"Key to the Past":

Community Perceptions of Yup'ik Youth Interaction with Culturally Relevant Education

by

Sean R. O'Rourke

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Abstract

European colonization has dealt crippling blows to the psyches of Indigenous peoples across the world by devastating and, subsequently, marginalizing their cultures. This cultural trauma contributes to the poor mental health outcomes experienced by many Indigenous peoples today. Because Western education curricula and pedagogy perpetuates Indigenous cultural trauma by legitimizing Western colonial dominance, some researchers have proposed culturally relevant education (CRE) can help ameliorate mental health outcomes in Indigenous communities. I conducted ten interviews with community members (i.e., elders and caregivers) and program planners (e.g., educators and archaeologists) in Quinhagak, Alaska to assess their perceptions of Yup'ik youth outcomes following engagement with a series of unique CRE programs that have grown from the Nunalleq Project (a nearby archaeological excavation). Community members and program planners in Quinhagak attribute numerous social and psychological outcomes to youth engagement in CRE. Specific CRE outcomes included teaching youth practical skills (e.g., skills necessary to survive in the wilderness, as well as skills more relevant to Western culture, such as how to use a digital camera and edit film), teaching youth to value their heritage (e.g., teaching them about the struggles their ancestors overcame), and psychological outcomes (e.g., improving youths' self-esteem). The results of this study provide A) a framework for researchers to directly systematically assess CRE outcomes in Quinhagak and B) guidance for program planners in the village wishing to implement additional CRE for local youth. Specific recommendations for planning future CRE programs for youth in Quinhagak are discussed.

KEYWORDS: culturally relevant education, cultural identity, Yup'ik, Indigenous youth, mental health

This thesis is dedicated to the people of Quinhagak, Alaska.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ii

DEDICATION iii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS iv

LIST OF FIGURES vii

INTRODUCTION 1

CULTURAL IDENTITY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELLBEING 1

CULTURAL IDENTITY, COLONIZATION, AND MENTAL HEALTH 3

CULTURALLY RELEVANT EDUCATION AND MENTAL HEALTH 5

THE NUNALLEQ PROJECT 6

CULTURALLY RELEVANT EDUCATION AND THE NUNALLEQ PROJECT 7

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES 9

OBJECTIVE 1 9

OBJECTIVE 2 9

METHOD 9

PARTICIPANTS 12

RECRUITMENT 12

PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS 12

COMMUNITY MEMBERS 12

PROGRAM PLANNERS 13

SAMPLE SIZE 13

PROCEDURE 14

INTERVIEWS 14

DATA ANALYSIS....17
PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS....18
COMPLETE ANALYSIS....18
REFLECTION ON MY TIME IN QUINHAGAK....20
RESULTS....21
DESCRIPTIONS OF CRE PROGRAMS AFFILIATED WITH NUNALLEQ....21
CARVING WORKSHOP....22
"LOOKING TO THE PAST TO SHAPE THE FUTURE: YUP'IK ARCHAEOLOGY, ART AND TECHNOLOGY"....23
CONSTANT COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS....27
1. PARTICIPANT/COMMUNITY ATTITUDES: NUNALLEQ/CRE....27
PARTICIPANT ATTITUDES....27
WORKSHOP ATTITUDES....28
YOUTH ATTITUDES....29
2. YOUTH OUTCOMES....29
WORKSHOP OUTCOMES....30
LEARNING ABOUT CULTURE IN GENERAL OUTCOMES....32
3. IMPORTANCE OF LEARNING ABOUT CULTURE....36
4. CULTURE LOSS....38
5. COMMUNITY VALUES....39
6. WORKSHOP SUGGESTIONS....40
DISCUSSION....42
WHAT HAS CULTURALLY RELEVANT EDUCATION DONE FOR YOUTH IN QUINHAGAK?....43

CULTURE LEARNING IN GENERAL....44
WORKSHOPS AFFILIATED WITH NUNALLEQ....46
WHY IS CULTURALLY RELEVANT EDUCATION IMPORTANT?....50
SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE CULTURALLY RELEVANT EDUCATION PROGRAMS....52
DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH....54
LIMITATIONS....56
KNOWLEDGE TRANSLATION PLAN....57
CONCLUSION....57
REFERENCES....58
APPENDIX A: COMMUNITY MEMBERS' CONSENT FORM....68
APPENDIX B: PROGRAM PLANNERS' CONSENT FORM....72
APPENDIX C: COMMUNITY MEMBERS' INTERVIEW SCRIPT....76
APPENDIX D: PROGRAM PLANNERS' INTERVIEW SCRIPT....80
APPENDIX E: THEMES CREATED TO CODE PARTICIPANTS' INTERVIEWS....83
APPENDIX F: COMMUNITY AND CULTURAL VALUES....85
APPENDIX G: SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE WORKSHOPS IN QUINHAGAK....89

List of Figures

Figure 1. Logic model organizing information about the workshop series facilitated by Jacqui Graham in the spring of 2015. ‘Input’ denotes resources invested into the workshops. ‘Outputs’ denotes the activities included in the workshops and who participated. ‘Outcomes’ denotes the workshops’ outcomes for youth, both immediate and long term, as indicated by Jacqui Graham.....26

Introduction

European colonization and imperialism have dealt crippling blows to the psyches of Indigenous peoples across the world by devastating and then marginalizing their cultures (Salzman & Halloran, 2004; Halloran, 2004; Salzman, 2001). Contemporary Western education curricula and pedagogy contribute to Indigenous cultural trauma by perpetuating and legitimizing Western colonial dominance (Battiste, 2013). To address this "cognitive imperialism" and promote the psychological wellbeing of Indigenous youth (Battiste, 2013, pg. 161), the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) and Indigenous scholars (e.g., Battiste, 2013) fiercely advocate for the implementation of culturally relevant education (CRE)—i.e., education rooted in and relevant to Indigenous values, worldviews, and histories (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Hesch, 1999; Shay, 2013). This study A) qualitatively describes a unique ensemble of CRE programs for Yup'ik (plural: Yupiit) youth in Quinhagak, a small rural community in northwestern Alaska, and B) documents community members' (i.e., caregivers and elders) and program planners' (e.g., educators and archaeologists) perceptions of youth social and psychological outcomes (e.g., changes in perceptions of self, community, and culture) following their participation. This study provides information regarding community perceptions of the outcomes of Indigenous youth interaction with CRE for the first time. The results of this study can be communicated in ways to contribute to the improvement of CRE program implementation for Indigenous youth throughout North America, and, potentially, the world.

Cultural Identity and Psychological Wellbeing

The term 'cultural identity' is the name researchers have given to a socio-psychological construct that attempts to encapsulate a fluid, dynamic, unbounded, and historically-determined phenomenon necessary for human mental development and wellbeing (Taylor & Usborne 2010; Usborne & Taylor 2010). Although it may seem to some cultural identities are solely held by

populations whose cultural attributes differ saliently from those of the majority—the latter half of the 'west and the rest' dichotomy, for example, many Indigenous peoples—this is not the case. Cultural identities, in fact, exist in some form or another throughout all of humankind; they are just so engrained in our lives we are usually not cognizant of them (Usborne & de la Sablonnière, 2014). Existing within a culture and endorsing its corresponding worldview gives our species norms and values that guide our behaviour to facilitate social cohesion, enables us to contextualize our personal narratives by supplying history and continuity, and provides a point of reference to juxtapose ourselves against and ascertain our unique traits (e.g., "I know I am not terribly witty because I am not in comparison to others"), thus, informing our personal identity and self-esteem (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998, 2008; Taylor & Usborne 2010; Usborne & Taylor 2010).

Perhaps most importantly, adherence to a cultural worldview permits us to construct what we believe to be meaningful lives, despite the transient nature of our existences (Greenberg & Arndt, 2011). One price each member of our species must pay for our level of intellectual functioning is we are able to comprehend the inevitability of death—a burden no other animal on Earth must carry. To subconsciously (and, for some, consciously) mediate the existential anxiety that arises from this unique awareness and keep us distracted from our mortality—that is, to make our lives feel like they matter, even though they are so brief—humans pursue goals that may be in and of themselves somewhat arbitrary, but are deemed valuable or worthwhile within the worldviews afforded by our cultural identities. Becker (1997) and Greenberg and Arndt (2011) point out that sometimes people fulfill these goals by creating or accomplishing something—say, winning some prestigious award, serving as a political leader, or producing a literary, academic, or artistic *magnum opus*—as a way of coming to accept their mortality. These accomplishments create an extension of a person's self—a sort of symbolic representation—whose existence will

outlast that of the individual's and, thus, offer a means for that person to, in a way, 'cheat death.'

Being a part of a culture, and living up to its standards of proper personhood, allows us to make sense of ourselves and our realities, makes us feel significant, and distracts us from the fact we are merely clumps of carbon and water, sentient for a moment in time, and inevitably destined to perish (although, this position itself is a cultural construction). These processes, though, are dependent on cultural identity clarity (Kashima, 2010; Usborne & Taylor, 2010). Cultural identity clarity refers to having a clear, confident understanding of our beliefs about our realities that stem from our cultures (Usborne & de la Sablonnière, 2014). What this means is we need to have a clear perception and experience of our culture—including its values, norms, and history—so we can form cohesive and healthy thoughts about ourselves, others, and our worlds. When our cultural identity is at conflict or not well formed, it becomes difficult to make sense of our world, which makes it difficult to navigate our lives, leading to negative mental health outcomes.

Cultural Identity, Colonization, and Mental Health

When Indigenous peoples are colonized, they are involuntarily thrust into a new culture and forced to adopt its alien ways, while, simultaneously, their own culture and its accompanying meaning construction systems are stifled. This cultural trauma contributes to the poor mental and physical health outcomes that we see in Indigenous groups today, such as increased rates of suicide, addiction, and mental illness (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998, 2008; Halloran, 2004; Salzman, 2001; Salzman & Halloran, 2004; Wexler, 2009). Indigenous elders express particular concern for their communities' youths, as younger generations "no longer have the secure mooring provided by their Indigenous culture" (Ayunerak et al., 2014, pg. 2) and are, thus, at increased risk for negative mental health outcomes (Berman, 2014; Harder et al., 2012; Wexler, 2006).

A substantial amount of psychology, psychiatry, and public health literature supports the

notion that factors which bolster Indigenous cultural identity clarity, e.g., feelings of connectedness to culture, communality, cultural continuity, and adherence to an Indigenous (i.e., non-Western) lifestyle, are strongly associated with positive mental health outcomes, such as increased happiness and ability to cope with stress, and serve as strong protective factors against negative mental health outcomes, like suicide and addiction (Allen et al., 2014; Berman, 2014; Big-Canoe & Richmond, 2014; Chandler & Lalonde, 2008, 1998; de la Sablonniere, Saint-Pierre, Taylor, & Annahatak, 2011; Hallet, Chandler, & Lalonde, 2007; Harder et al., 2012; Henry et al., 2012; Kenyon & Carter, 2010; Long, 2014; Mason, 2008; McIvor et al., 2009; Mohatt et al., 2011; Rasmus et al., 2014a, 2014b; Usborne & Taylor, 2010; Wexler, 2006, 2009; Wolsko et al., 2007).

Kenyon and Carter (2010), for example, analyzed survey data self-reported by 95 Indigenous youths in South Dakota and found significant relationships between strength of identification with an Indigenous identity (Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure) and both sense of community—F (3, 91) = 10.4, $p < .001$, Sense of Community Index version 2—and positive affect—F (3, 91) = 6.81, $p < .001$, questions derived from Positive and Negative Affect Schedule and the Subjective Well-Being Measure. And Usborne and Taylor (2010) used a sample of questions from questionnaires employed in previous studies (i.e., Cultural Identity Clarity Scale, Self-Concept Clarity Scale, and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale) to gather self-report survey data from 76 Dene First Nation individuals in the Northwest Territories. They found Indigenous identity clarity to significantly predict self-identity clarity ($\beta = .36$, $p < .001$), which was in turn related to self-esteem ($z = 2.90$, $p < .05$; bootstrapping point estimate of .1718 with a 95% BCa CI of .0452 to .3053).

Culturally Relevant Education and Mental Health

One way to teach Indigenous youth about their traditional culture and its heritage is through CRE (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Hesch, 1999; Shay, 2013). CRE programs have been unsystematically associated with positive psychological outcomes in Indigenous youth in Nova Scotia (Jacono & Jacono, 2008; McMillan & Glode-Desrochers, 2014; Mushquash, Comeau, & Stewart, 2007), as well as elsewhere (Demmert, 2011; Keddie, 2013; Lipka, 2002; Malin, 2003; Malin & Maidment, 2003; McConaghy, 2003). To be specific, program planners, such as Jacono and Jacono (2008), have designed CRE programs and anecdotally reported that they have been successful. However, CRE's impacts on youth, including psychological outcomes, such as its impact on cultural identity clarity, have yet to be systematically examined, through neither the lenses of Western nor Indigenous research or evaluation methodologies. In addition, research is needed to communicate a framework for how CRE could be implemented in educational settings (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Lipka, 2002; Malin, 2003). Furthermore, it is not clear whether Indigenous youth in communities with CRE programs do better because of the programs themselves, or because communities with access to CRE also have other opportunities or privileges.

To address this lack of knowledge, this study has two objectives. First, to describe a unique ensemble of CRE programs that blossomed from the Nunalleq project, an excavation of a Yup'ik village site near Quinhagak, Alaska run by the University of Aberdeen (Forbes, Britton, & Knecht, 2015; University of Aberdeen, 2014). Second, to investigate community members' (i.e., caregivers and elders) and program facilitators' (e.g., teachers, archaeologists, and program planners) perceptions of youth psychological outcomes (e.g., changes in perceptions of self, community, and culture) following their engagement with these programs. With approval from the village of Quinhagak, I have chosen to explore these broad social and psychological outcomes

in particular because, as I discuss above, cultural identity affects self-identity, which, in turn, affects psychological wellbeing (Usborne & de la Sablonnière, 2014; Usborne & Taylor, 2010).

This project is a step towards the development of a systematic and evidence-based approach to CRE outcome evaluation that is rooted in the perspectives of community members. It is important to obtain community members' perspectives on youth psychological outcomes of engagement with CRE so that future research will be able to directly assess these outcomes and improve the design and implementation of CRE programs. In addition, it is crucial that I receive the community's perspectives on psychological outcomes to ensure that this research does not bias their responses by presupposing any specific Western psychological ideas about mental health (as it would if I asked the community members about specific psychological outcomes that I had predetermined from Western literature, e.g., self-esteem), which would contribute to cognitive imperialism. Furthermore, explicitly asking community members about how they think CRE programs in Quinhagak affect youth allows me to get a sense of whether community members think the CRE programs are directly responsible for potential youth psychological outcomes, or whether these outcomes, if any are found to exist, are attributed by community members to be due to something else.

The Nunalleq Project

The Nunalleq Project is an excavation of a 14th-17th century AD Yup'ik village site near Quinhagak, Alaska run by the University of Aberdeen that began in 2009 (University of Aberdeen, 2010). The site is comprised of a sod house building that was burned down during an attack from a neighbouring clan (what locals have dubbed 'the bow and arrow wars'). Because of permafrost and the low oxygen content of tundra soil, the building's remains are extremely well preserved. This excavation is the first of its kind in the region (i.e., the Yukon-Kuskowim River Delta) and has provided researchers with a glimpse of pre-contact Yup'ik for the first time. As

the Bering Sea's coastline (which is adjacent to the dig site) is rapidly eroding—and, with climate change, winter storms are becoming increasingly intense—this excavation constitutes 'salvage archaeology.' Much of the site has already been lost to coastal erosion, and it is only a matter of time before the remainder washes into the sea. This is why the village of Quinhagak requested the team from the University of Aberdeen (known for Northern archaeology) to excavate the site.

