Representation in Participatory Video: Some Considerations from Research with Métis in British Columbia

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Participatory research is now a central approach for shaping relationships between the academy and marginalized communities and people. Somewhat less developed has been the concern for ensuring that participatory processes have research products that are inclusive and accessible as well. Participatory video has emerged as a key tool in putting together process and product in ways that provide avenues for marginalized communities to participate in both forms of self-research and ways of self-representation. In this essay, the authors discuss the development and progress of two participatory video projects underway with Métis communities in British Columbia. The conditioning factors for the degree and distribution of control over self-representation within participatory video are at least as complex as those within participatory research itself, but none the less doors are opening for marginalized communities via new digital technologies.

La recherche participative est maintenant une approche essentielle dans le façonnement des relations entre le monde universitaire, les communautés et les individus marginalisés. Le souci de fournir des processus participatifs, dont les produits de recherche soient aussi généraux qu’accessibles, demeure toutefois moins développé. La vidéo participative est apparue comme un outil-clé qui, tout en réunissant le processus et le produit, permet aux communautés marginalisées de participer aux deux, sous forme d’auto-recherche et d’autoreprésentation. Dans cet essai, l’auteur analyse le développement et l’évolution de deux projets de vidéo participative en cours avec les communautés métisses de Colombie-Britannique. Les facteurs de conditionnement pour le degré et la répartition du contrôle de l’autoreprésentation dans la vidéo participative sont au moins aussi complexes que ceux de la recherche participative même, mais les portes s’ouvrent cependant aux communautés marginalisées par le biais des nouvelles technologies numériques.
One of the major intellectual transformations in the Western academy over the last 40 years has been the development of participatory principles in social science research. Whatever its problems, participatory community-based research is rapidly becoming the default methodology in any number of contexts, and especially in research relationships between academics and marginalized communities and people. Somewhat less developed has been the concern for ensuring that participatory processes have research products that are inclusive and accessible too. Participatory video has emerged as a key tool in putting together process and product in ways that provide avenues for marginalized communities to participate both in forms of critical self-analysis and ways of self-representation. The conditioning factors for the degree and distribution of control over self-representation within participatory video are at least as complex as those within participatory research itself, but none the less doors are opening for marginalized communities via new digital technologies.

In this essay, we focus on two research projects formed within an ongoing relationship between people from the Métis community in British Columbia and scholars now located primarily at the University of British Columbia (UBC) Okanagan. These projects—the Prince George Métis Elders Documentary Project and the Métis Nation British Columbia (MNBC) History and Culture DVD Project—are two research moments within a research relationship now over a decade old that includes two oral history projects (Evans, Gareau, et al. 1999; Evans and Krebs 2004), the development of a Métis Studies certificate at the University of Northern British Columbia (Evans, McDonald, and Nyce 1999), and the creation of a British Columbia-wide history, land use, and mapping initiative between 2005 and the present (MNBC 2008). The projects exhibit different but related uses of new media digital technologies within the context of a long-term participatory research relationship. The differences between the projects are fairly straightforward manifestations of different goals, but the ways in which participatory conditions shift within and between the projects reflect some of the tensions within participatory research generally, and show the variety of different relationships that can be contained within a participatory frame. In particular, we explore the ways in which differences in technological expertise can affect the mechanics of power-sharing in terms of video production and representation, how community and researcher agendas may differ, and how broader projects of representation—not simply research itself—are tied up in the division of labour within participatory video projects. We examine these issues through the lens of the two projects and argue that the process of devolving control over research processes to communities is necessarily complicated by differences in technological and other skills. While one might make similar observations in terms of other participatory projects, the
degree to which technological expertise can have a direct and obvious impact on the way that power is shared in work engaging new media technologies is stark. None the less, although communities themselves may not want to address such differences through direct capacity-building processes, participatory video is still a useful, if complicated, way to empower communities.

