KANATA

VOLUME 5

KANATA VOL.5 WINTER

KANATA

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Paige Isaac, Lynn Fletcher, Kakwiranoron Cook, Kathryn Muller, Donna-Lee Smith, Michael Loft, Michael Doxtater, Marianne Stenbaeck, Luke Moreau, John Galaty, Niigenwedom J. Sinclair, Karis Shearer, Keavy Martin, Lisa E. Stevenson, Morning Star, Rob Innes, Deanna Reder, Dean Jane Everett, Dean Christopher Manfredi, Jana Luker, Ronald Niezen, George Wenzel, Jessica Dolan, Greg Brass, Adriana Goreta, Linda Jacobs Starkey, Ebba Olofsson, Norman Gull, Will Straw, Trudy Blumstein, Rachel Thorne, Charlotte Burns, Allan Vicaire

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COVER ART: Amy Boekhoud, *Little White Lies*

From the artist:

"As an artist, I've always been attracted to strong, bold uses of line/colour and works with a unique, graphic quality. When I was 18 years-old, a Native friend took me to festival on Walpole Island, a First Nations reserve close to Chatham, Ontario. There, I fell in love with the aesthetics of Native American culture. 'Little White Lies' was the first piece in a series that explored a variety of humanistic themes, aimed at fusing elements of Native art with my own desire to create bright, bold, and visually stimulating work".

About the artist:

Amy Boekhoud is a first-generation Canadian born in Chatham, Ontario. She is currently enrolled at McGill University in the department of Art History and Communications Studies and enjoys experimenting with artistic themes and mediums in her spare time.

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Jocelyn Dockerty

paper has long been the form whereon the academy has held the
forest hostage
for its wildness its untamed savagery   its plantness
in the end itself returning to pulp and dissipated print
so many documents are created or photocopied ongoingly
you'd think universities were themselves forest industries
so great their tonnage of this stuff
yet   here too is a forest   though not called so   yet is
pulped pressed flat   between covers printed on   in aisles and
paginated
even so   it is   just   that   yet not   just   that   even is it more

<div align="right">

(Cole, 2002, p. 451)

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This publication, KANATA, is annually put together by McGill University's Indigenous Studies Community, a group of the same name – KANATA. This publication is entirely student-led and is an expression of deep student interest in indigenous realities of North America related to politics, law, health, education, cultural studies, history, and much more. KANATA hopes that this journal demonstrates to the administration of McGill University that there is a strong interest Indigenous Studies so that one day a minor studies program may be created.

As a community, KANATA provides a space to learn about and discuss topics related to indigenous peoples of North America. We recognize that much learning takes place beyond the realm of the classroom and institutionalized education. We also recognize that much learning about indigenous realities must come from indigenous peoples themselves. KANATA hopes that this journal pro-

vides a diversity of voices to learn from.

As a journal, KANATA attempts to encourage students to take a healthy pride in their academic experiences and publish material that they believe can be useful to discussion about indigenous realities. KANATA emphasizes that its journal provides dialogue and not pre-determined claims about topics related to indigenous peoples. Within both a historical and current context of coercion and exclusion, KANATA wishes to emphasize the need to tell untold stories and to retell poorly told stories. Thomas King (2003), contemporary novelist of Cree and Greek heritage, explains:

> The truth about stories is that's all we are. The Okanagan storyteller Jeanette Armstrong tells us that "Through my language I understand I am being spoken to, I am not the one speaking... I am a listener to the language's stories, and when my words form I am merely retelling the same stories in different patterns" (p. 2).

KANATA recognizes that its journal is simply a collection of stories – by both indigenous and non-indigenous individuals. These stories are expressed in the form of visual art, essay, prose and poetry.

As Editor-in-Chief, I would like to thank Ned Blackhawk for writing an excellent Guest Editorial about his experiences as a student at McGill University.

In conclusion and on behalf of the Executive and Editorial Board, I encourage you to explore this journal and be ready to listen to the stories in it. Challenge them, create your own, and keep the stories coming; and, if you are interested in sharing your own with us, please be sure to talk to us.

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Cole, P. (2002). aboriginalizing methodology: Considering the ca noe. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 15 (4), 447-460.

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Guest Editorial

Ned Blackhawk

When I was at McGill in the late 1980s and early 1990s, there were very few student groups for or campus services offered to Native students. As anyone from that time can likely recall, there was of course a giant, angry Redman menacing Molson Stadium, the Currie Gym, and the men's athletic teams logos. I don't think I will ever forget coming onto the track the first week of classes and seeing this giant image high above the stadium floor. I never attended a football game and partly decided not to after hearing about inappropriate chants that often came down from the student section.

At the time I was not initially drawn to such concerns. Walking endlessly through the streets of Montreal, learning the Metro system, and shuttling back and forth between campus and Prince Arthur, these are the memories that I remember most from those first years. St. Laurent at night and in the summer is a spectacular place.

The summer of 1990 and its ongoing aftermath, however, reoriented my life as well as my relationship to McGill. For the first time in my nineteen years, I saw Indian politics as the lead story on the evening news, across the front pages of local and national newspapers, and debated in the classrooms and sidewalks around me. I had come to Montreal from the U.S. in part because of its multicultural diversity. Now, suddenly being Native meant having doors to apartment buildings quickly shut in front of you, being followed in stores and unwelcomed with other Native people in cafes, and most unsurprising not being picked up by the bus on the way back from Kahnawake.

Slowly, I began trying to make sense of the origins of the Oka Crisis, the legacies of the hyper-violent representations of Native men, and of the place of Native politics in Canadian society more broadly. I had never until then learned of James Bay and the James Bay Cree.

By the fall of 1991, we had formed a new student group— The Native Awareness Coalition. I wrote my first publication, a

November op-ed in the McGill Daily arguing against the use of the Redman logo. "Redmen, we are not," were its last words and eventually the University would abandon the logo, image, but not the name. We held teach-ins, a speaker series, and a busy "awareness week" that brought prominent Mohawk, urban Native leaders and artists, as well as non-Native journalists to campus. Ellen Gabriel, Alanis Obomsawin, Boyce Richardson, John Goddard, and Ida Williams and other leaders of the Native Friendship Centre—before its move to Rue Ontario—were among our speakers.

A mix of Native and non-Native students, we also attended Solidarite avec les autochtones events, went to readings at the Mohawk Nation Bookstore, and traveled to Trent University for their annual Native Elders Conference. It snowed so much the last night of the Awareness Week that our concert with Willie Dunn did not quite draw as many as we had expected. It became though both a nice intimate performance in the Alley (below Gert's) as well as a chance to really let loose following what had been a very busy week. I stumbled back through the snow with Sandrine, one of our Maliseet leaders and have regretted since graduation not having email, facebook, and even student directories from which we may all stayed in closer contact. I remember fondly this time in my life and appreciate all the support and friendship provided during what was a period of much intellectual and personal development.

As a Native Studies faculty member, I do now look back at these years and wonder what McGill and my life may have looked like had there been more Native faculty, students, courses, and space. A First Peoples House (with a director!) was something we could not have envisioned (and a staff!). We sold bagels and cream cheese in Leacock, our small table loaded as well with copies of the Eastern Door. Ultimately, I wonder how I may have learned and grown in a larger Native campus and academic community.

After McGill, I continued to study. I did not quite find a similar community of Native and non-Native peoples engaged in contemporary political concerns. In academia, many struggles happen within, and there has now been an entire generation of academics and community members often working together to build a larger field of study. The Native American and Indigenous Studies Association meets in June at the Mohegan Nation a short ride from here. The activism and political transformations that have come since Oka have been paralleled by the rise of scholarly fields in Native literature, history, cultural studies, and above all law. Having worked in some of these areas it has been quite rewarding to see such professional and intellectual developments and to contribute to them as best that I can.

It was a tremendous honor to be invited back to McGill, to meet the First Peoples House community, and to receive the McGill Stole, which I now proudly wear at Yale's Commencement. I carry my time at McGill with me and remain continuously inspired by our Native students, alumni, and community memebers.

For the First Peoples House and Community
Ned Blackhawk (Western Shoshone)
Professor of History and American Studies
Yale University
New Haven, CT

Ned Blackhawk (Western Shoshone) is a Professor of History and American Studies at Yale and was on the faculty from 1999 to 2009 at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. A graduate of McGill University, he holds graduate degrees in History from UCLA and the University of Washington.

The Hochelaga Rock

Taylor Rusnak and Andrea Palmer

Entering McGill campus through Roddick gates, what do you see? To your right stands the statue of a proud James McGill, the University's original founder, immortalized and pronounced. Straight ahead towers the Arts Building, where bright flowers blossom in the school's coat of arms during summer months. To the left is lower field, grounds to a myriad of activities year round, including sports events and the annual Pow Wow celebration hosted by First People's House of McGill. Few people are aware, however, that this field is also home to a national historic landmark. Facing Sherbrooke Street stands a telling stone, engraved with a commemoration of the original occupiers of the land. Yet, not even a path guides our footsteps to this historic place.

In Fall, 2011, opening KANATA's first ever Peer-To-Peer Conference with a prayer, Professor Michael Loft from Kahnawake, QC, honoured tradition and acknowledged the Mohawk territory on which McGill is situated. During the panel discussion that followed, Loft inspired and encouraged KANATA to embrace the "Move the Rock" campaign. True to the spirit of KANATA, this campaign aims to bring awareness across campus to the First People's traditional knowledge and the history of Hochelaga.

Upon visiting, studying, or working at the University, it is important that all engage with McGill's full history; its European founding and the First People's preceding occupancy of the land. Thus, we will make efforts to relocate the monument to face the stoic James McGill – thereby accessible and prominent. Starting now, this Hochelaga landmark, and the history it represents, will not be overlooked.

Michael Loft in front of the fence that separates visitors and passers-by from the landmark.

"The Rock." [Or: The stone recognizing the surrounding historic Hochelaga land.)

Native Peoples in the Post: Native Representations in late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Canadian Postcards

Stephanie Souroujon

"And yet there are but postcards, it's terrifying"
Jacques Derrida, *The Post Card*

Postcards seem to be everywhere. Some collect them and others mail them but their popularity is ever present especially near tourist attractions. Unconsciously, the postcards we choose reflect our values and ideals. This form of popular art gained momentum worldwide at the turn of twentieth century, and Canada was no exception. Cities and landscapes were represented, but perhaps, more significantly, was the representation of Canada's Native population. It was the first time that images of Canada's Native population circulated extensively throughout the public, both to tourists and locals.[1]

Native representations on postcards of late nineteenth and early twentieth century vary. A "typical" Native postcard does not exist. According to Erik Cohen, all types of tourists were interested with the "Native question," and in order to cater to the demands of distinct types of tourists, a variety of postcards representing Natives was created. This paper uses Erik Cohen's theory of Native touristic images to understand the representation of Natives in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century postcards in Canada. The paper concludes that each postcard should be analyzed individually, and that sweeping categorizations are difficult. While some postcards such as "No Time to Write in Toronto" 1907 (fig.1) are catered for a comical audience others such as the "Penciled Native Girl" 1912 (fig.2) are meant to elucidate romantic ideals of "Indianness." [2]

This paper proposes to analyze postcards as an alternate but equally enriching visual culture that reflects social ideals and political policies concerning Natives in late nineteen-century Canada. After discussing the artistic value of the postcard, this paper will address the dynamics of tourism and will elaborate on Erik Cohen's theoretical framework. This paper will then give an overview of nineteenth century Canadian policies related to Native peoples. After interpreting a selection of Canadian postcards, the paper will finish by giving a brief overview of the representation of Natives in other forms of visual culture analysis.

Postcards as Visual Culture

The first known postcard to be posted was mailed on October 1st 1869 in Vienna. [3] Postcards spread, and in 1871, Canada was the first nation within the American continent to adopt the medium.[4] The shift from business postcards to tourist postcards generated a demand for illustrated postcards. These tended to depict drawings of "rural landscape and cities, historical monuments and folkloric scenes."[5] Cards with images quickly became the norm. For instance, the card mailed on May 30, 1897 to Germany (fig.3) depicts a photograph of Niagara Falls on the back of the card.[6]

Richard Carline traces image postcards to early forms of popular art such as prints.[7] Similar to prints, postcards became a vehicle for popular art because they could reach multiple social classes due to their low prices.[8] Postcards developed into one of the earliest modern forms of popular visual mass media.[9] Their small and universal size, 9 x 14 cm,[10] makes the postcard universally collectable. They can be stacked or fitted into an album, and unlike greeting cards, the range

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1 Allan Anderson and Betty Tomlinson, *Greetings from Canada: an Album of Unique Canadian Postcards from the Edwardian era, 1900-1916* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978), 1-2.
2 In the introduction to his book, Daniel Francis names the Indian as the image of the Native that has been created by the non-Native population. This paper will refer to Indian as the imaginary image of the Indian that only exists in those that have created it.

3 "McCord Museum the Postcard," accessed November 29, 2011, (http://www.musee-mccord.qc.ca/scripts/explore.php?Lang=1&tableid=11&tablename=theme&elementid=97__true&contentlong) The first postcard can be attributed to the Austrian Emmanuel Hermann, he developed a method to speed up communication in which he introduced sending a "letter" without the envelope. They started as "administrative" and were intended for business purposes, until 1897 only the government was allowed to issue them.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 There exists a discrepancy between the information provided by the McCord Museum and Anderson's and Tomlinson book *Greetings from Canada*. The McCord dates the first photographic postcard to 1906, however this postcard portrays a photograph of Niagara Falls in 1897.
7 Richard Carline, *Pictures in the Post; the Story of the Picture Postcard* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1971) 24.
8 Carline, *Pictures in the Post*, 9-14.
9 Annelies Moors, "From "Women's Lib." to "Palestinian Women": The Politics of Picture Postcards in Palestine/Israel," in *Visual Culture and Tourism* ed. by David Crouch et al. (New York: Berg Publishers, 2003), 97.
10 "McCord Museum the Postcard."

of subjects is unrestricted.[11]

"Tourist postcards", or those produced for an "out of town" public, try to depict what tourists desire to encounter on their trips. Similar to other commodities, postcards are meant to be sold and their images therefore reflect what consumers want or are interested in. Since the exotic is an element that tourists look for, it must be highlighted in the postcard. For Annelie Moors, some postcards reproduce stereotypes that the tourist is expecting to encounter on his trip abroad.[12] Other times, postcards have clear political agendas, which are produced by the government to reinforce ideals of collective identity.[13]

Commonly seen as trivial commodities, postcards are a form of popular art that reflect morals of places and epochs. The critical study of postcards as a form of visual culture, which has been widely consumed and circulated, is an insightful way to assess the relationship that the average person had with images of Native peoples.

The Theoretical Approach (Dynamics of Tourism and Native Touristic Images)

Early tourist postcards reflect the commencement of an era of more accessible tourism. According to John Urry, a British sociologist, until the nineteenth century the ability to travel for pleasure was only available to a few elite. However, the construction of the railway permitted greater travel for the first time.[14]

The ability to "buy"[15] time is a crucial feature in the consumption of tourism; the ability to avoid work and replace it with leisure establishes a hierarchy between travelers. Unlike other services, Urry argues, a good holiday experience cannot be boiled down to an object or a particular service purchased. Different factors come into

play and many of these aspects[16] cannot be controlled by the tourist industry.

One of the few things the tourist industry is able to control and which is central to tourist services, is known as the tourist gaze or their ability to "to look individually or collectively upon aspects of landscape or townscape which are distinctive."[17] The tourist gaze creates the anticipation to visit certain places and not others; the tourist gaze is created through daydreaming or fantasy and is constructed or sustained by non-tourist practices such as newspapers, magazines or TV.[18] For example, according to Dubinsky, tourism in nineteenth century Niagara Falls relied on the anticipation of the traveler seeing their first "Indian."[19] Literature, advertisement, and postcards sustained this anticipation.

According to Urry, tourists gaze upon certain objects which stand out or speak to them, and their gaze is then visually objectified or captured through photographs and postcards, which enables the experience to be endlessly reproduced.[20] What tourists seek according to Urry is "authenticity," which is ineffective because those being gazed upon construct artificial sites that keep the inquisitive tourist gaze away.[21] Those being gazed upon construct "tourist spaces;"[22] artificial sites that are in accordance with the idealized image that the tourist holds. As Urry suggests, "staged authenticity" allows the gullible tourist to experience "pseudo events."

Sometimes, those being gazed upon do not participate in the tourist exchange. Douglas Sladen, a nineteenth century traveler, recorded his journey on the Canadian Pacific Railway.[23] He describes that when the train stops, passengers imagine that "they are going to Kodak an Indian but the Indian sits in the shade where instantaneous photography does not work, and when he sees the

11 Carline, *Pictures in the Post*, 15-22.
12 Annelies Moors, "Presenting People: The Politics of Picture Postcards of Palestine/Israel," in *Ephemeral Histories of Modernity* ed. by David Prochaska et al. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 93-105.
13 Rebecca J. DeRoo, "Colonial Collecting: French Women and Algerian *Carte Postales*," in *Ephemeral Histories of Modernity* ed. by David Prochaska et al. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 85-92. Rebbecca J. Roo analyses the depiction of Algerians in postcards in the background of colonial France and concludes that the images catered to a French justification of colonialism.
14 John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London: Routledge, 1995) 1-32.
15 Ibid.

16 Urry, *Consuming Places*, 1-32. Urry stresses that the people that you travel with and even the weather can determine a good holiday experience.
17 Ibid,131.
18 Ibid,132.
19 Karen Dubinsky, "Local Colour: The Spectacle of Race at Niagara Falls," in *Racism, Eh? A Critical Inter-Disciplinary Anthology of Race and Racism in Canada*, ed. by Camille A. Nelson ed al. (Concord: Captus Press Inc, 2004), 225.
20 Urry, *Consuming Places*, 132. According to Urry tourists are not in search of a French landscape but in search of "Frenchness," we can apply the same methodology to the encounter with Natives; they are not in search of Native people but in search of the imaginary image that Natives have come to embody.
21 Ibid, 140.
22 John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 9.
23 E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: the CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism (*Banff: Altitude Publishing Ltd, 1983), 42.

tourist time exposing him, he covers himself with the blanket"[24]. The nineteenth century Native was reluctant to get photographed and appropriated; the postcards served to fill in this gap. Postcards can stage and manipulate these experiences, and can come to be the sole representation of the "Indian" for non-Native Canadians who knew no other.

Erik Cohen proposes to break up the "stereotype of the stereotype" and establishes a new methodology to analyze the touristic image of the Native. Cohen states that there are two methods to analyze the image: first the extrinsic direction, which compares the image to reality, and second, the intrinsic direction, which focuses on the iconography and symbolism of the image.[25] His approach relies on an intrinsic approach, combined with an analysis of the context of production- in this case, the relationship between Native people and the majority of the population.