The excavation is co-directed by Dr. Charlotta Hillerdal and Dr. Rick Knecht in cooperation with Warren Jones, president of Qanirtuuq Inc., Quinhagak's village corporation (i.e., the archaeologists require Warren's permission before they excavate or survey anywhere). The Nunalleq Project is funded by a £1.1 million grant from the Arts & Humanities Research Council (Scotland). The entirety of this funding goes towards excavation, funding local archaeological training and education, and surveying the region to find other endangered sites. In addition, a portion of the funding is also being used to construct a museum in the village that will not only showcase artifacts found at Nunalleq, but have the capacity to preserve and catalogue any additional artifacts found in the region. At present, artifacts found at Nunalleq are temporarily being housed in a laboratory at the University of Aberdeen; however, when construction of the museum is complete, artifacts will be returned to Quinhagak where they will be housed permanently. In addition, Warren Jones has the option to review any research affiliated with the Nunalleq project prior to its conduct.

Culturally Relevant Education Related to the Nunalleq Project

Some of the CRE programs spurred from the Nunalleq project include workshops at the local school and community centre (Graham, 2015a). These workshops often have two components. First, they enable youth to explore their cultural identities by using art to answer the question "what does it mean to be Yup'ik?" (Graham, 2015a). Second, youth learn practical skills, such as how to use a camera and edit movie footage, as well as lessons about how to live

healthily—e.g., by avoiding substance abuse (Quinhagak Heritage Inc., 2015; Yup'ikTube, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). Another component is a carving workshop where community members of all ages (although, mostly youth attended) were invited to learn how to create traditional Yup'ik technologies, such as harpoon heads, using artifacts produced by the Nunalleq excavation (Hillerdal, 2016). This workshop was cooperatively facilitated by community members familiar with traditional Yup'ik carving techniques and archaeologists.

Other CRE programs in Quinhagak are not explicitly related to the Nunalleq project. For instance, traditional Yup'ik dance lessons are being taught at the local school, Kuinerrarmiut Elitnauviat (Evans, 2013). This is the first time in over a century this sort of dancing has occurred in the village since it was banished by Moravian missionaries in the early 20th century (Weiss, 2015)—a poignant example of cognitive imperialism. Another aspect of this multifaceted CRE assemblage involves the integration of Yup'ik history and information about Yup'ik material culture gleaned from Nunalleq into the school's curricula (V. Villella, personal communication, September 15, 2015).

Anecdotal accounts of these CRE programs are very positive. Quinhagak youth call what they have learned "inspiring" and "amazing," and they have expressed the desire to "teach [coming] generation[s] of kids [what they've] learned" (Graham, 2015b). A teacher at the village school reported that a local girl gave a speech about how Nunalleq has made her feel proud of being Yup'ik (A. Miner, personal communication, September 16, 2015). Nunalleq has also inspired local elders and parents to publish a book on Quinhagak's history and oral tradition, as well as Yup'ik guidelines for proper personhood, for youth (Fienup-Riordan, 2013). These occurrences are particularly powerful, given that Quinhagak—a Yup'ik village of about 700—is located in the Yukon-Kuskokwim River Delta of Southwest Alaska, a region plagued by some of the highest poverty, suicide, substance abuse, domestic violence, and sexual assault rates in North

America (Fienup-Riordan, 2013). By describing community members' perspectives on youth engagement with Nunalleq and CRE, the present project investigates whether the people of Quinhagak believe that CRE programs are responsible for any outcomes that they discuss, or whether potential outcomes are due to other factors.

Research Objectives

Objective 1. The first objective of this study is to describe a unique ensemble of CRE programs that have grown from the Nunalleq project.

Objective 2. The second objective of this study is to describe community caregivers' and elders' perceptions of the youth outcomes following youth engagement with CRE programs that have arisen from the Nunalleq project.

Method

Before I describe the present study, I must reflect on both who I am and how this project came to be. I am a Canadian graduate student of European descent with a background in Psychology and Anthropology. I grew up between Vancouver, Edmonton, and Calgary, and am currently completing a Master of Arts in Research through the Faculty of Education at Mount Saint Vincent University (Halifax, NS). I spent the summer of 2015 (July, August) in Quinhagak as a field student at the Nunalleq Project's excavation. While I was in Quinhagak, I worked with archaeologists (from the University of Aberdeen) and community members to excavate Nunalleq, helped showcase artifacts to the village, and assisted an anthropologist conducting ethnographic interviews with local elders on Yup'ik gender roles. I also gained a rudimentary understanding of both what life is like in the village and Yup'ik culture. The idea to do this project arose through conversation with community members in the village (as well as other non-locals also working on the excavation) during this period.

I wanted to undertake this research for two reasons (which are not in order of

importance). First, I find this topic—Indigenous youths' psychological outcomes associated with CRE—to be very interesting. I learned through talking to and hearing stories from community members and researchers in Quinhagak during my first summer in the village that there are many anecdotal accounts of CRE providing numerous psychological benefits for Indigenous youth. Specifically, it gives them a heritage to be proud of, which improves their self and collective esteem and is associated with positive mental health prospects. As I have a background in youth psychology, I found this notion to be fascinating. After one long day of excavation, I decided to look into whether any research had been published on CRE and self-esteem, but, to my surprise, none had. Learning that there was this gap in the literature made me all the more curious, and I could not stop thinking about what the community members had told me. I knew that Indigenous youths often face high rates of mental health difficulties, and I thought that if I could do something, however small, to help fix this, for example, by improving CRE implementation, I should. The second reason I wanted to do this project was because I had frequently heard about the "amazing" series of workshops run for local youth by Jacqui Graham, an archaeologist from the University of Aberdeen. Community members spoke very highly of these programs, but when I asked whether any more workshops for local youth would be running, I found out that none were planned. This made me want to do something that could potentially lead to new, but similar, CRE programs for youth. And because Jacqui, like me, is of European descent and not from the village, I thought that perhaps the next series of workshops should take into consideration what people in Quinhagak think local youth ought to learn about.

There are two goals that I hope to achieve with this project. First, I hope to provide information to program planners and educators in Quinhagak that will enable them to improve CRE for local Yup'ik youth. Second, I hope to help lay the foundation for future research directly investigating the psychological outcomes of CRE (in Quinhagak and possibly elsewhere) to build

upon. To me, this project offered both a chance to do something that I find very intriguing and the opportunity to make the world a slightly better place for some of its inhabitants. It is important for me, on a personal level, to undertake activities I find interesting (so I am motivated to do a good job and enjoy what I am doing) and improve the lives of others.

Although the time I had previously spent in Quinhagak enabled me to forge the relationships necessary to conduct this research, as I am a non-Indigenous outsider, it was crucial for me to do my utmost to ensure that a local perspective was included in every step of this project. I, thus, consulted with Warren Jones (president of Qanirtuuq Inc.) during the preliminary planning stages of this project. In addition, I recruited a research partner, my friend Mike Smith (a Yup'ik man from Quinhagak who has been involved with the Nunalleq Project since 2010), to help plan, design, and undertake this study. Mike received an honorarium (200 USD and artwork from my home province, Alberta) as a thank-you gift for his assistance. I also considered input from the following individuals while planning and designing this project: Anna Sloan (an anthropologist at the University of Oregon who has previously conducted research in Quinhagak), Dr. Stacy Rasmus (a researcher at the Centre for Alaska Native Health Research in Fairbanks, Alaska), Jacqui Graham (an archaeologist previously at the University of Aberdeen who ran a series of workshops for youth in Quinhagak), and Dr. Charlotta Hillerdal (an archaeology professor at the University of Aberdeen and Co-PI of the Nunalleq Project).

Consulting with these individuals and the time that I had previously spent in Quinhagak allowed me to reflect on how my presence may have influenced participants' behaviour and responses during this project's data collection stage. For example, I was aware that people in the community may be hesitant to speak with an outsider, so I spent my first few days in the village meeting and speaking with community members (e.g., I attended a 'movie night' at the community centre) and sharing Canadian snacks, such as Smarties and maple cookies. I

continued to attend social functions like this for the duration of my stay in Quinhagak. Although it is impossible to completely erase the impact that my presence in Quinhagak would have had on participants—that is, it is impossible to separate me from the story I am trying to tell—I hoped that by meeting and befriending people in the community, potential negative effects would be lessened.

Participants

To fulfill my research objectives, I conducted a total of ten semi-structured interviews in English with program planners and community members (e.g., elders and parents) in Quinhagak, Alaska during September and October of 2016.

Recruitment. My research partner, Mike Smith, recruited all participants by contacting them via telephone and asking if they would be interested in participating in this study. This recruitment process is in line with how participants have been recruited for previous studies in Quinhagak. My inclusion criteria for community member were that an individual must A) be aware of the Nunalleq project's existence and B) know youth who have participated in workshops related to the project. My inclusion criterion for program planner was that an individual had to have helped facilitate some form of CRE related to the Nunalleq project.

Participant Characteristics. As some of my participants requested to not be identified by name in this research, some participant descriptions are rather vague to ensure that their identities remain hidden. This is important because Quinhagak is a small community, and it would be easy to identify participants if I included more detailed information.

Community Members. To learn about community attitudes towards youth participation in CRE related to Nunalleq, I interviewed seven community members (six females, five Yup'ik, three from outside of Quinhagak). Alicia Miner, an elementary teacher at the local school from the contiguous United States, has lived in Quinhagak for five years. Elizabeth Pleasant is an

elderly Yup'ik woman who has lived in Quinhagak for about 50 years, but is originally from Eek, Alaska (another Yup'ik village). Frank Williams is a Yup'ik man from Quinhagak. Grandma (pseudonym) is a Yup'ik elder from Quinhagak. Keri Cleveland is a Yup'ik woman from Quinhagak; she is the Yup'ik language teacher at the local school. Peggie Price, the principal at the school, is originally from the contiguous United States, but has lived in Quinhagak for three years. Sarah (pseudonym) is a Yup'ik woman from Quinhagak.

Program Planners. I had difficulty finding program planners to interview, as many had left the village (this includes both Western archaeologists and local educators). However, I was able to interview three program planners affiliated with the Nunalleq Project (two females, two Yup'ik, two from outside of Quinhagak). I also asked program facilitators (i.e., teachers, archaeologists, and program planners) about their perspectives on youth outcomes following engagement with CRE; however, I emphasized the perspectives of community members.

One program planner, Jacqui Graham, is a former archaeology PhD student at the University of Aberdeen (UK) from the contiguous United States. Jacqui facilitated and taught a series of workshops with local youth related to the Nunalleq project from February to April during 2015. Another program planner I interviewed was Pauline Matthews, a Yup'ik elder (and retired teacher) who is from Quinhagak and now serves on its city council. Pauline was Jacqui's teaching assistant during the workshops. The final program planner I interviewed was Archie (pseudonym), an elderly Yup'ik man who has lived in Quinhagak for decades, but is originally from another Yup'ik village in Alaska. Archie helped to facilitate a series of carving workshops for local youths.

Sample Size. Due to difficulty recruiting participants, my sample size is slightly smaller than what I had hoped to recruit. My research partner reports this occurred because many people in Quinhagak leave the village during the fall (when I collected data) to engage in subsistence

activities (e.g., hunting, fishing, berry-picking). This meant that the pool of participants I could recruit from was smaller than what it would have been had I conducted data collection during the winter or summer. Due to the time constraints of my two-year master's program, though, this, unfortunately, was not possible. Nevertheless, the ten interviews (with three program planners and seven community members) that I conducted provided rich data that represented a range of diverse opinions. Because of Quinhagak's small size (about 700 constituents), this number represents many of the perspectives that persons in the community might have (Marshall, 1996).

Procedure

Before I began data collection, my research proposal was approved by Warren Jones (on behalf of Quinhagak) and Dr. Charlotta Hillerdal (on behalf of the Nunalleq Project), and I was given permission to collect data in the village. Warren Jones is president of Qanirtuuq Inc., Quinhagak's village corporation. Dr. Hillerdal is a professor of archaeology at the University of Aberdeen and Co-PI of the Nunalleq Project. The proposal was also approved by University Research Ethics Board at Mount Saint Vincent University

Interviews. I conducted interviews in a shared community building in Quinhagak—the community centre, which locals refer to as "the big red building"—over the span of roughly four weeks (from mid-September to mid-October, 2016). I met each participant on the ground level of the building, offered him or her cookies and tea or coffee, and then we went upstairs to conduct the interview in an empty office to ensure our privacy.

I audio-recorded each interview, all of which took between 30 and 60 minutes. I also took notes on the key points of participants' responses during and immediately after each interview. At the start of each interview, I obtained each participant's informed consent (see Appendix A for community members' and Appendix B for program planners' consent forms). I also asked each participant whether he or she would like to be identified by name in my thesis (and any

subsequent publications), or whether I should use a pseudonym. The process of informed consent continued through all stages of this project (e.g., one participant, Sarah, decided that she would rather not be identified by name and requested that I use a pseudonym near the end of her interview). All participants were given 20 USD as a thank-you gift for their participation.

All the interviews that I conducted were semi-structured. To be specific, I did not simply ask participants a series of questions. Instead, I approached the interviews as if they were conversations to ensure that participants felt free to discuss any topics related to youth engagement with CRE that they liked (rather than just topics that I had predetermined). Although I did have a general set of topics that I wanted to talk about (e.g., youth CRE outcomes), I let participants guide our conversations. To be specific, I began each interview by asking each participant what he or she thought about Nunalleq and whether he or she had visited the site. I used this to get a conversation going in the hopes that participants would discuss subjects I wanted to explore without being prompted. When a participant failed to touch on one of the topics, or strayed too far from the objectives of the study (broadly defined as any topics related to youth engagement with CRE), I used one of a series of prompts (discussed below) to guide our conversation back to youth CRE. I conducted interviews in this manner to ensure that my conversations with participants focused on what they felt to be important. Through this method, I could have all participants speak to all of the general topics outlined in my interview script.

To ascertain the community's perceptions of youth outcomes following their participation in CRE programs (i.e., changes in perceptions of self, community, and culture), I conducted one-on-one semi-structured interviews with community members. I organized this series of prompts into four topics (script is included in Appendix C). Topic one introduced the study and me, and asked the participant general questions about where they are from and what they do for work. Topic two asked participants what they think about the Nunalleq project in general, as well as

how they see it impacting the community, and whether they would like to see anything change (e.g., more control over Nunalleq, different CRE programs). Topic three described different programs and asked participants what they think of each program. Topic four asked participants about how they think youth interaction with the CRE programs affects how youth see themselves, their community, and their culture.

To describe the CRE programs, I conducted one-on-one semi-structured interviews with program facilitators. I organized this series of prompts into three general topics (script is provided in Appendix D). Topic one asked the program facilitators general information about themselves (e.g., where they are from and what their relation is to the project). Topic two asked program facilitators to describe the CRE program(s) they have been involved in (e.g., how old were youth who participated? what did they do? what were the goals of this program?). Topic three asked facilitators about what they perceive to be the outcomes of youth interaction with CRE programs. I used prompts from both scripts with participants who were both program planners and community members (e.g., Pauline Matthews and Archie).

I modelled both prompt scripts after an interview script that was successfully used by Anna Sloan, an anthropologist, to interview elders in Quinhagak during summer 2015 about Yup'ik gender roles. My research partner, Mike Smith, also helped with the development of the scripts. He ensured that questions and prompts were worded in a way that people in Quinhagak would understand. Mike and I also reflected on how the project was going between interviews. This reflection enabled me to improve my communication with participants. For example, Mike taught me some communicative behaviours specific to Yup'ik culture, such as raising one's eyebrows to give an affirmative response to a question. He also cautioned me to not make too much eye contact, as this can be interpreted as aggression.

Data Analysis

My data analysis had two stages. First, I did a preliminary analysis while I was still in the field to determine whether data saturation had been achieved (i.e., seeing recurring comments about similar topics and minimal to no new topics emerging with new interviews). Second, I did a complete data analysis after all the interviews had been conducted and transcribed. I used constant comparative analysis—described by Dye, Schatz, Rosenberg, and Coleman (2000)—to inductively code interview data in both stages. Constant comparative analysis is a creative process whereby interview excerpts are sorted with conceptually similar excerpts—"like with like"—until themes, and then patterns, begin to emerge (Dye et al., 2000, pg. 3). To be specific, while I coded each interview transcription, I simultaneously compared it to other transcribed interviews to determine whether any new themes had emerged or whether I needed to create new themes to more accurately encapsulate the various topics participants had touched on. At the start of the data analysis process, the themes' criteria for excerpt inclusion were broad. As themes were refined, their criteria for excerpt inclusion became narrower in tandem with the concepts they described. During my preliminary data analysis, I coded my notes by hand; and during my complete data analysis, I coded using MAXQDA 12, a qualitative data analysis software.

