was "a way of connecting individuals to Cree culture and language" (Radu et al. 2014, 93). Healing and cultural reclamation are intertwined as "the psychological and social afflictions that healing aims to redress are conceptualized as consequences of the loss of culture and identity" (94).

Experiential Learning

On the land programs share a focus on experiential learning. Obed (2017) notes that "many Indigenous scholars, along with Inuit knowledge holders and elders, affirm that land-based knowledge is often best acquired and retained through its tactile, sensory, and embodied practical engagement" (48). Mearns (2017) echoes this finding, stating that for Inuit, learning takes place "when the person is observing what's been done and actually doing it themselves" (101). Obed (2017) found that the Nunatsiavut participants she interviewed preferred "pedagogies that build tangible connections between the learner and their learning materials and environments, including most notably, the land" (48).

Holistic Paradigm

Mamaril et al. (2018) note that "one challenge in evaluating place-based education programs is the tendency for them to have multiple, holistic goals, which go far beyond individual learning" (43). Indeed, land-based programs not only have holistic goals, but a holistic outlook on the connection between land, community, and individual, seeing all as inter-connected. One participant in a land-based program in Nunavut, Tapardjuk, explains:

> Culture and dignity, and practical skills for sure. They all come together because Inuit look at them holistically, they don't look at compartmentalized. We try to promote the holistic approach. If you go on a survival programme, you are actually getting trained in everything from diversity of the land, communing with the land, all the spiritual aspect, and . . . the whole world . . . I mean, you have to be out on the land in order for you to recognize you are a part of the Earth, you are to respect the Earth in order for the Earth to provide you with your need. (qtd. in Takano 2005, 477)

Skill Development

Skill development in the context of on-the-land programming is both a long-term and holistic undertaking. Takano (2005) points out that on the land, "no one skill stands alone" (479). She gives the example of tending the fire in a qulliq, which "requires knowledge of suitable plant material for the wick, where in the tundra to find it and how to prepare it. It also requires patience and concentration" (ibid). Because of the complex and interconnected nature of land-based learning, "this knowledge can take years, even a lifetime to develop" (Obed 2017, 44). The holistic and long-term nature of skill development can thus not always be easily captured by dominant evaluation methods focusing on short-term, discrete outcomes.

Skill development is also deeply tied to Indigenous cultural revitalization, as younger people learn skills that have been part of their culture, with the goal of being able to pass these skills down in the years to come. Thus developing skills like "hunting, trapping, fishing and learning from their Elders helps youth to build or strengthen connections to the places that have been home to generations before them" (Mearns 2017, 30). Participants feel a stronger sense of community and culture as a result. Obed (2017) notes that a youth participant felt that the land-based knowledge she developed "situated her as a capable and accomplished navigator and leader among her kin and community, building a strong sense of herself as Inuit" (45). Moreover, the knowledge of "navigation skills, spatial awareness, and land-reading" is often important for survival and safety (Obed 2017, 44), "especially in the context of rapidly changing climatic conditions and highly isolated and remote northern communities in . . . Inuit homelands" (46).

Analysis: Challenges

Resources

A lack or scarcity of resources was an issue raised in much of the literature consulted. Not only do limited resources impinge on the ability of organizations to deliver on-the-land programming ("Land-Based Healing" 2014; Obed 2017, 67–69), but when resources are stretched in delivering programming, there is little left over for evaluation (Muir and Dean 2017, 57, 59; Sahota and Kastelic 2012, 106). In this case, the resources necessary for evaluation are generally the labour and skill set of service providers. While not a review of land-based programming, Muir and Dean's (2017) discussion of programs for Indigenous families notes that the training and funding for evaluation is rarely available to these groups. Sahota and Kastelic's (2012) overview of Indigenous suicide prevention programs points out that this can create a catch-22, where "communities are hard-pressed to find additional resources for program evaluation" but the same communities "are often required to show data on program efficacy in order to obtain funding to support those programs" (106).

Qualitative vs. Quantitative

The emphasis on producing quantitative-based data in their evaluations was a major issue raised in the literature. Not only is it extremely difficult for Indigenous groups to generate quantitative data given their resources, but many organization leaders and academics raised questions about the ethics and functionality of using quantitative analysis to evaluate land-based and other Indigenous programming. Several groups reported that attempts to generate quantitative data did not work well. Mamaril et al. (2018) found that their quantitative survey data on how a land-based program in Hawaii had "increased cultural practice and learning" amongst the children taking part did not reflect any gains in this area, despite the fact that their qualitative methods demonstrated the children had increased cultural practice significantly. They concluded, "Qualitative tools appear to be more meaningful indicators of success" (49). Similarly, the First Peoples' Heritage, Language & Culture Council in British Columbia (n.d.) found that collecting fluency assessments of students after the camp was difficult as most were "lost and incomplete," and at any rate "did not fit into the cultural atmosphere" (30). Psychiatric researchers studying a land camp in the Atikamek community of Manawan wound up omitting the results of written self-esteem scales they planned to have project participants complete after participants commented that they found certain questions "offensive or confrontational," and would have preferred to report results through individual interviews (Janelle et al. 2010).

Even literature that did advocate for the use of quantitative methods specified that it should be used in conjunction with qualitative methods (Muir and Dean 2017). A few sources (Ritchie et al. 2014, Muir and Dean 2017) referenced quantitative tools that had been useful in measuring the cultural relevance of programs for Indigenous people. Most notably, Ritchie et al. (2014) claimed to use a 14-item Resilience Scale to successfully evaluate how a land camp fostered "short-term improvements in resilience" amongst its participants (352). However, Chouinard and Cousins' (2007) review of empirical literature on cross-cultural evaluation of Indigenous programs found that authors more commonly discussed the use of qualitative methods, particularly "focus groups and interviews," as an effective "means of engaging participants"

(50). Sahota and Kastelic (2012) pointed out that the use of randomized control trials as the gold standard of quantitative evaluation data is unethical in the case of suicide prevention programs “because one group of community members would not be provided the intervention under study” (107), a consideration which could also apply to many land-based programs attempting to address addiction, trauma, and other health issues. Similarly, Janelle et al. (2009) abandoned their plans to create a “comparison group” in their study of the effect of a land camp on male youth’s self-esteem, citing “practical and ethical constraints” (110).

Non-Indigenous Evaluation Methods

The tensions between funders’ demands for quantitative data and program providers’ discomfort with and reluctance to use quantitative data points to a much larger issue present across a huge amount of the literature: the imposition of non-Indigenous modes of evaluation, thought, and values on Indigenous programs. Redvers (2016) explains, “The disconnection continues today within a Western[1] societal framework currently dominating employment, education, and governance in local communities, which can make simply justifying the costs, logistics, or risks involved with accessing remote ‘wilderness’ environments challenging within these frameworks” (96). She argues that these challenges can make it difficult for individuals to participate in on-the-land programs, and for programs to get funding. Her interviews with eleven land-based Indigenous experts from across the Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut revealed that they agreed that the benefits of on-the-land programming “don’t seem to be recognized on the larger level in funding realms as discussed above; the funding is very restrictive; and often it doesn’t suit the integrative nature of these programs” (125). One of Redvers’ participants noted that the irony present in the process of writing grant applications for on-the-land programming, stating “It’s really counterproductive to be spending all this time on paper and indoors, just to try to get outdoors” (97). Many sources stated that it was difficult to communicate program achievements according to the frameworks set out by evaluators and program funders, which were often based in Western values and frameworks (Mamaril et al. 2018; Morelli and Mataira 2010; Redvers 2016; Sahota and Kastelic 2012). Again, this situation creates a catch-22, where programs must hire independent evaluators to quantifiably prove they have met their goals and are eligible for future funding. However, “evaluators must provide evidence of substantial training and experience in western scientific research methodology to be eligible for these contracts” and thus “programs carefully conceived using a western framework of outcome measurement have a greater likelihood of receiving favorable enough evaluations to continue funding” (Morelli and Mataira 2010, 1–2).

The literature described western evaluation frameworks as overly narrow (Morelli and Mataira 2010) when compared to the multiple and “holistic” goals of Indigenous programs (Mamaril et

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[1] Although many of the Indigenous groups discussed in this report are rooted in the geographical western hemisphere, the term “Western” in this report, used in much of the literature discussed, does not refer to geography, but rather to a history of thought amongst non-Indigenous people in Europe and settlers in the Americas and elsewhere, who have disseminated and imposed, often through assimilation, colonialism, and imperialism, their modes of thought and value systems on colonized peoples across the globe (see Tuhiwai Smith 1999).

al. 2018; Morelli and Mataira 2010). In their literature review on Indigenous program evaluation, Chouinard and Cousins (2007) argue that "culturally competent evaluations in Aboriginal communities thus require not only an understanding of the community itself, and of Aboriginal epistemological 'ways of knowing', but also an appreciation of the interconnectivity and relationship with the broader community, one that is situated within a historical context" (50). Specific conflicts and issues arriving from the imposition of a singular worldview on programs attempting to work from another, subjugated, value system, are discussed in more detail below.