**Participatory Research/Participatory Video**

Following on pioneering work of people like Paulo Freire (1970) and Orlando Fals-Borda (1987), participatory research (also called participatory action research or action research) has grown rapidly over the last few decades, to the point now where a large portion of research undertaken with marginalized communities is characterized by some form of commitment to the direct involvement of the researched community in developing the directions and character of the research itself (Reason 1994). Beginning in a critique of positivistic assumption about objectivity and detachment (Hall 1992; Kemmis and McTaggart 2000), participatory research has as its basic premise the notion that research needs to involve both practical or pragmatic power-sharing in the practice of research, and perhaps more radically, a commitment to some form of epistemological power-sharing that allows the research community to affect the intellectual framing of the research context and particular research questions (e.g., Fine 1994; Fine, Bloom, and Chajet 2003; Hall 1984; Maguire 1987). Finally, participatory action research often seeks to cause and promote change—in other words, there is an explicit social-action agenda (e.g., Varcoe 2006). The methodology is stronger in certain realms of research—for example, Latin American Studies and feminist scholars were early adopters of the paradigm—but research engaging a participatory impulse can now be found across the gamut of the social and health sciences. The methodology also runs parallel to the emerging field of Indigenous methodology (e.g., Smith 1999), with which it shares a number of attributes (Evans, et al. forthcoming).

Participatory video is driven by the same general principles and objectives (e.g., Ruby 2000). Video, however, is more complicated in that it is a much different representational form than the print media that typifies traditional scholarship. In particular, and increasingly over the last decade, digital video technologies have become more accessible to more and more people (though this is not to ignore significance of the "digital divide" [Byron and Gagliardi 1998]), if not as producers, then as consumers of the medium. The use of visual media, including video, has different consequences in terms of how communities construct images of themselves, and how others (both inside and outside) come to see the community via the representations created. Put simply, these media are more easily
distributed and consumed, and thus have a potentially widespread, immediate, and powerful impact on how a community is perceived and understood by both community members (and especially youth) and outsiders. This is not lost on the people of the community themselves.

Who Are the Métis of British Columbia?

The term “Métis” is sometimes understood to encompass all persons who identify as such and have a mixed First Nations or Inuit and European ancestry. It is probably accurate to say, however, that in the context of current political discourse the suggestion that the term be used to refer only to people descended from a “Historic Métis Nation” has more currency (Métis National Council 2002). According to the Métis Nation British Columbia (MNBC),

Prior to Canada’s crystallization as a nation in west central North America the Métis people emerged out of the relations of First Nations women and European men. While the initial offspring of unions were individuals who possessed mixed ancestry, the gradual establishment of distinct Métis communities, outside of First Nation and European cultures and settlements, as well as, [sic] the subsequent intermarriages between Métis women and Métis men, resulted in the genesis of a new Aboriginal people—the Métis.

Distinct Métis communities emerged, as an outgrowth of the fur trade, along some parts of the freight ing waterways and Great Lakes of Ontario, throughout the Northwest and as far north as the McKenzie [sic] River. The Métis people and their communities were connected through the highly mobile fur trade network, seasonal rounds, extensive kinship connections and a collective identity (i.e., common culture, language, way of life, etc.). The Métis, as a distinct Aboriginal people, fundamentally shaped Canada’s expansion westward through their on-going assertion of their collective identity and rights. (2008, 2-3)

Within this latter definition, there is still some debate about the extent of the historic boundaries of Métis Nation and perhaps even more important, the nature and limits of Métis rights (see Andersen 2005). Further, at the community level it is sometimes very difficult to separate contemporary social relationships from historic ones, or to draw clear social boundaries. None the less, one of the remarkable elements of the contemporary rise of the Métis Nation is that, although the Métis began as a fundamentally dispersed people, historical events further dis- located and dispersed the core communities of the Métis Nation, and there were any number of policies in place from the late nineteenth century onwards that
were intended to eliminate the Métis as a community, the Métis have continued to behave something like a "nation." In fact, we would observe that there is a great deal less "imagined" (Anderson 1983) about the Métis community than European nations—there are in fact coherent and well-understood patterns of naming (through patronyms), locality, historical relationship, and kinship relationship that people use to comprehend their relations to one another regardless of historical or contemporary dispersion.

New digital and communications technologies have opened up innovative paths of community formation despite the dispersion of communities (Habib forthcoming), and virtually all Indigenous communities face both the challenges and opportunities of the digital age (Niezen 2005). Work by Métis families and communities to reassert their presence and character in the contemporary context is ongoing and multi-faceted. This work is partly about re-establishing a collective institutional presence via the Métis National Council and the constituent provincial bodies like the MNBC. It has also been partly about developing research tools and capacity that can draw together historical and contemporary communities. One can see such work in websites as diverse as the Métis National Council Historical Online Database (2006) and personal websites like R.D. Garneau's Canadian History: A Unique Perspective (2007). The two digital video projects described below are also tied up in the collective Métis project to reassert the salience of Métis communities and culture.