I chose to use constant comparative analysis because this technique provides a means to systematically make sense of and organize the large amount of qualitative data that participants' interviews produced (over 100 single-spaced pages of transcribed interviews). Using MAXQDA 12 further simplified this process. For example, after coding all interviews, I could click a single button and see all interview excerpts that related to a particular topic. This greatly increased the ease by which I was able to analyze participants' responses and quickly gave me a sense of which topics emerged frequently. This technique also allowed me to determine who said what (for instance, I could quickly and easily determine whether a particular topic was mentioned

frequently by program planners, compared to community members).

Preliminary analysis. While I was in Quinhagak, I used constant comparative analysis to do a preliminary analysis of my data each evening to help determine whether I needed to recruit additional participants (i.e., to find out if data saturation had been achieved). After I conducted an interview, I inductively coded my notes (which described key points of each participant's interview) to produce themes based on a participant's responses. As each subsequent interview was completed, I inductively coded its notes, while simultaneously cross-analyzing notes from other interviews to assess whether new themes had emerged (i.e., whether I found out any new information about youth CRE outcomes). Although, given the recruitment difficulties I mentioned above, I was unable to recruit additional participants, reviewing my notes on a daily basis allowed me to reflect on how each conversation went and, then, fine-tune the wording of my prompts to ensure they were best understood by participants in subsequent interviews. For example, I learned to explain abstract concepts, like identity, in more concrete terms before asking questions about them to facilitate participant comprehension.

Complete Analysis. After I conducted an interview, I electronically transcribed it as soon as possible (i.e., I transcribed all but one of the recordings within three days of the interview while I was still in the village, and I transcribed the final interview after I returned home). Transcribing my interviews on-site also enabled me to improve my prompt scripts. For example, I noted any participant responses that were ambiguous that I had failed to probe; then, I made a note to ask future participants to clarify what they meant if I encountered a similar response in a later interview. I used my interview notes to enrich and contextualize my data analysis throughout this stage.

After transcribing the interviews, I used constant comparative analysis to inductively code interview data using MAXQDA 12 qualitative data analysis software. I began by coding the

interviews by question. Then, I read through each question and began to create different themes based on participants' responses. I continued to revise and reimagine my themes until I felt they best fit my data. To be specific, I assessed how well the themes I had generated captured the voices of the participants by considering the extent to which the themes represented the full range of responses expressed by the participants in the most parsimonious way. After I finished coding in MAXQDA 12, I recoded participants' interview transcripts outside of the data analysis software to look for anything that I may have missed (e.g., relevant excerpts or more accurate themes). Although I did this final coding using themes that I had already created, I continued to reflect on whether my themes best captured participants' responses.

To fully describe the CRE programs in Quinhagak, I supplemented the program facilitators' descriptions with information gleaned from publically available documents chronicling youth engagement. These documents (e.g., posters advertising youth workshops, workshop lesson plans) are publicly available, as they are either housed in Quinhagak's community centre—the "big red building"—or they are available online, such as newspaper articles and blogs discussing Nunalleq and youth workshops (see: Graham, 2015a, 2015b; Hillerdal, 2016; Quinhagak Heritage Inc., 2015; Yup'ikTube, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). All of the CRE programs are described using program planners' own words whenever possible. In addition, I received sufficient information about one CRE program, the workshop series run by Jacqui Graham, to organize it using a logic model. Logic models visually map core components of programs, how they work together, and how different components lead to various types of outcomes (intended and unintended) for various groups of program users (Taylor-Powell & Henert, 2008). It is hoped that by presenting a logic model, others can see an example of key features of a program to create new culturally relevant programs in other communities.

Reflection on My Time in Quinhagak

Before I move onto my discussion section, I will reflect on how I feel my data collection and time in Quinhagak went. At times I was very nervous; when I arrived Mike did not meet me by the air strip as we had planned (I later found out he was in the hospital), and I had to head into town by myself. I did not know where to go, but luckily I ran into an employee from Qanirtuuq Inc. who helped me out. However, most of the time, I really enjoyed being in the village. I loved going to see the Nunalleq excavation site without any archaeologists excavating it. I thoroughly enjoyed meeting and conversing with community members who would stop by where I was staying (the community centre) to say hi. I had a lot of fun exploring and setting beaver traps with Mike and attending the village's 'movie and popcorn' nights. Mike also took me fishing and berry picking with his aunt (who loved to laugh at my inability to cast a line without a fishing rod!). As I was in Quinhagak during the period leading up to the American presidential election, Mike and I cooked dinner together and watched one of the presidential debates, as well as the vice presidential debate. Overall, it was a thoroughly enjoyable educational experience.

The largest challenge that I ran into during data collection was that people would show up where I was staying and try to get me to interview them so they could receive the $20 I was giving to participants as a thank-you gift (word got around the village that I was "handing out $20"). A number of people who showed up had substance abuse problems, had never heard of the Nunalleq excavation, and got somewhat pushy. I dealt with this by politely and calmly explaining what my thesis was about and offering them tea and cookies I had brought from Canada and conversing with them for a little while. It is, though, entirely understandable that people living in a region with both a very high cost of living—anything that needs to be flown into Quinhagak, like food, is extremely expensive—and high rates of poverty (and, as I learned, unemployment) would take any opportunity they can to acquire money just to be able to afford to live. This is, in

my opinion, an indicator of the damage done to Yup'ik communities by European colonization.

Results

Throughout this section, I use 'Nunalleq Project' or 'Nunalleq' when I am referring solely to the excavation. I use 'CRE' when I am referring to all education programs inspired by or related to Nunalleq, and I use 'workshops' when I am referring specifically to the workshops run by Nunalleq team members (such as the workshops facilitated by Jacqui Graham). For example, CRE would encompass both the workshops and the Yup'ik dance classes that Nunalleq inspired. However, the dance classes would not be included in the workshops theme, as they were not facilitated by Nunalleq team members. 'Nunalleq/CRE' encompasses all the above.

Descriptions of CRE Programs affiliated with Nunalleq

As I previously mentioned, I had some difficulty recruiting program-planners in Quinhagak. Therefore, my descriptions of CRE programs related to Nunalleq are solely comprised from interviews with the three program planners I was able to interview, Archie, Jacqui, and Pauline. Although other CRE programs have run in the village, I solely describe the workshops that these participants discussed.

Archie did not have access to any documents chronicling the workshop he was involved in, but I describe it below based on what he has told me (using his words, whenever possible). Jacqui and Pauline were involved with the same workshop series, titled "Looking to the Past to Shape the Future: Yup'ik Archaeology, Art and Technology" (Pauline was Jacqui's assistant). I describe this workshop series using information gleaned from their interviews and publicly available online documents (see: Graham, 2015a, 2015b; Hillerdal, 2016; Quinhagak Heritage Inc., 2015; Yup'ikTube, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). Although participants discussed additional CRE programs, such as Yup'ik dancing and 'culture days' at the local school, I do not describe these, as they are not explicitly affiliated with the Nunalleq project.

All of the workshops that have run in Quinhagak have been offered to community members free of charge (and program-planners do not get paid for administering them). Although the workshops have been conceptualized by archaeologists (and funded by their grants, e.g., Jacqui's workshops were funded by a grant she received from the Rasmussen foundation), the archaeologists work in tandem with community members to determine their precise topics and schedules (e.g., Jacqui worked with Pauline Matthews to determine how to best implement workshops in the village; Archie collaborated with Dr. Rick Knecht and Dr. Charlotta Hillerdal to design and implement the carving workshop). All workshops are approved by Warren Jones (president of Qanirtuuq Inc.) prior to being run.

Most of the workshops, such as the carving workshop, are largely informal and do not adhere to strict schedules or have specific learning outcomes. This mirrors life in the villages, where people tend to 'go with the flow' and keep flexible schedules (which I learned while trying to schedule interviews). Jacqui's workshops, though, had specific outcomes, which are discussed below. Unfortunately, these workshops do not run all of the time, and none were occurring while I was in the village, so I am unable to comment on them directly.

Carving Workshop. Archie helped to facilitate a three-day carving workshop in July of 2016. This workshop, which was advertised around the community and co-facilitated by Archie and a number of archaeologists affiliated with the Nunalleq project, invited community members of all ages to learn about Yup'ik carving techniques. Archie noted, though, that "mostly young kids" who were between 10 and 15 years attended. The archaeologists brought artifacts that had been found at Nunalleq, which participants tried to replicate using various traditional and Western tools (for instance, antlers were softened by soaking them in water and carved using metal tools). According to Archie, many participants made harpoon heads. Archie reports that participants also learned "what the material was, and where [our ancestors] got it from, and how

the material was cut, long time ago, that was explained by the [archaeologists]. I think [the archaeologists] told stories about where the wood [our ancestors] got from the beach, and what [our ancestors made]. The antlers, [our ancestors] got them from caribou…, all that material, and what the materials were used for, even on women things, the women used to use, like sinews or grass, what animals they used, and where the grass came from. Those kind of things." Archie did not know how this workshop was funded. A blog describing the carving workshops is available at https://nunalleq.wordpress.com/2016/07/03/carving-workshop/ (Hillerdal, 2016).

"Looking to the Past to Shape the Future: Yup'ik Archaeology, Art and Technology." The workshop series that Jacqui ran (with help from Pauline) from February to April (2015) was offered free of charge to local youths between the ages of 10 and 20. The series was comprised of four two-week long modules—drawing, photography, video/film, and new technology (e.g., 3D model making)—that were explicitly linked to the Nunalleq Project (see Figure 1). Each module first taught youth basic techniques of the artistic medium being used before having youth begin a project. All modules culminated in an art show that was open to all community members. These workshops were funded by the Rasmuson Foundation through the Youth Cultural Heritage Fund. A blog describing these workshops is available at http://archaeology4past2future.blogspot.ca/ (Graham, 2015a).

The first module Jacqui and Pauline ran was drawing. In this module, youth first reviewed basic drawing techniques with Jacqui and Pauline, and then drew artifacts from Nunalleq (using photos provided by the archaeologists). The goal of this workshop was to teach youth how archaeologists draw artifacts (for example, when they are reconstructing artifacts). At the end of this module, youth presented their drawings to the community at the art show.

The second module was photography. Jacqui and Pauline taught youth how to use digital cameras, as well as how to frame and compose a photo. The goal of this module was to compare

the past to the present in a photograph essay (i.e., using two to four images to tell a story) using artifacts found at Nunalleq (for example, one youth compared dolls found at Nunalleq to toys in the local store today). At the end of this module, youth presented their photography to the community at the art show.

The video/film module was third. The goal of this module was for youth to answer the question "what does it mean to be Yup'ik" by interviewing local elders about the past. Using the same digital cameras from the photography module, Jacqui taught youth how to film digital videos and conduct interviews (e.g., how to effectively ask a question). Youth created their own interview questions and sorted out the logistics (e.g., interview times) by themselves. After practicing, they interviewed elders. Pauline helped with language translation for interviews with elders who only spoke the Yup'ik language. At the end of this module, youth presented their interviews to the community at the art show. These interviews can be viewed on 'Yup'ikTube,' a Youtube channel created by Jacqui (see: Yup'ikTube, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c).

The new technology module taught youths how to construct 3D digital models using digital cameras, the software 123D Catch (on Macbooks), and its accompanying iPad app. Jacqui first taught youth the basics of 3-D modelling, such as how to create and edit a model using 123D Catch, and then they made their own models based on artifacts excavated from Nunalleq. The goal of this module was for youth to "see where they wanted Yup'ik culture to fit into their future." Jacqui worked to achieve this goal by talking to youth about careers that use 3D modelling, such as video game design and cultural heritage preservation (e.g., archaeology). Youth can do these sorts of jobs, she added, from a distance, without leaving Quinhagak (and their culture) behind. The art show for this module was combined with a community potluck where the youths acted as hosts (they got tea and coffee for elders and helped prepare food). Jacqui reports that the turn out was "great."

On one occasion (this is separate from the workshops, but still related to Nunalleq), Jacqui visited the grade five and six classes at the local school to do creative writing. Jacqui, accompanied by a Dr. Charlotta Hillerdal and Dr. Rick Knecht (archaeologists; Co-PIs of the Nunalleq Project), brought artifacts excavated from Nunalleq for children to write stories about. Children wrote, edited, and drew pictures for their stories, a number of which were, according to Jacqui, "their interpretation of what happened to the people living at Nunalleq." She reported that "all of the kids were really engaged and interested."

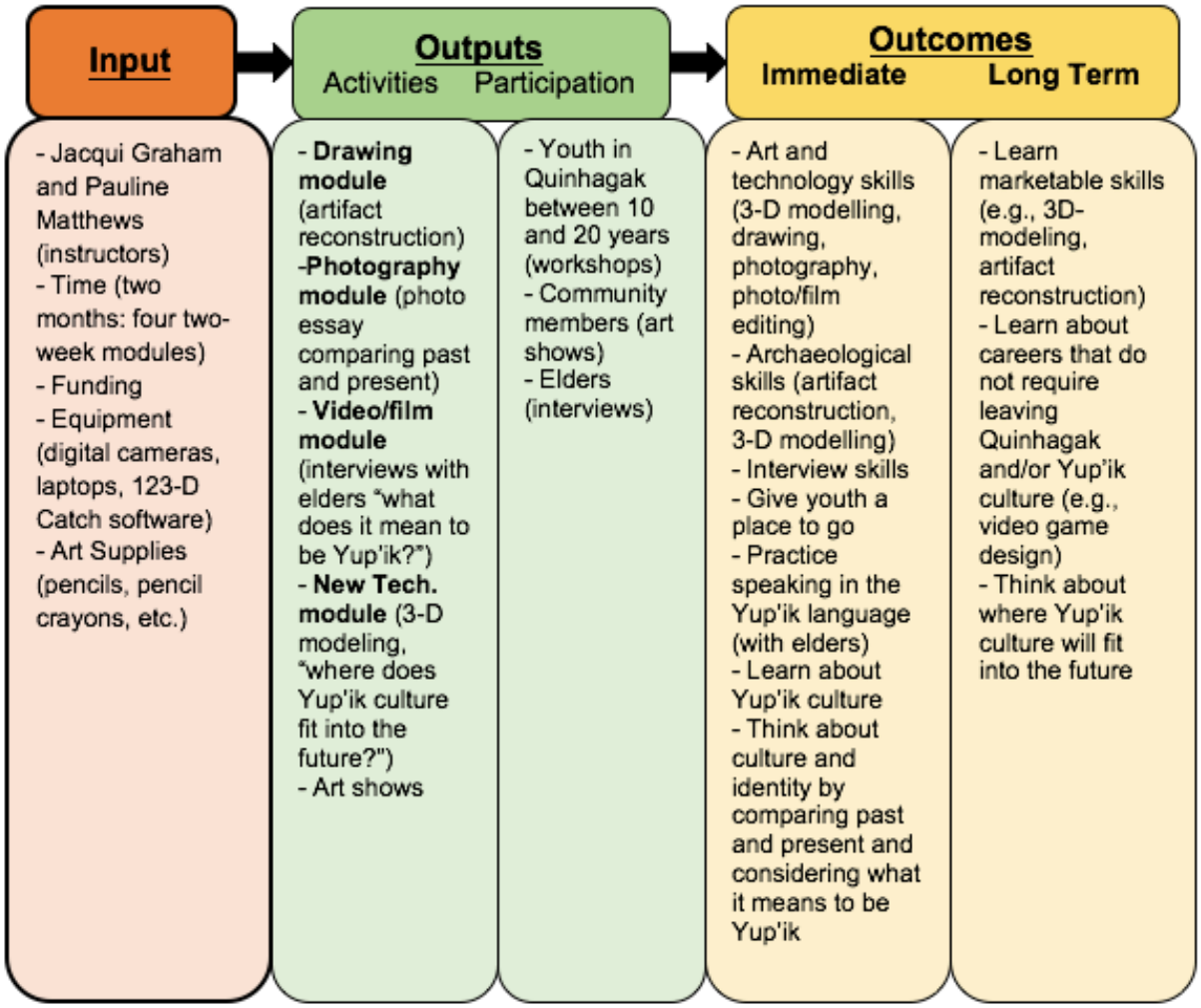

Figure 1. Logic model organizing information about the workshop series facilitated by Jacqui Graham in the Spring of 2015. 'Input' denotes resources invested into the workshops. 'Outputs' denotes the activities included in the workshops and who participated. 'Outcomes' denotes the workshops' outcomes for youth, both immediate and long term, as indicated by Jacqui Graham.