For example, a participatory research project undertaken with the Crow people faced an obstacle when it came time to code the project's data. Researchers wanted to break apart the stories various Crow women had told them about their experiences of the healthcare system to find common themes, but the Crow people participating in data analysis felt that " analyzing by breaking apart felt disrespectful to the women who shared their stories" and that dissecting stories "felt like a violation of the Crow culture because there is always a bigger purpose of the story that is lost when it is broken up into themes" (Simonds and Christopher 2013, 2187). They also felt that anonymizing the data, as is often necessary for academic research ethics boards, was unethical because it removed "the life experience of the storyteller, which is broader than the story that is shared" (2188). In Crow culture, storytelling is in part a relationship between teller and listener, and context matters greatly. Anonymizing stories and removing them from their context to identify common themes thus constituted a kind of violence to both the stories and the participants who told them. While Simonds and Christopher are discussing research, not evaluation, the concerns they raise around recording and sharing the stories of participants are relevant to evaluation, particularly qualitative forms that attempt to incorporate story-telling in their methods. Moreover, they demonstrate that approaches to knowledge gathering that may seem common sense to non-Indigenous people may not be compatible with or respectful to the Indigenous culture in which research or evaluation is taking place.

Unequal Relationships

Another issue in on-the-land evaluation is the power disparity between the evaluator and the evaluated, particularly when the evaluator is not Indigenous, evaluating an Indigenous program. LaFrance (2004) notes that her round-tables with the American Indian Higher Education Consortium about creating an Indigenous evaluation framework involved a first session devoted entirely to "criticisms of research, with many audience members echoing the statement, 'we have been researched to death' (14). LaFrance puts it bluntly:

> Evaluators—and their close relatives, researchers—are not popular in Indian Country. The field of evaluation draws heavily on research methodologies that can be considered invasive when imposed by outside funding agencies. The close connection between research and evaluation is problematic to many. American Indian and Alaskan Natives whose tribes and families have suffered from a long history of intrusive studies that, while building the reputations of anthropologists and other researchers, have brought little to Indian communities and have actually resulted many times in cultural exploitation and the loss of intellectual property rights. (14)

In part because of this history of cultural exploitation, many sources remarked on the importance of developing relationships of trust with the communities being evaluated or researched. Muir and Dean (2017) note that “without the time or resources to develop” trusting relationships between evaluators and programs/communities, “the ideal of community participation and empowerment can be difficult to achieve in practice” (59). Similarly, Simonds and Christopher (2013) point out, “The degree of trust . . . affects the extent to which community partners will share Indigenous knowledge or ways of knowing with academic partners who are not community members” (2189). In cases where non-Indigenous evaluators are evaluating Indigenous-led programs, a necessary component in developing that trust is in recognizing that history of cultural exploitation. Chouinard and Cousins (2007) remark:

> Reflecting upon power differences is significant, particularly when working in communities where there is history of power imbalance and dislocations. As Nelson-Barber et al. (2005) remind us, “simply inviting everyone to the table does not ensure that the power differential recedes” (p. 71). The notion of power becomes even more salient when working in Aboriginal communities, as the historical factors that created the power imbalances and inequities between Aboriginal communities and the dominant culture persist to this day. (46)

Of course, simply reflecting on or acknowledging power differentials based in colonial history will not guarantee an equal process, and will not in itself make the power differential disappear.

Further discussion on methods proposed for building equal relationships are discussed more in the next section, Paths Forward.

Timelines

Evaluation and research on land-based programs reveals that there is a need for organizations to offer services that stretch beyond the time actually spent on the land. Connected to this issue is an understanding that it is not possible for evaluations to immediately measure the impacts of different programs — often the impacts become clearer over months or even years. These issues are particularly important when a program is focused on healing from addiction or trauma. The Aboriginal Healing Foundation (2010), for example, noted that after seven years of running programs focused on addressing the traumas caused by residential schools, “the majority response is that . . . in relation to the existing and growing need, the healing has just begun” (12). Furthermore, any program using decolonizing methodologies, as on the land programs are, may trigger great emotion in Indigenous participants for various reasons, including the psychological toll of learning about the scale of violence their cultures have faced. Writing about decolonizing environmental education, Simpson (2002) notes that “these processes are intensely personal and emotional, so programs must ensure that appropriate support mechanisms are in place,” including giving students “time and space” to pursue healing and decolonization (20). A program leader interviewed by Redvers (2016) describes the painful process of reclaiming what has been lost:

> [For] a lot of young Indigenous people it’s challenging because they get out there and realize “Hey, no one ever taught me how to fillet a fish, what the [swear word], like why can’t I do that?” “No one ever taught me how to set a fish net, like why? Why do I not

> know how to do this, like I'm a Native person, and I can't. . . . I think it triggers a lot of feelings of shame which is pretty difficult to deal with. (132)

Furthermore, programs addressing addiction must be attentive to the fact that addiction often functions to "cover up" "underlying trauma, depression, anxiety, and grief" (AHF 2010; Mushquash et al. qtd. in Chisasibi 2014, 9), and thus addressing an individual's addiction is often just one step in a larger healing process. Many sources agree that although it is not possible to be on the land all the time, there must be some continuity of care and values across the land and the community. The land-based programming leaders interviewed by Redvers (2016) noted a need for aftercare services, with one leader stating,

> We're dealing with people, many people who go back into very difficult environments. So their sobriety gets compromised immediately by their families and friends and communities, so what if we could have a sober home that people could come and stay in, or just a stronger facilitation, and things for people who come out of treatment. (120)

Radu et al. (2014) remark on similar issues occurring around the Chisasibi camps, noting, "While individuals commit to healing and participate in land-based programs, the community context often remains unchanged" (100). The Chisasibi program (2014) comments, "community engagement would strengthen understanding of the healing process itself as a long-term aspect of wellness" (11). Indeed, the Chisasibi program has identified the "continuum of care" as an area for self-improvement, noting:

> Aftercare has also been a major challenge given the limited resources in the community. We believe that an aftercare plan is paramount and pivotal to individual healing and recovering, which, from the perspective of the elders, is a life-long process. (9)

The Chisasibi program also notes that "research has shown that success of recovery and life-long healing require aftercare supports especially for clients struggling with addictions" (9), and that an inability to reach their participants after the program has hampered their evaluation efforts:

> We have not been able to compile a socio-demographic profile of the participants, nor to properly monitor their progress once they return in the community . . . Being able to maintain contact with and support participants when they are back in their communities not only is important to the success of these programs, but also ensures that they can be evaluated in a thorough and holistic manner. (9)

The need for programs to maintain contact with participants after their on-the-land components have ended is thus important not only in terms of the impact on clients, but also in terms of performing comprehensive evaluations.

Paths Forward

Developing Relationships

One of the most frequently emphasized aspects of successful evaluative practice involves developing relationships between evaluator and community/program based on respect and trust. Many of the researchers who used ethnographic methods in their study of on-the-land programming noted that situating themselves in relation to their research participants was of primary importance to their work. Redvers (2016) explains that she felt it necessary to immerse herself in the communities she was researching:

> I felt that I had to live and work passionately with Land-based programs in this area in order to meet the Dene Ch'anie or moral code, and approach key individuals to share their personal experiences with me. . . . it is only upon reflection that I understood the work I have been doing in this area has brought me back to a place of research based on the relationships I have already built. (47)

She perceives this approach as having helped to "open up deeper and richer responses from the individuals, more so than if I had had no previous interaction with them" (52). Similarly, Mearns (2017) notes that going on land camps with Inuit in communities to which she didn't belong enabled her to develop relationships, and "building these relationships is key to knowledge sharing" (38).

The importance of relationships is a theme that appears in the literature on evaluation as well as research. Muir and Dean (2017) note that although developing relationships with evaluated programs and communities is time-consuming and not always easy, it is necessary. They state that "building and maintaining relationships within the local community is essential and . . . it can require a significant upfront investment in time and resources" (59), and that this must occur across the "design, data collection and reporting phases of evaluation" (58). This can be a complicated process, as due to the diversity of needs and perspectives within any community, "many people may have to be consulted" (59). The authors suggest that non-Indigenous evaluators with short timelines "seek the assistance of a local "sponsor" or community researcher" who can "draw on their knowledge of the community and on their local relationships to facilitate the evaluation process" (59). However, they note that even this "kind of relationship building can still take time and care needs to be taken that an adequate range of community views are being assessed" (ibid.).

Flexible, Open-Ended Interviewing

Several sources noted that interviews with participants or staff are much more successful when they are flexible with interview strategies, using open-ended methods, as opposed to strictly pre-planned and formulaic questions. This requires more flexibility on behalf of evaluators. Morelli and Mataira (2010) note that their process of "open-ended listening" to program staff in the early stages "created uncertainty about the path ahead" (4), but was also the only way they could "gain in-depth understanding into the program's daily functioning, the essential work of staff and leadership, individuals they serve, the working atmosphere and morale, and

many other aspects of their collective work" (5). Similarly, in the roundtable on Indigenous evaluation attended by LaFrance (2004), "Engaging [elders] in conversation was seen as often more effective and respectful than having them complete a survey questionnaire" (21).