Cohen argues that there exists no single kind of tourist. In turn, there exists no single kind of "touristic image" of Native peoples because tourists look for different things, which is reflected in the diversity of postcards. However, Cohen separated these images into five categories (fig.4). The schematic plan categorized by the image's mode of representation (from ludic to serious) and by the image's intended impression (relatively familiar to relatively strange).

Given that the postcards analyzed in this paper are all from the same time period, a section on Canadian policies towards its Native population has been included and will serve as the historical background to the postcards. The postcards analyzed will answer Cohen's "mapping sentence" (fig.5) that addresses the basic principles of: Who? Who represents whom? For whom? How? Through which medium? Under which socio-historical circumstances? And under which prevailing socio-political relationships? Cohen outlines five categories to analyze the Native touristic image. The distinct images presented in the paper prove that representations of Native peoples in postcards catered to a broad range of tourists all with distinct conceptions of the image of the "Indian."

Canada in at the Turn of the Century and Native Representations in Postcards

According to Cohen, Natives are indigenous minority groups who are generally believed to enjoy a separate degree of ethnic cultural or social identity than the majority of the population.[26] Since this paper deals with visual representation, we can consider Native peoples as those who can be visually identified as such, either because of physiognomy or due to decorative elements that have been popularly associated with the image of the "Imaginary Indian" constructed in Canada.[27] It is worth mentioning that in the late nineteenth century an "Indian" according to the Indian Act of 1876, was defined as "any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band."[28]

Protection, civilization, and assimilation are the three main attributes stressed in Canada's official "Indian policy". The aim of the Indian Policy was to protect and civilize the "Indian". Since it was believed that "Indians" were incapable of dealing with persons of European ancestry, the mission was to civilize the "Indian" with European values to make him capable of looking out for his own interests.[29] These perceptions were incorporated into the constitutional structure of Canada (British North American Act 1867), which gave the government jurisdiction over "Indians and Indian land."[30] In the 1870s, a new legislation imposed the reserve system.[31] By 1896, reserves served both to protect and acculturate "Indians". In this way, "Indians" were isolated on reserves, "where they should create as little political difficulty as possible."[32] Native policies at the turn of the twentieth century either aimed to assimilate through Western civilization, or to socially exclude, and at times

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24 Ibid.
25 Erik Cohen, "The Study of Touristic Images of Native People: Mitigating the Stereotype of a Stereotype*" in Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges*, ed. by Douglas G. Pearce ed al. (London: Routledge, 1993), 38.

26 Ibid, 37.
27 Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: the Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture. (*Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992),1-10. Francis names the Indian, the image that non-Native Canadians have over aboriginals.
28 Ibid, 201.
29 David T. McNab, "Herman Merivale and Colonial Office Indian Policy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*" in As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: a Reader in Canadian Native Studies*, ed. by Ian A.L. Getty et al. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 85-103.
30 Ibid,85.
31 Ibid.
32 D.J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton and Canadian Indian Administration,*" in As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: a Reader in Canadian Native Studies*, ed. by Ian A.L. Getty et al. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 121.

these policies were achieved through the use of force.[33] We can firmly conclude that Native and non-Native relations were tense at the turn of the century.

The postcard *Original Owners of our Country* 1905[34] (fig.6) best exemplifies Canadian paternalistic attitudes towards aboriginals at the turn of the twentieth century. The postcard depicts two watercoloured aboriginals set on a landscape. In contrast to the Native representation, superimposed in a cutaway view, is a photograph of the Traffic Bridge in Alberta. The primitive and ahistorical "Indian" is set in a forest, and is depicted with watercolours. Juxtaposed to this image is a photograph of a modern "European" invention of a steel bridge. The paternalistic Canadian attitude is the overarching theme in this image. European inventions and "way of life" is regarded as the salvation and route to modernity. This image is a way to legitimize colonization as if bringing the better European way of life.

While non-Natives harshly tried to assimilate Natives to European values, Canada had an open immigration policy, which targeted large number of peasants from central and Eastern Europe. Sifton, Wilfried Laurier's minister of immigration, initiated Canada's large-scale immigration policy to populate the western prairies.[35] Canada had to re-construct its identity as to include the new immigrants; one way it did so was by defining Canadian identity in opposition to the Other (Native).[36]

The postcard from the *Knowles Series No 100-1200* 1906-107 (fig.7) is a comic illustration in which stereotyped white men each represent a European country, dressed in their respective traditional attire. They are shown singing the "National Song of Canada." Although they all stand together, a hierarchy of position is present. The Englishman, who is wearing a shirt with the Union Jack, stands in the middle. Even though the majority of Western Europeans are present in the image, the Native and the "original founder of the country"[37] is not depicted. He is not part of the "National Song of Canada," and similarly not part of early twentieth century Canada. The absence of Native representation is significant because it excludes the original population from Canadian National identity by purposely positioning them as the "Other". Similarly, this image is also propagating the myth of the unpopulated land and the "natural" way to develop it, hence their position in the wheat field.

The nineteenth century was ruled by an epoch where tension between Natives and non-Natives presided. Cohen distinguishes between various representations of Native touristic images. Metanymic images, those "neutral" are most common in journalistic and scientific representations.[38] *Canadian Eskimos in Fort Magnesia, Cape Sabine, Ellesmere Island* 1910 (fig. 8) represents a stereoscopic image of a family of Canadian Inuit. The American company Keystone View produced these 3-D images as educational kits that incorporated an explanation in the back[39]. Tourists would have bought these images. The stereograph depicts an Inuit family inside their house; placed on the table is white set of dishware, a Eurocentric artifact. The Inuit manner of dress contrasts with European food consumption and etiquette. Since assimilation was a prevailing policy in nineteenth century Canada, the presence of dishware in the home is meant to indicate that these policies are "functioning." The text in the back was meant to "educate" tourists on the living conditions and character traits of the Inuit. "It is rare for an Eskimo to inflict physical punishment on a child, even for disobedience. The children are rarely disobedient…"[40] This inscription on the back of the postcard attempts to demystify and educate the non-Native population on the nineteenth century assumptions that Inuit were dangerous and aggressive, it helps propagate the message to non-Natives that Inuit should not be feared and thus that settlement into the "distant" lands is safe.[41] Although this image "looks" authentic it is created.

33 John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy,*" in As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: a Reader in Canadian Native Studies*, ed. by Ian A.L. Getty et al. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 47.
34 This postcard is from the Canadian Patriotic Post Card Handbook that is significant because it has a political agenda in what it means to be Canadian.
35 Reg Whitaker, "Canadian Immigration Policy," *Chinook Multimedia Inc.* (2001): 1-4, accessed November 28, 2011, http://www.cssd11.k12.co.us/palmer/social_studies/teachers/schulzki/IB/Progressive%20Seminar%202009/immigration%20and%20indigenous%20people/Canadian%20Immigration%20policy.pdf.
36 Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 1-10.

37 This expression comes from the previous postcard analyzed *Original Owners of Our Country.*
38 Cohen, "The Study of Touristic Images of Native People," 43.
39 "McCord Museum Keystone View Company," accessed December 6 2011, http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/scripts/explore.php?Lang=%0D%0A1&tableid=1&tablename=artist&element id=02833__true.
40 First paragraph of the back part of Keystone View Company, An Eskimo Family at Fort Magnesia, Cape Sabine, Elles-Mere Land (1903-1908).
41 Reg Whitaker, "Canadian Immigration Policy," 4. The author argues that Canada was loosing its population to the United States due to Canadian harsh winters. In order for Sifton's immigration policies to work he had to demystify the rumor that the Inuit were dangerous to expand settlement.

While some images were meant to "educate" the public by using "neutral" images, other images such as "No Time to Write in Toronto" 1907[42](fig.1) is a *comic* image, "structured to elicit a ludic sense of merriment [….] and relatively unfamiliar traits of exaggeration."[43] This ink on leather postcard, mailed June 10th 1907, depicts the contours of an "Indian" holding an axe pursuing a White man. This hand made postcard was sent to Manitoba probably mailed by a non-Native Canadian. By using leather the author re-appropriates Native art crafts. Given that Canadian policy in the early twentieth century had restricted Natives to Indian reserves, the unrealistic scenario of an Indian pursuing a White man is a "comical" lie. The reality was the reverse; the White man was chasing the Native, and the writer of the postcard is altering the narrative.

The penciled image of a Native girl (mailed September 1912),[44] (fig.2) would be categorized as a *beautiful* image in Cohen's criteria.[45] It depicts a penciled Native girl wearing a feathered headdress. The faded pencil drawing towards the bottom of the image emphasizes the fictitious and idealized character. It is an imaginary image that the traveler would have liked to encounter, but that does not exist. Like the romantic images of Paul Kane, this postcard is part of an idealized image.[46] The image merely re-enforces the stereotype of a "beautiful" Native girl. The postcard is addressed to "Ma bien chere fillette"[47] which is probably why the mother chose this image; however, the text on the back does not mention the image in the front.

General Native Representation

The study of postcards cannot be separated from the greater aesthetic context. Since Canadian policies aimed to assimilate the "Indian," it was widely assumed that the "Indian" in its "savage" form would disappear.[48] The "Vanishing Canadian"[49] made it attractive for Canadian artists to "record" Natives, and in this way the White artist became an amateur ethnographer.[50] Paul Kane took it upon himself to "preserve their traditional customs and appearance on canvas."[51] His representations were many times intermixed with European ideals of Romanticism, which was fond of anything exotic and mysterious.[52] The postcard of the penciled Native girl widely resembles Kane's canvases.

Edmund Morris, another prominent Canadian artist[53] was responsible for the portraits of the leaders who had signed the Hames Bay treaty.[54] He was allowed to paint those that had complied with the government and were no longer deemed a threat to Canada. It has been argued that Morris genuinely admired the traditional cultures and that he did not enjoy moralizing his portraits.[55] Stereoscopic postcards are similar in this way; they try not to impose a moralizing depiction of the Native by emphasizing their didactic quality.

The "Indian" image is not only present in high art, but also in a variety of other popular objects. A set of playing cards published by Canadian Pacific Railway Company in about 1915 portrays black and white half tone reproductions of scenic photographs of Canada. The Joker is represented as a Native Chief (fig.9), and popular culture tends to associate the Joker with the fool from Tarot cards. The fool is associated with the "Madman" or the "Beggar." It is significant that the creator of these cards depicted a Native, the only human represented in the entire deck, as the Joker, who holds negative connotations in Western popular thought. This depiction is demeaning; the Chief could have been depicted as the King. Like cards, the Native serves to entertain the non-Native tourist. These examples of the Native representation in nineteenth century Canada illustrate how postcards are merely a reflection of nineteen-century aesthetics.

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42 This object has not been made available in the online database at McCord Museum but the archive number is M2002.100.4.
43 Cohen, "The Study of Touristic Images of Native People," 45.
44 This postcard is from a postcard album from the Notman Photographic Archives at McCord Museum. It is not available online but the archive number is M2009.67.2.1-214 postcard 12.
45 Cohen, "The Study of Touristic Images of Native People," 43.
46 As Rebecca J. Roo argues, postcards can be used to travel to imaginary places; women in Algerian postcards tend to depict women in the harem and areas where the tourist would not have had access.
47 Back of postcard Anonymous, Untitled (ca.1912), Cardboard postcard, aprox 9 x14 cm. Roo stresses that the text that accompanied nineteenth century Algerian women's postcards hardly acknowledged the image in the front; the same can be said about this McCord postcard.

48 Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 22.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid,16.
52 "Romanticism," Encyclopedia Britannica Online, accesses November 28, 2011, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/508675/Romanticism.
53 Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 26. Morris was the son of the governor of Manitoba and the Northwest territories, he was invited by the Ontario government to accompany a group of officials who were negotiating the Hames Bay Treaty. He was responsible for the portraits of the Chiefs that signed the treaty.
54 Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 26.
55 Ibid.

In conclusion, this paper has attempted to argue that there is not one stereotyped image of the Native at the turn of the century Canadian postcards; the representations vary, depending on their intended target. Since there is no such thing as one type of tourist there cannot be such a thing as one type of Native representation. Although the portrayals of Natives vary from postcard to postcard, they are a product not only of national Canadian policies but also of other visual Canadian aesthetics. The representations studied in this paper serve either to negate the Native, to make fun of him, or to epitomize his "exotic" qualities.

KANATA is a great way for Native and non-Native people to come together. As an international student from Mexico where this contact is not as well established, I greatly admire the active presence of the Indigenous Studies Community at McGill. I hope to pursue graduate studies on the effects that souvenirs/ movable objects have on our perception of the "Other."

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Plate List

Fig 1: Anonymous, Untitled (ca. 1907), Ink on leather, aprox. 9 x 14cm. McCord Museum of Canadian History, Archives, Montreal, Canada.

Fig 2: Anonymous, Untitled (ca.1912), Cardboard postcard, aprox 9 x14 cm. McCord Museum   of Canadian History, Notman Photographic Archives, Montreal, Canada.
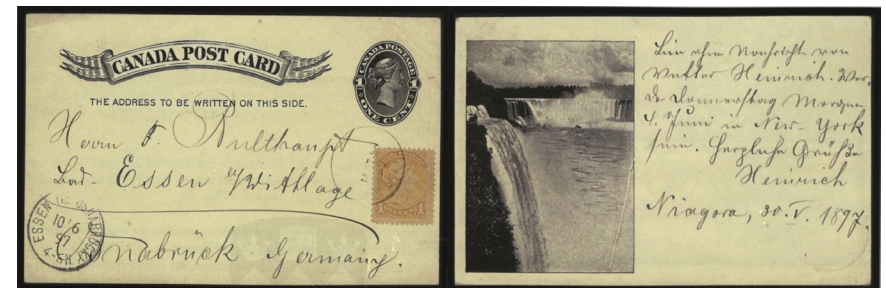

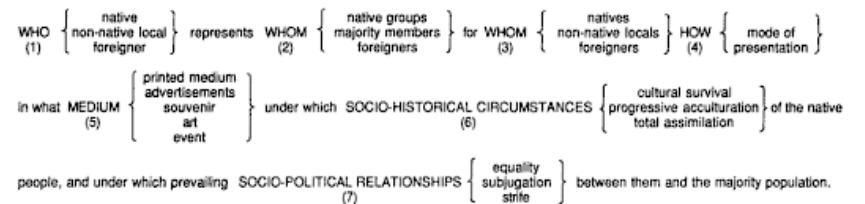Fig 3: Anonymous, Untitled (ca. 1897), Cardboard postcard, 9 x 14 cm in

Figure 4.1 Basic mapping sentence for the study of touristic images of native people

Fig 4: Cohen, Basic Mapping Sentence for the Study of Touristic Images of Native People, "The Study of Touristic Images of Native People," 39.
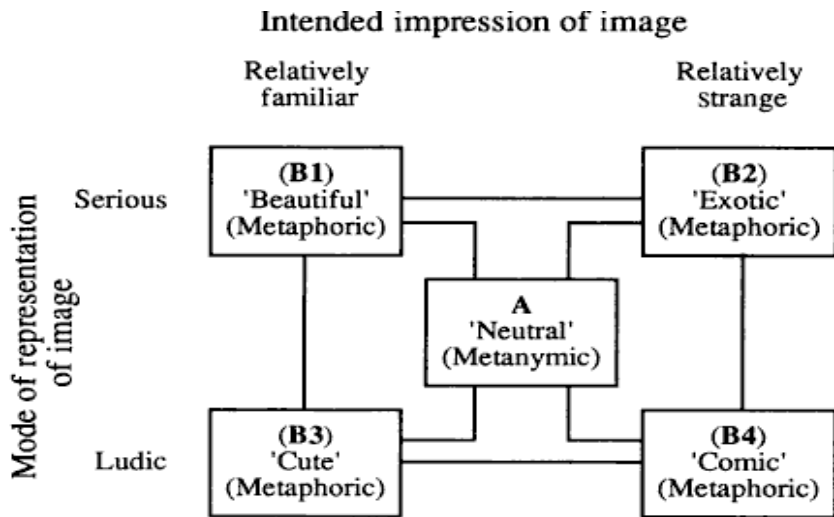
Fig 5: Cohen, <u>A Typology of Touristic Images</u>, "The Study of Touristic Images of Native People," 43.

Fig 8: Keystone View Company, <u>An Eskimo Family at Fort Magnesia, Cape Sabine, Elles-Mere Land</u> (1903-1908) Front and back of a stereoview, 9 x 17.5cm. McCord Museum of Canadian History, Archives, Montreal, Canada.

Fig 6: Anonymous, <u>Original Owners of Our Country</u> (1905), Postcard, size unavailable. W.L Gutzman, *The Canadian Patriotic Post Card Handbook 1904-1914*(Toronto: The Unitrade Press, 1985), 83.

Fig 7: Anonymous, <u>Knowles Series No. 100-1200</u> (1906-1907), Postcard. size unavailable. W.L Gutzman, The Canadian Patriotic Post Card Handbook 1904-1914(Toronto: The Unitrade Press, 1985), 109.

Fig 9: Canadian Pacific Railway, <u>Untitled</u>, from deck of cards ((1905), Coloured ink on card, 7.3 x 10.2 cm. McCord Museum of Canadian History, Notman Photographic Archives, Montreal, Canada.

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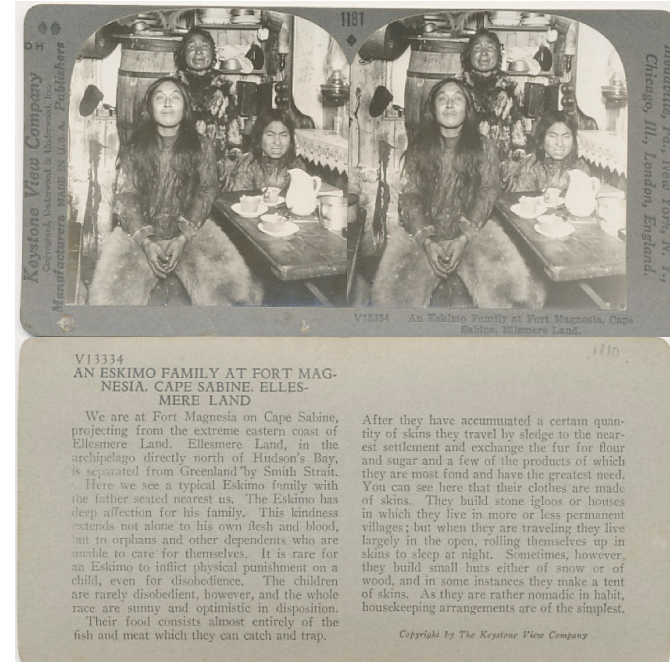
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Annie Pootoogook: Depicting the Realities of Life in Cape Dorset

Isabel Luce

As a contemporary artist, Annie Pootoogook is known throughout Canada and internationally for her dynamic drawings made from pencil crayons and ink, which depict life within Cape Dorset, in Nunavut. Her work is unique as the scenes she draws are raw, not shying away from using the harsher realities of life in the Canadian North as her inspiration. Her works also depict a break from the drawing styles of her mother and grandmother, as well as the celebrated artist Kenojuak Ashevak and other traditional Cape Dorset artists; as instead of referencing the familiar prints and soapstone carvings of the past, Annie's works use subject manner that shows the modern society in which the Inuit of Cape Dorset now live, flaws and all.[1] The simple style of her work allows Annie to create thoughtful drawings that become accessible to audiences unfamiliar with the realities of life in the Canadian North. Therefore, Annie's drawings expose Northern issues to a wider audience, as each drawing contains a story that reflects the most ordinary, intimate, and difficult aspects of life.