Constant Comparative Analysis

The themes that I produced via constant comparative analysis of participants' responses fit within six broad themes. 1. 'Participant/Community Attitudes: Nunalleq/CRE' describes the participants' individual attitudes towards Nunalleq/CRE, what they think the community thinks about them, and how they think youth feel about them. 2. 'Youth Outcomes' describes what participants believe to be the outcomes of both the workshops related to Nunalleq and youth learning about their culture in general. 3. 'Importance of Learning about Culture' encompasses the reasons why participants believe it is important for Yup'ik youth to learn about their culture. 4. 'Culture Loss' describes participants' thoughts on the disappearance of traditional Yup'ik culture. 5. 'Community Values' describes Yup'ik cultural and community values (e.g., it is important to pass down knowledge). 6. 'Workshop Suggestions' describes participants' suggestions for future CRE programs. I discuss these themes and their subthemes (which are listed in Appendix E) below. I begin by listing each theme and subtheme, as well as how many times it was touched on and by who, and, then, I give examples of each theme at its most specific level. When I quote participants, I have replaced extraneous words and utterances (e.g., 'like,' 'uh,' 'um') with ellipses ('…').

1. Participant/Community Attitudes: Nunalleq/CRE. This theme contains an organized representation of all attitudes participants expressed towards Nunalleq and affiliated CRE. This theme encompasses three subthemes: 'Participant Attitudes,' 'Youth Attitudes,' and 'Workshop Attitudes.'

Participant Attitudes. The theme 'Participant Attitudes' refers to participants' own attitudes towards the Nunalleq Project and related CRE (excluding workshops, which are covered in the next theme). Eight participants expressed individual attitudes about these subjects a total of thirty-seven times. This theme contains two subthemes—'Positive' (mentioned by eight

participants a total of twenty-seven times) and 'Negative' (mentioned by one participant one time)—that refer to positive or negative individual attitudes towards Nunalleq/CRE, respectively.

The 'Positive' subtheme contains three additional subthemes: 'Learn about the Past' (mentioned by eight participants a total of 15 times) 'Respect' (mentioned once by one participant), and 'Generic' (mentioned by four participants 11 times). 'Learn about the Past' encapsulates the positive attitudes that participants have towards the Nunalleq project because it teaches youth and the community about how their Yup'ik ancestors used to live, their heritage, and their traditional culture. Archie, for instance, stated, "I think it is great, and I am happy about it, that it had been discovered, and I think it is good for the community and the young people. It is just like opening the past to the community, and for the young people to see and get educated of how our ancestors lived." 'Generic' contains nonspecific or broad positive individual attitudes towards the Nunalleq Project. For example, Frank reported, "I uhhh like [the Nunalleq Project]" and "I was so happy to see them while excavating and everything." 'Respect' denotes attitudes that express admiration or reverence towards the Nunalleq Project's excavation. When asked how she felt about the Nunalleq Project, Sarah, the only participant to mention this theme, stated, "just look at [the Nunalleq excavation]…to… see someone's work…respect…you respect it.."

Sarah was also the sole participant to express a negative individual attitude towards the Nunalleq Project. When asked about the resurgence of Yup'ik dancing in Quinhagak, Sarah responded, "the missionaries stopped it 100 years ago, 'cause it's evil," and she noted that she hoped that the dancing would not come back. Sarah did, however, view specific workshops that were affiliated with the Nunalleq Project positively (discussed in the following section).

Workshop Attitudes. This theme includes participants' attitudes towards workshops affiliated with the Nunalleq Project (mentioned a total of 14 times by nine participants). This theme is represented by three subthemes: 'Teaches about the Past' (mentioned a total of six times

by five participants), 'Something to do' (mentioned a total of three times by three participants), and 'Fun' (mentioned a total of five times by two participants). 'Teaches about the Past' refers to positive attitudes participants have about workshops because they teach youth about the past. Frank, for instance, stated, "a lot of [youth] got to know more about their culture and how things were made a long time ago, and all of those things that they got down [in Nunalleq], those artifacts, a lot of them [learned] how our ancestors were." 'Something to do' contains positive attitudes participants have about workshops because they provided youth with an activity to do. For example, Grandma reported, "[the workshops] are good for [youth] because we hardly have any stuff for the kids to do [in Quinhagak]," and Jacqui mentioned that the workshops she ran gave youth in the community "a place to hang-out." 'Fun' contains positive attitudes participants have about workshops because they are enjoyed by youth in the community. For instance, Sarah stated, "I like it when they had [workshops]… everything they did was awesome. [Local youth] used to tell me they had fun carving and beading, … making masks, …[and taking] pictures."

Youth Attitudes. This theme contains participants' thoughts on how they believe youth in Quinhagak feel about Nunalleq and affiliated CRE (mentioned 14 times by eight participants). This theme is elaborated by two sub-themes: 'Interested/Fun' (mentioned 13 times by seven participants) and 'Not Interested' (mentioned once by one participant). 'Interested/Fun indicates youth are interested in/enjoy Nunalleq/CRE. Keri reported, for example, "when [the archaeologists] first did the showings of what they found, our school took the afternoon and came to the show and [the children] were very fascinated [by] everything [the archaeologists] found." 'Not Interested,' denotes the opposite. For instance, when I asked Elizabeth about whether youth in the community talk about or are interested in Nunalleq/CRE, she replied "never" (however, she subsequently added, "maybe some of them do. I don't know, I really don't know.")

2. Youth Outcomes. This theme contains excerpts from participants' interviews where

they talk about how learning about their culture and heritage affects youth. This theme encompasses two subthemes: 'Workshop Outcomes' and 'Learning about Culture in General Outcomes.'

Workshop Outcomes. This theme contains participants' thoughts on youth outcomes associated with specific workshops (including helping excavate at Nunalleq). This theme was mentioned a total of 31 times by all ten participants. This theme contains five subthemes: 'Education Generic' (mentioned twice by two participants), 'Value Heritage' (mentioned 8 times by four participants), 'Psychological' (mentioned seven times by six participants), 'Fulfill Community/Cultural Values' (mentioned three times by one participant), and 'Practical Skills' (mentioned 11 times by six participants).

'Education Generic' contains excerpts from participants' interviews where they discuss that workshops have unspecified educational outcomes. For example, when asked about what she thought the workshops taught youth, Sarah responded, "they learn more… On stuff… Yeah…"

'Value Heritage' contains participant's thoughts on how workshops make youth value their culture and its history. For example, when asked what the workshops taught youth, Keri responded, "[it teaches youth] that their culture has survived… 'Cause they know what the weather can get like here. If our ancestors didn't make it, then we wouldn't be here."

'Fulfill Community/Cultural Values' refers to outcomes that related to youth better fulfilling Yup'ik standards of proper personhood. Archie reported that telling youths stories about their Yup'ik ancestors at the carving workshop he helped facilitate taught them "to be generous to everybody, as one big family in the community, peacefully. Helping each others." He also added that the workshops allow youths to teach what they have learned to others, "everything is passed down."

'Practical Skills' refers to outcomes that relate to youth learning different

practical/applicable skills. This theme contains three subthemes: 'Survival Skills' (mentioned five times by four participants), 'Art and Technology' (mentioned four times by three participants), and 'Archaeology' (mentioned twice by two participants).

'Survival Skills' refer to outcomes that teach youth how to survive on their own in the wilderness. At the workshops he helped facilitate, Archie noted that some youth "were making harpoon heads, and [they were taught] what the material was, and where [their ancestors] got it from, and how the material was cut, long time ago. That was explained by the [instructors]. I think they told stories about where the wood they got from the beach, and what they were making, the antlers they got them from caribou." Keri noted that the workshops "gives youth more knowledge… What if they… they go out and… their engine breaks down or something and they can remember what they saw, like what was used to survive in the wilderness."

'Art and Technology' refers to outcomes that relate to youth developing their artistic skills or learning about contemporary technology. Grandma reported that Jacqui's workshops taught her grandchildren "...how to take pictures. Photography and film editing. Pictures… Landscapes and stuff."

'Archaeology' refers to youth learning archaeological skills. When talking about when his daughter helped excavate Nunalleq, Frank said, "two years when she helped out, she was really up there, and she was talking about it, what they find, what she learned, especially the graph-wise [referring to archaeological grid maps] and everything, the way the archaeologists showed her, how they did digging patterns, or in grids, she was really interested in that."

'Psychological' refers to youth psychological outcomes. This theme has four subthemes: 'Identity' (mentioned twice by two participants), 'Empowerment' (mentioned twice by two participants), 'Pride/Self-Esteem' (mentioned twice by two participants), and 'Ingenuity' (mentioned once by one participant).

'Identity' refers to outcomes that relate to youth identity formation (i.e., who youth see themselves to be). For instance, Grandma stated, "[the workshops make youth] more aware of their culture." Peggie pointed out "[the workshops] were enriching… [teaching] the values and traditions. What makes us who we are aren't the things that we do, it's the way that we believe and the way that we act and the way that we treat others, that's who the people really are."

'Empowerment' refers to making youth think positively about their futures. Jacqui said that she thought the workshops she ran "encouraged kids to think about future…and [taught] them about possibilities." She added that she thought that they might have even influenced one youth to attend college. Peggie stated, "the more that [Yup'ik youth] know about [their] heritage, the better it's gonna be for preserving the rights of the Yup'ik people."

'Pride/Self-Esteem' refers to outcomes that relate to making youths think and feel more positively about themselves and their culture. Alicia stated, "[the workshops] make them value who they are… and if some kids…struggle in reading and math, but they are…better at catching fish and like shooting moose, so they feel valued and [that] helps them share that skill they have and helps them realize you can be successful in other things. If you're having trouble in school its ok, you're still good at something; everyone's good at something." Archie reported that when he sees Nunalleq, "I see myself. Who I am and where I came from. I am proud to be who I am and how my ancestors have lived"; he, then, noted that he thinks it does the same thing for youth.

'Ingenuity' refers to youth workshop outcomes that relate to creativity and ingenuity. When asked about what the workshops teach youth, Keri responded "ingenuity, I think…. I think there was art? And poems?"

Learning about Culture in General Outcomes. This theme contains participants' thoughts on the outcomes of youth learning about their culture in general (i.e., excluding outcomes of specific workshops). This theme was mentioned a total of 34 times by eight

participants, and it contains six subthemes: 'Psychological' (mentioned 11 times by four participants), 'Healthier Lifestyle' (mentioned four times by three participants), 'Traditional Technologies' (mentioned five times by five participants), 'Change the future' (mentioned twice by two participants), 'Value Heritage' (mentioned eight times by four participants), and 'Fulfill Community/Cultural Values' (mentioned five times by three participants).

'Psychological' contains culture learning outcomes that relate to youths' psychological functioning. This theme contains two subthemes: 'Identity' (mentioned three times by two participants) and 'Pride/Self-Esteem' (mentioned eight times by two participants). 'Identity' refers to outcomes that relate to youth identity formation (i.e., who youth see themselves to be). When asked about how learning about their culture affects Yup'ik youth, Peggie responded, "when [Yup'ik youth] go beyond the names and the stories [and learn] who [their ancestors] are, then [Yup'ik youth] start identifying who [they] are, why [they] are the way [they] are." She subsequently added, "[knowing] the stories helps [Yup'ik youth] to understand who [they] are, but it also helps [them] see how [their ancestors] dealt with problems and overcame them." 'Pride/Self-Esteem' refers to outcomes that relate to making youths think and feel more positively about themselves and their culture. Alicia talked about one girl in Quinhagak who gave a speech to her school about being Yup'ik: "[she said it made her] proud to be Yup'ik, and she is…a quieter kid, …so she was very confident and happy and proud." She also added "We have one kid that I can think of in particular, …with the native dancing, he is…the best native dancer. It has definitely…helped him, you can see it, at school he is quiet and has a tough time academically, but then as soon as he's on the stage it's like whoa where did that come from? …He loves it. …[It helped him] feel confident…. Those kinds of things help the kids realize they can be…whatever they want...The Yup'ik dancing for sure, that has helped a lot of our kids; the kids who are quiet and maybe don't play sports, you see them up there dancing, and it's like

they're shining."

'Healthier Lifestyle' contains outcomes that relate to youth endorsing a healthier lifestyle. When asked about what learning about their ancestors does for youth, Grandma responded, "I think knowing that to… is that they lead healthier lives, they're active, and [do] everything, go hunting, fishing, trapping…" She then added, "they get lots of exercise."

'Traditional Technologies' contains outcomes that refer to youth learning how to make traditional technologies. This theme has two categories: 'Subsistence' (mentioned three times by three participants) and 'Other' (mentioned twice by two participants). 'Subsistence' refers to traditional technologies related to subsistence. For example, Keri stated "A few years ago we learned about all kinds of grass use. And there was another thing we learned, they used to make fishnets out of grass and it was really strong. Most people think grass is not that durable, but we learned it is really strong. What if they can't afford a fishnet and they can make their own? Go catch their own fish with a net made of grass." 'Other' refers to traditional technologies not related to subsistence. For instance, Archie talked about how the carving that he has done has inspired a local youth; "I made a replica as close as I could get on a mastodon piece. Close, you know, the material, it was fossilized, the ivory was fossilized, so I used fossilized mastodon ivory to make a replica. And right now [the local youth] has it, and I think he wears it. And he did some hand sawing, carving himself, and I think he's learned some things from the past"

'Change the Future' contains participants' thoughts on how learning about their culture enables youth to change the future, either for themselves or their community. When asked about how learning about their culture affects youth, Grandma responded that youth acquire "skills that they can learn… To learn from them what they want to do, maybe when they do this, they'll think maybe I can do this work." When I asked Peggie the same question, she replied, "if there are things happening in the village that they don't like, they can be an agent for change, as they

educate themselves and become more aware [about] what the issues are and what the problems are, they can go out into the world and learn how to solve it and they can come back and be an agent of change."

'Value Heritage' contains excerpts from participants' responses where they discuss how learning about their culture causes Yup'ik youth to value their heritage. When asked about how learning about their culture affect youth, Archie responded, "[our ancestors] were stronger, smarter, yeah, wiser in a lot of ways…Things were a lot harder and different for those people than now." Grandma stated, "the kids can start learning what their culture was. How it changed, and how it is now, they can know the difference. They have to know how hard our generation before did." Peggie added, "[learning about their culture] grounds [Yup'ik youth], gives them a sense of belonging, that they just all of a sudden didn't appear, that they've got these folks, even though they may have passed on. There's a heritage to that, and I am going to carry forth the way my grandfather did when he had adversity. He dealt with it this way, and I've got adversity, so I can do it to. Grandpa did it, so I can."

'Fulfill Community/Cultural Values' contains youth culture learning outcomes that have to do with youth better fulfilling Yup'ik standards of proper personhood. Archie, for instance, stated, "we used to run errands for elders: pack water, empty their honey buckets, chop wood, and…hunt for them. Make sure they have what they need, water, necessities in the house, for the grandmas and grandpas, even our parents, we listen to them, get all the necessities they need in the house. And I think [local youth] learned a lot about that. He even goes out fishing, gathers wood for the house, and he used to pack some water for us, and make sure, he used to ask 'do you have enough wood?' like that 'are you going to go out and get some wood? I'll help you.'" He added, "he grew up with us, and he learned by watching, doing all that work." Sarah stated that learning about their culture teaches youth "respect and everything… not to steal or kill, or

anything like that." Grandma noted, "[learning about their culture] helps youth get more involved in the community."

3. Importance of Learning about Culture. This theme contains excerpts from participants' interviews where they discuss why it is important for youth to learn about their heritage and culture (mentioned a total of 27 times by seven participants). This theme has five subthemes: 'Life Skills' (mentioned nine times by seven participants), 'Connect to Heritage' (mentioned once by one participant), 'Fulfill Community/Cultural Values' (mentioned five times by five participants), 'Prevent Culture Loss' (mentioned eight times by four participants), and 'Generic' (mentioned four times by four participants).