Participatory Video: Two Examples

The Prince George Métis Elders Documentary Project began with a series of meetings between researchers² and the Prince George Métis Elders Society in 2003; it grew out of a direct request by the elders. Funds were sought, and then found in the spring of 2004.⁴ We then began three years of gathering video material with the elders, including interviews, community gatherings, journeys to key sites of significance to Métis like Lac Ste. Anne (a major pilgrimage site) and Batoche (the site of the last battle of the 1885 Métis resistance to Canadian rule), medicine walks, and cultural workshops demonstrating elements of Métis cultural heritage.

The core objective of the project was to document significant elements of contemporary Métis culture and practice, as defined by the elders themselves. The project was driven by a sense that the elders are getting older and there is an urgency to collect their individual stories. For the researchers, there was an additional goal, and that was to expand the process of documentary by including pluralistic approaches to authorship, as well as to explore technologies for distribution and the potential for simultaneous narrative. Using interactive digital video, we
head and value helped resource the project.
Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada (SSHRC) and Interdisciplinary could complement a practical one—hence example, the phrasing of the research in terms that SSHRC believe this to be an helpful representation of most participatory relationships, and research process may sometimes be shaped by the needs of the researchers. We research process may sometimes be shaped by the needs of the researchers, and how the honest discrepancy of what researchers wish to get from the research, and how the stakeholders emphasized these values and holds there reciprocity involves the open and space encompass other values and holds that reciprocal involves the open and following values: Reciprocity, Reciprocity, Reciprocity, and Responsibility. Our research (1999) insists that research with Aboriginal communities needs to encompass the same interests of the community. Quite some time ago, Knir et al. wrote, and paradigmatic research is not the community’s work must not be understood as if it were necessarily the same line have interests and agendas that should be developed openly in relationships to remove the influence of the arts/direction/research from the process. Research.

The intellectual integrity is to develop ways to fragmented and disparate means.

The principles of participatory research, in a more inclusive process, make the product outcome more consistent with the

The initial direction/researcher as an active agent in the participatory process, this is

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Fig. 1. Screen shot from *DVD Studio Pro* illustrating the complexity of interactivity between the various tracks of video, audio, and photo content.
After many kilometres of travel, many hours of video recording, and still more of editing and designing, we have begun to structure the content with the goal of completing the project in early 2009. The structure of the DVD product is complex. Menus facilitate viewer choice of the sequences of audiovisual material,
which in turn are interconnected (arrows) with other sequences (fig. 1). In the experience of the interactive DVD, context-based menus appear as the documentary unfolds within the video stream itself and allow the viewer to follow tangents as they appear.

Figure 2 models the interactive flow between the main narratives of the documentary and the intersecting narratives. The grey areas represent menus (see fig. 3) that appear as subtitles in the video and can be activated to shift narratives.

In the opening sequence of the DVD, there are a number of interviews in which elders state their reasons for making a video (figs. 3-5). It is worthwhile to reproduce their voices here—albeit in print this time—in answer to the question of why they want to do the video:

Jean: Well, I'd like to see the elders do this project because we're not ... [we're] getting into the age group now where every year we're losing so many. And just last month we lost three elders from the 18th of December to the 25th. So, you know a lot of knowledge goes with every elder.
Fig. 4. Leona Neilson: Screen Shot from Prince George Métis Elders Documentary Project, Elder’s Introduction.

Leona: I’ve been wanting to see a project like this, in the urban setting you know? Because the people that move from their homes where they were brought up traditionally, and they come into urban areas, they lose the culture. So I always wanted to see something like this going on, so we could have that education to pass on to the younger ones. That they could see it, and they could see their grandma or whoever that’s in that video.

An important point made by the elders is that the audience is, at least in part, internal to the community. While there is also an interest in representing the community to a larger external audience, this is secondary. Within the community, there is also a diversity of interest and views, and the approach we have taken in the project is to try to make as much and as varied material available through the electronic form as we can. We have not been concerned about presenting a unified picture of the Métis community, but rather a plurality of views and knowledge, partly because this is at one level an inwardly directed process.

Another element of what the elders had to say about why they wanted to do the project, and perhaps more important, how they wanted to do it, was that for the elders this was a collective enterprise. At the same time, however, and consistent with the concern for internal variation in voice, the experience of the project
Fig. 5. Earl Henderson: Screen Shot from Prince George Métis Elders Documentary Project, Elder's Introduction.