Born in 1969, Annie started drawing later in life at the age of 28 in 1997.[2] Despite her late start, Annie came from a line of artists as both her mother Napachie Pootoogook, and her grandmother Pitseolak Ashoona were celebrated for their artwork. Her grandmother, Pitseolak Pootoogook, belonged to the last generation of Annie's family to grow up in the traditional Inuit lifestyle. As a member of a small nomadic group, life for Pitseolak during the earlier half of the 20th century would have consisted of hunting and moving depending on the availability of resources.[3] The Inuit concept of time was shaped around the seasons rather than

the clock, meaning the group would often be in different regions depending on what food was in season. As an egalitarian society, the men were responsible for the hunt, while the women prepared and butchered the meat, repaired clothing, and cared for the children.[4]

Though Pitseolak lived the traditional Inuit lifestyle, Annie's mother Napachie grew up during a period of great transition. The Inuit had lived in Northern Canada for thousands of years, while occasionally coming into contact with European explorers and then the settlers. Throughout these years their nomadic lifestyle, culture and traditions persisted with only slight changes. However, during the 1800s these interactions with outsiders increased as whalers and members of the Hudson Bay Company arrived in search of furs in these Northern regions. Inuit groups began to aid newcomers with these industries and soon their livelihood came to rely heavily upon the European market. This resulted in tragedy when in the 1930s and 1940s the Great Depression meant a collapse in the fur trade, which led to the Canadian government intervening with a number of relief programs in order to improve conditions in the North. Interventions increased as American army bases were formed during World War II and used extensively throughout the Cold War in Northern regions.[5]

In 1955, the Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources Jean Lesage declared "a new policy for Inuit administration, to remedy the 'almost continuing state of absence of mind' in which Inuit had previously been administered and to ensure that Inuit had the same rights, privileges, opportunities and responsibilities enjoyed by other Canadians."[6] This policy soon resulted in the construction of a number of housing projects throughout the North beginning in the 1960s, as well as the creation of public schools. These schools encouraged a sedentary lifestyle as the school year conflicted with traditional migratory patterns. Therefore, the Inuit were abruptly forced to give up anomadic lifestyle they had maintained for centuries, as hunting for food became less feasible and grocery stores made it no longer necessary. Adjusting to this new life was difficult for many, and a number of social and economic problems ensued because of these changes.

Napachie, Annie's mother, experienced these changes

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1 For an example of the most well known work by Kenojuak Ashevak, take a look at Figure 1, the Enchanted Owl. This print is one of the most celebrated examples of traditional Inuit artwork. This is the type of artwork that Annie Pootoogook grew up with, and her own works show a turn away from.
2 Whyte Murray, "Northern art without artifice," *Toronto Star (Canada), n.d.,* EBSCOhost (accessed October 25, 2011).
3 Kenojuak Ashevak, "Kenojuak's Memories," In Inuit *Women Artists: Voices from Cape Dorset,* Toronto, Canada: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994.

4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Canada's Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development, http://ainc-inac.gc.ca/eng/1100100016900 .

firsthand; she lived from 1938 to 2002.[7] Her artwork shared her personal experiences as well as stories about her friends and family, using clear imagery so that a Southern audience would be better able to understand the harsh reality of living up North.[8] Her work interestingly depicts traditional Inuit life, infused with occasional elements of modernity. Mythology also takes a prominent place in her works of drawings with a number of local shamans; however, there are also occasional references to Christianity that show the growing influence it has had in the region. Napachie saw her drawings as a form of storytelling, each image having a story that accompanied it. This idea of using artwork to tell a story is seen in her ink drawing "Throwing Away Prized Possessions" (figure 2), and is a technique that Annie would also use throughout her own works. This drawing shows several women throwing away their beaded embroidery against their own wishes, as the arrival of Christianity meant that they were forced to give up many aspects of their traditions way of life.[9]

Unlike the inked drawings of Annie's mother and grandmother, Annie chose to work with coloured pencil crayon. Due to the childlike nature of the medium there is a lightness to her work that makes it both inviting and playful; however, the style is also often paired with chilling and off-putting subject matter. Initially, Annie's works were not embraced by her Cape Dorset community as many would ask, "Why would you draw like that? Why these difficult subjects?"[10] Yet as she has become more successful over the past ten years, Annie's work has now come to be just as respected in her community as the more traditional works of her mother and grandmother. The appeal of her works stem from the idea that Annie only draws what she sees or experiences from her everyday life. There is an innate sense of truthfulness in each work that seems to give the viewer the whole story of what life has been like for her.[11] The viewer has a glimpse into a family's living room as they go about their daily activities, whether it is "Watching Jerry Springer," "Watching the Simpsons on TV," or even "Picking Lice."[12] These are often activities that manyeither already do or can relate to, which makes it easier for an outsider to connect with people in Northern regions of Canada who are so often seen as on the periphery. The viewer is now privileged with an insight into some of the most mundane activities of the every day and by chance, this window into someone's personal living room may also reveal the most intimate and private moments of their lives.

The darkness of her pieces can be seen in particular in "Hanging," "Memory of My Life: Breaking Bottles," and "A Fight." The "Hanging" (see figure 3) refers to an attempted suicide luckily averted at the last moment with the help of a surprised onlooker. Emotions are evident in the lines extending out of each of the characters, the surprise of the onlooker, and the mixed feelings of the rescued individual gasping for air. Both the rescuer and the rescued have tears streaming down their faces, the rescuer stands tall like a hero as he cuts down the noose. Suicide is a pressing issue relevant for Annie. Since 1999 more than twenty residents of Cape Dorset have committed suicide.[13] Due to the small size of Cape Dorset's population, Annie likely knew several of those whose lives had been tragically cut short. As Annie draws from what she knows, this image most likely references the experience of someone she knows within her community who narrowly avoided taking his own life.

"Memory of My Life: Breaking Bottles" (see figure 4) is another tragic moment drawn by Annie in pencil crayons, originatingfrom Annie's own personal experience. Annie explains that when she was young she " broke bottles 'cause I got tired of drinking people every day, so I broke . . .their bottles on the rock so they won't drink tomorrow. I think I did a good job."[14] The final painting, "A Fight" (figure 5), illustrates yet another horrific moment in Annie's life. This scene of domestic violence shows a moment when Annie was threatened and beaten with a bat by an ex-boyfriend. In another drawing, "Man Abusing his Partner," Annie's

7 Peter Goddard, "Inuit Culture Clash," *Toronto Star (Canada), n.d.*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 25, 2011).
8 Leslie Boyd Ryan, Napachie Pootoogook http://feheleyfinearts.com/gallery/exhibitions/pooto-ogook/napachie.shtml
9 Ibid.
10 Whyte Murray, "Northern art without artifice," *Toronto Star (Canada), n.d.*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 25, 2011).
11 Lynn J. Fraser, "Interior spaces, northern places: Nunavut artist Annie Pootoogook's artwork is observational and narrative," *CMAJ: Canadian Medical Association Journal* 175, no. 9 (October 24, 2006): 1100, EBSCOhost (accessed October 25, 2011).

12 Each of the quoted phrases are titles of some of her ink drawings.
13 Jim Bell, "GN mounts plan to help helpers prevent suicide," March 20, 2009. http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/archives/2009/903/90320/news/nunavut/90320_2001.html .
14 Randy Ludacer, Memory of My Life: Breaking Bottles, http://www.boxvox.net/2010/06/memory-of-my-life-breaking-bottles.html

abuse is again put on display in a perhaps more vivid manner as the drawing depicts the man in the process of striking a horrified woman. By drawing such tragic, private moments, Annie brings awareness of often overlooked issues within her community, whether it's domestic abuse, alcoholism, or suicide, to a much larger audience. After exhibiting her works at the 52nd Venice Biennial, Art Basel in Switzerland, and at Documenta 12 in Kassel, Germany, Pat Feheley (Annie's Yorkville art dealer) explained, "some of the people didn't understand what they [saw]… and I have to tell them that they are true stories."[15] Annie has been increasing awareness of the realities of the Canadian North on an international level through her easily accessible art.

Another interesting characteristic of Annie's work is the general sparseness of the living arrangements as the walls are decorated with only a rare ornament or two. In figure 5, "A Fight," the few objects hanging from the walls include a baseball cap, two small paintings, a no smoking sign and what looks like a smoke detector. The walls are otherwise left as a vast empty space, which may perhaps act as a reflection of the vastness of the arctic landscape outside. This lack of decoration is likely due to these housing projects being relatively new living spaces for the Inuit people, as before they were built Inuit lived in igloos in the winter and temporary wooden buildings in the warmer weather.[16] Marcia Connolly, director of a documentary on Annie's life, explains that "as soon as you get to where [Annie] lives, her work makes so much more sense; the landscape can be oppressive. It used to be about freedom, but Annie and a lot of her generation didn't go out on the land… The interiors of her life are very spare, [and so] Annie's walls look like a piece of drawing paper, yet they are actually her walls"[17] Due to the temporary nature of their nomadic lifestyle, decoration did not take on as much importance as it may for those living in warmer climates in the rest of Canada. Therefore, the few things that are on the walls in these homes are most likely therefor a purpose rather than simply ornamentation.

The numerous drawings of children planted in front of the television is also indicative of the impact of a sedentary lifestyle on the younger generation as there is little else to do for entertainment. Previously, every member of the family had a role to play in their family's survival - whether it was assisting with the hunt, looking after the younger children, or preparing food. As these tasks become no longer essential for survival, the result has been an excess of spare time on the hands of the young, partially leading to an increase in the suicide rates as younger members of the community resort to drugs and alcohol in order to help pass time.[18]

Over the past half century, art production became an outlet for expression and story-telling in Cape Dorset, but more importantly an export to supplement the community during times of economic hardships. The population of Cape Dorset consists of approximately 1200 people, 98% of the population being Inuit.[19] Out of this population, almost one quarter consists of professional artists, a staggering fraction. This preoccupation with art as a commodity took shape during the 1950s, when James and Alma Houston, a couple from Southern Ontario ventured to Cape Dorset and remained there for five years. They encouraged the community to pursue various forms of art, from Inuit sculpture, to the introduction of printmaking as early as 1957. An art collective soon formed and Inuit artists began selling their works directly to a number of galleries in Southern Ontario. Annie has explained that she draws simply because it is her job. It is what puts food on her table. This seems to be the general approach from the Cape Dorset artists as opposed to the Western norm which often values artists as geniuses. In Western society, emphasis is places on fame and fortune, whereas in Cape Dorset, artists simply want to make a living.

Annie has received a lot of recognition recently; in 2006 she won the Sobey Art Award, a prestigious award for artists under the age of forty. When asked about what she would do with the $50,000 of award money, Annie replied that the first purchase she would make would be a brand new snowmobile.[20] After winning the award, Annie has gone on to do several solo shows, including one at the Power Plant Gallery in Toronto. Also in 2006, Marcia Connolly made a documentary on Annie's life which was released at the Reel

15 Peter Goddard, "Unblinking look at North earns Canadian attention," *Toronto Star (Canada)*, Canadian Reference Centre, EBSCOhost (accessed October 25, 2011).
16 Ibid.
17 Peter Goddard, "She saw Ski-Doos, not igloos," *Toronto Star (Canada)*, Canadian Reference Centre, EBSCOhost (accessed October 25, 2011).

18 Ibid.
19 Melissa Kuntz. "Annie Pootoogook at the Power Plant." Art in America 95, no. 1 (January 2007): 154. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed October 25, 2011).
20 Ibid.

Artists Film Festival, and Annie was invited to Documenta 12 (an exhibition held every five years in Kassel, Germany to celebrate artists from all over the world). Annie Pootoogook was the first Inuit to ever be invited to show their work with Documenta, which she saw as a very prestigious honour.[21]

One may observe that most of Annie's works have underlining themes of sadness . Annie once explained that "I wish I was born in the past [becuase] I would know [things] in the traditional way. But I'm not from the past. I didn't see any igloo in my life. Only today, Ski-Doo, Honda, house."[22] Though she wishes she could live in the traditional way, Annie understands that this is no longer possible and therefore portrays life as it is, with all the modern elements that have led to changes in Inuit culture. As Daniel Francis explained in his book Imaginary Indian, "Indians, as we think we know them, do not exist."[23] Francis goes on to explain that the common-held general perception of what makes an 'indian' is shaped by stories told in our childhood, in films or through various other media outlets that contain more fiction and stereotypes than fact. The same may be said for the Inuit, as the general perception of the Inuit is of a people who continue to live in igloos and hunt for food on sleds with their huskies. Many simply ignore that Inuit live in the contemporary period by situating the Inuit into an idealized past. Annie's work combats these perceptions by her inclusion of objects like televisions, and recognizable food products like 'Ritz crackers.' These inclusions contradict the idea that life is unchanging for the Inuit, and enforces the reality, as opposed to the mythology, of life in the North.

Ultimately, Annie's work stands to represent the vibrancy as well as the disturbing problems within Inuit society today, in a way that can be interpreted by an international community. Her work explores the fundamental changes that have taken place in her small community over the past fifty years, acting as an ambassador of Cape Dorset by sharing the hardships and happy moments of her own life. Her matter-of-fact approach towards art breaks from the usual traditions of Inuit art. Annie Pootoogook has followed the footsteps of her mother and grandmother, by making art an essential part of her life, using it to express her deepest thoughts and feelings; however, Annie's works are much more accessible, expanding on her mother and grandmother's tradition and encapsulating modern Inuit life.

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Plate List

Figure 1: "The Enchanted Owl," by Kenojuak Ashevak, 1971, Produced with the West Baffin Eskimo Cooperative, Cape Dorset, Nunavut.
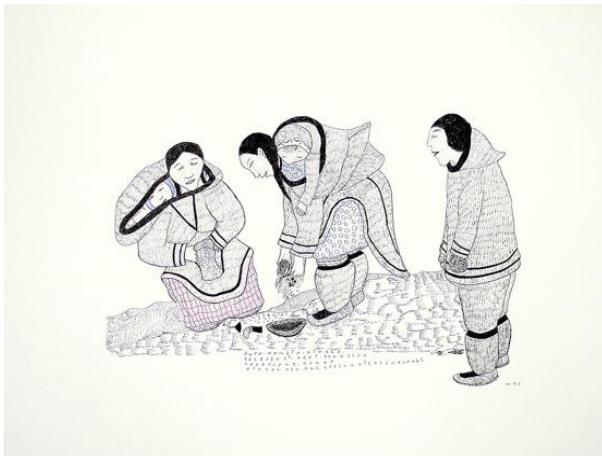
Figure 2: "Throwing Away Prized Possessions," by Napachie Pootoogook, Cape Dorset, 1997/98, Ink and Pencil Crayon, 20x26 inches.

Figure 3: "The Hanging," by Annie Pootoogook, 2004, Ink and pencil crayons, 50.8x66cm.
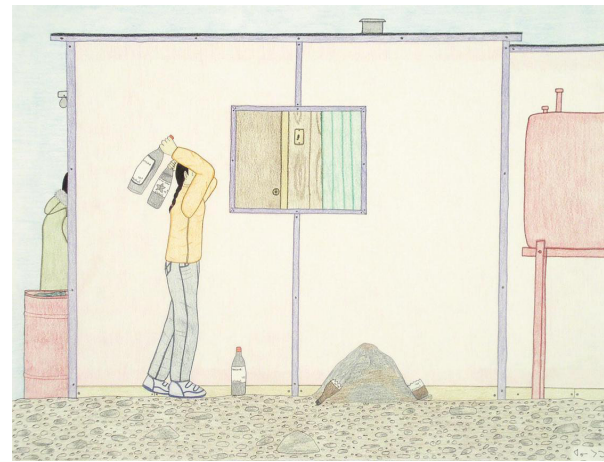

Figure 4: "Memory of My Life: Breaking Bottles," by Annie Pootoogook, 2002, Ink and pencil crayon on paper, 20x26 inches.

Figure 5: "A Fight," by Annie Pootoogook, 2003, Ink and pencil crayons, Feheley Fine Arts, 50.8x66cm.

Beyond Monetary Measures: Redefining Poverty and Wealth in Nunavut

Portia Crowe

When the Canadian government began focusing efforts on "developing" the North in the 1950s, the prevalent assumption was that Inuit were impoverished, living lives inferior to those in the Canadian South. In Nunavut today there are few 'basic' amenities like shopping malls, movie theatres, and fast-food restaurants. However, while the Inuit lifestyle, characterized by subsistence hunting, is very different from Southern customs, the immediate conclusion that it is impoverished looses ground upon closer inspection of the Inuit economy. Marshall Sahlins maintains that subsistence hunters "have few possessions, but they are not poor" (37). Given that a myriad of government policies, from social services to health economic development, are influenced by measurements of regional policy, it is necessary to accurately define "poverty" in the Northern subsistence economy. To properly assess Inuit well-being, it is therefore essential to re-conceptualize Nunavummiut economy and lifestyle, and understand that by their own measures, they are not poor.

Social Rules, Subsistence Hunting, and the Cash Economy

As they are rooted in social custom, Inuit economic arrangements may appear informal to the Southern eye (Wenzel, 98). Economic relations between people are characterized by reciprocity in the form of cooperative production, equal distribution, and mutual aid (Usher and Duhaime, 179). Marcelle Chabot, however, describes kinship solidarity systems as effective "resource-management strategies" (27). These apparently "informal" transactions in fact follow fundamental social rules of kinship and age relations, and are a highly organized method of distributing resources among a community (Wenzel, 99).

Following these social rules, the Nunavut economic system is based on subsistence hunting. The perception that its population is poor springs from Southern society's reduction of hunting "to a mere cultural legacy, or recreational pursuit," rather than a legitimate economic activity. Indeed "the more 'modern' a society is, the more hunting [...] is believed to have become merely a recreational or 'lifestyle' preference" (Usher 1981: 57). On the contrary, however, hunting is an essential activity for Nunavummiut. The undervaluation of country food harvested from hunting often leads to serious underestimates of the traditional sector's contribution to the Northern economy (Usher 1976: 9). However, a proper understanding of several key aspects of this economy, including the best uses for money and Inuit's true measure of income, weakens the assumption that it is plagued with poverty.