'Life Skills' contains participants' reasons for why youth should learn about their culture that relate to learning practical and applicable skills. Frank reported, "cooking, hunting, some of these kids now a days that I see, you bring them out hunting, and it's scary! They have fathers, uncles, whatnot, but they're not showing them the subsistence part of our lives, like our culture... there are some of my nephews too that I really like bringing out hunting and everything 'cause they ask a lot of questions, they wanna know. And then some of their friends I try to bring out, and they turn around, and they're walking around holding a loaded gun, and they say you don't load your gun till you see what's coming or if it's almost there. And that's scary too, because you're 20-30 miles out of the village and you accidentally shoot somebody and how you gonna rush home? That's the scary part about hunting too, that's what I try to teach these younger generation too." Keri noted, "what if the planes and things quit coming in? We'll have to go back to living how we used to, like how our grandparents used to live. Or there might be shortages of food in the store, or we just might not be able to afford them because everything's so expensive." Sarah had similar thoughts: "we always living in *gussaq* style [like white people], boat, guns, English food, but our mammals are disappearing too, there's no more walrus. When I was small,

I used to eat lots of walrus and beluga whale, those are the main things I used to eat, those are disappearing, those two mammals, cause of the weather changing… We have to learn how to make bow and arrows… Some days we, we won't live in *gussaq* style, some days, cause stove oil are running out in Alaska too, oil, that's what I've heard."

'Connect to Heritage' contains interview excerpts where participants talk about how youth need to learn about their culture in order to connect to the past. Pauline stated, "I feel that [youth] need to know how in the past how [our ancestors] used to live, but I want them to know both cultures. I want how it was in the past and how it is now, and how much it has changed all through the years, from the time that there wasn't any Caucasians here, and how [our ancestors] used to live and know about hunting… Cause they told me that they used to go everywhere, to egg hunt, to hunt birds, cause there's all sorts of places where you could go and camp out during the summer or during the winter or during the fall, cause [our ancestors] were those types that keep on moving, they never stayed in one place, cause they go wherever that…whatever is available, but now they don't."

'Prevent Culture Loss' contains excerpts from participants' interviews where they discuss that it is important for Yup'ik youth to learn about their culture because it prevents culture loss. Frank stated, "our culture is dying slowly. That's what my great grandfather said too. When these people, you know, when [older generations] are gone, and they try to pass on as much as they can, to [younger generations], so [they] can pass it on." Pauline had similar thoughts: "I don't want the language to die down, die, or even the things that we do in order to survive, even all the foods that we eat, and I don't want that to die."

'Generic' contains unspecified reasons for why it is important for Yup'ik youth to learn about their culture. For instance, when asked about whether they thought it was important for youth to learn about their culture, Archie and Sarah both responded affirmatively, but did not

elaborate when I probed. Grandma stated, "[youth need to know] where everything started and how it is now."

4. Culture Loss. This theme contains excerpts that relate to participants' thoughts on the disappearance of traditional Yup'ik culture (mentioned a total of 18 times by six participants). Although I did not explicitly ask questions about culture loss, this theme repeatedly emerged in most participants' interviews. This theme contains four subthemes: 'Technology' (mentioned twice by two participants), 'Youth (Knowledge not being passed down to…)' (mentioned a total of ten times by four participants), and 'Language' (mentioned a total of nine times by four participants).

'Technology' contains excerpts from participants' interviews where they discuss the effects that technologies introduced by Western culture is having on culture loss. For instance, when talking how things are different from when she was younger, Grandma noted, "I think our culture never changed, but we did. [Our ancestors] worked really hard … They made their own wooden bowls, everything they did by hand, and compared to here, we can just go to the store and buy a gun or whatever. Those people worked hard from morning till evening to do what they do now [quickly]. There's a real change, our kids are into phones and stuff that we never had, so there is a big difference."

'Youth (Knowledge not being passed down to…)' contains excerpts where participants talk about Yup'ik culture disappearing because knowledge is not being transmitted to youth. Frank, for example, stated, "these younger generations don't know the history of the culture and the village….I wish these younger generations would be more enthusiastic about that. Elders too, passing on without their knowledge being given to us." Pauline echoed his sentiments and pointed out, "these younger generations hardly talk to their kids…a lot of them right now don't know a lot about their culture." She, then, poignantly noted, "they'll start learning, but we need

someone there to teach them. If we wanna keep [our culture] going we need a teacher there who can explain. Otherwise, if it's not explained thoroughly or keep it up to date all the time, you know how things slowly fade away when you are not being taught about it? That's what's gonna happen, cause even our culture is slowly fading away, cause all these things that the older ancestors continuously used to talk to their, to these younger, to the children, it's slowly starting to fade away, every year it fades,"

'Language' contains excerpts from participants' interviews where they discuss how the Yup'ik language is not being spoken as frequently as it was in the past. Sara, for example, stated, "we're losing our language, they're only talking in English now, nowadays." Grandma had similar thoughts, "it's kind of sad well Western culture… our culture… these kids don't speak Yup'ik, which is our fault, mainly," as did Pauline "we don't talk in our language at home a lot of times, and that, everything fades if you just start to slack, and that's how it's going to fade. And even the way we talk in our language. A lot of times I've noticed when these younger generations are talking, they use a different word or they use that word and add an English word to it."

5. Community Values. This theme contains participants' comments on Yup'ik or community-specific values (mentioned by eight participants a total of 17 times). Although I did not explicitly ask about values, this theme is evidently important, as it repeatedly emerged in participants' responses. Because responses sorted into this theme are varied (and not explicitly what I am investigating), they are not sorted into sub-themes. Here are a few examples. Archie reported, "[in Yup'ik culture] everything is passed down. Like I pass down what I learned to my children, even to my friends. Of how they can better do it. When I see somebody struggling, like making a sled, how to do it, I go over there and help them how to do it better. Like…instead of…standing back and you know not helping them, just go over there and help them." Archie's sentiment was echoed by Frank: "as people, as Yup'iks, we're supposed to take [knowledge] in

and pass it on." Grandma mentioned another value, "it is important for youth to get involved in the community. They need something to do." All of the values expressed in participants' interviews are listed in Appendix F.

6. Workshop Suggestions. This theme contains participants' suggestions for future CRE programs that they would like to see implemented in Quinhagak. Nine participants gave a total of 47 suggestions. I sorted these suggestions into nine subthemes: 'Logistics' (mentioned a total of two times by two participants), 'Survival Skills' (mentioned a total of four times by two participants), 'Teacher Resources' (mentioned a total of five times by two participants), 'Dance' (mentioned a total of two times by two participants), 'Hands-On' (mentioned a total of three times by two participants), 'Traditional Technologies' (mentioned a total of nine times by five participants), 'Demographics' (mentioned a total of two times by two participants), 'Connect to Heritage' (mentioned a total of thirteen times by eight participants), and 'Language' (mentioned a total of seven times by six participants).

'Logistics' refers to the logistical aspects of workshops, such as location and time. Peggie Price, the local principal, stated "[if the workshops] didn't interfere with state-required school time…I think that would be really good."

'Survival Skills' contains suggestions related to wilderness survival. Pauline, for instance, emphasized the importance of location names and directions: "I'd also like for them to know is naming the places where everything is…because a lot of times when they are going…up river, they don't tell us exactly…where they're going, …there's locations, and if they don't come back, …we wanna know exactly where their location is so they can go to that place where they told us where they are going. And…directions are very important, especially if they are hunting."

'Teacher Resources' refers to suggestions that related to resources archaeologists can provide for teachers at the local school. Alicia Miner, who teaches grades two and three, stated "it

would be…good if there were programs or…some online library where we could pull stuff to…educate the [children], …like our district has…art kits…that we can rent out, so if there was some kind of…online place where you could rent out activities to do in [the] classroom [related to] the dig site."

'Dance' refers to suggestions about traditional Yup'ik dancing. Keri, for instance, reported, "I think [local children] would really like having a [Yup'ik] dance group again."

'Hands-On' refers to workshop suggestions about giving youth hand-on experience with archaeology and the material culture produced by the Nunalleq Project. Peggie Price noted, "I think hands-on things are really, really good and to simulate a dig would be kind of fun."

'Traditional Technologies' contains suggestions about the construction of traditional Yup'ik technologies. When asked what she would like youth in Quinhagak to learn about, Grandma responded, "[to] make stuff like harpoons, ulus, maybe… Snares, and stuff like that."

'Demographics' contains suggestions about the segment of the population that workshops should target. Sarah stated, "I wish they could do [workshops] with smaller kids too."

'Connect to Heritage' contains workshop suggestions that focus on Yup'ik youth engaging with non-material and non-linguistic aspects of their heritage and traditional culture. Frank reported, "I wish there was more workshops, and with the elders too, you know, speaking out with the last remaining elders we have, record them, document them." He subsequently added, "if [youth could] talk to the elders and translate, that… that would be amazing. And the artifacts too. Very few elders left that can tell you what [the artifacts are]. To me, I think, you know, the elders have the key to the past. It's up to us to ask them so we can unlock the door." Archie noted, "[it would be] great for children to learn traditional Yup'ik games."

'Language' includes workshop suggestions that relate to the Yup'ik language. For instance, Elizabeth mentioned, "Yup'ik words, Eskimo words… yeah, language. [Youth] could

learn that." Pauline urged, "you gotta talk to [youth] in Yup'ik, don't translate!"

Discussion

The results of this study indicate that people in Quinhagak generally have positive opinions about the Nunalleq Project and CRE. All participants conveyed positive thoughts about Nunalleq and affiliated workshops. The sole participant who had a negative attitude towards CRE (specifically, traditional Yup'ik dancing), Sarah, also expressed positive views about other types of CRE (i.e., teaching traditional craft techniques, such as sewing and beading). Participants also indicated they believed youth were interested in Nunalleq and enjoyed associated workshops. This level of community interest is not surprising, given the growing Indigenous cultural revitalization movement that has been developing both in the Yukon-Kuskokwim River Delta (e.g., Fienup-Riordan, 2004, 2007, 2013; Fienup-Riordan & Rearden, 2003) and other regions in Alaska (e.g., Mason, 2008; Pullar et al., 2013).

The positive attitudes expressed in these interviews mirror what I have observed during my time in Quinhagak. Any time the archaeologists have held an open house to showcase artifacts, or when Jacqui invited community members to view youths' art, turnout has always been high. When I worked at the excavation in 2015, we had 5 to 20 visitors everyday (that is, when it wasn't raining)—many of which were youth who had come to help out, but others (e.g., elders and other adults) just wanted to look around and learn about what the archaeologists were finding. And after every day of excavation (summer 2015), a number of community members would stop by the community centre where us archaeologists were staying to hear about what we had found that day. Through these experiences and conversations I have had with community members, it is apparent that Nunalleq is of much interest to the community and a source of pride.

One reason people in Quinhagak view Nunalleq and CRE positively is because of how these educational opportunities have affected local youth. Community members and program

planners in the village attribute numerous social and psychological outcomes to Yup'ik youth engagement with CRE. To unpack this, I will, first, discuss what people in Quinhagak believe CRE has done for youth. Second, I will explore why they believe it is important for Yup'ik youth to learn about their culture. Third, I will report what sort of CRE people in Quinhagak would like to see in the future.

What has Culturally Relevant Education Done for Youth in Quinhagak?

By asking community members and program planners in Quinhagak about what they think interaction with CRE does for local youth, I have found that the community attributes a number of positive outcomes to CRE (rather than other factors). In fact, community members seemed to solely attribute these positive outcomes to CRE. In interviews (and informal conversations) many elders reported they were very displeased with how parents and caregivers in the community were raising their children. To be specific, they felt parents and caregivers were not doing enough to pass-on Yup'ik culture. Not speaking the Yup'ik language at home was of particular concern. Caregivers, on the other hand, often noted they felt they grew up 'too Western' (i.e., out of touch with their Indigenous culture) to pass on Yup'ik culture to youths. They felt their generation grew up between two cultures—Yup'ik and Western—and they did not have the knowledgebase (e.g., the Yup'ik language) or skillset (e.g., knowing how to construct traditional Yup'ik technologies) to teach these things to youths. Both groups felt this knowledge transfer should be done both in an educational setting, e.g., at school or in workshops, as well as at home, in order to ensure every child has the opportunity to learn about his or her culture from someone knowledgeable.

Although I expected participants to primarily discuss psychological outcomes associated with CRE, the conversational and flexible nature of my interviews allowed participants to discuss other outcomes, too. I will first discuss the outcomes associated with learning about culture in

general, and then outcomes associated with specific CRE programs affiliated with the Nunalleq Project.

Culture Learning in General. Community members (including caregivers and elders) and program planners had similar thoughts about why it is important for Yup'ik youth to learn about their Indigenous culture. Prominent outcomes associated with learning about culture in general include teaching youth to value their heritage (e.g., teaching them about how hard their ancestors worked to survive on the tundra), psychological outcomes (e.g., making youth feel proud of themselves and their culture), teaching youth how to create traditional technologies (such as fish nets), enabling youths to better fulfill community and cultural standards (e.g., teaching them that it is appropriate to bring fish and other foods to elders), and inspiring youths to live healthier lifestyles (e.g., eating healthier traditional food rather than food introduced by Western culture).

During the two months I have spent in Quinhagak (i.e., the month that I worked at the excavation in 2015 and the month I spent collecting data in 2016), I learned there is a big push in the community for youths to engage with their culture. For instance, at the local school, a Yup'ik artist was hired to paint a large and beautiful mural of local elders, both living and deceased, to remind youths where they came from. Peggie Price, the principal, has turned the schools monthly 'culture day'—where children learn about Yup'ik culture, for example, by engaging in traditional subsistence techniques (e.g., preparing birds for consumption) or listening to elders tell stories—into an annual 'culture week' in order to provide youth with a more immersive culture learning experience. This cultural revitalization movement is largely driven by the mental and physical health benefits community members believe it has for youth and fear of culture loss.

Youth obesity is a large problem in northern Indigenous communities, and Yup'ik villages are no exception. Community members know that 'traditional' food, such as salmon and

seal, are much healthier options than the processed and often sugary Western foods found at the local grocery store (unfortunately, it is very expensive to ship fresh fruits and vegetables up north, so these foods are scare and very costly). While I was out on a fishing trip in the village with my research partner's aunt, she noted that traditional subsistence activities, such as berry picking, hunting, and fishing, not only provide youth with healthy food, but get them outside and exercising. Another elder I spoke with felt youths were watching too much TV and playing too many video games. He thought that youths needed to engage in subsistence activities and play traditional Yup'ik games, like he did as a child, to stay physically healthy.

Yup'ik elders are also concerned that if youths lose the grounding provided by their traditional Indigenous culture (i.e., culture loss), they will be at increased risk for mental health problems (Ayunerak et al., 2015). Although Quinhagak is a vibrant community with many good things happening (e.g., community movie and popcorn nights, culture week at the local school), many local youths contend with mental health issues. Substance abuse is especially common; a month prior to my data collection, a local teenager passed away from a heroin overdose. And I had a number of conversations with community members about youth depression and suicide. The general consensus in the community—which was echoed in participants' interviews—is that teaching youths about their Indigenous culture is psychologically beneficial, as this provides them with a secure and protective foundation to construct their lives and identities upon—like a boat tethered to a dock. Without their traditional culture, they will 'drift away' and become lost. This is similar to observations made by Chandler and Lalonde (1998); Indigenous communities in British Columbia, Canada with greater 'cultural continuity' (i.e., communities doing more to preserve and revitalize their Indigenous cultures despite European colonization, such as land rights claims and Indigenous language education) have far lower rates of youth suicide completion.