With regard to ethnography as a research method, Redvers (2016) found that "the more structure the interview, the less flexibility and power the research participant has in sharing his or her story" (51). Similarly, after failing to gather data from questionnaires due to participants' perceptions of the questions as culturally inappropriate, Janelle et al. (2009) noted that "semi-structured interviews would better reflect the importance of the oral tradition among First Nations" (111). In her ethnography of place-based programming, Mearns (2017) committed to flexibility not just in her interview process but in her data analysis. She explains:

> As I worked with the data I was very careful not to decide on what the inquiry was – beyond naalangniq, (listening in right relation) – and so I did not commit to a question as I worked with the data. (72)

Morelli and Mataira (2010) argue that while open-ended inquiry "makes analysis difficult," it is indispensable "to understand perspectives of individuals without predetermining those perspectives through prior selection of question categories" (9). Given that open-ended interviewing methods are openly preferred by many participants, are more empowering of participants, are more in line with many Indigenous group's cultural values, and offer a flexibility and depth of analysis not possible in surveys, utilizing flexible, open-ended inquiry in to be a positive path forward for place-based program evaluation.

Using Narrative and Story-Telling Methods

A variant of open-ended interviewing involves storytelling and narrative methods. Many evaluators (Mamaril et al. 2018; Morelli and Mataira 2010) and researchers (Redvers 2016; Simonds and Christopher 2013) advocated for the use of narrative-based methods. The strengths of narrative and story-telling methods are various. Morelli and Mataira (2010) found that story-telling sessions used to evaluate place-based projects helped people better remember events, as they "opened the door to remembering and recapturing valuable teachings" (4). Similarly, Mamaril et al. (2018) found that using narrative methods to evaluate a place-based program in Hawaii enabled them to "capture participant learning of all ages and abilities" in a way that surveys could not (48). Part of the reason for this, they argue, was because "verbal recollection and storytelling meshed more effectively with the communication styles of current and past participants and families" (49). Simonds and Christopher (2013) discovered that their discussions with Crow tribal members on health experiences "would gain traction when CAB members . . . told their own stories" (2187). Furthermore, participants explicitly told the researchers that "they learn by telling stories" (ibid.). Morelli and Mataira (2010) also note that story-telling is an evaluation method that empowers those being evaluated, as they are "positioned as the experts whose knowledge customarily provided in the form of narratives is necessary to guide and modify the research design, collect reliable data, and complete a comprehensive, utilizable evaluation" (8).

The sources reviewed also recommend various other evaluation and research methods that use story-telling in combination with other artistic forms. Mamaril et al. (2018) used a "learning"

performance as a measurement tool, “encompassing place-based cultural practices such as oli (chant), hula (dance), moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy), and storytelling” (49). Mearns (2017), on the other hand, used the technique of participatory mapping in her ethnographic research on place-based education. She provided participants with a map of Gjoa Haven, the research area, and invited them “to mark areas of importance as they told their stories” (68). Although not all participants used the map, she found that the use of maps “helped in gaining further understanding of . . . the personal context shared in oral histories” (68). Finally, Simonds and Christopher (2013) suggest a variety of possible approaches, including “digital storytelling, photovoice, [and] theater scripts” (2190). Although these approaches use different media, they all have a concern with personal experience and narrative at their core. As a method that is compatible with many Indigenous cultures, participant empowerment, and a variety of artistic approaches, storytelling is an intensive and often effective evaluation method for place-based programs.

Respecting Cultural Context and Sovereignty

Respecting and following cultural norms and protocols is a huge factor in effective land-based program evaluation. Morelli and Mataira (2010) describe beginning their evaluation process by “expressing the desire to become a guest,” thus creating a context where “the evaluator’s attitude and actions change to accommodate the research participant” (5), as opposed to the reverse. Following protocol can take many forms, including “prayer and ceremony” (LaFrance 2004, 27). In a roundtable on Indigenous education program evaluation, participants explained that “opening prayers in the Native language . . . connect the deliberations with spiritual guidance from the Creator and ancestors” (19–20). Multiple sources discuss the importance of sharing food with participants in contexts where such sharing is an important cultural protocol, a sign of respect, and a method of relationship-building (Morelli and Mataira 2010; Obed 2017).

At the base of respecting cultural and political norms in Indigenous program evaluation is a consideration of cultural context and a concern for specificity over generalizability. In their review of literature on Indigenous program evaluation, Chouinard and Cousins (2007) also argue that a common thread across the literature was “the need to firmly ground the evaluation within the cultural context of the community” (48). When discussing evaluation of educational programs, LaFrance (2004) argues that “evaluation must be designed to capture the contextual situations and connections to the place in which they operate”; “the emphasis in designing an evaluation should not be on testing the generalizability of a program to other communities, but rather on seeking to understand how each program fits its particular situation” (26–27). This means, she argues, that a concern with conventional replicability is not necessarily compatible with a respect for context and culture in Indigenous program evaluation.

One of the most important aspects of respecting cultural norms occurs is respect for Indigenous sovereignty, both at the level of the individual community, and in terms of working towards decolonization on a wider societal level (Simpson 2002). LaFrance (2004) argues that “there is always a subtext about self-determination in Indian Country that must be heard by evaluators” (18). In terms of evaluation, respecting sovereignty and self-determination on the community level means that “the community’s values and aspirations” should be the basis for defining the goals and standards of the program (ibid). Not only should evaluation outcomes be based on

"strengths" and "the culturally protective factors found in the community" (Chouinard and Cousins 2007, 49), but they "should be practiced in ways that build capacity and ensure local control and ownership" (LaFrance 2004, 27). This is true for research as well as evaluation. Tuhiwai Smith (1999) cites the 1993 Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which declares that "the first beneficiaries of indigenous knowledge must be direct indigenous descendants of that knowledge" (208). According to Chouinard and Cousins (2007), this means that "evaluation and outcome indicators must contribute to community empowerment and not be introduced merely as measures to ensure external accountability" (49). This means that "community level outcomes" are often more important than "discrete individual outcomes" (ibid.). An emphasis on cultural context and sovereignty takes many forms, from taking part in ceremony and sharing food to ceding control to the communities and programs to determine their own goals and methods of measurement.

Literature Summaries

1. ***Title: Weaving evaluation into the Waipā ecosystem: Placing evaluation in an indigenous place-based educational program (2018)***

Authors: Molly N. Mamaril, Linda J. Cox, Mehana Vaughan

Type of literature: Academic, journal article

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Discusses evaluation of land-based programming

Location of research area: Traditional territories of the Kanaka ʻOiwi (Hawaii, USA, north shore of island of Kauai)

Organization studied: Waipā Foundation

Project studied: Mai uka a his kai (From the Uplands to the Sea) summer program

One-Sentence Summary: A study of evaluation methods of a cultural immersion program for 95 Hawaiian children aged 5¬–15 on the north shore of Kauai in 2014 found that the logic model of evaluation can be adapted for Indigenous programs, provided there is a focus on qualitative, story-based methods; flexibility and proper cultural protocol; and building relationships between the evaluator and program staff, participants, and the surrounding community.

Summary:

This article explores the efforts of the Waipā Foundation in implementing a logic model as an evaluation tool. The logic model of evaluation, developed by academics in the 1970s, is a method of visually representing a program's theory of change, illustrating cause-and-effect relationships by mapping inputs (e.g., "staff, time, money, research, materials, equipment and technology" [43]) vs. short, medium, and long-term outcomes and outputs (e.g., workshops and activities, improved community conditions). Although the logic model is the work of non-Indigenous academics, the organization was inspired by the work of Māori organizations applying logic models to a family health program (44).

Waipā Foundation worked with a graduate student to develop evaluation instruments, including parent surveys, and parent and participant "talk story sessions." The survey asked parents and guardians to consider their children's connections to different aspects of Indigenous Hawaiian culture both pre- and post-program. The organization worked to deepen the graduate student's connection to program participants and parents/guardians through activities such as an introductory meet-and-greet.

The researchers found that there was a disparity between their quantitative (sections of the parent surveys) and qualitative research results, with quantitative measures not reflecting achievements that qualitative tools indicated. The researchers ultimately found that the quantitative data they gathered was not useful in this case.

Ultimately, the researchers argue that "logic models can be used in a culturally appropriate manner to evaluate the goals of a Native Hawaiian education program (48)" They share "four lessons," as follows.