Although cash exists in Nunavut today, it is a scarce resource. Furthermore, it is just that—a resource, needed to acquire the ultimate measure of one's well-being: food. Inuit do not view money as an end in itself; rather, it is treated as a means to an end. It has become a crucial means of acquiring more efficient capital inputs for subsistence hunting, such as snowmobiles, rifles, and ammunition. When they began earning cash incomes, "few native people saw welfare and casual labour as alternatives to living on the land; instead they were the only available supports to such living" (Usher 1976: 23).

Inuit participate in two economic realms—traditional and modern. While some would call this a mixed economy, in reality it is a subsistence one, merely facilitated by participation in the market sector. "Periodic wage labour [or other means of acquiring cash income] can ensure that hunters, or some other member of their household, can hunt and trap with maximum effectiveness" (Brody, 221) by making use of modern equipment. Although some members of the community cannot hunt as much as they desire, as it is necessary to earn a wage or sell traditional crafts in market, their cash incomes provide flexibility and assist other hunters within the household or community (Wenzel, 113). The necessity to earn cash income often creates a division of labour inside each household (Chabot, 26) and community. Through *Ningiqtuq*, a system of sharing, the two spheres of the Inuit economy are brought together "not simply side by side in a class-divided village, but directly

within the household" (Usher and Duhaime, 177). Indeed a unique "moral geography creates a feeling among Inuit of obligation for the other" (Gombay, 237).

The Necessity of "Modern" Capital Inputs in the North's Subsistence-Based Economy

It should be noted that today, modern capital inputs are a necessity, not simply a means of taking advantage of new available opportunities. The massive relocation into permanent settlements that took place in the decades following the Second World War has necessitated modern tools to allow hunters to travel greater distances on their hunts. Conditions in Nunavut after government resettlement truly were dreadful; poverty was felt throughout the communities, but the government incorrectly attributed this to the failure of the subsistence system (Wenzel, 112). In reality, deprivation was a result of the government resettlement program, which separated Inuit from their resource base. It is for this reason that Inuit now depend on technology such as the snowmobile to continue their subsistence hunting. "Their movement to regular residency at an administrative centre meant that hunting itself has required equipment and fuels that can be acquired only with cash" (Brody, 221). In short, "hunters and trappers have come to need *money* to hunt and trap" (Ibid, emphasis added). If Nunavummiut can be considered underprivileged today, it is not the failure of the subsistence system that is at fault. Rather, Northern resettlement "had made money a resource needed by hunters, but [Southerners] had not monetized any of hunting's outputs" (Wenzel, 113). Nunavummiut thus depend on cash as a resource, and their society is therefore characterized by the coexistence of the market sector and the traditional sector (Chabot, 19). Hugh Brody chastises Southern society for enforcing a "moral choice" upon Northerners, and "consign[ing] them to one of two possible categories: traditional or modern." (174-5) Instead, " [he] challenge[s] and reproach[es] them with the question: do you belong in the past or the present?" (Brody, 174-5). Usher, however, maintains that in the Canadian arctic, "hunting, fishing, and trapping will persist regardless of how much 'modern' activity is occurring in geographic proximity" (1981: 60). Inuit, who have proven to be a very adaptable people, able to "incorporate every sort of opportunity into their system" (Brody, 221), have simply adjusted to a more modern and effective form of subsistence hunting culture. In previous centuries, they adapted to whale boats and firearms to increase their subsistence efficiency" (Wenzel 109). Today, they are doing the same thing with cash incomes.

This monetary income is derived primarily from the sale of traditional commodities, wage employment, and transfer payments (in the form of disability pensions, unemployment insurance, or social assistance) (Usher and Duhaime, 180). In one Nunavut community studied by Quigley and McBride, the cash economy made up 43% of people's income, while country food provided 57% (208). The sale of country food and products is an optimal source of cash income as it allows Inuit to maintain their preferred lifestyle while simultaneously earning money. Today, however, there remains only a miniscule market for such hunted products. For instance, sealskins are one hunted commodity that formerly brought in substantial cash—their values skyrocketing in the 1960s. The cash income earned from selling seaskins was "funneled directly into harvesting," thus counteracting the limitations of resettlement (Wenzel 114-15). In recent years, though, negative publicity brought on by anti-hunting activists has prevented the seal hunt from providing any real monetary income (Quigley and McBride, 207). A 1982 European boycott destroyed the market for sealskins, which "had given Inuit access to both traditional and modern resources […] because they provided at once food and money" (Wenzel 123). After 1982, funding for equipment had to come from other sources. This is when "welfare and casual employment became important sources of capital" and monetary income (Usher 1976: 23).

The Misinterpretation of Northern Employment Rates

The majority of households in the North also earn wages, which allow the hunter to both produce enough food to feed his family and to share with other families in his kinship community. In the northern community that Chabot studies, "most heads of the [subsistence-hunter] households relied on occasional or seasonal waged employment" to finance their hunting activities (Chabot, 26). Hunters make use of wage employment (and the sale of traditional

craft and surplus country food, if possible) for monetary income, as well as for the previously-mentioned reciprocity network "within which their monetary contributions may result in a counterpart of food" (Chabot, 30). Each person surveyed by Chabot had an unmarried son or some other sort of housemate who either hunted and trapped or directly financed the pursuit of country food (26). It is for this reason that Inuit work in the wage economy in the first place—not to earn cash for accumulating material goods or purchasing food. While hunters' preference for part-time rather than full-time wage employment appears illogical as it means voluntarily reducing their income (Chabot, 29), it in fact only reduces their cash income, not their overall income and standard of living. The part-time and seasonal employment of men in the wage economy is a result of the hours they spend on the land hunting—thus, Northern employment rates are *not* a reflection or indicator of general poverty. Because hunting activities require "the greatest possible availability of the individuals' time, wage-work is performed as a secondary activity" (Chabot, 30). Thus a proper understanding of this cash-assisted subsistence lifestyle explains why "the here-and-gone work pattern that so irritated foremen and planners" does not reflect a poor-functioning economy. Rather, it is essential "in maintaining an effective subsistence system" (Wenzel, 114). Unfortunately, "productive, experienced [full-time] hunters are officially classified in the government as unemployed" (Wenzel, 133)—a mistake that feeds into the assumption that Nunavut's economy is weak and its people poor. This assumption can have serious long-term impacts on government policy.[1]

High-Value Country Food

Inuit earn cash in order to facilitate subsistence hunting. The precedence that food-income takes over cash counteracts the misconception that "if hunting [does] not produce enough cash return to balance the investment made in harvesting, Inuit hunting must be uneconomic" (Wenzel, 112). Rather, to the Inuit, "the land is like a bank." It is "their constant and reliable sustenance so long as it remains healthy" (Usher 1976: 14).

[1] When the Canadian government decided to channel its efforts in the North into socioeconomic "development," its first labour force survey excluded all hunting, trapping, and fishing that did not generate cash revenue (Usher and Duhaime, 186).

If Nunavummiut are indeed poor, as is the general assumption, then "[t]he North may well be the only place where a poor man's table is laden with meat as a matter of course"—meat being a food that is highly valued by many cultures (Brody, 12; 67). Furthermore, it is arguably impossible to assign monetary worth to country food, as it has nutritional, social, and cultural values that "cannot be replaced by a substitute and cannot be […] evaluated in cash" (Usher 1976: 10).

Moreover, while one might wonder why Inuit choose to employ their time and effort in physically difficult hunting activities, the answer is that "the bio-energetic rewards are quite substantial." While only one quarter of seal hunting attempts will actually yield an animal, that animal will provide up to 30 kg of meat (Wenzel, 19). The decision to hunt, fish, and trap country food is thus a rational one in terms of quantity and value of meat. Inuit will thus "intensify their reliance on these resources for very practical reasons related to their contemporary socio-economic circumstances" (Usher 1981: 59). Monetary resources are scarce in the North as they are everywhere, and by purchasing and maintaining capital equipment for hunting, Inuit are investing these resources in the best available alternative. It is important to understand that this choice is a rational one; "other things being equal, [the hunter] will engage in which ever activity brings the greatest return for the least effort" (Usher 1981: 60). Indeed, the alternative means of acquiring food—by earning cash income and purchasing it in stores—is ultimately more costly. Even by monetary measures, "harvesting, even with the costs of periodic capitalization and annual operations and maintenance, proves to be a more economical alternative" (Wenzel, 119). The total cost of a four-person family's daily consumption of store-bought food in the community of Clyde River is estimated to be $70.51, while the net yield from one hour of harvesting adds up to $78.45 (Wenzel, 119; 122).[2]

The Value of Scarcity

Other, less economically-founded aspects of Inuit lifestyle also add to the impression of poverty, but these too can be reinterpreted in a more comprehensive view of the North. Just as Inuit do not value the accumulation of money as a symbol of their well-being,

[2] This is based on data collected in 1984.

they also assign no prestige to the accumulation of material goods. Possessions represent security and prosperity to Southerners, who "are inclined to think of hunters and gatherers as *poor* because they don't have anything" (Sahlins, 14). The subsistence hunter, however, subscribes to a different view of the economic world; "his wants are scarce and his means plentiful" (Sahlins, 13). Rather than having an undeveloped sense of property, Inuit—like all subsistence hunter-gatherers—have never internalized or institutionalized the desire for material possessions due to their tradition of frequent mobility. Indeed, for highly mobile subsistence hunters, "goods can become grievously oppressive" (Sahlins, 11). This is a cultural phenomenon, but also an economic one, as the "accumulation of goods […] represents economic inefficiency, even incompetence for the hunters of the far north" (Brody, 101). Subsistence hunting requires movement "in order to maintain production on advantageous terms," but this "utility falls quickly at the margin of portability" (Sahlins, 33). This necessitates minimal luxuries but also minimal, light, efficient equipment, as well as a general disinterest in possessing two of the same thing. Inuit keep few possessions, but rather than them being poor and in want of wealth, it is "perhaps better to think of them for that reason as free" (Sahlins, 14).

Moreover, the accumulation of goods tends to also imply the stockpiling of foodstuffs. However, rather than amassing food to last a season, Inuit bring only that food which is portable when they are on the move, because food storage is "economically undesirable" (Sahlins, 32). An absence of food storage thus is not the result of stark poverty but rather a conscious choice to facilitate mobility. In terms of equipment, Inuit use technologies characterized by light weight, transportability, and adaptability (Brody, 101)—another reason why modern technologies and equipment are so essential.

Inuit traditional housing is similar misinterpreted as a symbol of poverty. Many hunters who leave the governmental settlements to hunt in the wintertime still live in snow houses. The *igluviqq*, or snow house, in which many live is very efficient. It can be erected within an hour from blocks of wind-packed, dry snow, as the air trapped inside acts as automatic insulation (Brody, 41). It is less often understood, however, that many Inuit *prefer* snow houses to Southern houses, as evidenced by the following personal account

from an inhabitant of Pelly Bay: "An igloo is easier to keep up than a house. I don't // Remember ever being cold or uncomfortable in one. When // It got too old and you had to patch it up every day, you // Just went ahead and built a new one" (Brody, 38).

Affluence in Subsistence

Lastly, the subsistence hunting lifestyle can be viewed as a rational choice in terms of individuals' quality of life. Chabot explains that economic practices are also motivated by social and cultural practices, arguing that "if household production shows a *financial* deficit, the loss is *socially* rational" (30). This is the case for tribes like East Africa's Hadza, who chose not to transition to cultivation, despite being surrounded by agriculturalists (Sahlins, 27). Sahlins finds in his examination of other hunter-gatherer communities that the people neither work hard nor for a continuous period of time (17). "Rather than a continuous travail," he explains, "the food quest is intermittent, leisure abundant, and there is a greater amount of sleep in the daytime per capital per year than in any other condition of society" (Sahlins, 14). The subsistence communities that Sahlins studied generally "underused" their economic possibilities, choosing instead to work only as hard as was necessary and stop when they had enough food for the present. Necessitated, as previously mentioned, by their need to be mobile, this attention only to the present is made possible by a trust in the land that food will once again be available in the future. This ideology is illustrated by the Bushmen's famous question, "Why should we plant, when there are so many mongomongo nuts in the world?" (Lee, 42).

Conclusion

A more comprehensive understanding of Inuit economic relations, both social and material, is thus necessary to effectively promote positive change in Northern communities. Indeed "it is wrong simply to view the native communities as impoverished, without potential, and therefore in need of industrial employment" (Usher 1976: 29); rather, "all these strategies clearly demonstrate the economic rationality of Inuit" (Chabot, 30)—a rationality which can only

be understood by evaluating the subsistence economy as a whole, rather than simply the cash economy. To do this, it is essential to understand meat as the principal measure of wealth, and subsistence through sharing as the principle economic goal. Indeed, with a different measure of well-being, as well as different socioeconomic rules, "little or nothing in the experience of most native people has given them reason to share the economic assumptions of most other Canadians" (Usher 1976: 26). "Developing a situated understanding of people's moral geographies," along with developing a proper understanding of wealth, "may help to expand our comprehension of community construction and maintenance" (Gombay, 248). The re-conceptualized definition of wealth and well-being—one measured by the availability of food rather than the accumulation of goods and cash—necessitates a new definition of poverty, a condition which can then rarely be used to describe Canada's Nunavummiut. Rather, with this new view, subsistence hunters can be understood as "the original affluent society," where all wants can easily be satisfied (Sahlins, 1).

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NUNAVUT

by Kevin Lu

Iqaluit Skyline

Frobisher Bay

Street in Iqaluit

Sylvia Grinnel Territorial Park

"She Could Hear Stories in her Mind": Toponyms and the Indigenous Human-Land Relationship

Emily Lennon

While people were moved to tears as they recited place name after place name - every rock, hill and stream where they ate, rested or slept - my usual response was to continue transcribing in uncomprehending boredom. Unmoved by the endless, evidently aimless episodes of death and hunger, I failed to see the culturally distinct sense of history that these tales embodied (Rosaldo 1980b: 16).

After researching place names and oral history among the Ilonglot in the Philippines, Renato Rosaldo (1980) suggests one piece of advice: study the text. Looking "through or around or behind it" will misguide attention to judging the text's veracity—missing the point. "What people say is intimately involved with how they say it" (Cruikshank, 1990:54). In fact, seemingly simplistic toponyms carry important information concerning physical topography, the local cultural environment, land-use systems and historical events. As such, place names reflect a strong human-land relationship among indigenous peoples (Müller-Wille, 1983).

Rosaldo argues that oral histories are not merely containers of "brute fact"; they represent human perceptions of history. "Doing oral history involves telling stories about the stories people tell about themselves" (Rosaldo 1980a: 91). Rundstrom (1994) argues the same approach to map reading. Interpreting maps as an act, rather than an artifact illuminates the indigenous human-land relationship. Exploring the human-land relationship through indigenous mapping becomes inexplicably tied up in toponyms as mnemonic devices, instructional tools, flexible and subjective entities, and creators of a rich "mythscape". Toponyms are a manifestation of indigenous peoples' complex and multifaceted relationship with the land and offer profound insight to indigenous mapping.

In this paper, I first layout a background on indigenous mapping and toponym studies. This discussion includes theoretical approaches to such studies. Using ethnographic data from anthropological research among Inuinnait, Kugaarak and Caribou Inuit, Athapaskan and Western Apache, I will then investigate five aspects of place names that help us understand the human-land relationship. As a corollary, I will discuss practical applications of this knowledge and implications for future research. In this discussion, I use "toponym" and "place name" interchangeably and also equate "indigenous ecological knowledge" with "TEK" and "IQ". I apply "indigenous" to the specific groups mentioned, rather than generalizing about indigenous peoples worldwide.

Approaching Indigenous Mapping and Toponymy Studies

Studying indigenous maps does not denote simply scanning a map for spatial distributions and pictorial representations. Instead, it investigates how people communicate their perception of their land. This means exploring why inland-dwelling Inuit groups oversimplify lake shorelines or why rivers crossed by migrating caribou are axially rotated to run in an East-West direction (Spink and Moodie 1972; Rundstrom, 1994). In this sense, the *act* of mapping becomes central to studying indigenous mapping by reifying human experience (Geertz in Rundstrom, 1994: 1). Studying maps in this manner explores questions of metaphysics, of engagement with one's surroundings (including other social actors) and "an array of conceptual frameworks for organizing experience and rendering it intelligible" (Goffman, 1974; Basso, 1988: 100). Interpreting how people conceptualize their landscape, as manifested in map-making, expounds the indigenous human-land relationship. It also leads into a discussion of how individuals create and understand space.

Scholars such as Tuan (1972, 82), Gale and Golledge (1982), and Gregory (1978,1982) apply a structuralist approach to maps; looking at map form and disregarding content (Rundstrom, 1994). Additively, a Levi-Straussian approach to understanding the relationship between symbols could be helpful in understanding the correlation between indigenous landscape features and their socio-cultural significance (ibid). Emile Beneviste (1975) applies an al-

ternative structuralist approach by arguing that the relationship be-
tween signifier and signified is not arbitrary, "but *necessary*" (45).
Applying this to place names, he suggests that language equates to
a certain reality (Beneviste, 1971; Hill, 2003). This reality includes
toponyms that are deeply embedded in their sociocultural context;
it becomes apparent in the spatial distribution of place names on a
map and through oral histories.

Hanson applies an institutional analysis to problematize map
making. "By treating the act of mapping as an institution, and re-
lating it to other institutions in the culture, the map emerges as an
embodiment of fundamental beliefs, values, and concepts." (Rund-
strom, 1994: 33). This type of analysis sheds light on the importance
of oral history as an institution in creating, maintaining and trans-
mitting indigenous ecological knowledge. "Oral history is always
tied to Inuit geography.... [it] is systematically connected to the
Inuinnait concept of geography as a practical tool for living on the
land" (Collignon, 2006: 89). Indeed, "through story-telling practices
Inuit elders and hunters do not try to construct and provide objective
representations of the environment independent of them, but to give
forms to their own lives, in which they have become a member of
the Inuit community embedded in nuna, establishing resonant rela-
tionships with it." (Omura, 2006: 45) In this way, indigenous map-
ping is unique from "cultural cartography" because it is continuous.
Cultural cartography looks at a culture as a snap shot from a *par-
ticular* time in its ethnohistory (Rundstrom, 1994: 195); meanwhile,
indigenous mapping emerges from an ever changing and adaptive
indigenous knowledge.

Studying toponyms is just one component of studying indig-
enous conceptions of place and space in indigenous mapping.

> Placenames are arguably among the most highly charged
> and richly evocative of all linguistic symbols. Because of
> their inseparable connection to specific localities, place-
> names may be used to summon forth an enormous range of
> mental and emotional associations-associations of time and
> space, of history and events, of persons and social activi-
> ties, of oneself and stages in one's life (Basso, 1988: 100).

Through their exchange in daily discourse they become much more
than simply a means of labelling geographic locations.