_Earl:_ So, it can be taught and people can learn from it. For a lot of the elders that are passing away, they take a lot of the information with them. So I mean I think this is a great opportunity for young people and even some of the older Métis to learn some more about their culture and their traditions.

was a profoundly individual one. One of the best examples of this occurred in the summer of 2005, when the elders organized a full-day cultural workshop for their families—especially their grandchildren—at a park just outside of Prince George. Food was a big part of the workshop, as was the sharing of knowledge of bushcraft, herbal medicines, and other elements of Métis culture. We were instructed to record these things, and people with extensive knowledge shared it with us, and with the other elders and their families as well. Of particular note was the way that specific elders took the opportunity afforded by the day to share specific stories with their families; sometimes this happened on-camera, sometimes not. In the end, though, we recorded a great variety of footage with and about the elders generally, but with a keen eye to the individual authorship and the authority of the individual elders as persons.

The processes of recording the workshop at the park were in fact metonymic of the entire project. Within a collectively constituted project, over which the
elders exercised control of the topics and focus of the research, there was also considerable individual agency. This was consistent with the elders’ intentions and with a fundamentally Indigenous approach to research. At the risk of overgeneralization (I), practitioners of Indigenous methodologies insist that the collective nature of knowledge be respected (Smith 1999), while at the same time insisting that the individual presence of knowledge holders be acknowledged; this subverts some of the conventions of the academy, which render anonymous individual research participants and then generalize the conclusions arising from research (Evans 2004). By sharing our authority to generate video footage, and then by presenting the materials in a format that facilitates the expression of many voices, the representations of Métis culture produced are inclusive and collective, but resist the tendency to totalize.

There is a similarity here with some earlier text-based oral history work. In What It Is to Be a Métis: Stories and Recollections of Members of the Prince George Métis Elders Society (Evans, Gareau, et al. 1999) a number of elders’ life histories are presented (all but two in the elder’s voice and words) with no attempt to interpret, amalgamate, or unify these stories. The stories are for the community, about each elder individually, and not designed to create a single or even particularly comprehensive narrative about the community—so too with the elders’ video project, where multiplicity rather than closure or cohesion are the goals. For people from within the community, there is great value in recording and honouring individual voices and diverse representations. Our preliminary screenings of the materials to the elders has met with general approval (if occasional shyness), in part because the elders can see themselves, literally, in the video; each elder is present, as are the elders collectively.

This need not be the only goal of a legitimate participatory video project, however. The Métis Nation British Columbia History and Culture DVD Project has a very different goal, though it is still a participatory video project, albeit one that is far more structured. The differences between the project products are not so much about whether the process is participatory, because in each case there has been a collaborative participatory process engaged in terms of what sorts of material is recorded. In the History and Culture DVD Project, however, the end goal is an authentic, yet outward-looking self-representation. In other words, we are attempting to make the video participatory in the process of its production (through community input into what video is shot and how it is edited) within the context of a structure with a centralized narrative line that represents the “Métis Community” to external viewers. There is a distinction between this project and the elders’ DVD, between the techniques for enabling self-representation directed towards others and those intended primarily for internal community use.
The Métis Nation British Columbia History and Culture DVD Project began in early 2007 and has a scheduled completion date of 31 March 2009; it is directly funded by the MNBC through a research contract with UBC Okanagan. One reason for this project is poignantly put by Elder Lottie Kozak:

**Lottie:** ... as far as a Métis, like it's way back in the early 1800s that ... they came out here. My ... 4 times great-grandfather came out to Manitoba and then they lived in the Manitoba area for years until my great-grandfather came out here. And like he had, uh I think it was 8 boys ... or 10 boys. And then ... my grandfather, had 8 boys. And he adopted one. So ... I mean if people say there's not a Métis in this country, they're crazy. It's just that the Métis, after so many years of being hassled, they didn't want to let them know that there were Métis. They would ignore anybody that thought they had Native in them. A lot of people hid it.

**Raquel:** What was it like in your family? Did people talk about it or was it ...?

**Lottie:** Well they couldn't very well hide it because I was dark. And yet my sister was fairer—fairest than you. Well, she was really fair. She had the dark hair, but she still was fair, eh? If you seen us together, it's pretty hard to say we're sister[s] ... the same with some of the brothers. One of my brothers, total Spaniard. You know, very fair. And the other one, he was dark dark ... with the hook nose and more the Native's type. So it was hard to, you know hard to say. And yet my great-grandfather was fair. And my Mexican grandfather was fair, but my great-grandfather was darker, darker skin. But my great-grandma, or my grandfather was quite fair.