1) “Program leaders . . . have an intimate understanding of program activities and long-term outcomes, and their local knowledge provides a crucial benchmark against which to measure change.” (48)

2) “The evaluation team must prioritize relationships, flexibility, and learning cultural protocol.” (48)

3) “Culturally appropriate evaluation must include story-based measurement tools to capture participant learning of all ages and abilities. . . . Qualitative tools appear to be more meaningful indicators of success” (48)

4) “The evaluation process must be modified and adapted over time to ensure it is robust and useful.” (49)

2. *Title: Adapting Western Research Methods to Indigenous Ways of Knowing*

Authors: Vanessa W. Simonds and Suzanne Christopher (2013)

Report type: Academic, journal article

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Discussion of evaluation of Indigenous health participatory research program (not land-based)

Location of research area: Traditional territories of the Apsaalooké (Crow) (Montana, USA)

Organization/project under study: Messengers for Health, a joint partnership between the Crow Nation and Montana State University

Project participants: Crow women

One-sentence description: Researchers undertaking a community-based participatory research project evaluating a health program in the Crow Nation found that greater flexibility and understanding of cultural differences are necessary among settler researchers, as their Crow participants found that their method of anonymizing and pulling key themes out of participant stories obscured the story’s context, the story’s connection to the story-teller, and the relationship between story-teller and audience.

Summary of key findings:

This article locates itself within a literature attempting to decolonize academic research about Indigenous peoples and redress past wrongs academic researchers have committed against Indigenous groups. The researchers use community-based participatory action research (CBPR), “an orientation to research that advances the development of culturally centered research designs” (2186), to study Messengers for Health, a program designed to “support the Indian Health Service (HIS) in providing high-quality health care to community members” (2186), in the Crow Nation.

The evaluation involved an approach whereby “both Native American and white project staff would conduct community interviews and . . . participants could select who would interview them and whether they were to be interviewed individually or in small groups” (2186). After interviews, researchers worked with community partners to analyze the data. The researchers

found that community discussions were most robust when participants were telling their own stories.

When asked to code the data by looking for specific themes across stories, Crow participants refused. "They shared that having scattered categories and breaking apart people's stories loses the meaning and the understanding of the whole picture and purpose of the story" (2187). They also felt that breaking apart the relationship between the story-teller and the story (by making the data anonymous) was disrespectful to the story-teller, removed the life experience context of the story-teller, and disregarded the relationship between the story-teller and those listening, a relationship primary to any story-telling experience.

The researchers credit the participants with speaking out, and conclude with the suggestion that story-telling forms, such as theatrical productions, photovoice, digital storytelling, etc., might be better academic outcomes for research projects with Indigenous communities, provided they are developed with the community. They highlight their experiences as an example of the need for academic institutions to better educate students to consider and re-evaluate the Western biases of research methods, both in the classroom and in the research field.

3. *Title: The 2009 Annual Report of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (2010)*

Report type: Grey, annual report of non-profit program sponsored by federal government

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Evaluation of programs for Indigenous residential school survivors (not necessarily land-based)

Location of research area: Canada-wide

Organization under study: Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) (created by the federal government as part of the terms of the Settlement Agreement)

Project under study: 29 community-based healing initiatives for residential school survivors

Project participants: Residential school survivors

One-sentence description: An evaluation of healing programs run by the Aboriginal Healing Foundation for residential school survivors in Canada finds evidence for the continuing need to support these programs, for their strong impact on an individual level, and for the beginning of their impact on a family and community level.

Summary of key findings:

"The primary objective of the evaluation has been to assess the effectiveness, impacts, cost-effectiveness and continued relevance of the healing initiatives and programs undertaken by the AHF . . . and provide evidence that will support the Government's decision-making regarding whether and to what extent funding should continue beyond the current end date" (6). This report reviewed documents and literature, administrative files; performed 35 interviews with key informants from the AHF, government departments, Indigenous organizations, and project directors of funded projects; and did eight community case studies.

They found that community healing efforts “are effective in facilitating healing at the individual level, and are beginning to show healing at the family and community level” (6-7). They also found that “it takes approximately ten years of continuous healing efforts before a community is securely established in healing from IRS trauma” (7).

The evaluators list a variety of benefits the programs have brought to the communities, while also acknowledging that the Common Experience Payment and Independent Assessment Process are also increasing the *need* for healing by “opening up” the wounds of residential schools. They argue that given all these factors, and given the dearth of other funding sources for such projects, the government should continue to support the AHF.

4. ***Title: Culturally Competent Evaluation for Aboriginal Communities: A Review of the Empirical Literature (2007)***

Authors: Jill A. Chouinard and J. Bradley Cousins

Report type: Academic (journal article)

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Meta-review of evaluations of Indigenous programs (not necessarily land-based)

Location of research area: Global

One-sentence description: A review of ten years of literature discussing cross-cultural evaluation of programs for Aboriginal communities found that although the works neglected to discuss the tension between dominant Western worldviews and Indigenous knowledge, they commonly discussed the importance of considering cultural context, acknowledging power imbalances, and using qualitative methods and strength-based models of evaluation.

Summary of key findings:

This article attempts to “to review and synthesize the current empirical literature on cross-cultural evaluation in Aboriginal communities” (41). It asks, “What does a culturally competent evaluation in Aboriginal communities look like?” (41), and seeks to find out where there are gaps in the literature on this subject. The article looks at articles from the last ten years that were “empirical studies of evaluation of community-based programs specifically for Aboriginal people” (42). It starts from the premise that culturally competent evaluation requires that researchers examine their own biases and attend to power differentials.

Most of the articles studied identified the process of developing participatory evaluation approaches in Aboriginal communities as a challenge. Some of the other important findings included the need to “ground the evaluation with the cultural context of the community” (48); considering “tribal, cultural and linguistic differences between communities (48); basing outcomes on a strength-based, rather than deficit model (49); the need for evaluation to contribute to community empowerment, and be more than a measure of external accountability (49); the use of qualitative methods to foster dialogue (50); the importance of community, over individual, outcome (50); and the need for an active recognition of the “history of exploitation and colonization between Aboriginal communities and the dominant culture” (50).

Some gaps identified in the literature include “the tension between the evaluation needs of diverse stakeholders” (53), and epistemological questions about the value of dominant Western worldviews versus different ways of knowing and learning (54).

5. *Title: Culture Camps for Language Learning (n. d.)*

Report type: Grey, handbook created by non-profit for organizations and individuals undertaking similar efforts

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Is an evaluation of land-based programming; discusses evaluation of land-based programming

Sponsoring organization: First Peoples’ Heritage, Language & Culture Council

Organization/Project under study: Various language immersion camps

Location of research area: British Columbia

One-sentence description: The First Peoples’ Heritage, Language & Culture Council offers guidance for organizations and individuals holding their own language immersion camps, listing planning considerations, possible curriculum and immersion activities, sample daily schedules, and common challenges.

Summary of key findings:

This handbook on language immersion camps explains first why language revitalization is important for First Nations communities, noting that “Each language contains an immense system of cultural knowledge” and the loss of a language constitutes the loss of that knowledge (4). It advocates immersion camps as a choice because they incorporate language learning naturally, “by living life in the language” (5).

The handbook includes sections on goal-setting, planning, identifying resource people, methods for passing on the language, sample activities, practical considerations, budgeting, and setting the curriculum.

The final section of the handbook discusses some common challenges. Many camps found maintaining total immersion difficult, particularly with larger groups or when staff were not fluent. Another challenge was having enough time to do everything. The handbook advises that camps keep activities and schedules simple, focusing on quality over quantity. It also notes that it can be difficult to find Elders or resource people to participate and lead activities. One issue with evaluation occurred around fluency assessments, which were often left incomplete and did not fit with the “cultural atmosphere of the camps.”

Finally, some families were reluctant to share traditional knowledge because they were concerned with maintaining ownership of their knowledge. The handbook notes that many of these concerns can be alleviated by doing pre-planning and consulting with Elders and families.

6. *Report title: Land-Based Practice for Indigenous Health and Wellness in Yukon, Nunavut, and the Northwest Territories (2016)*

Authors: Jennifer Metisse Redvers

Report type: Academic, Master’s Thesis

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Narrative ethnography of land-based programming

Location of research area: Traditional territories of the Inuit, Tłı̨chǫ Dene, Dehcho Dene, Métis, Sahtu Dene, Gwich'in, and others (Yukon, Iqaluit, and Northwest Territories, Canada)

Organization/Project under study: Various

One-sentence description: This Master's thesis interviews various on-the-land program leaders in the north of Canada to discuss and identify the challenges and achievements of on-the-land programs in this region, and finds that these leaders provide evidence of the ongoing positive impact of these programs, while also identifying as major obstacles both dominant settler structures that devalue land-based experiences and a funding system that often demands programs use dominant settler frameworks to justify their continued existence.

Summary of key findings:

This Master's thesis explores land-based programming in Canada's north. It claims that the evidence for the efficacy of land-based programming "for health and resiliency initiatives is not cohesive, and found mostly within the health and education fields" (12). However, "through the documentation of a Land-based pedagogical approach, an evidence base is starting to emerge which is also relevant to the field of health" (21). A lot of this evidence comes from "grey" literature, specifically "internal evaluations and personal communications in communities" (25).