Participants also reported that learning about their culture gives youths the ability to change their futures (e.g., Peggie noted, "[youth] can be an agent for change, as they educate themselves and become more aware and what the issues are and what the problems are, they can go out into the world and learn how to solve it and they can come back and be an agent of change"). Colonization was a topic that emerged occasionally in interviews and often in informal conversations. Sometimes it was joked about (perhaps because I am a white Canadian of European descent); other times it was discussed more seriously, often in a sad tone. These exchanges made it clear to me that Yupiit in Quinhagak are fully aware that they, and other Indigenous peoples in Alaska and throughout North America, suffered greatly under European colonization and continued social and economic marginalization, which is at the root of many of the problems the community faces today (e.g., high rates of substance abuse). Through these conversations and interviews, I learned that community members want youths to learn about the mistreatment of Yupiit (and other Indigenous peoples) so that they will be motivated to improve conditions for future generations. Like a sickness, you cannot just treat the symptoms (e.g., poverty or substance abuse), rather the symptoms' origin (i.e., colonization) must be tackled. As Peggie stated, "[youths] have to know where [they're] from to know where [they're] going."

Workshops Affiliated with Nunalleq. As discussed above, community members in Quinhagak perceive CRE to have many positive outcomes. Participants attributed many of the same CRE outcomes to workshops affiliated with the Nunalleq project. In this section, to avoid redundancy, I will not elaborate on outcomes I have previously discussed. Instead, I will explore in depth outcomes uniquely linked to workshops associated with Nunalleq.

Overall, community members (including caregivers and elders) and program planners had similar thoughts about youth outcomes following participation in workshops affiliated with Nunalleq. Community members perceive these workshops as being directly beneficial to youth

by teaching practical skills (e.g., skills necessary to survive in the wilderness, how to use a digital camera and edit film), teaching youth to value their heritage (e.g., teaching them about how hard their ancestors worked to survive on the tundra), providing beneficial psychological outcomes (e.g., improving youth self-esteem), and enabling youth to better fulfill Yup'ik and community values (e.g., passing down knowledge to subsequent generations; full list in Appendix F).

As Jacqui noted, some of the practical skills that youth acquired through her workshops are marketable and could help with employment in the future. I learned through conversations with staff at Qanirtuuq Inc. that people in Quinhagak are particularly concerned with the trend of youth moving away from the village to larger population centres, like Bethel, Fairbanks, or Anchorage, for employment. When one young adult I spoke with during my first week in Quinhagak found out I was from Canada, he immediately started questioning me about my country's employment prospects, as he had been unable to find work in the village. Community members also recognize that a village without its youth will slowly fade away. Jacqui's workshops addressed this concern by teaching skills, like 3D imaging, photo-editing, and graphic design, that could enable youth to work online from a distance while staying at home in Quinhagak. Furthermore, the archaeological skills that youths learned during workshops could instill in them an interest in archaeology. Given that most North American and European archaeologists are of European ancestry (for instance, all but one member of the Nunalleq team), and many archaeological sites in North America are Indigenous, Indigenous archaeologists are sorely needed. The Yukon-Kuskokwim River Delta region is rife with archaeological sites—many of which are threatened by erosion and rising sea levels—but only a handful have been excavated. So, should it not be the Yupiit themselves who excavate Yup'ik sites?

Other skills that the workshops taught, such as those concerning subsistence or creating traditional technologies, could help youth survive independently in the wilderness. The Yukon-

Kuskokwim River Delta is known for its harsh environmental conditions. I experienced first hand the intensity of the weather along the Bering Sea's coastline many times while in Quinhagak. On some occasions while I was collecting data, the wind was so strong that it knocked me over! Other times, I had to stay inside because it was raining so hard that I could not see more than a metre in front of me. Learning how to shelter, clothe, and feed oneself in this environment (e.g., carving harpoons heads and fish hooks, weaving grass mats, sewing fur), or knowing how to navigate (e.g., place names and directions)—skills that workshops can teach—could mean the difference between life and death in the Alaskan wilderness. And, as discussed above, engaging in traditional subsistence techniques promotes a healthier life style.

The psychological outcomes of youth engagement with workshops that participants noted as relating to pride/self-esteem and identity formation suggest these CRE programs may help ameliorate the negative psychological effects of cultural trauma. While I was in Quinhagak (2015), I informally spoke with an Indigenous archaeologist (from an Alutiiq community in southwest Alaska) who runs CRE workshops for Alutiiq youth. He told me that due to colonization, many Indigenous youths grow up implicitly feeling flawed because they subconsciously view their Indigenous heritage as being somehow inferior to dominant Western culture (low collective esteem can be an outcome of cultural trauma; Salzman & Halloran, 2004). He said, though, when he teaches these youths about the complex and perfectly adapted technologies their ancestors created (e.g., seal gut parkas), particularly those that have been appropriated by Western culture (e.g., kayaks), he can see "the gears in their heads start turning" and their self-esteem improve. In other words, by giving these youths a heritage to be proud of (i.e., collective esteem), he suggests, he makes them feel proud of themselves. He stated, in his opinion, the same thing is happening with youth in Quinhagak because of the Nunalleq project and its associated education programs.

This archaeologist's and participants' assertions that CRE makes Yup'ik youth feel proud of themselves and their culture are consistent with the substantial body of research that has found engagement and identification with traditional culture to be associated with positive psychological outcomes in Indigenous communities (Allen et al., 2014; Berman, 2014; Big-Canoe & Richmond, 2014; Chandler & Lalonde, 2008, 1998; de la Sablonniere, Saint-Pierre, Taylor, & Annahatak, 2011; Hallet et al., 2007; Harder et al., 2012; Henry et al., 2012; Kenyon & Carter, 2010; Long, 2014; Mason, 2008; McIvor et al., 2009; Mohatt et al., 2011; Rasmus et al., 2014a, 2014b; Usborne & Taylor, 2010; Wexler, 2006, 2009; Wolsko et al., 2007). Given the identity formation outcomes participants reported (e.g., Peggie stated, "[CRE] helps [youth] to understand who [they] are"), this association may be explained by cultural identity clarity theory, which posits that having a clear perception and experience of one's culture (e.g., its values, norms, and history) enables one to form cohesive and healthy thoughts about oneself, others, and the world (Usborne & Taylor, 2010). A clear cultural identity, this theory suggests, bolsters one's psychological wellbeing and offers protection from mental health issues.

A story a Yup'ik parent shared with me further corroborates the notion that learning about one's culture provides protection from mental health issues, perhaps by augmenting cultural identity clarity. As this story is personal and deals with a sensitive subject (i.e., depression and suicidal ideation), I am including as few details as possible to ensure no one can be identified. The parent told me that although they did not know at the time, a number of years ago their child struggled with depression and had been considering suicide. This all changed when the child became involved with the Nunalleq project. They loved working with the archaeologists and learning about Nunalleq. They became excited to wake up in the morning and head down to the site, and this enthusiasm extended to other facets of their life. Had it not been for the Nunalleq project, the parent concluded, their child may not be alive today. Perhaps, in accordance with

cultural identity clarity theory, learning about and engaging with their culture gave this youth a sort of psychological 'toolkit' (e.g., self-esteem, collective esteem, confidence) with which to face their problems. Of course, it is possible this person's mental health improvements were due to finding a meaningful activity with which to occupy their time and look forward to, but would they have found this activity meaningful had it not been related to learning about Yup'ik culture? Although the long-term effects of CRE have not been studied, it is possible that learning about their culture may help Indigenous youth construct what they perceive to be meaningful existences for themselves throughout their lives (Greenberg & Arndt, 2011).

Culture identity clarity theory also posits that better fulfilling one's culture's standards of proper personhood—one of the workshop outcomes noted above—bolsters psychological wellbeing. That is, learning about what it means to be a proper person in one's culture—like participants reported Yup'ik youth learn about in workshops—and fulfilling these values and norms enables people to construct meaningful and purposeful existences (e.g., pursuing goals deemed worthwhile in one's culture), as well as supplies a source of self-esteem (e.g., hunting is important in my culture; I am a good hunter; therefore, I feel good about myself). I recall one young boy in Quinhagak beaming with pride as he told me about all of the fish he caught over the weekend. After a particularly fruitful berry picking session, one older man I befriended in Quinhagak stopped by the community centre to show off the pair of two-gallon plastic buckets he had filled completely with wild cranberries. One young Yup'ik man I met from Togiak (a nearby Yup'ik village) at the Bethel airport told me about his goal to become president of his community's village corporation (a prestigious title in his culture). These accomplishments constitute proper personhood or are deemed worthwhile in Yup'ik culture.

Why is Culturally Relevant Education Important?

As discussed above in the CRE and workshop outcomes sections, there are a number of

reasons why people in Quinhagak believe it is important for Yup'ik youth to learn about their traditional culture. In this section, I discuss the reasons participants explicitly listed during our interviews. Again, to avoid redundancies, I solely elaborate on reasons that have not been previously explored.

The reason that came up most frequently is that learning about traditional Yup'ik culture teaches youth life skills that enable them to survive in the wilderness on their own and to be self-sufficient, such as through subsistence hunting techniques and knowledge of place names and directions. These are the sorts of skills that are often taught at Yup'ik culture camps (Fienup-Riordan, 2004). Archie expressed to me that he hopes to someday develop a culture camp for Yup'ik youth in Quinhagak. He would like to take youth up river with no food and minimal supplies and teach them how to construct shelters and subsist off of the land.

The second reason participants most frequently cited for why it is important for youths to learn about their culture is that it prevents the Yup'ik culture from disappearing. This is consistent with the views of Yup'ik elders in other communities who have expressed concern that younger generations "no longer have the secure mooring provided by their Indigenous culture" (Ayunerak et al., 2014, pg. 2). In terms of culture loss, participants in the present study were most concerned that Yup'ik youth today are not being passed down traditional knowledge and that the Yup'ik language is disappearing. These same anxieties are present in many Indigenous communities throughout North America (e.g., Big-Canoe & Richmond, 2013; Hallet et al., 2007; McIvor & Napolean, 2009). However, CRE can be developed to address both of these concerns and combat culture loss (e.g., Fienup-Riordan, 2004). For instance, Jacqui's workshop series included a portion in which youth interviewed elders and had a chance to practice speaking Yup'ik. And the carving workshop that Archie helped facilitate taught youth, as well as other community members, traditional Yup'ik carving techniques.

The third most frequently cited reason for why it is important for Yup'ik youth to learn about their traditional culture is that it helps them to better fulfill Yup'ik standards of proper personhood by satiating community and cultural values (listed in Appendix F). To be specific, participants viewed CRE as important because it simultaneously teaches youth what constitutes a 'proper person' in Yup'ik culture and provides them with the means to fulfill those values. In other words, CRE may be viewed as a means to improve youths' cultural identity clarity (Usborne & Taylor, 2010).

Suggestions for Future Culturally Relevant Education Programs

Based on observations I made while in Quinhagak, it is apparent to me that people in the village care deeply about their youths. After the teenager's heroin overdose, for instance, community members rode their ATVs down main street in an anti-drug rally and, subsequently, kicked known drug dealers out of the village. Because of how strongly people in the village feel about local youths' wellbeing, and the importance they place on learning about Yup'ik culture, it is not surprising that all but one participant had suggestions for future youth workshops. These recommendations provide educators and program planners in Quinhagak with a starting point to begin designing CRE for local youth. Given the importance of each participant's voice in planning CRE, I have included a full list of participants' suggestions in Appendix G. Below, I discuss the highlights of this list.

In terms of suggestions for future workshops, the theme that participants discussed most frequently was 'Connect to Heritage,' which further demonstrates community members in Quinhagak strongly support putting youth in touch with the nonmaterial and non-linguistic aspects of traditional Yup'ik culture. One major area of concern in this theme, mentioned by Pauline, Frank, and Peggie, is that youth need to connect with elders and learn their knowledge before they pass away; as Pauline put it, "our elders are dying, not going to be many left, you

know, interview them, print it, you know, so we can always...look at that book to find out a lot of what we need to learn." Unfortunately, one of the elders that I caught fish for during my first time in Quinhagak (2015), had passed away by the time I returned for data collection. Having youth interview elders and then documenting what they have to say (like Jacqui did in her workshop series) is one way to combat culture loss by both teaching youth about traditional Yup'ik culture and preserving elders' knowledge in a physical or online format. This is similar to the book Fienup-Riordan (2013) created in collaboration with elders and parents in Quinhagak that documented the village's history and oral tradition, as well as Yup'ik guidelines for proper personhood for youth. Involving youth in this process, though, could stimulate younger generations' interest in their heritage.

Other workshop suggestion themes that repeatedly emerged include traditional technologies (a complete list of things participants suggested youth should learn to create is included in Appendix G), life skills (e.g., traditional subsistence hunting techniques), and language. The emergence of these themes further indicates that participants feel strongly that Yup'ik youth ought to learn about their traditional culture and how their ancestors used to live in order to both counter culture loss and enable youth to look after themselves in their wilderness. These suggestions are in line with numerous Yup'ik cultural values noted by participants (see Appendix F), such as passing down knowledge to youth, self-sufficiency, and preserving the Yup'ik culture.

Two of the three school personnel that I interviewed, Peggie Price (the principal) and Alicia Miner (an elementary teacher) made suggestions about resources archaeologists that could create to improve how children at the local school learn about Nunalleq. One suggestion is to develop an online or hardcopy resource guide containing information about Nunalleq that teachers could incorporate into their regular curricula. Another suggestion is to make an online

repository where projects students have done about Nunalleq could be stored for later inspiration. Teachers could access this databank and get ideas for activities to do with their classes. These suggestions will be relayed to the two co-PIs of the of the Nunalleq Project, Dr. Charlotta Hillerdal and Dr. Rick Knecht.

In addition to these suggestions, there are other factors that program planners and educators intending to implement CRE in Quinhagak must consider. The large number of suggestions (i.e., 42) I received during interviews indicates people in Quinhagak have many ideas to develop and implement more CRE programs for youth. However, as evidenced by this research, some community members have conflicting opinions about what they believe youth in Quinhagak ought to learn about. For instance, on one hand, Keri had a positive opinion of traditional Yup'ik dancing, and she stated, "I think [local youth] would really like having a dance group again." On the other hand, when asked about Yup'ik dancing Sarah stated, "the [Moravian] missionaries stopped it 100 years ago, 'cause it's evil," and then added that she hoped that the dancing would not come back. These two excerpts demonstrate that Quinhagak is a community with a complex history, and community members have incorporated different aspects of the cultures that they have been exposed to—in this case, traditional Yup'ik culture and influence from Moravian missionaries—into their personal identities and values in variable ways. For CRE to be successful in Quinhagak, then, program planners and educators must recognize these tensions and use them to start a conversation about collaborative community planning for CRE.

Directions for Future Research

The suggestions that I have proposed for future CRE in Quinhagak are based on community members' and program planners' input, which means, therefore, that these suggestions are specific to Quinhagak. Program planners and researchers wishing to implement CRE in other Indigenous communities should first determine what persons in those communities

feel youth ought to learn about (as I have done here) to ensure that CRE programs are implemented in a manner that will best address the unique needs of each individual community. In addition to considering community perspectives, educators and program planners should also integrate youths' voices into CRE planning. Involving youth in the process of planning CRE will provide insights into how younger generations feel CRE should be taught and may spur youth interest in traditional Yup'ik culture. If educators and program planners want to find out what youth are interested in (which would enable them to create CRE youth will enjoy), the best way to do so is to ask them. Furthermore, because I solely explored CRE designed for older youths, community perceptions of CRE outcomes for younger youth should be evaluated as well (after these programs are implemented).

As I have investigated community perceptions about youth CRE outcomes, the next logical stage is to measure these outcomes themselves to assess CRE effectiveness. In order to evaluate CRE programs in a culturally-relevant manner, it is necessary to determine and then measure outcomes community members feel are important. By exploring what community members and program planners in Quinhagak think are the important outcomes of Yup'ik youth engagement with CRE, this study is a step towards the development of a framework to systematically evaluate CRE outcomes in this community.

Many researchers have pointed out that research is needed to determine how CRE should best be implemented in Indigenous communities (e.g., Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Lipka, 2002; Malin, 2003). However, because Indigenous cultures and communities vary in innumerable ways, it is crucial that researchers and program planners assess community members' (i.e., elders, caregivers, and youths) perspectives of Indigenous youth CRE outcomes in each community prior to systematically evaluating them. In other words, people in Quinhagak and people in another Yup'ik village may have different ideas regarding what should be included in CRE for

youth. Given that this study solely focused on community perceptions of youth CRE outcomes in one Yup'ik community, Quinhagak, future research is needed to investigate whether A) whether other Yup'ik communities with CRE have similar perspectives on youth CRE outcomes and B) whether similar CRE outcome perspectives are held by community members in other Indigenous (i.e., non-Yup'ik) communities.