**Raquel:** When you were growing up, like was there a Métis community? Was there a sense of community in people?

**Lottie:** Well there was, but we weren't allowed to say that they had Native blood in them, eh? Like you weren't allowed to let people know that you knew that person has got Native blood in them. You just didn't talk about it. But I knew all my family did, and there was lots of them. There was right from here [Merritt, BC] down to the border, and then Vancouver. You know, they're spread out all over here, right up to the Peace River. There's all Métis. And they all trapped and hunted in here. Like I mean, some of the Métis trapped and hunted over the Rogers Pass ... and mined in the Rogers Pass. Back, back when ... they can't say there's no Métis here....
The objective of the project is to create a digital video product that can be used in high schools as part of the curriculum on the Métis of BC, and as a resource for explaining who the Métis of BC are to the general public. This contrasts with the Prince George Métis Elders Documentary Project, which is envisioned primarily to operate as a tool for the community itself. The work has involved extensive time with Métis participants in the communities, and a number of experts in various areas of dance, harvesting, and history. In this regard, the video process is participatory again, though in this project we have been careful to take some control over actual video recording because of our concern for the production values in this product. This does not mean that community participants do not have a role in video production—indeed, the model we have adopted calls for the collaborative selection of subject areas to video, followed by the logging of video and selection of approximately 90 minutes of core material, and then a workshop-style meeting involving key participants to identify a subset of that footage to use in the final DVD product through a collaborative editing process.

In this second project, the main community research partner is the MNBC itself, and key collaborators within that organization have identified the experts involved; the final cut will be made with the MNBC. The project is still participatory, but the number of community interlocutors is more limited; the overall goal is a much more straightforward narrative about Métis community and culture. This project is focussed on creating a more unified image of the Métis of BC, rather than on the complex ways in which individuals experience and reproduce Métis identities, and people are quite consciously thinking about what sorts of information should be highlighted.

The structure of the Métis Nation British Columbia History and Culture DVD product (fig. 6) is interactive, but it does not have the same levels of complexity or fragmentation as the elders’ DVD project. There is a central line of materials that unfold in pretty much the same way a standard documentary would. Each segment of the central documentary has additional material defined by the topical area covered, which can be accessed via a menu.

This structure is much more constrained than the elders’ project structure. It presents a multi-layered, flexible, but not fragmented image of Métis in BC. The result is a more managed and polished product. The structure outlined in Figure 6 necessarily leaves material “on the cutting room floor” in ways that the more eclectic and encompassing processes of the elders’ project do not, but the accessibility of the material is arguably greater.
Balancing Process and Product

Participatory approaches often hold that skills development of community participants and capacity building are fundamental. In the first instance, the elders were disinclined to pick up a camera, and in the MNBC DVD project we have been concerned about video quality, so we have not been focussed on having community partners learn videography skills. We have learned that another value of active participation in video production need not be directly related to capacity or skills development, however. The following two clips are instructive. They exemplify moments where process became centred on skill transfer, intergenerational bonding, and particularly, Lucy and Rowan’s experience as empowered participants in the project. The shoot took place during a day-long
celebration of Louis Riel Day at the MNBC office. Lucy, 7 years old, and Rowan, 11, are two of Beverly Lambert's jigging students (Lambert is a dancing expert working closely with the project). Raquel Mann, who was working with Lambert, had interviewed the girls earlier about their experience and knowledge of dance, and would film them performing a few hours after these excerpts took place. The two girls were excited by the camera and enthusiastic to be involved, and so she supervised and facilitated them in conducting two interviews, the first of which they filmed themselves (see fig. 7).

![Screen Shot of Ryan Bresser](image)

Fig. 7. Screen Shot of Ryan Bresser

Lucy: Do you know, do you remember any steps?

Ryan: Steps, I remember a couple steps, but you may or may not want to see them.

Raquel: Do you guys want to see them?

Lucy: Yeah. You can go right here. (Ryan: Oh.) It doesn't matter if you're good or you're bad.
Ryan: How about I do the footstep one?

Lucy: Okay.

Raquel: So now—yep, this is zoom-out. So if you want to see his feet you actually, do you want to try tilting that? Tilt it down. So you pull this up. There, now you can see the feet.