Redvers had relationships with the individuals, programs, and communities she was researching. She conducted in-depth, open-ended interviews with "eleven Land-based Indigenous experts from across the Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut" (50), using "purposive sampling, which is a very intentional selection of informants who are experts" (51). For the purposes of this research, Redvers rejects notions of validity as involving "distance" and objectivity" in favour of a more relational form of validity "based on relational trust and insider identity" (61).

Redvers also notes how land-based programs take place across different categories and different sectors, including parks and recreation, education, and health and wellness. She notes that the differences between these programs, often important to funders, are not necessarily meaningful to the practitioners themselves.

One of the difficulties of running land-based programming identified by Redvers is the "Western societal framework currently dominating employment, education, and governance in local communities." This framework makes it difficult for individuals and groups to justify the investment of money and time required to spend time on the land, including the need to leave other employment and education responsibilities in order to be on the land. Another difficulty is the amount of time and effort necessary (generally involving "indoor work") to get funding. Integrating the values and benefits of remote on-the-land experiences back into the everyday life of the community after participants have returned is another difficulty. A connected issue is providing support for participants transitioning from on-the-land experiences back into the community, particularly when the on-the-land programming focuses on healing from mental health conditions like trauma and/or addiction.

Redvers identified “continued barriers to developing and running activities and programs” (124): cross-cultural barriers, including a lack of flexibility and over-compartmentalization on the part of funding agencies; and the intensity and unique challenges of the work required, including the differences between the skill sets required to be on the land and the skill sets required to get funding to be on the land, and a lack of confidence amongst older people and teachers in their on-the-land skills. A final barrier discussed was the colonial disruption of knowledge transmission. Some program leaders noted that participants often feel shame when they begin learning on-the-land skills, because they become aware that these skills have been missing from their life up until this point.

Finally, Redvers identifies “key elements of effective practice,” which include being flexible, community-driven, culturally relevant, involving and supporting youth directly, having key Elders and people with unique skill sets present, and locating the program in the proper place (144). She concludes by stating that her interviews “provide narrative evidence that these forms of programs are already being practiced as a viable and effective form of culturally valid and culturally replicable intervention” (153).

7. ***Title: Evaluating the Outcomes of Programs for Indigenous Families and Communities (2017)***

Authors: Stewart Muir and Adam Dean

Report type: Academic/grey. Initially published as a resource by Child Family Community Australia, then republished as an academic journal article.

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Meta-discussion of evaluation methods for programming for Indigenous groups (not land-based)

One-sentence description: This article discusses issues surrounding the difficulty of evaluating social programs serving Indigenous communities, and suggests that programs should (a) build evaluation into program delivery and the culture of the service as a whole; (b) use a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods when evaluating; and (c) make their evaluation data public to better build the existing literature on the topic and help other groups.

Summary of key findings:

This article begins by discussing the lack of formal evidence on the impacts of social programs for Indigenous communities. It lists several reasons for this, including the complexity of measuring impact, service providers’ focus on urgent service delivery over evaluation, and the “limited organisational resources” of communities. The authors note that evaluation should ideally be built into the design of the program, as should funding for evaluation. They emphasize the importance of community consultation, but also explain that such consultation is complex, as there are often “multiple stakeholders with different needs or agendas” (59). They suggest that non-Indigenous evaluators without connections to the community “seek the assistance of a local “sponsor” or community researcher to facilitate community engagement” (59). They advocate for building an internal “evaluation culture” where “staff are encouraged, and rewarded, for taking part in evaluations” (59).

The authors then move onto a discussion of different evaluation methods. They note that although randomised control trials (RCTs) are considered the "gold standard" of evidence, "they are often not suited to the relatively uncontrolled environs of service provision" (60). Nonetheless, they note that there are cases when RCTs can be appropriate for evaluating social service delivery, and that there are occasions when quantitative data collection has been "both methodologically suitable and culturally appropriate" for work in Indigenous communities (61).

They then discuss qualitative methods, stating that while they are the "quickest and easiest to deploy," (61), they should be used in conjunction with quantitative methods. They finish by declaring that programs should make their evaluation data more accessible as this will enable other community groups to learn from their experiences, and will prove the merits of these kinds of programs.

8. ***Title: Reframing Evaluation: Defining an Indigenous Evaluation Framework (2004)***

Authors: Joan LaFrance

Report type: Academic journal article

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Meta-discussion of evaluation methods for educational Indigenous programming (not land-based)

Location of research area: USA

One-sentence summary: This article discusses the key themes identified during the consultation process the American Indian Higher Education Consortium undertook in order to create an "Indigenous Framework for Evaluation," which include the need for evaluations to (1) evaluate according to the standards and contexts of the community; (2) contribute to the welfare and sovereignty of the community being evaluated; (3) incorporate appropriate cultural protocol; and (4) give the process time for learning to emerge.

Summary of key findings:

This article discusses the efforts of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC), composed of "34 American Indian tribally controlled colleges and universities," to create an "'Indigenous Framework for Evaluation' that synthesizes Indigenous ways of knowing and Western evaluation practice" (13). The AIHEC held four focus groups across the United States in 2004, bringing together "tribal college representatives . . . tribal cultural traditionalists. . . . American Indian scientists, educators, evaluators, and cultural experts" (16).

LaFrance notes that focus groups typically began with a period of "venting," where participants discussed past issues with evaluators, including the fact that programs were often evaluated according to "non-Indian standards" (18).

One important theme that emerged was "defining success and 'telling the story' from the perspective of the community's values and aspirations" (18). Evaluators noted that this involved having flexibility around evaluation criteria. Another theme was the need for "evaluative deliberations" to engage with traditional cultural protocols, such as prayers and ritual. Connected to this is the need to include Elders in the evaluative process. Still another theme

was the fact that learning from and seeing the results of a project takes time, and the short-term, contained time frames imposed by evaluators are inadequate in this respect. One method that could go some way towards addressing this is beginning evaluation when programming begins. Focus groups also noted that having conversations with participants is considered more respectful than administering surveys.

Focus group participants pointed out that "Indigenous knowledge involves multiple ways of knowing," and that it is important to understand the relationships that underlie "all we experience" (26–27). For example, there is a relationship between knowledge and its use, and therefore evaluations should generate knowledge that grows community capacity and sovereignty.

Similarly, evaluators have to recognize the relationship between a program and the community in which it is located. For this reason, "it may not be appropriate to attempt to use evidence-based models that may not necessarily be replicable due to the unique circumstances within a particular Native community" (27).

In the end, the AIHEC identified four "key themes" that emerged in their consultation process: "(a) being a people of a place, (b) recognizing our gifts, (c) honouring family and community, and (d) respecting sovereignty" (22).

9. Title: Connecting to the Good Life Through Outdoor Adventure Leadership Experiences Designed for Indigenous Youth (2014)

Authors: Stephen D. Ritchie, Mary Jo Wabano, Rita G. Corbiere, Brenda M. Restoule, Keith C. Russell, and Nancy L. Young

Report type: Academic (journal article)

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Ethnography of land-based program (not evaluation)

Location of research area: Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve, Anishinaabe traditional territory, (Northern Ontario, Canada)

Organization/Project under study: Ten-day trip through traditional Anishinaabe territory for youth from Wikwemikong Reserve, organized by Wikwemikong community leaders and researchers from Laurentian University

One-sentence description: An "expedition ethnography" of an outdoor adventure and leadership experience (OALE) that took youth from Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve in northeastern Ontario through their traditional territories, this article attempts to address the silences in academic literature around Indigenous participants undertaking OALE, and finds that the experience enabled the youth to connect to the Good Life (Anishinaabe *Bimaadziwin*), a concept that is culturally specific but which involves internal and external connection with self, creation, and nature.

Summary of key findings:

This paper is a community-based participatory action research study on an outdoor adventure and leadership experience (OALE) project "implemented with six different groups for a total of 43 youth participants (ages 11.9–18.7 years) from Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve in

northeastern Ontario" (350). Researchers gathered data from "participant interviews, journals, focus groups, and talking circles" (30), and identified as the "dominant theme" the "process of connecting to the Good Life (Anishinaabe *Bimaadziwin*) or waking up

(*nsidwaaswok*) to the Good Life" (350). The article notes that Indigenous perspectives are relatively absent from literature on OALE.

The program involved a "10-day journey towards Wikwemikong through the traditional territory of the community" (351), and incorporated Anishinaabe history, religious ceremony, and culture. The researchers describe their work as an "expedition ethnography" as opposed to a wider study of the people or culture, as they were studying the OALE experience specifically.

The researchers used triangulation as the main measure of validity, as well as follow-up focus groups with participants to validate responses. The researchers found that a process of connecting externally (to "people, animals, plants, the Creator, ancestors") and internally (by learning and reflecting) promoted resilience and well-being (356). Researchers identified sub-themes within their findings, specifically "connecting with Good Life," "connecting with creation," and "connecting with self," but did not want a focus on subthemes to jeopardize the "interconnectedness of the process, since even self and creation were interconnected" (358).