Additional research is also needed to investigate the theoretical issues addressed by this study. For instance, research is needed to investigate the role CRE plays in youth identity formation, as well as how CRE affects cultural identity clarity. By determining how CRE affects Indigenous youths' psychology, educators and program planners may be able to design CRE programs that maximize benefits for Indigenous youths of all ages and address mental health issues in their communities.

Limitations

This study has a number of limitations. First, due to logistics such as budget and time constraints and the difficulties I had recruiting participants (both community members and program planners), I was only able to conduct ten interviews. Although the data I collected were rich and varied (that is, I gathered numerous participant perspectives), it is possible that other points of view besides the ones discussed in this thesis may by endorsed by some community members. Second, I had originally planned to have my research partner recode excerpts participants' interview transcripts into the themes that I created via constant comparative analysis to assess inter-rater reliability. This would have allowed me to compare how I sorted interview excerpts into themes to how a community member would have done so. However, due to personal, confidential and unforeseeable circumstances, this was no longer possible, and I was unable to include a local perspective in my data analysis stage. Third, I was only able to interview two program planners (and receive detailed information from one), which means that there are

some CRE programs affiliated with Nunalleq that have run in Quinhagak that I was unable to fully describe.

Knowledge Translation Plan

The findings of this study will be communicated to the people of Quinhagak in an online video translated to the Yup'ik language (with English subtitles). I will mail a hard-copy of this thesis to Quinhagak, where it will be housed in the community centre and be publicly available to all community member. I will also send this thesis, as well as a document containing all suggestions for future workshops (in Appendix G), to local teachers and archaeologists affiliated with the Nunalleq Project. These results will be disseminated amongst the academic community by presenting my thesis to the public, and then publishing my findings in a journal and presenting them at a relevant conference.

Conclusion

One way to teach Indigenous youth about their culture and potentially negate the poor mental health outcomes associated with cultural trauma is through CRE (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Hesch, 1999; Shay, 2013). I interviewed a number of community members and program planners in Quinhagak, Alaska to both describe a unique ensemble of CRE programs and ascertain community perceptions of youth outcomes following engagement with these programs. Community members and program planners in Quinhagak, Alaska attribute numerous social and psychological outcomes to youth participation in CRE. The results of this study provide A) a starting point for researchers to systematically assess CRE outcomes in Quinhagak and B) guidance for program planners in the village wishing to implement additional CRE for local youth.

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Appendix A

Community Members' Consent Form

Community Perceptions of Indigenous Youth Interaction with Culturally Relevant Education

Researcher: Principal investigator
Sean Richard O'Rourke, BASc. (Psychology and Anthropology)
Master of Arts - Research Graduate Student
Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada
Supervisor: Dr. Krista Ritchie
Faculty of Education, Mount Saint Vincent University
krista.ritchie@msvu.ca

Funding

- Northern Scientific Training Program (NSTP) grant: 1986 CAD
- Matching funds from MSVU, Internal Grant from Research Office: 1237.73 CAD
- Matching funds from MSVU, Faculty of Education: 250 CAD
- MSVU Grad Student Supplement: 250 CAD

What is this project about? A number of educational programs for youth have grown from the Nunalleq archaeological project in Quinhagak, for example, workshops for youth at the community center, school presentations by archaeologists, and field trips to the dig. I am interviewing elders and caregivers (such as parents) in Quinhagak to find out how they think these education programs affect local Yup'ik youth. I will also interview archaeologists, teachers, and other program facilitators to describe these programs and their outcomes.

What am I asking you to do? I would like to talk to you because you are either a caregiver (such as a parent) or elder in Quinhagak, and I would like to find out what you think of the different education programs for youth in Quinhagak that have grown from the Nunalleq project and how you think these programs affect youth. This interview should take about 45 minutes. You will be given 20 USD as a thank-you gift for your participation.

With your consent, I will audio-record the interview so that I can have an exact record of what was said to refer to later. I will also take handwritten notes during our interview. If at any point you do not feel comfortable answering a question, or if you would like for certain comments to remain private, that is perfectly fine-- you can just let me know, and we will skip that question, or I will stop the audio-recording and take notes in a different notebook that will not be associated with your name.

Privacy and Confidentiality
You have the right to tell us how you'd like to be identified in any public communication coming out of the project - you can choose to be identified using your real first name or

a made-up name that you or the research team can choose depending on your preference. If Mike Smith, my research partner, is helping translate during this interview, then he will also know your identity. However, Mike Smith has signed an agreement indicating that he will not share or discuss any confidential information (including the identities of persons who wish to be kept unidentified) with anyone besides myself (Sean O'Rourke).

While I am committed to protecting the confidentiality of all participants, I am legally obligated to report information that involves child abuse or intent to harm yourself or others.

Who controls my information? Can I withdraw? You maintain full control over your information. You will only be identified if you wish, and all interview data (audio recording, interview and note transcripts) will be kept in password-protected files, and my thesis supervisor, Dr. Ritchie, and I are the only people who will be able to access them. My research partner, Mike Smith, may at times be given unidentified interview excerpts to help with my data analysis, but he has signed a confidentiality agreement. You may withdraw from this study at any point in time without penalty (you will still receive 20 USD). If you withdraw, all information you have provided will be destroyed and not used in this study.

What are the potential harms? I will be asking you to talk about youth and Yup'ik culture. These may be sensitive topics for some people. If you wish to talk to a trained mental health professional after this interview, you can reach a behavioral health aide at the Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corp. at 1-(907) 543-6101.

What are the possible benefits? Your knowledge about your community and culture will be valued. If you choose to be identified, the information you provide me will be attributed to you in my thesis and publications that arise from this project. The results of this study will contribute to Yup'ik cultural revitalization and improvements to education programs for Yup'ik youth.

Who Controls My Information? Can I withdraw? You maintain full control over your information. All interview data (audio recording, interview and note transcripts) will be kept in password-protected files, and my thesis supervisor, Dr. Ritchie, and I are the only people who will be able to access them. My research partner, Mike Smith, may at times be given unidentified interview excerpts to help with my data analysis, but he has signed a confidentiality agreement. You may withdraw from this study at any point in time without penalty (you will still receive 20 USD). If you withdraw, all information you have provided will be destroyed and not used in this study.

How will I be informed of study results? I will create a video to communicate my results to the community. This video will be translated to the Yup'ik language by my research partner, Mike Smith, given English subtitles, and posted online. Mike Smith and Warren Jones will send out a link to view this video to people in Quinhagak. In addition, a copy of my thesis and any publications that arise from this project will be sent to the community center for community members to read. I aim to keep all participants informed and

involved throughout the project, so please give me your preferred way of staying in touch—preferably an email address or phone number.

What if I have study questions or problems? If you have any questions about this study, you can reach me (Sean O'Rourke) on my cell phone 1 (506) 232-2718 between 9:00 AM and 9:00 PM MDT (between 7:00 AM and and 7:00 PM Quinhagak time). You can reach me by email at sean.orourke@msvu.ca, and I will respond ASAP. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr. Krista Ritchie in Mount Saint Vincent University's Faculty of Education, at krista.ritchie@msvu.ca, or any time at 902-414-8838.

If you have any questions at any time about this project or research in general you may contact Brenda Gagne, the Research Ethics Coordinator at the Research Office of Mount Saint Vincent University at 1-(902) 457-6350 or brenda.gagne@msvu.ca, Monday to Friday between 8:30 AM and 4:00 PM ADT (or between 3:30 AM and 11:00 AM Quinhagak time).

Signature Page

Name (please print): _____ So would you like to take part in this interview?

☐ Yes, I agree to participate in this interview

And could you please tell me how you'd like to be identified?

☐ You can use my real name

☐ Don't use my real name, use another name of my choosing: _____

☐ Please make up a name for me but don't use my real one

And finally, please let us know how we can stay in touch with you about the project

☐ Keep me updated by email, here's my address: _____

☐ Keep me updated by phone, here's my number: _____

☐ Keep me updated by mail, here's my address:

_____

_____

_____

Date: _____

What are my Research Rights?

Your signature on the form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigator(s), sponsors, or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time without losing your compensation.

Community Perceptions of Indigenous Youth Interaction with Culturally Relevant Education

Participant Consent

I have read or had read to me this information and consent form and have had the chance to ask questions which have been answered to my satisfaction before signing my name. I understand the nature of the study and I understand the potential risks. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without affecting my care in any way. I have received a copy of the Information and Consent Form for future reference. I freely agree to participate in this research study.

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

Appendix B

Program Planners' Consent Form

Community Perceptions of Indigenous Youth Interaction with Culturally Relevant Education

Researcher: Principal investigator
Sean Richard O'Rourke, BASc. (Psychology and Anthropology)
Master of Arts - Research Graduate Student
Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada
Supervisor: Dr. Krista Ritchie
Faculty of Education, Mount Saint Vincent University
krista.ritchie@msvu.ca

Funding

- Northern Scientific Training Program (NSTP) grant: 1986 CAD
- Matching funds from MSVU, Internal Grant from Research Office: 1237.73 CAD
- Matching funds from MSVU, Faculty of Education: 250 CAD
- MSVU Grad Student Supplement: 250 CAD

What is this project about? A number of educational programs for youth have grown from the Nunalleq archaeological project in Quinhagak, for example, workshops for youth at the community center, school presentations by archaeologists, and field trips to the dig. I am interviewing elders and caregivers (such as parents) in Quinhagak to find out how they think these education programs affect local Yup'ik youth. I will also interview archaeologists, teachers, and other program facilitators to describe these programs and their outcomes.

How will the researcher do the study? I Would like to talk to you because you are a program facilitator involved in the Nunalleq project, and I would like to learn more about education programs for Quinhagak youth that you have been involved with, as well as these programs' outcomes. This interview should take about 45 minutes. You will be given 20 USD as a thank-you gift for your participation.

With your consent, I will audio-record the interview so that I can have an exact record of what was said to refer to later. I will also take handwritten notes during our interview. If at any point you do not feel comfortable answering a question, or if you would like for certain comments to remain private, that is perfectly fine-- you can just let me know, and we will skip that question, or I will stop the audio-recording and take notes in a different notebook that will not be associated with your name.

Privacy and confidentiality. You have the right to tell us how you'd like to be identified in any public communication coming out of the project - you can choose to be identified using your real first name or a made-up name that you or the research team can choose

depending on your preference. If Mike Smith, my research partner, is helping translate during this interview, then he will also know your identity. However, Mike Smith has signed an agreement indicating that he will not share or discuss any confidential information.

While I am committed to protecting the confidentiality of all my participants, I am legally obligated to report information that involves child abuse or intent to harm yourself or others

Who controls my information? Can I withdraw? You maintain full control over your information. You will only be identified if you wish, and all interview data (audio recording, interview and note transcripts) will be kept in password-protected files, and my thesis supervisor, Dr. Ritchie, and I are the only people who will be able to access them. My research partner, Mike Smith, may at times be given unidentified interview excerpts to help with my data analysis, but he has signed a confidentiality agreement. You may withdraw from this study at any point in time without penalty (you will still receive 20 USD). If you withdraw, all information you have provided will be destroyed and not used in this study.

What are the burdens, harms, and potential harms? I will be asking you to talk about youth interaction with Yup'ik culture and what life is like in Quinhagak. This may be a sensitive topic for some people. If you do not wish to continue the interview at any point, you may withdraw without penalty (you will still receive 20 USD). If you wish to talk to a trained mental health professional after this interview, you can reach a behavioral health aide at the Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corp. at 1-(907) 543-6101.

What are the possible benefits? Your knowledge about the work that you have done with youth in Quinhagak and about the Nunalleq project will be valued. And, if you choose to be identified, the information you provide me will be attributed to you in my thesis and any future publications that arise from this project. The results of this study will contribute to Yup'ik cultural revitalization and may help improve education programs for Yup'ik youth.

How will I be informed of study results? I will electronically send the results of my study to Dr. Charlotta Hillerdal, the co-principal investigator at the Nunalleq project, as well as all other program facilitators involved. I will also create a video to communicate my results to the community. This video will be translated to the Yup'ik language by my research partner, Mike Smith, given English subtitles, and posted online. I will send out a link to view this video to program facilitators. In addition, a copy of my thesis and publications that arise from this project will be sent to the community center for people in the Quinhagak to read. I also aim to keep all participants informed and involved throughout the project so please give us your preferred way of staying in touch - preferably an email address or phone number.

What if I have study questions or problems? If you have any questions about this study, you can reach me (Sean O'Rourke) on my cell phone 1 (506) 232-2718 between 9:00 AM and 9:00 PM MDT (between 7:00 AM and and 7:00 PM Quinhagak time). You can reach

me by email at sean.orourke@msvu.ca, and I will respond ASAP. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr. Krista Ritchie in Mount Saint Vincent University's Faculty of Education, at krista.ritchie@msvu.ca, or any time at 902-414-8838.

If you have any questions at any time about this project or research in general you may contact Brenda Gagne, the Research Ethics Coordinator at the Research Office of Mount Saint Vincent University at 1-(902) 457-6350 or brenda.gagne@msvu.ca, Monday to Friday between 8:30 AM and 4:00 PM ADT (or between 3:30 AM and 11:00 AM Quinhagak time).

If you have any questions at any time about this project or research in general you may contact Brenda Gagne, the Research Ethics Coordinator at the Research Office of Mount Saint Vincent University at 1-(902) 457-6350 or brenda.gagne@msvu.ca, Monday to Friday between 8:30 AM and 4:00 PM ADT (or between 3:30 AM and 11:00 AM Quinhagak time).

Signature Page

Name (please print): _____ So would you like to take part in this interview?

☐ Yes, I agree to participate in this interview

And could you please tell me how you'd like to be identified?

☐ You can use my real name

☐ Don't use my real name, use another name of my choosing: _____

☐ Please make up a name for me but don't use my real one

And finally, please let us know how we can stay in touch with you about the project

☐ Keep me updated by email, here's my address: _____

☐ Keep me updated by phone, here's my number: _____

☐ Keep me updated by mail, here's my address:

_____

_____

Date: _____

What are my Research Rights?

Your signature on the form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigator(s), sponsors, or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time without losing your compensation.

Community Perceptions of Indigenous Youth Interaction with Culturally Relevant Education

Participant Consent

I have read or had read to me this information and consent form and have had the chance to ask questions which have been answered to my satisfaction before signing my name. I understand the nature of the study and I understand the potential risks. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without affecting my care in any way. I have received a copy of the Information and Consent Form for future reference. I freely agree to participate in this research study.

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

Appendix C

Community Members' Interview Script

- *Introduce myself*
    - My name is Sean O'Rourke and I am a graduate student in the Master of Arts in Research at Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. I helped excavate at Nunalleq last summer (2015), and I was so impressed with how many local youth came out to the dig to learn about what the archaeologists were doing and finding. I wanted to talk to people in Quinhagak, like you, about how they think youth learning about Nunalleq and Yup'ik culture by coming to the dig site and by engaging in other educational programs affects them.
- *Go through consent form with participant* (attached in Appendix F)
- Would you like to be identified? This means that your responses and the information you provide to me will be attributed to you in my thesis and any publications (your name will be used). If you choose to be unidentified, a pseudonym will be used and your identity will only be known to me *(and Mike, my research partner, if he is present during the interview)*.
    - *If confidential:* do you have a pseudonym that you would like me to use? If not, I will generate mine myself that will be completely unrelated to your name.

TOPIC 1: Study introduction and general information

Let's start with some questions about you.

- Where are you from?
    - *If a participant has chosen to have his or her identity remain confidential, I will say:* because you have chosen to keep your identity confidential, where you are from will only be broadly described in my thesis and subsequent publications

(e.g., from Quinhagak, not from Quinhagak, from Alaska/USA, or from your continent of origin, for example, Europe).

- What roles do you play in Quinhagak? *(e.g., elder or caregiver/parent?)*

TOPIC 2: What the participant/the community thinks about Nunalleq

This section will help me find out what the participant thinks about the Nunalleq project in general.