Lucy: Oh.

Ryan: Alright, so this is how I got taught to do the footsteps.

The second clip (fig. 8) is a poignant example of how high levels of participatory influence can have benefits on the level of both process and product. In this shot, Lucy and Rowan helped conduct the Interview with Phillip Gladue, MNNB senator for the Lower Mainland of BC, while Raquel manned the camera. Not only was the experience enjoyable and educational for the two young girls, but their presence and interactions in the interview encouraged Philip to share personal information with much warmth and highly animated expressions. His experience was thus enhanced as well. He was relaxed and inspired, and the session became meaningful in a way that was very immediate and close to home—this comes across very clearly in the warmth of the interaction, which is well captured on the video. Most likely, this would not have been the case had the interview been more formalized or if Raquel, a university-based researcher, had been the only one in the room asking the questions. In effect, we acquired valuable information and quality footage for the product because we engaged a high level of participation during the process. At the same time, however, the camerawork was conducted by Raquel, and there is a very clear difference between the production values in the clips. These production values matter as the Métis of BC develop and share new media representations of themselves for external consumption.
Raquel: Have you—do you guys want to ask questions about jiggling in particular?

Lucy: Have you ever gone jiggling before?

Phillip Gladue: Yes, I've jiggled a few times in my life. I started jiggling when I was about six years old. My mother jiggled, she used to be a real good jigger in our community. My father jiggled and all my relatives. We all jiggled. But a lot of my aunts and uncles played guitar or fiddle and a lot of times I'm asked, "Why didn't you learn how to play a fiddle?" Well somebody had to dance, so I am still doing that today at sixty-five years old so, there you go. And today I'm happy to be a part of your group here today.

Lucy: And how do you like jiggling?

Phillip Gladue: Oh jiggling is the heart of my soul. Music. When I hear the music I just, my spirit goes up. It comes alive.
Conclusion

Participatory research is fundamentally about transforming communities from passive subjects, objects, or victims of the research gaze, into agents. This has led to a laudable emphasis on engagement. In participatory video, such engagement meets some new technological barriers, although similar constraints and challenges exist in other contexts as well. Technologies can be enabling, but concern for the quality of the product of a participatory video process has a place, too. This concern is by no means limited to the professional artist/researchers working with communities, and attention to the video product—its quality and appeal—is required if the particular audiences are to be served. Further, a missing component in participatory video research has been the inclusion of the audience/viewer engagement. By taking advantage of new interactive technology, and with a growing audience inside and outside the community that expects certain levels of interactivity, we are extending the principles of participatory action by creating opportunities for the audience to shape the context within which the material is viewed. While this opens new questions for participatory research, it also creates more potential for community audience engagement and/or community pride in the representations developed and shared within a wider context. Indeed, in participatory research, context is everything.

We have described the contexts of two participatory video projects with Métis in BC. Both projects are based on participatory research principles, and both have sought to honour and support community participants, elders, experts, and leaders, engaging them in the process. These values were enacted at the same time as participants recognized and respected the contexts in which academic researchers work, and the differing skill sets brought to bear on the project. We argue that the interests and expertise of the directors/authors/researchers are significant and must be honoured as well. At the level of the video representations themselves, a key variable is the audience to which the material is directed and thus the degree to which narrative closure and coherence in representation is sought. Community participation matters, shaping the process and thus the products of the participatory relationship, and so too does the expertise of the videographers and academics; collaboratively participatory video research will move forward into an increasingly accessible videographic future.
Notes

1. Jon Corbett, Erin Dolmage, Joanne Gervals, Raquel Mann, and Zachary Romano contributed to the authorship of this essay.

2. In addition to Evans and Foster, academic participants included Marni Amirault (who completed her Masters of Arts in association with the project in 2006), Michelle Daveluy, and Craig Campbell (all from the University of Alberta), and Earl Henderson (from the University of Northern British Columbia).

3. The project was funded by a three-year Fine Arts Research/Creation Grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada. This is a special grant category designed for interdisciplinary projects with a Fine Arts focus. The grant category was devised by SSHRC in order to facilitate academically based artists who are not eligible for funding from the Canada Council for the Arts.

4. This text has been edited to reflect its place within a written text. In our experience, it is common for elders and community members to be upset by the appearance of unedited transcriptions of their interviews; this is understandable as most people do not speak like standard English writing.

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MNBC. See Métis Nation British Columbia.