The researchers note that "connecting to the Good Life through the OALE was also a local phenomenon that cannot necessarily be generalizable to other outdoor programs or to other First Nations communities" (364). Furthermore, because "Wikwemikong is characterized by the Three Fires Confederacy, there are different views and interpretations of Anishinaabe *Bimaadziwin* between Ojibway, Odawa and Pottawatomi traditions" (364). Nonetheless, they conclude by noting that "connecting to the Good Life may be a relevant concept and framework for use in other Indigenous communities and perhaps even for outdoor programs in non-Indigenous contexts" (ibid.).

10. Title: Culturally Appropriate Evaluation of Tribally Based Suicide Prevention Programs (2012)

Authors: Puneet Chawla Sahota and Sarah Kastelic

Report type: Academic article

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Meta review of suicide prevention program evaluation for Indigenous communities (not necessarily land-based)

Location of research area: Across USA

Organization/Project under study: Multiple

One-sentence description: A review of the evaluation practices of tribally-based suicide prevention programs across the United States finds that current evaluation standards are incompatible with both the resources and the cultural values of these communities, and it is necessary to both expand definitions of evidence-based practice, and to create online websites and databases for Indigenous communities to share information and resources with each other.

Summary of key findings:

This article seeks to learn about the variety of evaluation practices of suicide prevention programs "that are tailored to the local context of individual tribes and Native communities" (100). The authors argue that there are successful programs not currently discussed in the academic literature, and a need for literature on "culturally appropriate evaluation strategies" (101). They interview program leaders on these topics.

The authors note that evaluation of these programs is difficult for many reasons, including a lack of funding and resources, not having the necessary "sample size" for quantitative evidence, and a reticence to share cultural knowledge (e.g., use of ceremonies) used in programs, given the history of colonial theft of Indigenous cultural forms.

The authors discuss the growing push for "evidence-based practice" in the field, and suggest that the field needs to widen its definition of what counts as evidence-based practice. They note that tribal programs do not appear on databases of effective suicide prevention programs when those databases require a lot of quantitative evaluative data proving the program's effectiveness.

They then move into discussing the problematic nature of using randomized control trials as a gold standard for evidence-based practice. Issues include sample size and the ethics of withholding an intervention or program from a specific "control" community. They discuss Lawrence Green's theory of practice-based evidence, which develops evidence "based on routine health care practices used on the ground, rather than deductively developing hypotheses and testing them in clinical trials" (108). They note that there are Indigenous groups who have called for the use of practice-based evidence and for culturally appropriate methods of replication.

One group was the Oregon Indian Council on Addiction, who fought for and won the right for tribes to "define their own standards of what counts as evidence" (109). They successfully argued that a practice's presence in tribal history should be considered "cultural replication," and "if an approach is accepted by elders and has been used for a long time, then it has been culturally replicated within the community" (ibid.).

The authors also argue for the creation of national or regional databases that help tribes work together to "evaluate funding and collect data," (111), as this may help groups to make their funding go farther and share their knowledge with each other.

11. Title: Connections With the Land: Land-Skills Courses in Igloolik, Nunavut (2005)

Author: Takako Takano

Report type: Academic article

Location of research area: Traditional territories of the Inuit, Igloolik

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Ethnography of land-based programming (not evaluation)

Organization/Project under study: Paariaqtuqtut ("Meeting on the Trail"), run by the Inullariit Society

One-sentence description: An ethnography of a land-based program in Igloolik called Paariaqtuqtut — involving 6 Elders and 60 other participants — in which Elders taught young

people on the land skills in traditional Inuit hunting or camping locations, the article finds that although the participants did not necessarily master or remember all of the skills and language they learned, the program was meaningful in meeting the “cultural and social needs” of the Inuit to connect with their culture, the land, and their ancestors.

Summary of key findings:

This article is an ethnography of a land-based program in Igloolik called Paariaqtuqtut, run by the Inullariit Society, an Inuit elders’ group. It explores why Indigenous people are taking part in on-the-land programs, and why they “feel the need to restore” their connection to their land (464). The study is based “primarily on participant observation and semi-structured interviews, supported by document analysis,” including post-program interviews with some of the participants and instructors (464–465).

The program under study involved a journey to a “hunting or camping location used by Iglulingmiut for generations,” where instructors would each work with 2-3 young people throughout the program, “living in the same tent and acting as one unit” in a way that would mimic traditional Inuit family structure (469). These “family units” would also come together for activities to simulate extended family structure. The program used the traditional teaching techniques of observing and doing, as opposed to direct instruction.

Program participants and instructors commonly reflected on their goal of learning to be how Inuit “used to be” pre-colonization, living semi-nomadic lifestyles. Elders described land-based learning as holistic, where one learned respect for the land, an understanding of oneself as part of the land, and hence respect for oneself. Youth participants identified three major reasons for wanting to go on the trip: being on the land, getting away from town, and learning Inuit culture. Many participants reflected on the fact that most people were dependent on external assistance for survival, and spoke of a desire to be able to survive and thrive on their own. Although many went out on the land periodically, they were unable to do so regularly, as they did not have family willing or able to take them, or they faced resource limitations.

In post-program discussions with participants, the author found that the participants could not remember any of the Inuktitut words they had learned on the land. However, “instant mastering and recalling” was not an expected program outcome (480). He noted that the participants said they felt more connected to themselves, their ancestors, and the land after doing the program, and that in this respect they “shared the same view as the elders concerning the meaning of ‘being on the land’” (482).

Takano concludes by arguing that he had found sufficient evidence to prove that programs like Paariaqtuqtut “could help in resolving . . . issues” around the “political failure to meet the Inuit’s social and cultural needs” (483).

12. Title: Indigenizing Evaluation Research: A Long Awaited Paradigm Shift (2010)

Authors: Paula Morelli and Peter Mataira

Report type: Academic article

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Discussion of land-based programming evaluation

Location of research area: Hawaii

One-sentence description: This article proposes a model called strengths-enhancing evaluation research (SEER), which the authors developed through collaboration with two Indigenous community-based programs in Hawaii, and which involves evaluators engaging in a relational, open-ended process where they take on the role of a guest, and behave in a way that is respectful to both the program and the cultural context of the community, challenging their own cultural preconceptions throughout the process.

Summary of key findings:

This article identifies a trend wherein federal granting bodies provide funds for organizations to bring in independent evaluators, in order to prove that they have met their goals and therefore merit more funding. However, "evaluators must provide evidence of substantial training and experience in western scientific research methodology" and programs "using a western framework of outcome measurement have a greater likelihood" of receiving further funding (2).

They identify some major problems with the evaluation practices that are currently dominant: namely that they define program success in a narrow way that does not consider "relational processes and the context and meaning of culture-based practices" (2). The article proposes as an alternative a model called SEER (strengths-enhancing evaluation research), which "envisions evaluation research as providing pathways to strengthening communities, and collaborative research" (2), and which the authors developed through a year-long intensive collaboration with two Indigenous community-based programs in Hawaii.

The authors developed SEER in line with Patton's (2009) description of development evaluation: "learning undefined processes by doing it and then evaluating" in a "Ready, Fire, Aim process rather than Ready, Aim, Fire" (3). Their data collection meetings with program staff involved a lot of "open-ended listening," and story-telling. They followed cultural protocols by, among other things, bringing a sharing of food to all sessions, and by behaving as guests (5).

They learned that program staff were consistently frustrated by the inability of evaluation frameworks to recognize the strengths of their programs. This was particularly the case during a standard evaluation process, whereby an external evaluator arrived in the community and used a standardized "logic model" to evaluate the program, keeping a "safe distance" from program staff "in order to maintain objectivity" (5). The authors note, "In the case of values and culturally based interventions, context is critical to understanding the program's objectives in relation to sought after outcomes" (5).

The authors list a variety of principles for establishing evaluator-program staff relationships, including the following:

- Letting go of the role of expert, being comfortable in the learner role,
- Being open to recognizing one's own assumptions,
- Trusting the process, not needing to control it,
- Working alongside another researcher to self-monitor and receive feedback,

- Being prepared to take criticism, without defensiveness,
- Taking the time necessary to learn about and appreciate the differences between mainstream or researchers' cultures and the culture of research participants, including intra-group differences,
- Recognizing cultural meanings regarding time, space, and relationships,
- Committing to establishing long-term relationships by providing assistance or support as needed. (7)

The SEER model strongly recommends using story-telling methods to collect data, including videography and metaphor, where possible. They note that story-telling positions research participants as "experts," and is a cultural practice common to many Indigenous groups. Furthermore, narratives are "open-ended," "rich in detail," and "variable in content" (9).