Extent of Indigenous Mapping and Toponymy Studies

Early indigenous mapping conducted on the Martin Frobisher ex-
pedition to Baffin Island (1578) and John Davis to western Green-
land (1585-1587) remains speculative because there is no written
or graphic documentation. There is, however, documentation of
indigenous mapping in the early 19th century, from British admi-
ralty who sought out the Northwest Passage (Rundstrom, 1994: 51).
Interestingly, some of the earliest indigenous maps were done by
women. In 1822, a woman named Iligliuk drew a map of Melville
Peninsula for William E. Parry on his second voyage (1821-1823).
She is perhaps one of the earliest North American female cartog-
raphers (ibid). Other early maps appear in journals of Hall (1865,
1970: 104) and Ross (1835, 261). Ross's journal includes "an ac-
tual account of intercultural communication via mapmaking with a
lithograph showing two Inuit cartographers appending information
to an English map in 1830." (Rundstrom, 1994: 52) Joseph Burr
Tyrrel, a geologist working for Canadian Geological survey on Bar-
ren Grounds in Keewatin is said to have collected "the most pristine
examples of North American indigenous cartography available to
us" (Rundstrom, 1994:76).

Despite these early instances of indigenous mapping, genu-
ine interest did not begin until the German anthropologist, Franz
Boas, conducted research in Cumberland Sound on Baffin Island in
1883 (Müller-Wille, 1998). In the 1930s, Rasmussen, Mathiassen
and the Danish led Fifth Thule Expedition collected and published
more maps. The next big instance of indigenous map collection did
not occur until 1972, with the *Spink and Moodie Monograph* (Rund-
strom, 1994: 66). They investigated Inuit map content and style,
which reflected on the importance of caribou among the Caribou
Inuit (Rundstrom, 1994).

Franz Boas conducted the first formal study of Inuktitut top-
onyms between 1883 and 1884 on Southern Baffin Island (ed. Mül-
ler-Wille, 1998). In 1930, Knud Rasmussen also documented Inuit
place names in relation to social and spiritual life (Keith, 1999).

In 1968, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure conducted the first "major and systematic" toponymic study on behalf of the Commission de Géographie de Québec (CGQ) (Müller-Wille, 1983). He collected close to 2000 place names from Inuit along the coast of Nouveau-Québec. Ludger Müller-Wille and Linna Weber Müller-Wille produced the Nunavik Inuit Place Name Map Series in 1990 and a geographical dictionary (a Gazetteer) in 1987. Other studies were conducted by the Nunavut Research Institute through the 80s and 90s and the Arviat Historical Society (1993-1996) (Keith, 1999).

In 1981, the Avataq Cultural Institute, a product of the Inuit Elders Conference (1981) initiated and conducted their own toponymic research with the Commission de Toponymie de Québec. Spanning the Inuit region of Northern Quebec, the research was conducted under the label "NUNA-TOP Inuit Place Name Surveys", which included the studies conducted by Müller-Wille (Müller-Wille, 2004). More recent studies were conducted by Beatrice Collignon (2006) among the Inuinnait, and Susan Fair with the Alaskan Inupiat (Keith, 1999). Notably, special efforts to include indigenous place names in English and French official documents only began in the early 1970s (Müller-Wille, 1983).

Place Names as Manuals

In the most pragmatic sense, place names offer instructions for land-use. "Akin to the manuals that are provided with a new VCR or sewing machine," (Collignon, 2006: 85) they warn of past disasters resulting from errors in judgment, describe what resources are available at a specific location and explain how to exploit them. In her research on the Inuinnait, Collignon (2006) first hypothesized that place names were principally a way for Inuinnait hunters to navigate their land but after interviewing the most productive and respected hunters who knew very few place names she revised her theory: "place names are not essential for movement and survival. They are, however, essential for making people feel at home in their surroundings, and for making these surroundings a human territory, where the culture may flourish." (ibid, 110) As anecdotes are interwoven with place names, they pass on indigenous ecological information to younger generations. Omura Keichii's (2006) conversations with

Inuit around Kugaarak show how elders root anecdotes in a specific location to teach listeners about exploiting potential resources (what part of the river to fish in, which route is the best under certain snow and ice conditions, how to know when caribou fur is suitable for nice clothing, how to use sled harnesses to dry fish on, etc.) (ibid, 12). This dynamic knowledge illustrates the elders' engagement with his or her environment. Furthermore, these stories also explain that entering into this specific relationship is essential in order to use a resource (Omura, 2006; Keith, 1999).

Inuit place names guide hunters by designating animal harvesting sites in reference to animal behaviour (Keith, 1999). For example, a well-known caribou crossing's name describes "the specific way caribou walk before entering the water" (Harvaqtuurmiut Elders et al. in Keith, 1999: 35). Keith describes landscape formations and lake locations whose names advise hunters of caribou behaviour and even suggest when they should strike (Keith, 1999). Other Inuit maps highlight the importance of caribou movements by axially rotating rivers to run in an East-West direction so as to correlate with the North-South movement of migrating herds (Spink and Moodie 1972; Rundstrom, 1994). Yet it is only logical that the distribution of species-related toponyms would reflect on the animals available in a region. In the Harvaqtuuq area, the high number of place names directly related to caribou and their movements or hunting activities demonstrates their importance to Harvaqtuurmiut livelihood (Keith, 1999). Through toponymic analysis and spatial representation, we see that caribou play a defining role in Harvaqtuurmiut/Kugaarak Inuit conceptualization of landscape.

While the majority of Harvaqtuurmiut place names refer to fish and caribou, there are also names that refer to plants, such as *Uqpiktujuq*, which means "place of willows" (ibid, 70). Additively, a hill named *Ivitaalik* contains *ivitaaq*, "a soft red stone used for colouring" (ibid). The stone was mixed with fish oil then applied to the seams of kayak covers to keep them water proofed. This place name explains what resources are available at this site but also suggests how to use them.

Toponyms as Flexible, Subjective, Specific

Toponyms express a specific, subjective relationship between Inuit and landscape (Hill, 2003; Collignon, 2006; Cruikshank, 1990). Place names are specific to a certain context or social actor. Resultantly, they are also specific to creating a community's identity. "As every linguist knows, the discourse of any speech community will exhibit a fundamental character – a genius, a spirit, an underlying personality – which is very much its own" (Basso, 1988: 123).

Omura (2006) refers to the flexible nature of conceptualising the landscape as the "improvisational jamming of life" (46). This jamming is made up of traditional ecological knowledge, or what Omura calls the 'poetics of life'. "If there could be a single essence in the world of 'poetics of life', it would be *relation* itself, for it is only the relations practically engaged between entities that determine their essence"(ibid). Collignon (2006) applies a similar method to how hunters choose toponyms. She describes this multiplex of toponyms as a working paradigm, where hunters fit countless paradigms into one framework. Much like a kaleidoscope, individuals employ a different set of place names depending on their position, or on which way they spin the kaleidoscope. Thus, a stock of different names can be used to explain the individual's exact position in relation to the landscape. Basso (1988) includes photos with place names to show the way toponyms describe a specific vantage point. As Basso (1988) found among the Apache, place names transport the individuals involved to a mental landscape, where "placenames implicitly identify positions for viewing these locations: optimal vantage points... from which the sites can be observed, clearly and unmistakably, just as their names depict them" (ibid, 111).

When Kugaarak Inuit hunters recounted hunting trips, they did not do so in a generalized manner. They did so as if reliving the trip—by using "words and gestures" (Omura, 2006: 35). They strung together narratives by locating places such as campsites, where they cached food, where they saw and hunted animals, weather conditions at specific sites, etc (ibid). While physically pointing out specific places on a map, they retraced the journey, pausing at certain locations and gesturing how they performed certain tasks like rope making (ibid). In this type of historical account, each location includes a specific route, harvesting activity or task and memory; consequently, rendering the hunters unable to deliver a generalized abstraction of "usual" hunting routes. Thus, understanding place names goes far beyond linear and abstracted linguistic interpretations; it is inextricably tied up in anthropological understanding of local representations and worldviews (Gnerre, 2003).

Harvaqtuurmiut place names describing caribou crossings change depending on several factors. *Nalluq* describes uni-directional crossings while *nalluit* [plural] describe bidirectional crossings (Keith, 1999: 65). Additively, unique names are used to describe where the caribou enter and exit the water. The relative character of names also demonstrates the flexibility of human-land relationship. For example, lakes referred to as "the smaller one" or "the biggest one" acknowledge the extreme relativity of human perception and the ever-changing landscape in which Inuit live (Collignon, 2006: 164). Like Keith's research (1999), the majority of place names described the landscape non-spatially, rather than in specific geographic terms (ibid, 138).

As Shutz (1967) suggests, "Constructions of reality that reflect conceptions of reality itself, the meanings of landscapes and acts of speech are personalized manifestations of a shared perspective on the human condition". Indeed, the recognition of extremely subjective place names and terms shows that through experiencing the land, Inuit build an intimate, personal relationship with the land (Collignon, 2006). Collignon (2006) explains further, "Strong emotions, an appreciation of the beauty of the land (*kajjaarnaqtuq*), outstanding memories of a life spent criss-crossing the territory: all these are integral parts of the body of geographic knowledge" (74-75). While many places have more than one name to describe direction of travel or a vantage point, there are also families who give nicknames to certain places, solidifying the personal relationship with the land. This type of personal relationship is deeply emotional and rarely explicitly discussed (Collignon, 2006; Hill, 2003). C.T., a 22-year-old Inuinnait hunter interviewed by Collignon said, "when it comes to the land, it's very personal" (ibid, 74). In a way, toponyms offer a short hand to express this intimacy without fully declaring it. Like a secret language, place names illustrate an unspoken bond with the landscape.

Toponyms as Mnemonic Devices

Place names create a historical landscape, which Inuit inhabit and inherit from their elders. A single term representing a single feature of landscape may carry an entire historical event for a community (Cruikshank, 1990: 63). Omura (2006) illustrates, "To share common place names is to share the ocean of memory, in which relationships between Inuit and the environment- *nuna* (land in Inuktitut) have accumulated through innumerable generations." (44) As a carrier of shared experience, place names indirectly play an instrumental role in shaping a community's collective identity.

Collignon (2006) found that toponyms are not essential for survival or movement; however they are necessary for people to comfortably inhabit a space (so it eventually becomes *their* space). Hunters exemplify one way of occupying space through harvesting activities. In this instance, place names serve more as a tool for recounting experiences than guiding hunters along their route. "Inuit like to say where they are going...[...] places are named, so that people can refer to them" (Aporta, 2004: 27). And so, again, toponyms serve as a way to create a mental map or bring listeners to a specific spot: an imagined place on their mental map (Cruikshank, 1990; Basso, 1988). For Caribou Inuit, the orientation and traditional travel methods of their ancestors condition these imagined places (Keith, 1999: 29). Indeed, Collignon (2006) found that the majority of place names did not represent movement or travels, and Keith found that the majority of names were geographically descriptive. Likewise, when Western Apache use place names to situate their listeners on a mental map, the shared images are from their ancestor's vantage point (Basso, 1988). Remaining cognisant that they occupy the space of their ancestors—both blood and spiritual – is central to indigenous ecological knowledge.

In oral societies, place names also serve as a means for recording history. Some Inuit place names can be traced as far back as 200 years (Müller-Wille, 1983). By referring to acts of a group's ancestors, the names lay claim and obligations to the land (Keith, 1999). Place names may also record past interactions with other groups. Caribou Inuit names recall kidnappings of Inuit women by Dene (Keith, 1994-98); meanwhile Navajos reference enemies.

Other Inuit site names refer to previous occupants of a territory, such as the Tuniit and Inuit-Tunkiit (Keith, 1999). Toponyms also record environmental and animal behavioural changes (Cruikshank, 1990; Omura, 2006; Keith, 1999). This includes rivers and islands that have disappeared or in the case of the Yukon Athapaskan, caribou crossings that are no longer used (Cruikshank, 1990).

It is important to note that place names alone do not recreate these places and events but rather, the combination of place and name that call up anecdotes and stories. As Cruikshank (1990) found, after bringing the elders on the travel route or to the exact spot being described, they were able to share many rich anecdotes; however just sitting in a removed location and asking about the places rendered them story-less. These places act as "mnemonic pegs" that string together anecdotes which, once woven together, create an intricate web of stories that illustrate clan origins, rights and obligations, land claims, etc. "Place names may provide both a point of entry to the past and insight about how symbolic resources like landscape and language may be used to discuss the past." (Cruikshank, 1990: 64) Cruikshank's informant, Angela Sidney, described her clan history as a travelogue, locating stories and songs on the map, where they "become an intrinsic part of each toponym" (ibid, 60). Her other informants shared stories in the same manner, re-presenting their past by naming a place. The act of "naming" a place is not just reciting the toponym, but rather, talking *about* the name. As Cruikshank (1990) comments, when she asked an informant to repeat a place name, she recited "a bewildering array of other names associated with it" (57).

Place names as mnemonic devices create a "memoryscape" (Nuttall, 1992). Nuttall's "memoryscape" "is constructed with people's mental images of the environment with particular emphasis on places as remembered places" (ibid, 39). Rather than stretching along a horizontal plane—that is, spatially and atemporally—the indigenous landscape traverses both horizontal and vertical axes, spanning back in time to create "a world filled not merely with its living people (who are not numerous), but also of their ancestors, their adventures and misadventures, their bones and their spirits." (Collignon, 2006: 99) This "mental diagram" is deeply embedded in a specific place and so is not easily applicable to new territories

(ibid, 100). Cruikshank's (1990) informants anchored their "historical accounts" in geographic markers, helping them construct their narratives in a diachronic fashion more easily understood by outsider listeners. Toponyms also reminded one informant of people, songs and other stories.

"The Inuit become *Inuk* and become familiar as to how they should act toward *nuna* and what *nuna* is through relating and sharing history which is evoked by Inuktitut place names." (Omura, 2006: 44) This act of "becoming familiar" is ongoing. As Inuit hear, remember, and use place names they are actively engaging in a relationship with their landscape and creating new place-based histories. Place names show the reciprocal relationship between human and landscape; while humans act on the land to make their space and to exploit resources, the landscape also shapes human reflexivity and stores human history in its features.

Names Places as "Mythscape"

Place names create a spiritual landscape; this includes stories that explain the origins of landscape but also of humans and animals. In this sense, spiritual place names describe the landscape in a mystical time, explaining the landscape, human and animal origins. This is possibly the most difficult role of place names for Western, etic thinkers to comprehend (Omura, 2006).

> The orientation of different drainage systems in the Yukon takes on a new perspective when one hears how they were established by Crow at the beginning of time: one to the Arctic Ocean, one to the Bering Sea, one to the Pacific north-west coast. A drive along the Alaska High-way is transformed by hearing the names, the songs, the origins of landscape features.(Cruikshank, 1990: 63)

That place names can call upon a non-visible universe that exists parallel to the visible, tangible environment may be unfathomable to non-Indigenous map readers.

These toponyms also refer to spiritual beliefs such as taboos related to humans as social actors with other humans, with animals, and with their environment. The Inuktitut name for Fer-

guson Lake, *Aklirnaqtuq,* literally means "a place of many taboos" (Keith, 1999:35). While there appear to be no other place names directly referring to taboos, the naming of caribou crossings indirectly designate areas where taboos must be observed (ibid, 62). Sites in Inupiat territory recall "cautionary toponym tales" (Fair, 1997: 474). For example, Rasmussen recounts a tale about a man, Alik, who did not follow recommendations to avoid a Tuniit inhabited mountain. He went to peek his head into the Tuniit house, and was never seen again. Inuinnait elders often referred to such places – named or not – as Tuniit camps, which should be avoided. Yet shamans also recommend leaving food near such sites because "they are so tiny they can hardly hunt for themselves." (Collignon, 2006: 88) Thus, place names often mark locations that should be avoided, or are sites for special observances or ceremonies (Keith, 1999).

According to Basso (1988), The Apache employ toponyms in an activity called "speaking with names", where citing a place name recalls ancestral wisdom (113). These are not used regularly, like hunting anecdotes, as they deal with "matters of pressing personal concern" (ibid). Using place names to discuss socially precarious situations calls upon non-visible spirits and ancestors to share their moral stance, rather than elicit open criticism or moral judgments. Yet, imparting ancestral authority through place names makes their moral weightiness applicable to "the mundane spheres of everyday life." (ibid, 122) Basso includes an excerpt of Apache women consoling a friend after an event involving her brother:

> We gave that woman [i.e., Louise] pictures to work on in her mind. We didn't speak too much to her. We didn't hold her down. That way she could travel in her mind. She could add on to them [i.e., the pictures] easily. We gave her clear pictures with placenames. So her mind went to those places, standing in front of them as our ancestors did long ago. That way she could see what happened there long ago. She could hear stories in her mind, perhaps hear our ancestors speaking. ***She could reknow the wisdom of our ancestors.*** We call it speaking with names. Placenames are all we need for that, speaking with names. We just fix them up. That woman was too sad. She was worried too much about her younger brother. So we tried

to make her feel better. We tried to make her think good thoughts. That woman's younger brother acted stupidly. He was stupid and careless. He failed to show respect. No good! We said nothing critical about him to her. *We talked around it. Those place names are strong!* After a while, I gave her a funny story. She didn't get mad. She was feeling better. She laughed. Then she had enough, I guess. She spoke to the dog about her younger brother, criticizing him, so we knew we had helped her out. (107-8, emphasis added)

In this instance, the women discussed the situation by referring to place names; citing these names called upon ancestral wisdom to help Louise understand the situation. They also used stories from a mythical time to convey their sentiments towards her brother without outwardly criticising him. Additively, this account economizes speech by using place names as a type of shorthand and then allowing the listener to exercise their own imaginative capabilities to experience the encoded stories and imagined places (ibid, 110). Using the anecdotes and moral values encoded in place names allows these women to project their sentiments onto the landscape. This shows the interdependent relationship between oral history and imagining place, and weaves Apache perceptions of landscape into their social fabric.

Toponyms and their corresponding anecdotes also tighten this fabric by way of strengthening group identity. Collignon (2006) describes three legends that exemplify place names that encode stories that explain the origin of certain geographic features. While some of these stories may be found among other nearby groups (like Inuinnait and Nastilingmiut), they are adapted to specific locations. These stories and the place names that carry them are group specific and thus "enforce the sense of common identity of the local group — i.e., 'this is *our* story about *this* landform in *our* territory'" (Collignon, 2006:84). Narratives that accompany these spiritual place names are at the core of indigenous worldview and are fundamental in creating, maintaining and disseminating indigenous knowledge or in the Inuit case, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) (Collignon, 2006). Such toponyms facilitate the transmission of spiritual tales and thus promote indigenous knowledge and relationship with the land (Hill, 2003).