- Have you ever visited Nunalleq [the dig site]?
- What do you think about the Nunalleq Project?
- Do people often talk about Nunalleq?
- What do you think the site means to the community?
    - Specifically, what do you think the site means to youth? (between 6 and 20 year olds)

TOPIC 3: Specific programs

Each section here describes a different program. I will find out what the participant thinks of each program, and how familiar the participant is with each program.

There are a number of different educational programs for local youth (between 6 and 20 years old) that have grown from the Nunalleq project. I would like to ask you about a few of these that I know about, and hope you can share anything else you know about other programs that youth have participated in.

A) Sometimes when youth come to the Nunalleq dig site, they help archaeologists look for and sort artifacts and learn about the dig and what it is finding.

- Do you know any children who have visited the site? (What is your relation to them?)
- Do you think youth learn things from going to the dig site?

B) The Nunalleq project has also facilitated a number of workshops and day camps for youth. For example, Jacqui Graham, an archaeologist from the University of Aberdeen was running workshops for youth that used photography and film-editing techniques to answer the question "what does it mean to be Yup'ik?"

- Do you know any youth who have participated in these workshops and day camps?
- Can you tell me about what you know about these workshops and day camps?

C) Teachers at the school teach about Nunalleq in class and take children on fieldtrips to the site. I have heard that children are learning about Yup'ik dancing in school now, too.

- Does this teach youth things that they would not regularly learn about in school?
- Is there anything else that you think children should learn about being Yup'ik in school?
    - Prompt for any things participant says should be learned: Why?

D) Do you know about any other programs that have taken place as part of the Nunalleq project?

TOPIC 4: Outcomes

This section asks the participant about how they think youth interaction with the above programs affects how youth see themselves, their community, and their culture.

Culture:

- What do you think the programs we have just talked about (learning at the dig site, workshops, field trips, dancing) teach the youth?
    - Prompt: Do they teach them about being Yup'ik and/or Yup'ik culture?

Community:

- Do you think these programs change how youth see Quinhagak, their community?

Self:

- Do you think these programs change how youth think about themselves?
    - Does learning about being Yup'ik affect how the children see themselves?

Other Factors:

- Do you think Quinhagak is different from other Yup'ik communities?
    - If yes, how?
- Are there other things going on in Quinhagak besides the education programs related to Nunalleq that you think may be responsible for *[INSERT HERE ANY OUTCOMES THE PARTICIPANT HAS INDICATED]*?

Additional Prompts:

(I will ask these questions only if they are not already answered through discussion)

- What do these programs teach youth in Quinhagak that youth in other Yup'ik villages don't get to learn?
- What were things like in the village before the Nunalleq project? For youth? Has anything changed? For youth?
- Do you think similar education programs should be implemented in other communities?
    - Why? (for yes and no answers)
- Do you think that the education programs that have grown from Nunalleq should be changed or improved in any ways?
    - If no, why?
    - If yes, how?

Appendix D

Program Planners' Interview Script

- Introduce myself
    - My name is Sean O'Rourke and I am a graduate student in Master of Arts in Research at Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. I helped excavate at Nunalleq last summer (2015), and I was so impressed with the different educational opportunities that the Nunalleq project had created for local youth, for example, youth have done workshops that use photography and film editing to answer the question "what does it mean to be Yup'ik?," they learn about Nunalleq in school, and they can come to the site to help archaeologists and learn about what they are doing and finding. In addition to interviewing local caregivers and elders to find out how these programs affect youth, I am interviewing program facilitators, such as yourself, to describe these programs. I will also ask you some questions about how you think the education programs affect youth.

- *Go through consent form with participant* (attached in Appendix G)
- Would you like to be identified? This means that your responses and the information you provide to me will be attributed to you in my thesis and any publications (your name will be used). If you choose to be unidentified, a pseudonym will be used and your identity will only be known to me *(and Mike, my research partner, if he is present during the interview)*.
    - *If confidential:* do you have a pseudonym that you would like me to use? If not, I will generate mine myself that will be completely unrelated to your name.

TOPIC 1: Study introduction and general information

Let's start with some questions about you.

- Where are you from?
    - *If a participant has chosen to have his or her identity remain confidential, I will say:* because you have chosen to keep your identity confidential, where you are from will only be broadly described in my thesis and subsequent publications (e.g., from Quinhagak, not from Quinhagak, from Alaska/USA, or from your continent of origin, for example, Europe). I must include your profession, however, as that is an important piece of information that describes the sort of work you have done in Quinhagak.
- What are your roles in relation to Nunalleq?

TOPIC 2: Program facilitator involvement

- Now I am going to ask you questions about specific education programs for youth in Quinhagak.
- Which educational programs that have grown from the Nunalleq project are you involved in? Can you describe the programs you know about?
    - Can you describe what this program entails?
        - **Prompts:**
            - Age of youth who participate?
            - What do youth do?
            - What are the program's goals?
            - How does this program relate to the Nunalleq project?
            - Who else is involved?
            - Where does this program take place?

- Why is this program important?
- Program duration?
- Program format?

TOPIC 3: Youth outcomes

- What do you think these programs teach youth?
    - Prompts:
        - Do you think these programs change what youth think about being Yup'ik?
        - Do you think they change how youth see their community?
        - Do you think they change what youth think about themselves?

Additional questions if I am speaking to an archaeologist:

- Where do the artifacts that you dig up here go? Where do they end up?
- How did this project get started? (That is, was it initiated by the people of Quinhagak or archaeologists?)
- Who runs the dig itself? Who authorizes it and what is the community's role in it?

Appendix E

Themes Created to Code Participants' Interviews

This appendix lists the broad categories, themes, and subthemes by which I have organized participants' responses. "→" denotes subthemes, and "*()*" and "*[]*" denote a subtheme's subtheme.

1. Participant/Community Attitudes: Nunalleq/CRE

- Participant Attitudes → Positive *(Generic, Learn about the past, Respect)*, Negative
- Youth Attitudes → Interested, Not Interested
- Workshops Attitudes → Teaches about the past, Fun, Something to do

2. Youth Outcomes

- Workshop Outcomes → Education Generic, Value Heritage, Psychological *(Identity, Pride/Self-Esteem, Ingenuity, Empowerment)*, Fulfill Community/Cultural Values, Practical Skills *(Archaeology, Survival Skills, Art and Technology)*
- Learning about Culture in General Outcomes → Psychological *(Pride/Self-Esteem, Identity)*, Healthier Lifestyle, Traditional Technologies *(Subsistence, Other)*, Change the Future, Value Heritage, Fulfill Community/Cultural Values

3. Importance of Learning about Culture

- Teaches Life Skills
- Connect to Heritage
- Fulfill Community/Cultural Values
- Prevent Culture Loss
- Generic

4. Culture Loss

- Loss of Language
- Knowledge not being passed down to Youth
- The Influence of Technology

5. Community Values

6. Future Workshop Suggestions

- Logistics
- Traditional Technologies
- Language
- Demographics
- Connecting to and Preserving Heritage *(e.g., elders, ancestors)*
- Dance
- Hands-On Archaeology
- Teacher Resources
- Life-Skills

Appendix F

Community and Cultural Values

This appendix contains excerpts from participants' interviews where they discuss Yup'ik cultural or community values. I have organized excerpts in alphabetical order, based on participants' first names. An ellipses ('…') denotes an extraneous word (e.g., 'like') or utterance (e.g., 'uhh,' 'umm,' etc.) that I have removed.

1. Archie: "people, when you help them, you make more friends, even from another village. My mother used to tell me, you see somebody from another village, don't just stand there. If he's standing there just looking around, don't just stand there, invite him to your house and feed him, and if he has no place, let him sleep in the house. That way, you'll make friends, and if you travel to another place, he'll tell you to come and be with him."
2. Archie: "everything is passed down. …I pass down what I learned to my children, even to my friends, of how they can better do it. When I see somebody struggling, like making a sled, how to do it, I go over there and help them how to do it better. Like …instead of … standing back and, you know, not helping them, just go over there and help them."
3. Elizabeth: "talk to them, even their friends too, when they have friends come into my house, …tell 'em everything that… to pay attention to their parents too, keep 'em, try to be good and healthy and work hard… tell 'em that when they're going out to the school 'you guys be nice at the school and work hard, finish all your works, always pay attention to your teachers.'"
4. Frank: "some of [elders'] knowledge, they try pass it on, everything, but us as people, as Yup'iks, we're supposed to take it in and pass it on."
5. Frank: "I am raising them in a traditional Yup'ik way. My discipline is I have a family meeting. One of my girls does something wrong, we sit down as a family, my spouse, my wife, my kids, and I have never spanked my kids…. I just sit down and talk to them. And…[people in

Quinhagak] always say, some of my kids, I get compliments on them, they're so respectful, they don't talk back. And I tell 'em, too, somebody's being bad to you, and whatnot, just walk away."

6. Frank: "when we grew up up river, that's where my grandparents were. All the way starting from June, we'd stay up river, but we'd come down here only for a day or so, just to go pick up supplies—flour, sugar, salt, tea, coffee, crackers—just the basic necessities. And we'd go back up there, and they'd live the subsistence of way of life, all their lives."
7. Frank: "I value my culture and pass it on too with my girls and my son, I pass it on. I hope they take it in and keep it. That's one of my goals, as a family too, cutting fish and everything we do that as a family. I get my girls and my wife, we go out to our fish camp, and we cut up our fish and everything. They like doing that and I tell them too that's how I grew up."
8. Grandma: "Yes, it it is important for youth to get involved in the community. They need something to do."
9. Keri: "Right now in my junior high class, we're learning about… rules of living. The elders were saying if anywhere you go, if [there's] an admonishment, [it's] just the way you should live…They said you would never hear anything different… Like… I am trying to think of an example... Like if…a very close family member passed away, you wouldn't be able to go out and do things. There's another where they said if you are sitting listening to an elder or someone speaking, you need to cover one ear and listen, so you hold your ear closed, so the knowledge those elders are talking about doesn't leave through the other side."
10. Pauline: "If that child was raised in a place where there is violence, I feel that person's mental health is not good. But if you were raised in a home where there is a lot of talking, a lot of happiness [the child's mental health will be good], and it's just how you were raised I think. In a traditional way…. The parents are the first teachers of that child."
11. Pauline: "he things that our ancestors used to do is changed now, because a lot of time, my

parents used to tell me, especially my mom, they used to talk to the people constantly, and that's how they learned and they know. Everything that they know everything that they have to know. And if there's problems with them, then they right away sit them down and talk to them, you know, what's wrong, what's right, and why you couldn't do that, all those things were taught to them."

12. Pauline: "I'll just think about how I was raised and how much I try to give to my son, my grandkids, but a lot of times these younger generations, the parents don't talk to them a lot, as I was talked to by my parents a lot."
13. Peggie: "I know a lot of teaching that goes on here in the Yup'ik world, the kids will watch and watch and watch, and then they'll try. And unfortunately you have the Western world and the *gussaqs* [white people] come in, and it's a faster pace, a faster learning mode... First time I learned to cut fish, or the first time I attempted to, I asked the girl, how did you learn to cut fish, and she said that she watched her mom and her nannies and grandmas for years, and then one time she tried when no one was around, and I said so how did you do? and she said as bout as good as you did! Haha."
14. Peggie: "I know that that's a big factor in this village and culture, that the elders telling stories to the youth. It may not be as prevalent as it used to be, according to people I have visited with, but having the elders come into our school and visit with the kids is very powerful."
15. Peggie: "drugs and the alcohol, probably the biggest [social issue], not a part of the Yup'ik culture, they were introduced 20-30 years ago and it has just invaded, and it has…the power to destroy, and I think our kids with the latest death we had here, it really woke them up to the dangers of messing around with that stuff. But I think the hope for a brighter future is here, we have a lot of kids who work really hard."
16. Peggie: "for me, growing up, my cultures different, if I showed an interest in something, my

mom would say here let me show you how to do it, and you can try it, whereas my understanding here is they observe, and observe, and observe, and when they feel confident to try it, then they will."

17. Sarah: "for people whose girls have periods for the first time, and they didn't listen, they didn't listen, then those berries disappeared for 10 years, and this year there's more berries, and that means that there probably won't be berries next year or next two years. Those girls didn't listen what they were teached not to hunt and picking berries or going up river. …It's important to follow the rules."

Appendix G

Suggestions for Future Workshops in Quinhagak

Below is a list of suggestions for future workshops and CRE programs in Quinhagak. These recommendations, sorted by theme, are my interpretation of suggestions that arose during interviews with community members and program planners in the village. This list is neither exhaustive, nor definitive; rather, these suggestions should be considered guidelines to stimulate conversation about CRE planning in this community.

'Connect to Heritage' (mentioned a total of thirteen times by eight participants)

- Have youth interview elders about their past and traditional Yup'ik culture. Document what the elders have to say in physical (e.g., a book) or online (e.g., a blog) format to preserve their knowledge.
- Have youth and elders create story knives and tell one another stories.
- Teach youth traditional Yup'ik games and sports.
- Have youth look at old pictures of Quinhagak, and then have them draw pictures of what the village used to look like.
- Teach youth about which plants are edible. If possible, discuss which vitamins and minerals are present in each plant.
- Teach youth about what Yup'ik culture was like before the introduction of Western culture (i.e., teach them how Yup'ik culture has changed).
- Teach youth about the Alaska Native Settlement Claims Act and how this act continues to affect their lives (e.g., the creation of village corporations).
- Show youth artifacts from Nunalleq and then have them write stories or poems about how these artifacts were used and what life was like for their ancestors.

'Traditional Technologies' (mentioned a total of nine times by five participants)

- Teach youth craft techniques, such as sewing and beading.
- Teach youth how to make and use story knives.
- Teach youth how to make technologies from grass and wood, such as fish baskets.
- Teach youth how to make *qaspeqs* (a traditional sort of jacket), harpoons, snares, ulus, raingear, parkas, waterproof boots, goggles, mittens, jewelry (e.g., bracelets, earrings, and rings), and needle cases.
- Teach youth how Yupiit used to constructed subterranean houses. Compare these houses with those created by modern construction techniques (e.g., which sort of house fare better in the cold and wet weather Western Alaska is known for?).

'Language' (mentioned a total of seven times by six participants)

- More workshops that focus on teaching youth the Yup'ik language.
- Teach youth how to speak and write in the Yup'ik language.
- Use objects to teach Yup'ik (e.g., pointing to a cup to teach the Yup'ik word for cup).
- Do not speak English at all during these language lessons. That is, immerse youth fully into the Yup'ik language (and do not let youth speak English either).

'Teacher Resources' (mentioned a total of five times by two participants)

- Archaeologists affiliated with Nunalleq could create a resource guide (either a physical book or online) for teachers with information about the excavation (e.g., artifact uses, ancestors' life-ways) to incorporate into the regular school curriculum.
- Create an online repository for projects related to Nunalleq to be stored (e.g., the videos and interviews done by youth in Jacqui's workshops). Future teachers could access this databank to get ideas for activities to do in their classrooms.

- Incorporate Nunalleq into the school's yearly 'theme.'
- Archaeologists could give teachers information about archaeological excavation techniques and protocols, so teachers could teach youth about what to do if they find an artifact on the ground.

'Survival Skills' (mentioned a total of four times by two participants)

- Teach youth how to be self-sufficient in the wilderness.
- Teach youth location and place names and directions to ensure they do not get lost while outside of the village.
- Teach youth how to tell what the weather is going to be based on cloud formations.
- Teach youth subsistence skills (e.g., hunting, berry-picking, fishing).

'Logistics' (mentioned a total of two times by two participants)

- Run workshops outside of state-mandated school times.
- Have workshops run every weekday for at least two months to ensure that the skills and knowledge youths acquire is not forgotten.

'Dance' (mentioned a total of two times by two participants)

- Teach youth traditional Yup'ik dancing.

'Hands-On' (mentioned a total of three times by two participants)

- Simulate an archaeological excavation.
- Teach youth how to handle archaeological artifacts and what to do if they find an artifact on the ground.

'Demographics' (mentioned a total of two times by two participants)

- Run workshops with younger children (i.e., less than 10 years)