13. Title: The Indigenous Peoples' Project: Setting a New Agenda in Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (1999)

Author: Linda Tuhiwai Smith

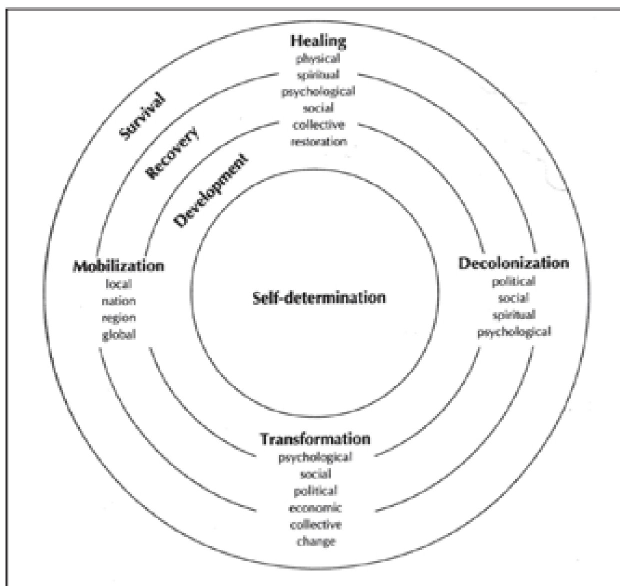
Source type: Academic book chapter

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Discussion of Indigenous research methods (not land-based, not evaluation)

One-sentence description: This chapter of Tuhiwai Smith's book draws on the work of Maori scholars and activists to outline what a decolonizing research methodology might look like; she states that it would involve self-determination; it would respect Indigenous peoples as the legitimate and sole owners of their cultural knowledge; and, correspondingly, it would ensure that the Indigenous community being researched is the "direct beneficiary" of that research.

Summary of key findings:

Smith uses this diagram as the basis for an Indigenous research agenda:



Here **survival**, **recovery**, **development**, and **self-determination** represent four tides, "states of being through which indigenous communities are moving" (205). Recovery is a state of being "related to the reality that indigenous peoples are not in control and are subject to a continuing set of external conditions" and often involves "responding to immediate crises rather than a planned approach" (206). At the core, self-determination is more than just a goal, but rather is "social justice . . . expressed through and across a wide range of psychological, social, cultural and economic terrains" (204).

Tuhiwai Smith also notes that The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples signed in Whakatane, New Zealand (1993) states that self-determination for Indigenous peoples of the world means that they are "exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property," and that the "first beneficiaries of indigenous knowledge must be direct indigenous descendants of that knowledge'" (208).

She concludes the chapter by outlining Ngahuia Te Awekotuku's set of research responsibilities for those working with the Maori people:

- 1 Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people).
- 2 Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face).
- 3 Titiro, whakarongo … korero (look, listen … speak).
- 4 Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous).
- 5 Kia tupato (be cautious).
- 6 Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people).
- 7 kia mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge). (210)

14. Title: Land, Life, and Knowledge in Chisasibi: Intergenerational Healing in the Bush (2014)

Authors: Iona Radu, Lawrence (Larry) M. House, Eddie Pashagumskum

Report type: Academic journal article

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Ethnography of land-based programming (not evaluation)

Location of research area: Eeyou Istchee (Cree ancestral territory) (Canada)

Organization/Project under study: Elder-run land-based healing program in Chisasibi

One-sentence description: The authors of this article describe an Elder-run land-based healing program in the Cree Nation of Chisasibi focused on young people struggling with addictions, establishing how this program brings decolonization and personal healing together in a "cultural safety" healthcare model through a focus on cultural reclamation, developing relationships, and intergenerational knowledge transfer.

Summary of key findings:

This article discusses a land-based healing program run by Elder Eddie Pashagumskum since 2012 in the Cree Nation of Chisasibi on Pashagumskum's family's traditional hunting territory. It

was the “first formal and structured land-based program in *Eeyou Istchee* (Cree ancestral territory),” and it promotes “personal, family and community wellness from a perspective rooted in *iiyiyiu pimaatisiiwin* (Cree way of life)” (88).

Delivered by Elders Eddie Pash and Noah Snowboy, it involves teaching Cree bush skills and its embedded values to participants struggling with addictions, thus providing a “treatment that promotes harm reduction, personal responsibility and harmony of relationships” (88). As of writing, there had been 8 trips for 25 participants, in total all of whom were 18-30-year-old males who were self-referred or referred by the Chisasibi Justice Committee as a diversion option.

The program works on a cultural safety model, which aims to shift imbalances in the provider-patient health care relationship by “empowering the care recipient to actively participate in decisions regarding [their] health”; “building the health care providers’ cultural competencies that foster a respectful bicultural encounter”; “decolonizing the health care system”; and “strengthening local autonomy” (89).

The daily schedule involved morning lectures from Eddie and an afternoon bush activity, some of which were group activities, and some of which were solo activities. Its healing pedagogy involved three major tenets: “the land and nature, the Cree concept of wellness (*miyupimaatisiiun*), and intergenerational knowledge transfer” (93).

Cultural reclamation is an important component of healing, as is “fostering positive relationships” (95). The authors argue that “healing fosters decolonization

by empowering individuals and communities to engage in transforming the Indigenous-State

relationship,” in this case by “politicizing care-giving practices and reorienting health policy” (97). However, land-based healing programs can only go so far if “the community context remains unchanged,” which is why the Chisasibi program is working to create a “continuum of care” for participants extending beyond the time they spend on the land (100).

15. Title: Land Based Healing Program - Cree Nation of Chisasibi (2014)

Sponsoring organization: *Miyupimaatisiun* Chisasibi Wellness

Report type: Grey, report prepared by local health board (community-run) running the program

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Evaluation of land-based programming

Location of research area: Eeyou Istchee (Cree ancestral territory) (Canada)

Organization/Project under study: Elder-run land-based healing program in Chisasibi

One-sentence description: A report from *Miyupimaatisiun* Chisasibi Wellness on their land-based healing program discusses some of the challenges and needs of the program, including a need for more integrated care that extends beyond the duration of the program, and more communication and understanding among community groups about the program, what it is trying to accomplish, and what different people can do to support it.

Summary of key findings:

The report begins by discussing the founding of the Miyupimaatisiiun Committee in the Cree Nation of Eeyou Istchee, "the first . . . Aboriginal nation in Canada to take full control of health and social services on a regional scale subsequent to the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) in 1975" (1). The Cree Board of Health and Social Services of James Bay (CBHSSJB) integrated "Indigenous approaches to health and wellness by creating local Miyupimaatisiiun Committees" (1), comprised of "local institutional representatives (School, Youth Council, CBHSSJB representative), at least one Elder and other community members appointed by the band council" (2).

The Miyupimaatisiiun Committee developed a land-based healing program for people healing from trauma and substance abuse. It is based on "Eeyou methods and teachings," run by Elders, and thus far has worked with young males who have either self-referred or been referred from the courts. It works on a harm reduction model as opposed to an abstinence model.

The report identified some major challenges the program faced, including a need for more resource people, including a traditional healer and an addictions counselor. It also states that the staff need more training in risk mitigation, like Mental Health First Aid. Aftercare is another major issue, as healing takes time and clients need continued support after the program ends. However, there are not the resources to provide this care, and the program leaders found liaising with other professionals responsible for the care of participants (e.g., social workers) extremely challenging. They also noted the need for "case conferencing" before the trip to discuss the needs of each client. The program is establishing a "local collaboration structure" to improve communication and service integration.

Another challenge noted in the program report is community perception. The authors state that if a participant behaves badly upon returning to the community, the community are quick to blame the program and to claim that it isn't working. The report comments that they should circulate more information to the community about the program, and the fact that healing is a long-term process.

16. Title: Indigenous Environmental Education for Cultural Survival (2002)

Author: Leanne Simpson

Report type: Academic

Relevance to land-based evaluation: A discussion (some evaluation) of three programs with land-based components

Location of research area: Various across Canada

Organization/Project under study: Soaring Eagle (*Gaa Bi Ombaashid Migizi*); the First Nations Environment and Education Training Program at the Centre for Indigenous Environmental Resources in Winnipeg; and Indigenous Environmental Studies Program at Trent University

One-sentence description: As an Indigenous scholar who has developed many Indigenous environmental educational programs for students at various levels, Leanne Simpson outlines the necessary elements of these programs, including the presence of Elders, the application of

Indigenous pedagogies, a connection to the land, Indigenous language, space for resistance and decolonization, contextualized lessons in "Western" science, and emotional support.

Summary of key findings:

Simpson discusses what she's learned from her involvement in three different Indigenous environmental education programs. She argues that environmental education is important for Aboriginal youth because their communities have disproportionately felt the effects of environmental exploitation, and because they are the people who can "reclaim, revitalize, and nurture our traditional systems of knowledge and language; and build sustainable local economies" (15). She states that founding these programs is an important facet in "strengthening our cultures, promoting environmental protection, the realization of sustainable local economies, and supporting students through healing and decolonizing processes" (16–17). She outlines some of the elements necessary to undertake this work.

The first necessary element is including Elders as experts. She notes that programs must consider Elders as valuable gifts, not as "extras" or "guest speakers" (17). Treating Elders properly involves compensating them properly for their work, and adapting the environment and lesson plan to complement the Elder's teaching style and needs.