Incorporating Toponymic Knowledge into the Greater Scheme of Things

For indigenous peoples themselves, the act of creating these maps and writing down place names may help preserve related stories, but Natasha Thorpe (2001) warns:

In some ways, recording IQ on paper 'freezes IQ', and the 'magic' conveyed through oral versus written traditions vanishes. Indeed, the written form should never be a replacement for the oral teaching and actual learning or acquiring of IQ. A young boy will learn more from watching and listening to his grandfather hunt a caribou and then experiencing the hunt himself than from reading a book about hunting. However, given that IQ is not fixed in one era but is continuously updated and enhanced by current observations, much IQ can be lost when it is not recorded. (5)

This knowledge is most valuable in conjunction with oral histories. More recent studies, such as Natasha Thorpe's research with the Inuit of Kitikmeot and Hugh Brody's (1981) account of the Beaver Indians, document conversations about *place* in an effort to record these stories and promote indigenous ownership over land and resources.

More recently researchers have made attempts to gather indigenous land-use maps. One question that arose with the first indigenous maps and remains contentious is the accuracy of indigenous maps (Rundstrom, 1994, 1990; Brody, 1981). Inuit maps are renowned for their incredible accuracy and indeed, this is perhaps because of the personal ties to the land (Rundstrom, 1994, 1990; Brody, 1981; Keith, 1999; Boas, 1998). Furthermore, this particular hunting peoples' language does not explicitly distinguish between an error of judgement and lying (Brody, 1981). Thus, Thorpe found that Inuit did not want to lie about that which they did not know for certain.

The future of indigenous mapping foreshadows more than increased map production. As carriers of historical record, these maps would prove extremely useful in land claims cases as "a strong affirmation of the peoples' enduring presence on the land" (Brody, 1981: 149). Again, this demonstrates the contentiousness of oral histories in court cases. However, The Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (ILUOP) gathered map biographers and included oral histories of geographic knowledge (Freeman, 2011). The Report also dedicated a section to oral histories expressing Inuit land perception. It played a role in the creation of the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement* in 1984 and the *Nunavut Land Claim Agreement* (NCLA) in 1993 (ibid). Following this report, similar studies were also conducted among Inuit Settlers, Naskapi-Montagnais Indians of Labrador, Dene of the Mackenzie River Basin, Indians of the Yukon, Inuit and Cree of Northern Quebec, and two Ojibway communities in North-Western Ontario (Brody, 1981). Despite employing diverse methods, all of these studies focused on illuminating the peoples' land use systems and assessing the extent of this land use (ibid). The growing interest in indigenous mapping reflects the increasing acceptance of indigenous ecological knowledge in official policy and management arrangements. Such acceptance manifests itself in the Report *Our Common Future* (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987) and the United Nations *Convention on Biological Diversity* (CBD) (United Nations Environment Programme 1992); more specifically, Article 8 of the CBD calls on the world community 'to respect, preserve and maintain the knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities' (Freeman, 2011: 28).

Newer technologies like Geographic Information Science (GIS) and online projects are creating new platforms for promoting indigenous knowledge and mapping. The Inuit elders and researchers from Carleton University launched the "Atlas of Inuit Sea Ice Knowledge and Use" in March 2011. The atlas includes stories, maps, terminology and lessons (Nunatsiaq Online, 2011). Another initiative, The Inuit Knowledge Project worked with Google Earth to produce a range of spatial data, including topographic maps for Auyuittuq, Sirmilik and Ukkusiksalik National Park. Information includes general community overviews, place names in Inuktitut,

safety and animal features and audio and photo accounts from the areas (Landscape Ecology and Community Knowledge for Conservation, 2012). The Aboriginal Mapping Network, created in 1998, is an online forum for indigenous mappers and includes indigenous-specific map training. One map connected to this network is the "Sitka Area Native Place Names Map" (Aboriginal Mapping Network, 2008). This interactive project allows users to click on a mapped location and then listen to an audio clip of the name in both the indigenous and English name (ibid). Another interactive map, the "Hupacasath Interactive Land Use Map", offers users additional information about places such as images, audio clips, original names and historical facts (ibid). Other geographic technologies are becoming useful in more recent anthropological studies. Dr.Claudio Aporta recently received a research achievement award for his research on Inuit relationship with physical geography such as trails and place names that describe these trails, using traditional knowledge and tools which include multimedia technologies, GIS, GPS and Google Earth (Carleton University, 2012)

Just as Inuit adapt to their ever-changing environment, the research on their relationship with the land is also transforming. Alongside new technologies such as GIS and online platforms for sharing information, indigenous ecological knowledge transmitted through place names is becoming available to the non-indigenous researchers and curious citizens alike. A greater understanding of toponyms deepens the study of indigenous mapping by enriching conversations of *how* individuals understand their relationship with the land and elucidates the worldview that conditions indigenous maps.

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Indigenous Resource Management and Co-management

Morgan Ambrose

Given the long legacy of displacement and domination over indigenous peoples and the landscape they inhabited in Canada and the world, it is not surprising that the involvement of indigenous actors and epistemologies in inter/national treaties, laws and declarations regarding management of common resources is an important development. With an eye toward climate change, biodiversity loss, and dwindling natural resources in the face of conventional resource management, indigenous and local communities are becoming regarded as holders of traditional knowledge that underlie practices of sustainable resource management. This has laid the conceptual groundwork for the establishment of indigenous rights as an access point into decision making circles, albeit seemingly contingent upon the use of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) and resource management practices.

 The successful incorporation of TEK and Western scientific knowledge necessarily entails constructive interactions between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous peoples. To do this, participatory and co-management schemes have emerged as forums for knowledge sharing and joint-decision making opportunities between researchers, indigenous peoples, industry and other invested 'stakeholders' –complete with their various world views, value systems, experiences and cultural histories[1]. Generally in geography literature, co-management and the 'incorporation of TEK' into Western science is seen as a plausible and positive development; as a way of 'de-colonizing' resource management as well as the discipline of geography in general. However, authors such as Paul Nadasdy (1999, 2003) have leveled some poignant criticism against this general optimism which can be arrived at by some common-sense question-

1 Obviously, co-management can come in many different forms and I do not intend to provide a account of this in this paper. Nor do I look to debate the merits and pitfalls of co-management; I'm sure they both have their place

ing: Can TEK be legitimately expressed by Western apparatuses, or would fitting TEK into this framework remove it from the very context that grounds its legitimacy? Is this yet another example of "essentializing" indigenous identities within a particular template of what constitutes 'traditional' and 'authentic', created by non-indigenous individuals and institutions? What are the various power-laden motives and histories that are woven into co-management practices? Are there difficulties with pinning indigenous rights purely on the extent to which they are 'traditional'? Is it safe to assert that colonialism is 'over' in the context of indigenous land-rights and use? And so forthA focal point of literature around co-management has become an assertion of the success in 'decolonizing the discipline' (Johnson and Murton (2006), Muller (2003), Hodge and Lester (2006), Johnson, Cant. Howitt, Peters (2007)) – however, I am not so quick to jump to this conclusion.

 In this paper I am exploring whether, in light of tangled stories of indigenous and non-indigenous peoples relating to (post)colonialism, the concept of Traditional Ecological Knowledge as it is presented in geography as a discipline, and how it seems to be used in co-management, *makes sense*. I contend that although there is undoubtedly a bundle of practices that certain indigenous groups have been engaged in for generations, which can more or less be adequately described as 'traditional ecological knowledge,' the way that TEK has been outlined in geography often disregards the material implications of doing so:

> *i)* It confines the practices and ideologies of a group of people to a particular definition of "traditional" and bases their participation solely on whether they meet this imposed description, or not.
> *ii)* It fails to take into consideration the multiple motives, interests and general politics of different interest groups when exploring the efficacy of co-management; a simplification that some would say perpetuates old histories that grossly disfavor indigenous peoples.
> *iii)* While actively considering indigenous peoples, it fails to 'turn the lens' toward non-indigenous (namely Western) cultures, knowledge and practices in management in a way that facilitates a "view from nowhere"

(Sundberg, 2008: 183). This poses the danger of allowing unfettered activity of a dominant culture to act in ways closely reminiscent of colonial activity, and deprives the more 'dominant' narratives of its own methods of critical examination.

Can the discipline in good faith continue to advocate an approach that –if uncritically considered and practiced – could perpetuate lingering legacies of inequalities and disempowerment of Canada's indigenous peoples? In figuring the best way to approach understanding this phenomenon, I thought it would be particularly useful to scrutinize the processes of knowledge sharing and delineating in spaces where there has been a history of unequal power relations. Although the literature regarding indigenous participation in resource management, via co-management and participatory schemes, is most commonly presented in geography as something objectively described (most often as 'good' and 'valid'), I believe this is reminiscent of a time when the social sciences strove to prove their validity by following an empirical, positivistic model set forth by the hard sciences with a particular idea of what ought to constitute knowledge. Thus, in current literature describing the intersection of TEK and Western knowledge there has been little attention paid to the layered *human* politics of groups and individuals as they broach the endeavor of knowledge sharing. Given that co-management (in the context of the 'integration' of TEK and Western epistemologies) is a process of trans-cultural knowledge generation, in evaluating its efficacy I sought to understand the phenomenon of cross cultural interactions, specifically places tinged with colonial and post-colonial power dynamics. Granting that cultural epistemologies are embedded in the individuals and groups of people that constitute said cultures, it is important to look more closely at the process of identity formation within trans-cultural 'contact zones'.

A political analysis

In pursuing these ideas, I found it pertinent to formulate the interactions between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous researchers and decision makers in terms coined by highly contributive authors in political ecology Juanita Sundberg and Mary Louis Pratt. These authors explore the politics of colonial histories between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples as they can be found in present day.

In a prominent essay titled *Imperial Eyes,* Pratt introduces *contact zones* in the context of post-colonialism: "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination." Pratt goes on to describe three characteristics of contact zones: *i)* as spaces where the identities of the participating subjects are bi-directionally formulated in relation to each other; *ii)* where the dominating party seeks to assert its control over the other while simultaneously claiming its innocence in doing so, *iii)* and a space that inevitably requires the dominated subjects, in their search for legitimacy, to represent themselves using the terms and structures of the dominating party. It is with these interesting, and very pertinent, descriptors in mind that I will explore Pratt's notion of contact zones in the context of contemporary co-management and trans-cultural knowledge transmission.

Essentializing Identities

Juanita Sundberg explores the processes of identity formation in the establishment of a conservation area in the Maya Biosphere Reserve, Guatemala. Sundberg follows the development of both social and geographical configurations as a process of the everyday cultural, linguistic, and personal interactions between the *Petenero* – an indigenous group of the area – and an American NGO. She describes the way that local Petenero agents adopt dominant narratives by the American visitors of 'indigenous peoples as traditional conservationists and holders of an 'environmental ethic' in securing their power within decision-making circles. Most interesting, however, is how this identity formation is resultant of a fixed and essentialized subject description. It was projected onto the Peteneros by American conservationists prior to transcultural contact, and is generally presented as self-evident and objectively valid. Sundberg suggests here that subject formations are indicative of larger political and external phenomenon that happen before, during, and after trans-cultural contact, and that these evolving narratives dictate which stories are

told and which stories remain invisible. In this case, the story of indigenous peoples as holders of traditional knowledge is made explicit and further defined –while the stories of disparate identities *between* indigenous groups, or of indigenous groups using more current technologies – are not. In effect, indigenous peoples who appropriated and prescribed to a 'traditional' identity were considered more authentic than those who did not. As such, the behavior of the Petenero were bounded to an identity that – though undoubtedly shifting and perhaps contested – was resultant of a dominating ideology that was not chosen by the indigenous group it represented but rather imposed upon them.

This is not to suggest that the dichotomy of the powerful/powerless is only constituted in these terms in areas that find indigenous and non-indigenous peoples contesting the use and allocation of resources. It would be inaccurate not to speak about the way that local peoples impacted NGO visitors. Rather, I am trying to highlight the political underpinnings of trans-cultural interactions yielding certain identities. There is a danger of essentialist notions binding indigenous peoples – intentionally or not – to behavior and lifestyles constituted as authentically traditional should they want to secure their rights to the land or to decision making circles. Furthermore, delineating the grounds of what constitutes 'culture' and 'identity' have an inevitable bearing on knowledge that is produced and perpetuated, and knowledge that is not considered useful.

I have consistently observed that the legitimizing criteria for indigenous access to, and management of the landscape is completely contingent on the degree to which indigenous communities exhibit 'traditional behavior'. This is found in treaties, documents, conventions, and geographic literature. Moreover, this rigid and bureaucratic control of indigenous identity is firmly painted as a benevolent act that grants indigenous communities rights and decision-making power. While I grant that often such descriptions are appropriated and used by indigenous peoples to further their own agendas (Sundberg, 2006) in a way that could be empowering, my underlying point is that these descriptions are still chosen and enforced by a dominant ideology, and that indigenous communities may be forced into a reactive stance, as opposed to an intentionally deliberative one. This is reminiscent of Pratt's identification of lin-

gering colonial ideology that simultaneously seeks to assert control while claiming innocence. Although indigenous rights based on traditional knowledge may be an 'in' in some instances, it is also a limiting factor of indigenous peoples' self-management and autonomy[2].

Examples of the focus on Indigenous rights as directly linked to the presence of the 'traditional':

Event or Document:	Recognition/ Intention to secure:
International Labor Organization Convention 107 (1959); Convention 169 (1989)	- Right to resources, to participate in mgmt - to consultation, compensation regarding resource exploitation - to participate in all levels of decision making
Earth Summit (1992)	- Major group of civil society with the ability to influence - unique relationship between land and indigenous peoples - international/ legal standards to protect rights to TEK and practices regarding environment management and conservation
Convention on Biological Diversity	- Respect, maintain knowledge of indigenous peoples relative to conservation/ sustainable use of biological diversity - promote wider application with approval and involvement of Indigenous Peoples qua TEK - encourage equitable sharing of benefits, use of knowledge, innovations
The forest principles	- Implementation of local knowledge regarding sustainable development, conservation of forests

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2 In other words, the kind of economic / land use activities that indigenous peoples are 'allowed' to engage in, though it is beyond the scope of this paper to comment further on the details of this.

UN World Summit on Sustainable Development	- Vision of Indigenous Peoples in working towards global sustainable future - reaffirms potential of Indigenous Peoples as stewards and confirms the value of their involvement qua TEK

"Each contracting party shall as far as possible and as appropriate, subject to national legislation, respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant to the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity." CBD Article 8

"According to the government legal test, an Aboriginal right exists if the practice, tradition or custom has been a central and significant part of the society's distinctive culture prior to contact with European society." CEPAWS, 2003:19

"The Delgamuukw Supreme Court decision also made it clear that Aboriginal Peoples are required to demonstrate that Aboriginal rights and/ or title exist by showing reasonably continuous use of the land for purposes significant to their distinctive culture prior to contact with Europeans." CEPAWS, 2003: 21

Focusing attention on the presence of the colonial imagination in today's post-colonial society is not a gesture of ahistoricism- on the contrary. Problematizing historical distance, and analyzing the way streams of the past still infuse the present, makes historical inquiry meaningful. (Bal 1991: 34 via Willems-Braun 1997:3)

Co- management and the formation of knowledge:

Though most current literature claims co-management and knowledge formation is a fully "post-colonial", I do not agree. In looking at 'the politics of nature' in British Columbia's temperate forest, Bruce Willems-Braun illustrates how the practices of colonialism cannot be relegated to the past. Histories flow into and influence each other in a way that infiltrates and organizes experiences in the present. This is felt in different ways in multiple spatial and temporal scales –guiding the "production and codification of knowledge that underwrites and legitimates the deployment of Western powers over colonial subjects… and cannot be approached as a fixed set of universal statements." (Willems- Braun, 1997:4) The Western ideologies framing the way that knowledge is constituted, and power-relations are organized, is 'endemic' within everyday interactions. "Bad epistemological habits that have been normalized as common sense" (Willems-Braun, 1997:5) in forms that are not easy to recognize but have been incorporated into newer ideologies. Perhaps it is this uneven "hybridity" that seems to warrant the assumption that colonial habits have fully exited the relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. Regardless, I believe that Willems-Braun's insight is sound and that the formation of knowledge and interactions between parties at the level of co-management need to be carefully approached.

Reflections by Nadasdy (2003) on the 'co-management success story' help to further illustrate this. Nadasdy examines the process of co-management in Yukon by Ruby Range Sheep Steering Committee which incorporated First Nations people, government scientists, research managers and local hunting guides. This case study, considered a fruitful example of co-management by some, was considered a 'dismal failure' by others – namely, First Nations People. Nadasdy explores the reasons for this discrepancy and attributes it not to the incompatibility of TEK and Western knowledges, nor a lack of trust between members, but to the politics of bureaucracy and clashing agendas between stakeholders; agendas that largely favor existing state resource regimes motivated by economic interest. In conclusion, Nadasdy admits that "since co-management takes for granted the wider political context of wildlife management, the solutions to the political problems cannot be found in the realm of co-management at all." (Nadasdy, 2003: 379)

It is likely that a large barrier to what I am advocating is the unwillingness of 'impartial' parties (such as scientists) to engage in the 'politics' of co-management. However, such a view is problematic for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it should be granted that the process of knowledge formation and acquisition is far from 'neutral' within resource management and geography. In another article Sundberg takes a closer look at the 'politics of fieldwork' and the way in which power inequalities (due to race, nationality, gender) affect research and data collection. In questioning other researchers

about their experience, Sundberg found that an overwhelming majority of them doubted the validity or accuracy of their data in light of charged interactions based on differences in race, status, personal history, regional history, gender etc. This is relatively predictable. However, what Sundberg found more troubling was that of the same researchers, most admitted they avoided mentioning these biases in their writing. I doubt that this is a phenomenon that is limited to Sundberg's sample population. I feel that the power involved in knowledge access, formulation, sharing is taken for granted but *not talked about* in an effort to nullify its impact. To disregard the political undercurrents of such disparities between individuals inside the co-management process would further skew the accuracy of the co-management process; for as we have seen, interactions between players at the level of co-management are decidedly *not* un-political.

Secondly, this perspective allows geography and resource management to adopt the "vantage point" perspective as:

> Elevated above the rest of the population and occupy[ing] a position from which [to] survey the world with a detachment and a clarity that was denied to those close to the ground (whose vision as supposed to be necessarily limited by their involvement in the mundane tasks of ordinary life.) (Barnes and Gregory 1997: 15 via Sundberg, 2003: 182)

Not only does this render invisible various elements of powerful phenomenon, by placing indigenous peoples as the 'subjects' who can be defined by their 'traditional' livelihoods – which hopefully has been understood by now as one of my main points– it also denies geography a very useful opportunity to question itself using its own methods. There have been *numerous* articles written about the positionality of TEK in indigenous culture; the inability to separate TEK from everyday activities, from localities, and from the relationships between people that comprise indigenous communities. Yet in all the focus on integrating TEK and Western science, there has been made *no mention* of the elements of the dominant culture that ground Western knowledge, Western environmental ethic (or

arguably, lack thereof), Western resource use and management.[3]

I do not intend this to be taken to suggest that co-management or the existence and incorporation of TEK with Western science is an endeavor that should not be undertaken. I highly doubt that non-communication between interest groups (or as I would prefer to think of it – communication between *people* in an attempt to personalize and situate real individuals into these instances) would be constructive. Rather, I am advocating for *increased* transparency. For the awareness and explication of the many hidden or buried narratives *of all involved parties* for two main reasons. Firstly, as a safeguard against the possibility of underhanded colonial habits that effectively continue to disempower and discriminate against indigenous peoples in Canada in their attempt to develop their own processes of self-determination. Secondly, to allow the discipline of geography – and ideally other disciplines – and of the politics of co-management in general, the opportunity to investigate its own axioms, assumed truisms, evolving values and dearly-held knowledge base[4].

Morgan Ambrose is a recent graduate in Human Geography at Concordia University with a special interest in the practices of co-participation and management of resources by indigenous peoples, local communities, industry and the Canadian government. She is looking forward to transferring her theoretical understanding - and personal feelings of investment of the potential for this inclusion into substantial contributions in the field of resource management.

3 I understand the pitfalls of using blanket terminologies 'Western', 'resource', 'management' and am willing to accept them for the sake of the general point I am trying to make.

4 Given the length of this paper, my own time management skills, and more importantly my lack of experience in the field working with people, I did not have the time to develop this paper beyond an initial –and admittedly abstract – suggestion of the efficacy and role of TEK and co-management in indigenous resource management. I understand that advocating for increased transparency is a (maybe naïve?) suggestion and that I have offered no concrete propositions as to how this may be done. However, my own experience working as an experiential educator with youth, and more recently in a consensus-based, non-hierarchical organization, I feel that I have a general understanding of what kinds of interactions need be sought after in perusing constructive communication, decision making, solidifying personal relationships, establishing a 'common language' etc. It is this experience that has led me to feel justified in assuming that this kind of transparency is a possible and even profound endeavor. Beyond this, there are many other components that would need to fall into place in order to make a more rigorous kind of co-management useful; such as, a willingness of government officials to make decisions upon different kinds of knowledges; an allowance for a more lengthy and exhaustive approach etc.

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The Gitga'at and the Great Bear Rainforest

Yolanda Clatworthy

These photos come to you from Gitga'at Territory, located on Canada's west coast in the heart of the largest remaining temperate rainforest in the world. Both the Gitga'at and the Great Bear are currently being threatened by the proposed Northern Gateway Project, which would see hundreds of tankers a year travel through the narrow channels of Gitga'at territory out to open sea. The Gitga'at and all other affected Nations have unanimously opposed the project. There is too much at stake:

It would threaten an oil spill on the Gitga'at doorstep. The proposed route would take hundreds of tankers a year past Gitga'at homes, down narrow channels rife with fog, wind, and waves of up to 26 metres. It may be a playground for whales, but definitely not for ships: Environment Canada labeled it the fourth most dangerous body of water in the world.

It would threaten a pristine land steeped in thousands of years of Gitga'at stewardship and history. Other than the small village of Hartley Bay, the only other signs of human presence are those that are sacred: the ancient petroglyphs and burial grounds that line the banks of the steep channels.

It would threaten the Gitga'at food supply, much of which is drawn from the surrounding flora and fauna. They hunt moose from the land, which supports more biomass than anywhere else on the planet. From the sea they harvest seaweed, cucumbers, mussels, halibut, and crabs. 20 % of the world's wild salmon is here, which the Bald Eagles love as well.

More than just a food source, it would threaten the sublime specialty of this place. Matriarch Helen Clifton said in an interview that the "sea is food for [the Gitga'at] soul." Photos are limited in their ability to convey the magnitude of the region, which must be seen to be believed: towering thousand year old trees, transient orcas, streams of salmon swimming upstream, and the only place on Earth where the Spirit (Kermode) Bear is found.

Canada's Forestry Struggle: Is Co-Management the Answer?

Natalia Lassak

The First Nations of Canada have been actively negotiating since the 1970s to take on a greater role in Canada's forestry management (Houde). This particular struggle is especially prominent in the province of British Columbia (BC) where 64% of the 95 million hectares [of provincial land?] is forest land. Since the establishment of the BC Ministry of Forests, this agency of the provincial government has had control over Crown land planning. Consultation between the forest industry and the BC Ministry of Forests was an aspect of land planning, but the public stakeholders (including First Nations) had little or no say in this process (Cullen et. Al. 335). The public was unhappy with this approach, and "during the 1980s and early 1990s, land use planning in BC was characterized by growing unrest involving blockades, protests, and international boycott campaigns against BC forest products" (Cullen et. Al. 335). In response to this, the Commission on Resources and the Environment (CORE) was formed in 1992. CORE aimed to restructure the land use planning process, and did so by implementing a consensus-based "shared decision-making" model. This model relied on the participation of a variety of stakeholders at a negotiating table to come up with Land and Resource Management Plans (LRMPS) that would be passed on to the provincial government for approval. In a province with approximately 200 different First Nations, establishing who "should be at the negotiating tables" presented quite a challenge (Cullen et. Al. 335). Although this 1992 development was a sign of progress, it did not successfully solve the public's unrest, and further development continued.

On April 26, 1996, a new First Nations Forestry Program (FNFP) came into being. The program was "jointly funded and administered by the two departments [the Ministry of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the Ministry of Natural Resources

Canada], the program promote[d] the active involvement of First Nations in forestry" (FNFP Application Guidelines 1). The program encouraged First Nations involvement by offering funding for approved project proposals, and by offering forestry advice. Following the original five-year term, the program was deemed a success, and was renewed. In British Columbia the program has come to an end as of March 31, 2011.

The development of the First Nations Forestry Program and other such achievements with regard to the First Nations forestry struggle, to a great extent can be credited to the recognition of Aboriginal Rights and Title through various Canadian court decisions (Bombay 4). Cases fitting this description and worth noting include: Calder (1973), Guerin (1985), Sparrow (1990), Delgamuukw (1991), Apsassin (1995), and the Haida Nation case (1997). These cases all helped to define and recognize Aboriginal Rights and Title; however, this issue has not yet been settled. Stephen Wyatt, member of the Faculty of Forestry at the University of Moncton, notes that "the recognition of aboriginal title or rights does not guarantee that First Nations peoples will be able to manage forest lands as they wish; instead, it should be seen as [a] step towards governance structures that will enable First Nations to develop their own management systems and to negotiate forest land management with other parties" (173). On May 14, 2003, The British Columbia Ministry of Forests released a new policy under the responsibility of the Aboriginal Affairs Branch that set out to recognize and affirm Aboriginal Rights and Title under Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, with a specific focus on resource management; "the effect of this recognition is that existing aboriginal rights must not be unjustifiably infringed by the forest development decisions of the Crown or its licensees" (Resource Management Policy 15.1). This policy enforced that "forest development decisions…will be the subject of consultation efforts between First Nations and government" (citation?). Wyatt points out that "the meaning of 'consultation' is not clear", and that because of this "demands for 'meaningful consultation'" arose (174).

Clearly, efforts are being made to consult First Nations in the forestry decision-making process, and we are getting closer (though slowly) to an effective means by which to involve all stakehold-

ers. In this paper I will explore co-management as a solution to the forestry struggle in Canada; I will identify and evaluate possible benefits and challenges, and put forward a suggestion for further positive development in this struggle.

Wyatt acknowledges that "there are many formal definitions of co-management, but the common theme is sharing responsibility and control of resource management between local groups and government or industry" (Curran & M'Gonigle, 1999 p. 175). The co-management of resources involves all stakeholders working together to make decisions with regards to the specific resource in question. This model is sometimes called "collaborative planning". Collaborative planning is defined as "delegating responsibility for planning to stakeholders who engage in interest-based negotiation to reach consensus agreement on plans" (Cullen et al. YR? 332). For the purpose of this paper, I will use the terms "co-management" and "collaborative planning" interchangeably. I henceforth define both terms as a system of resource management in which all stakeholders take part in the decision-making process through equitable negotiation.

The question follows, why suggest co-management as a solution to the forestry struggle in Canada? There is one primary reason for exploring this option: allowing one group to govern the forest industry of Canada has been ineffective in the past, which implies a need for change. Wyatt reasons that "First Nations are asserting their right to be part of forest management. Future evolution of management systems will need to accommodate this (172)". British Columbia's "shared decision-making" model is a great example of this evolution. Forest management in Canada that excludes the First Nations is no longer an accepted alternative, and recognizing this truth, Wyatt puts forth four ways to incorporate First Nations into Canadian forestry: forestry by First Nations, forestry for First Nations, Aboriginal forestry, and forestry with First Nations (176-7). Forestry by First Nations can be eliminated as a plausible option because it refers to a continuance of the current system, but run by First Nations individuals. This is unfavourable to all parties, as it results in little visible change in the way resources are managed, and makes no progress in recognizing Aboriginal Rights and Title. Forestry for First Nations is also troublesome. In this structure there

may be some minor changes to reflect the importance of First Nations within Canadian forestry, but in general Aboriginal Rights and Title are not appropriately recognized as the Canadian authority continues to call the shots. Next, Aboriginal forestry is a system in which Aboriginal Rights and Title are fully recognized and fostered. If Aboriginal forestry was currently recognized as a pre-colonial practice, then First Nations could develop their own forestry practices on their lands today. Aboriginal forestry would entitle First Nations to the final approval of all decisions with regard to management of forest land. The biggest obstacle to Aboriginal forestry is that certain non-Aboriginal stakeholders may oppose such a system (Wyatt 177-8), and we could not expect the Federal and Provincial governments to completely step down from their current positions within forest management structures already in place. The final, and in my opinion most plausible, option is Forestry with First Nations, which calls for collaborative planning at its most integrated level, allowing all stakeholders a say in the decision-making process, and leaving final approval as an agreement settled between First Nations and the current authority (usually the Provincial government).

Despite its appeal, it is important to recognize that forestry with First Nations is not a quick fix. It demands a high-level of co-operation and a willingness from all parties to work together to come to a consensus. Different worldviews pose a significant obstacle, as within this level of co-management a good understanding of the varied relationships with land amongst stakeholders is a key component. Erin Sherry and Heather Myers emphasize this idea; "It is our contention that before fair, honest relationships develop and mutual resource management goals are realized, aboriginal peoples and state resource managers must learn to understand and respect their different worldviews" (346).

To better grasp exactly how vital this mutual understanding is; let us examine some of the principal aspects of the two main opposing worldviews. First of all, there is the Western worldview on which the current system is based. This view entails that land is solely a physical property that can be owned by a person or persons. The owner can, given his or her privileges, use and manipulate the land in such a way as to maximize his or her economic benefit. Traditionally, the Western understanding of land and resources has not been primarily concerned with sustainability or a "take only what you need" mentality. I say traditionally, because sustainability now increasingly appears in Western thought, but the primary concern remains to maximize benefit, usually in the form of financial profit.

On the other hand, First Nations culture presents a very different understanding of the world. Wade Davis writes of the Iskut First Nation; "The people of the Sacred Headwaters…have a very different way of thinking about the land…They believe that the people with the greatest claim to ownership of the valley are the generations as yet unborn" (28). John L. Lewis and Stephen R. J. Sheppard present a similar approach from the Cheam people of British Columbia. The Cheam people believe that their right to use the land comes directly from the Creator. They believe that all people have a right to use the land for its benefits, but in a way that can maintain balance. It is a collective responsibility and a spiritual duty to treat the land with respect, so as to sustain it for all the future generations to come. Though there may be specific sites used for spiritual activities, all of the land and all of nature is understood to be sacred (913-6). This kind of relationship with the land is reflected in most First Nations' traditions and oral history, and it defines the way in which First Nations manage forests and other resources.

Today, the First Nations knowledge of the environment that is based on traditions and experience is referred to as Traditional Environmental (or Ecological) Knowledge (TEK). While some compare TEK to a knowledge base equal but opposite to Western science, others argue that TEK is more like a way of life, a religion, or a philosophy (Houde). No matter how one chooses to define TEK, it is the basis on which First Nations rely to manage forests and other resources, and must be respected by the Western world in order for collaborative planning to work. Myers and Sherry comment:

> Realizing the potential of co-management requires that resource managers and First Nations learn to work together more effectively. This is a distant objective unless negative preconceptions of traditional environmental knowledge and management systems are examined and overcome. (345)

I agree that mutual respect is essential for effective co-management,

and this includes mutual respect of the two different worldviews. Nicolas Houde of McGill University attempts to demystify TEK by identifying the main components behind it, which he refers to as "the six faces of traditional ecological knowledge". These components are as follows: factual observations, management systems, past and current uses, ethics and values, culture and identity, and are all based on the foundation of the sixth component, cosmology. Without further evaluating the details of each "face", it is nonetheless clear that TEK is a multi-faceted and multi-layered way to understand the environment.

Resource managers and scientists of the Western world are hesitant to acknowledge TEK, and it seems to be a rather misunderstood and dismissed ideology on which to base resource management systems. Sherry and Myers "suggest that these attitudes are based largely on three myths about aboriginal peoples' relationships to the environment: primitive technology, indiscriminate harvesting, and the "disappearing Indian" (348). Sherry and Myers believe that the elements of truth behind these myths have been obscured and generalized in such a way which has led to certain powerful stereotypes that cause hesitation towards TEK (348-9). By further understanding the basis of these three myths we can see that they are a fallible way to understand TEK.

The first myth, "primitive technology", is based on the idea that the limited technology with which First Nations appropriated resources implies that "real" resource management was never an option for First Nations. Believing this to be true allows resource managers to completely dismiss management systems based on TEK under claims that they have no significant basis, or are simply invalid. First Nations maintain that this is not the case, as purposeful and sustainable resource appropriation is evident in oral history and tradition. Being taught from a young age how to gather and hunt the necessities for survival in such a way that will maintain balance, by default, entails resource management.

The second myth, "indiscriminate harvesting", is largely linked to the first myth. The idea here is that the availability of technology that enables resource exploitation encourages such action. Sherry and Myers explain:

> Though such instances [of over-harvesting] occur, aboriginal communities do not condone them—and they are not limited to aboriginal harvesters. But the stereotype persists that aboriginal people, having gained control over nature, still lack control of themselves (Nakashima 1991). (349)

This stereotype is very prominent, but is, as all stereotypes are, based on a few examples of resource abuse by First Nations individuals. Non-aboriginal harvesters are not exempt of this abuse, and I might argue quite the contrary, Western thought commonly overlooks the overuse of resources for economic gain. The point here is that the actions of a few do not present a significant basis on which to judge an entire way of thinking; be it TEK or Western science.

The third myth, and potentially the most prominent, is that of the "disappearing Indian". This myth is problematic for two main reasons: 1) it devalues the presence of the First Nations in Canada by suggesting that the culture of the indigenous peoples and their belief system (TEK) is vanishing, and 2) it applies the idea that TEK is a static and outdated philosophy that is not permeable to change. Neither of these two aspects of the "disappearing Indian" myth hold true in practice. David C. Natcher and Susan Davis note that, "to First Nation leaders this attitude indicates an obvious lack of trust and confidence in First Nations' ability to manage the settlement regions and has further entrenched the belief in government that First Nations are ill prepared to assume control over their own affairs" (274). While it is true that there is a lack of First Nations with the professional training needed for current administrative roles (as defined by Western science), this does not entail that TEK is a disappearing belief system, or that First Nations are unable to play an important role in resource management.

An effective co-management system requires a mergence of the different worldviews that allows both to develop in such a way that each can hold true to the underlying philosophy on which it is based. All parties involved in the collaborative planning process need the desire to reach consensus, and have an understanding of the basis for the interests of the other parties. This requires mutual respect, and by de-mystifying TEK, and accepting it into the realm

of conventional thought, true progress can be made.

In recent developments, Canada has taken on a collaborative planning approach with regard to resources that is termed "Integrated Landscape Management" (ILM). It is an evolving approach that aims to bring together all who hold an interest in the land. In British Columbia this approach has been met with success, which is particularly visible in the case of the Great Bear Rainforest (GBRF).

The ILM model used to address the GBRF situation was two-tiered, and was deemed to be an overall success (Cullen et al. 347-8). The planning process consisted of two main stages: 1) a table of participants representing all the different stakeholders who negotiated a consensus agreement, and 2) a table where First Nations and government representatives worked together to evaluate the recommendations from the first table. Cullen et al elaborate:

> "Recognizing First Nations as a government at Table II was in part a response to growing pressure from First Nations strengthened by a series of court decisions that increasingly affirmed the legal rights of First Nations to manage land and resources" (Cullen et al. YEAR 338).

This approach was a major change from past processes, though the final approval remained with the provincial government.

Cullen and his associates surveyed all participants to evaluate both the success of the collaborative planning process and the success of the outcome which significantly increased protected areas from 9% to 28%, and completely removed general resource use areas; instead replacing them with ecosystem-management based (EBM) biodiversity areas (5%), and EBM operating areas (67%) (338). The overall results were positive and showed that participants were satisfied with both the collaborative planning process and the outcome. It is important to note that there were significant differences between the results from First Nations respondents and non-First Nations respondents. Cullen and associates explain:

> Follow-up discussions…indicated that [some] First Nations did not perceive the need for First Nations collaboration with other stakeholders in land use decisions affecting First Nations territory. Instead, First Nations tended to view themselves as a level of government that

should deal directly with other governments, not with other stakeholders. (346)

Despite the less-satisfied First Nations individuals, there was a majority agreement amongst all stakeholders (including First Nations) that the outcome effectively served the public interest. "Further, all parties provided strong endorsement for the GBRF approach by stating that they would participate in a similar process again" (Cullen et al., 348).

I am convinced that there are changes that can be made to improve the satisfaction of the First Nations in such a collaborative process; and it is important to keep in mind that collaborative planning may not fully meet all individual interests, but aims to create a process through which all voices will be heard and all interests addressed. The results aim to satisfy all stakeholders at an attainable level and to satisfy the overall public interest. Cullen and associates suggest that "the process could…have been improved by providing a clearer definition of First Nations' role in Table I relative to Table II " (348). This is a good suggestion, and I would further suggest discussion with the First Nations who participated to determine exactly how the roles should be defined, and how the entire process can be further developed to better satisfy the First Nations.

In conclusion, a co-management or collaborative planning process is one that will have to be fluid and open to development in order to effectively address all stakeholder interests at different times, in different places, and in different situations. A greater respect for and understanding of TEK is something that needs to continue to evolve as such progress will allow for more effective and agreeable negotiation. Unfortunately, we have not yet conquered the forestry struggle in Canada, but I believe that we are at least closer to the right track with a light at the end of the tunnel. Required now is continued discussion, education, effort, and perseverance from and for all parties involved.