Other necessary elements are the presence of Indigenous language, and grounding programs in Indigenous philosophies of education. Simpson notes that such philosophies emphasize the importance of the spiritual and emotional aspects of learning, and suggests that "Sharing Circles can assist students in working through emotional aspects of the curriculum" (18).

Connecting to the land is another necessary element. Simpson states, "Since Indigenous knowledge comes from the land, it is imperative that students are given the opportunity to connect to the land in an emotional, spiritual, physical, and intellectual way" (19). She explains that enabling students to connect to the land means that students who are parents must be given childcare options, or the opportunity to bring their children out onto the land with them.

The last two necessary elements are making space for resistance and supporting decolonization. This involves both deconstruction (i.e., critically thinking about and protesting processes of colonization) and reconstruction (cultural renewal through participation in cultural ceremonies, art forms, etc.). Because these processes are emotional, instructors should be prepared to invest more than the typical amount of time and energy into teaching, and there should be supports in place for students.

Simpson states students should learn "Western" science in a contextualized way because it is important the students learn how to use environmental science to "deconstruct and critique scientific evidence used to justify environmental destruction in their territories" (20). At the same time, it is also important to go beyond a standardized lecture/lab format, and students need to understand how Western science has been used and mis-used to oppress their communities and other vulnerable people.

17. Title: Nunavut, Uqausivut, Piqqusivullu Najuqsittiarlavu (Caring for our Land, Language and Culture): The Use of Land Camps in Inuit Knowledge Renewal and Research (2017)

Author: Rebecca Mearns

Report type: Academic, Master's thesis

Relevance to land-based evaluation: An ethnography of a land-based program

Location of research area: Gjoa Haven, Nunavut

Organization/Project under study: Elder-youth summer land camps

One-sentence description: This thesis uses the *Qaggiq* model of shared space for Inuit knowledge renewal to discuss the value of a series of Elder-youth summer land camps near Gjoa Haven, Nunavut, finding that in spite of various challenges around Inuktitut language proficiency, weather, and group size, the camps were a place where youth and Elders could engage in hands-on teaching and learning that could only have taken place on the land.

Summary of key findings:

This thesis uses the *Qaggiq* model of Inuit knowledge to consider how "land-based, Elder-youth camps" can foster both "Inuktitut knowledge renewal" and "the well-being of individuals and communities" (3–4). The *Qaggiq* model, developed by McGrath and Aupilaarjuk, is based on a notion of "conceptual shared-space for inter-group, intra-group and intergenerational relationship renewal" created to explore "the complex interrelationships between Inuit traditional and modern circumstances" (McGrath qtd. 42–43). This model "focuses on the interconnections of Aupilarjuk's triad, which includes: *Inuusiqattiarniq*, 'the Individual'; *Inuuqatigiingniq*, 'the Collective'; and, *Niqiqainnarniq*, 'Livelihood'" (43). However, it is "also a space in which *Qallunaat* (non-Inuit) can learn, through listening, experience and observation, to support this renewal" (47). Mearns comments that "everyone in contact with Inuktitut knowledge systems needs to enter into this dialogue to understand their role and responsibilities as this dialogue is about accounting relationally," whether "people-to-people" or "people-to-environment- and-cosmos" (47).

Mearns notes that although the importance of land-based education is discussed throughout Nunavut, there is very little literature out there on land-based education in Nunavut. As part of her research, she took part in three land-based summer camps from 2011–2013.

The first camp was both shorter than planned and took place at a less remote location than planned, due to high winds. As a result, the camp did not involve interaction with caribou, as planned.

The second camp was longer (9 days), and involved hunting caribou. There was a larger group than before because many participants brought their families, something the Elders agreed to because families traditionally travelled on the land together. However, the larger group meant that the whole group couldn't gather together in the kitchen tent, and that youth did not have as many opportunities for hands-on learning. In post-camp discussions, Elders commented that

“the larger group would become distracted if each youth was not able to be directly involved, and so may not have taken away as much from the experience” (63).

Mearns opts only to discuss interviews at which she was personally present, even though she had access to recordings of other interviews. She states, “If I am to share these stories, then I feel that I must have been involved in listening to the stories first-hand” (68). She also discussed her *Qaggiq* methodology with Elders, and they agreed “that this was a good model to use in discussing the importance of land camps” (70). For some of these interviews, she used the practice of participatory mapping, where participants drew on maps as they talked about their experiences in various locations.

Although Elders filled out liability and risk forms as required by university ethics, they noted that there was a mismatch between these forms and their own ways of dealing with risk. They stated that is was their belief that “if you are to talk about bad things happening, especially while traveling on the land, then you are inviting those things to happen.” Instead, they go forward with the expectation “that you are prepared and will take care” as you travel (71).

Mearns did not identify a question to be answered as she began to analyze data. Rather, she listened to the interviews and let the themes emerge from the voices of the participants. She discusses the importance of story-telling to Inuit culture, and said she considered her role in listening to the interviews to be like someone listening to a story-teller.

One of the Elders commented, “If I was out on the land, I would have a lot more to say because everything would be visible to me. . . . But living in the settlement like this, there's nothing visible that would give me an idea” (Aqilriaq qtd. 106). Mearns notes that conversations with Elders about Inuktitut terminology became much more difficult when they weren’t on the land, particularly when discussing tasks like preparing caribou, as “it was stated time and again that it would be a far easier task to do with a caribou there in front of them” (108).

18. Report title: Promoting Traditions: An Evaluation of a Wilderness Activity Among First Nations of Canada. (2009)

Authors: Alain Janelle, Arlene Laliberté, and Ulric Ottawa.

Report type: Academic article

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Psychological study of effects of a land-based program

Location of research area: Atikamek community of Manawan

Organization/Project under study: 5-week land camps for male youth from Manawan

One-sentence description: A psychological study evaluating Indigenous male youth’s self-esteem during land camps in Manawan found through observation that the camps had a positive impact on the participants’ sense of pride, self-esteem, motivation, and willingness and ability to cooperate, but that written self-esteem scales and the creation of control groups were not ethically or culturally appropriate as research tools.

Summary of key findings:

This article evaluates the psychological impacts of 5-week land camps for male youth participants aged 14–17 from the Atikamek community of Manawan, all of whom had dropped out of school and had alcohol addiction problems. The researchers evaluated the program through a combination of self-esteem scales and 120 hours of observation. Based on the observations, researchers noted "that the adolescents were highly motivated, demonstrated cooperative and pro-social behaviours, as well as pride" in activities that included hunting, trapping, and constructing a large community tent (110). They also noted good levels of community support. Due to constraints of time and logistics, researchers were unable to hold post-camp focus groups, and a "planned comparison group" was never formed due to "practical and ethical constraints" (ibid.). The researchers also did not draw from the self-esteem scales in their findings as the participants found some of the questions "offensive or confrontational" and stated that they preferred oral interviews (ibid.). The researchers conclude by stating that they learned that a "conventional occidental research method must be better adapted to the First Nations' context" (110–111).

19. Report title: ILLINIAVUGUT NUNAMI: Learning from the Land: Envisioning an Inuit-Centered Educational Future (2017)

Author: Diane Obed

Report type: Academic, Master's thesis

Relevance to land-based evaluation: Ethnography of land-based programming

Location of research area: Nunatsiavut (Nain and Makkovik, NFLD)

Organization/Project under study: Multiple

One-sentence description: An ethnography involving interviews with leaders and participants of land-based programming in Nunatsiavut territory, this thesis discusses the difficulties of running such programming (including difficulties with insurance and difficulty accessing local experts), and what land-based programs bring to individuals and communities (including strengthening Inuit culture, community cohesion, physical survival and safety skills, transferable life skills, and attunement with environment and oneself).

Summary of key findings:

Obed studied land-based programming in two Nunatsiavut communities, Nain and Makkovik. Conscious of her relationship with the communities as both a Nunatsiavut community member as well as a researcher and somebody who had been absent for 10 years, Obed privileged the building of respectful relationships and community sovereignty, consulting with "Nunatsiavut's leading educational partners" at every stage of research design (37). She "conducted in-depth, open-ended narrative interviews and hosted two focus groups with fourteen people in Nain and ten people in Makkovik" (38). Obed found universal agreement amongst Nunatsiavut participants that there must be a "tactile, sensory, and embodied practical engagement" with the land for meaningful land-based education to occur (48). She also found agreement around the idea that land-based education was important for physical safety and the survival of individuals and the culture. She found that land-based education taught participants to attune better not only with their surroundings, but with themselves and with their peers, embodying

“Inuit cultural values of reciprocity” (52) and building “community cohesion” (59). Participants and leaders also found that on-the-land education facilitated healing from colonial trauma, and learning transferable skills that used both modern and traditional technologies and modes of knowledge. She also discusses the difficulties involved in accessing the land, including lack of transportation options for many families, a limited number of local guides and experts, and insurance issues for involved schools.

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