Natalia Lassak was born and raised by her Polish parents on the beautiful land of the Snuneymuxw First Nation—who she thanks for sharing. Natalia believes that the land can be for all people. Through spreading awareness, she hopes to spread respect. Respect is at the heart of effective cooperation.

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Otipemisiwak: Métis Trade and Economic Resistance in 19th Century Ruper's Land

William Leonard Felepchuk

Le commerce est libre-vive la liberté!
- Chant of Louis Riel Sr.'s militia at the Guillaume Sayer trail, 1849

This paper, a version of which I originally submitted in a second-year aboriginal history class, is an outline of the ways in which the 19th century Métis resisted imperialist and capitalist expansionism and interference with their way of life through their autonomous economic activities, in tandem with their better known, and better studied, political resistance. Although generally appreciative of my work, my professor disagreed with my use of the first-person in the beginning of the essay, and I think that this disagreement deserves brief comment. Contrary to historical orthodoxy and its insistence on the pseudo-objective absence of authorial self-reference, I be-lieve it is important for scholars to implicate themselves in their work, and to recognize that they are connected to, and influenced by, their subjects. As a non-indigenous researcher working on in-digenous geohistories, I think this is essential, as I benefit from a litany of privileges furnished to me by the ongoing oppression of indigenous peoples, including the Métis.

Many of my ancestors were members of the Loyal Orange Lodge, a fraternity of protestant British nationalists who were be-hind a wide range of oppressive offensives in Canadian history. It was Orangemen who volunteered in large numbers to put down both 1869-1870 and 1885 uprisings led by Louis Riel Jr. Sir John A. Macdonald, helmsman of this era of oppression, was an active Orange Order member. I am descendant not only by blood, but also by economic and territorial inheritance, of the people who dispos-sessed the 19th century Métis. Like my professor, I am approaching the history of the Métis Nation as an outsider, and I am determined to recognize and defy the long history of systematic oppression from which I benefit daily.

Economic Resistance

The economic activities of the 19th century Métis were an important expression of their sovereignty and emergent national identity; these activities also shaped the history of Rupert's Land and heavily influenced the formation of what is today western Canada. In this paper I will propose that these activities both aided and resisted Canada's westward expansion. This is a dichotomy which finds a political parallel in the Métis figure Louis Riel, who led a highly militant resistance to the Canadian state, but also participated in the political life of that state, and was even one of the founding fathers of Manitoba.

In his 1964 book *The Cod Fisheries*, Canadian political economist Harold Innis contends that "economic history is complementary to political history".[1] I will keep this maxim in mind when discussing the history of the Métis: besides their often-discussed and colourful political history, they also were the prime movers in a fascinating economic saga which began with their ethnogenesis during the fur trade, and ended with their military defeat and almost complete dispossession after the resistance of 1885. This rise and fall from economic dominance will serve as the bookends to this essay. In between these two poles of early Métis history I will discuss in detail two of the major industries that contributed to potent economic strength of the Métis in the 19th century.

First outlined are the Métis free traders whose defiance in the face of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) led to the breaking of the company's economic monopoly in Rupert's Land after the seminal Guillaume Sayer trial of 1849. Secondly, I will examine the great buffalo hunts that the Métis undertook, particularly the ways in which the Métis governed themselves and set their own economic policies through the construction of sovereign socio-political structures during these hunts. Both these industries took place on uniquely Métis terms, and involved both collaboration with, and resistance to, colonial authorities from Britain, Canada, and the United States. The sovereign activities of the free traders and buffalo hunters played an integral part in the formation of the Métis idea of distinct

nationhood, and in putting forth this nationhood as a challenge to Anglo-Canadian expansionism that sought to limit the liberty of the Métis.

I will thus focus on economic activities that were under Métis control; their important role in other significant economic histories largely commanded by Europeans (such as the vicious competition between the Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies before 1819, or the politics of north-western American expansion) will not be covered here. Finally, I would like to acknowledge my position as an Euro-Canadian outsider looking in on Métis history; though determined to resist prejudice or inaccuracy in my work, I am no more immune to these errors than the less sympathetic 19th century Euro-Canadian authors on whose work I draw. I give thanks to the citizens of the Métis Nation who have guided my research. Any mistakes here are my own.

An Amerindian Economy

It was the fur trade that first brought Amerindians and Europeans in contact across vast swathes of western North America. Fur was the first exported staple to be extracted from North America's interior for European consumption. Beginning with the East Coast fisheries and continuing through this trade in beaver and other fur-bearers, the history of what is now Canada has been shaped by this export of raw goods and the corollary sociocultural and political processes, an economy "crucial to the development of colonial North America".[2] The fur trade was a major example of what Innis calls "a staple trade".[3]

It is important to recognize that although the fur trade took place, as Innis points out, to supply furs to European "metropolitan centers in which luxury goods were in most demand",[4] it also could not have taken place without the involvement of independent Amerindian nations possessing a great deal of economic agency and who ingeniously adapted themselves to the opening of these new markets. Amerindian nations in what is now Canada were already trad-

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1 Harold A. Innis. *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy.* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1940)

2 Innis, Harold A. *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 4
3 Ibid: 6-13
4 Ibid: 4

ing through complex routes, across vast distances, in a wide variety of goods, long before the arrival of Europeans. They also had developed currency in the form of shell beads called *wampum*.[5] However, the scale of the fur trade was unprecedented and Amerindians soon adjusted to trade in goods destined for European markets. This trade, according to Richard White, "was not a realm where the French [or other Europeans] dictated to the Indians".[6] Amerindians were not in a situation of "abject dependence"[7] upon European goods. In many ways in fact, Europeans were obliged to follow Amerindian norms during the foundation and ascendance of the fur economy.

According to Karl Polanyi, "man's [sic] economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships".[8] This is especially true of Amerindians whose willingness to participate in trade was historically incumbent upon turning "dangerous strangers…into either actual or symbolic kinspeople".[9] Marriage was an important institution in this process, and thus many of the male traders arriving from France and the British Isles intermarried with women of the Cree, Ojibwa, and other aboriginal nations in order to consolidate ongoing economic relationships and create "bonds of kinship and obligation".[10] Thus new generations of mixed-blood children arose in and around the trading posts and strategic forts where these newlyweds settled. These "half-breed" children were specialists in the fur trade and its skill sets, and eventually came to consider themselves neither Amerindian nor European, but a new people with a distinct culture, called Halfbreeds or Métis.[11] The ethnogenesis of the Métis, therefore, was economic, and their distinctiveness as a population arose from their ability to meet the economic demands of the fur trade as highly skilled trappers, boatmen, polyglots,[12] marksmen, and intermediaries between two cultural worlds. According to one 19th century anthropologist, "The Hudson's Bay Company depended chiefly on the French "natives" [Métis] to perform the very

severe labour attached to transporting their goods by boat and canoe and "portages" over all their vast territories".[13] The Métis have been a people of trade on their own terms since their origin as a nation.

The People Who Own Themselves

Despite working for a large part of their history for the Northwest Company, the American Fur Company, or the HBC, the Métis developed a highly autonomous culture with growing population concentrations by the early 19th century.[14] In the beginning of the 19th century, this approach developed into a new and independent economic tradition whose name became synonymous with the Halfbreeds. The free traders, known in Cree as *otipemisiwak* ("the people who own themselves")[15] resented and openly defied the HBC monopoly in Rupert's Land, especially after the company's takeover of the Northwest Company in 1819. As result of this disregard for the monopoly, the otipemisiwak traded with the HBC, with American traders, and with anyone who would pay a fair price for their furs and other goods.

The Métis free traders flagrantly violated the 49th parallel Canada-USA border and had a keen sense for exploiting it to their advantage. During the period of their ethnogenesis and early development as a nation, the 49th parallel frontier was not a major factor; Métis communities thus developed on both sides of what would later be the border as defined between American and British administrations under the Convention of 1818. This put them in an advantageous economic position when the border came into existence, as Métis had both kin and connections in the regions that are now North Dakota and Manitoba, Montana and Saskatchewan, and in settlements such as Pembina, St. Joseph, Red River, and Portage La Prairie.[16] Thus, in the midst of the HBC's concerns about the approach of American traders in Dakota Territory to the south,[17] and

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5 Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 97
6 Ibid: 95
7 Ibid: 96
8 Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), 46
9 White, *The Middle Ground,* 15
10 Ibid
11 Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade. (*Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 205
12 Commissioner of Indian Affairs. "The Red River Hunters." *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs."* Washington, D.C. (1854): 193

13 A.P Reid, "The Mixed or "Halfbreed" Races of North-Western Canada," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 4 (1875): 46-47
14 Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade,* 205
15 J.S.H. Brown, Métis, Halfbreeds, and Other Real People: Challenging Cultures and Categories, *The History Teacher* 27, 1 (1997): 24
16 Thomas Flanagan, Louis Riel and the Dispersion of the American Métis, *Minnesota History* 49,5 (1985): 180, 183
17 John P. Pritchett, "Some Red River Fur-Trade Activities," *Minnesota History Bulletin* 5, 6 (1924): 408

the conflicting eagerness of Americans such as Norman Kittson to exploit the trade potential of the northwest through trading posts at Pembina and other places,[18] the Métis opportunely traded their large amounts of wares, crossing the border at will and navigating these competing economic interests.

The height of the free trader activity began in 1820, when the Métis traded between the two ends of their nation, moving their furs and other goods between their settlements on both sides of the border.[19] The free traders moved relatively undisturbed until 1834, when the Council of Assiniboia was established by the HBC to govern the Red River region,[20] a body which soon set about the business of enforcing the Company's royally chartered trade monopoly in Rupert's Land, at first through the imposition of taxes and tariffs on the Métis. The Red River traders heavily resisted the tariff through mass meetings and civil disobedience.[21] They succeeded in reducing it; it remained in place, however, until the region's annexation to Canada in 1870.

This history of tension and confrontation came to a head in 1849, when Guillaume Sayer, a Métis free trader who had been trading with Kittson in North Dakota, was brought to trial by the Council of Assiniboia for his transgression of the Company monopoly. The Council's jury found Sayer guilty, but gave no sentence, as any such penalty would have proven unenforceable. Louis Riel Sr., father of the future Métis leader Louis David Riel, surrounded the courthouse with hundreds of heavily armed Métis, who threatened to use force if Sayer were not released. A judge of the Council had fled in terror earlier in the trial because of this threat. Sayer was therefore released and the HBC monopoly was proven unenforceable in the face of Métis resistance.[22] With chants of *"Le commerce est libre-vive la liberté!"*, the centuries-old fur trade monopoly was broken by Riel Sr.'s militia, the most intensive showing of Métis martial might since the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1817. In this and other constant acts of *otipemisiwak* defiance, the Métis showed an economic cunning and autonomy which added to the eventual decline of HBC

power in Rupert's Land later in the century.

After the successful resistance during the Guillaume Sayer trial, free traders ascended to even greater importance and power in Red River and other parts of the emergent Métis nation. They were an influential and economically savvy group. In the 1860s, for example, they cunningly raised the price of their buffalo hides due to their awareness of the new price the HBC was receiving for its hides in Montreal at the time.[23] They also formed a powerful political bloc, with many prominent traders such as William Dease, Pascal Breland, and Louis Goulet Sr. opposing Riel and his resistance of 1869-1870.[24] These traders thought it would be better economic policy to join Canada quickly and amicably, as confederation offered many advantages to the resourceful businessman. Ironically, many of these free traders, formerly persecuted by the HBC, by the 1860s were actively serving on the Council of Assiniboia. These are another example of 19th century Métis engaging with the outside world, as well as with their own distinct society, on their own terms, even if those terms were in opposition to better-known Métis figures such as Riel.

In Pursuit of Buffalo

Another assertion of Métis economic sovereignty in the 19th century was the commercial buffalo hunt on the prairies undertaken by vast brigades of hunters with unique socio-political and legal structures independent of any authority in the Northwest. These hunts, which took place twice yearly (in June, the spring hunt, and in October, the fall hunt),[25] involved large caravans of Métis hunters and their families, all of whom were involved in the processing of buffalo meat into pemmican and other trade products. Métis were well suited to this mounted chase, described as they were by outsiders as "the best horsemen in the world".[26] These hunters were sometimes 500 or 600 in number,[27] in camps that "occupied as much ground as a …city".[28]

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18 G.J. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 73
19 Pritchett, "Some Red River Fur-Trade Activities", 409
20 Ibid: 411
21 Ibid: 412
22 Ibid: 423

23 Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland,* 130
24 Ibid: 130-131
25 Margaret Arnett Macleod, "A Note on the Red River Hunt by John Norquay," *The Canadian Historical Review 38,* 2 (1957)
26 Reid, "Mixed or "Halfbreed" Races", 50
27 Rudolph Friederich Kurz, *Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), 195
28 Alexander Ross, "The Red River Buffalo Hunt from Red River Settlement," *Manitoba Pageant* (Manitoba Historical Society)5,2 (1960). Online Source: http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/05/buffalohunts.html. Date accessed: September 6th, 2011.

They travelled with their distinctive Red River carts, which they arrayed in a dense circular fortification around themselves, their families, and livestock when camped, in order to protect against frequent skirmishes with the Sioux, their traditional enemies and competitors in the pursuit of buffalo.[29] Such large numbers required governance, and the Métis hunters devised a political system particularly suited to the temporary buffalo hunt and the individual autonomy so important to the "half-breeds".

The socio-political structures of the buffalo brigades very effectively fulfilled the social needs of these Metis groups, because "each band chooses its own leader to direct the hunt and to take measures for defence in the event they are set upon by enemies",[30] thus conforming to the need of the buffalo brigades to be as autonomous as possible from the encroaching state and even other brigades. In one of the several large brigades that would take to the prairies in pursuit of the buffalo, an assembly would take place at the beginning of the hunting season in which the male hunters would elect a chief, sometimes also called a president. This leader would then appoint several captains, each of whom would appoint a certain number of "policemen" (usually no more than 10) to enforce the laws of the hunt. These laws were agreed upon collectively and by consensus at this first assembly; they governed the conduct of the buffalo hunters for the duration of the hunt, and prescribed penalties for breaking them. At the end of the hunt, this structure dissolved completely, and all the hunters returned to their various homes. I have identified several of the major characteristics of these brigade organizations which made them well adapted the setting of the buffalo hunt and its unique economic demands.

The brigade structures were voluntary; all hunters involved directly agreed to the leadership and to the laws of the hunt before any buffalo were pursued. Anyone who dissented was free to leave. The brigade structures were temporary and seasonal, only existing for the duration of the spring and fall buffalo hunts.[31] They dissolved completely when the buffalo hunt was not taking place. They were perfectly adapted to and only concerned with administering to the internal functioning of the hunt. The laws of the hunt were consensus-based, with generally non-violent *economic* penalties or sanctions (cutting up tack, confiscating wares, etc.) carried out by the group.[32] This consensus ensured that none were alienated and all were in agreement with the hunt while it was being carried out. This kind of smooth functioning was important to the life and death situations involved in killing buffalo. August Vermette, nephew of Louis Riel, recounts that "si un Métis allait tuer du buffalo sans avertir les autres, là, il y avait une loi non écrite, mais toujours pratiquée: ils lui prenaient sa viande, puis ils lui coupaient ses attelages. C'était la loi de la Prairie".[33] Thus the "laws of the hunt" were a form of enforcing collective values, not based on arbitrary morality but rather the necessities of a cooperative economic structure involving the trade of vast amounts of raw goods in the form of pemmican and buffalo hides.

Further features of buffalo brigade structures included a form of hierarchy that was altogether situational. The brigades had clear leadership to command the large groups of hunters in the militaristic chase. These leaders were only hunt captains however, and had no authority in any place otherwise. Furthermore, their leadership was based on expertise and knowledge. Vermette again: "Il y avait toujours un chef dans le camp. Ils choisissaient celui qui était le plus au courant des manières. Le chef de la chasse était en avant. Les vieux du camp, ils appelaient ca les "anciens". Ils étaient consultés. C'était le conseil".[34] For Métis economics, apprenticeship was important, a system in which the "elder men strongly cautioned the less experienced not to shoot each other; a caution by no means unnecessary, as such accidents frequently occur".[35] This form of apprenticing by an eldership took place within a community that was operating not only for profit, but also in submission to values distinctly Catholic and Amerindian: cooperation and kinship. According to Louis Goulet, who grew up around the buffalo hunts, "..c'eût été frequent, dans la tradition de la prairie de s'aider les uns les autres…Dans ce temps-la, ce n'était pas rien que chacun pour moi comme à cette heure. Il y en avait qui étaient catholiques pratiquants parmi les Métis. Tous n'avaient pas encore été gates par la civilization!"[36] The

29 Kurz, *Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz,* 190-192, and Paul Kane, *Wandering of an Artist: Among the Indians of North America.*(Toronto: The Radisson Society of Canada Ltd., 1925), 54-55
30 Kurz, *Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz,* 191
31 Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "The Red River Hunters", 192
32 Ross, "Red River Buffalo Hunt"
33 Marcien Ferland, *Au temps de la prairie: L'histoire des métis de l'ouest canadien racontée par Auguste Vermette, neveu de Louis Riel* (Saint-Boniface, MB: Éditions du Blé, 2000),119
34 Ferland, *Au temps de la prairie,* 112
35 Kane, *Wandering of an Artist,* 57
36 Guillame Charrette, *L'espace de Louis Goulet.* (Winnipeg, MB: Éditions Bois-Brûlés, 1976), 73

brigade structures acted alongside kinship ties (Cree *wakootowin*),[37] closely connected with both Catholicism and Cree/Ojibwa tradition, making the brigades not impersonal governing structures, but rather mutually beneficial extended family units in which the common interest was to obey the laws and go about the hunt peacefully and cooperatively.

This highly efficient and well adapted governing structure amongst the buffalo brigades was especially important considering the vast amounts of pemmican traded. By1840, for example, the Métis brigades had a carrying capacity in their carts for provisions of 1,089,000 pounds, up from a mere 486,000 pounds in 1820.[38] These socio-political elements of the buffalo hunt are important because they allowed for the efficiency of production with which the fur trade was supplied with such large amounts of its primary staple nourishment. The pemmican industry was not only vast but also essential to the functioning of the HBC and its personnel.[39] Pemmican provided the protein in non-perishable form necessary for the physical demands of the Company's fur trade.[40] It was so important to the trade that in 1814, a "Pemmican War" broke out between the North West Company and the HBC over control of the provision economy, a conflict in which the Métis played a major part.[41]

It was not only in *killing* buffalo that the Métis showed economic sagacity; in the latter part of the 19th century, as the buffalo herds, mostly in the American side of their range, were rapidly diminishing, Gabriel Dumont and other Métis leaders began to realize that conservation methods would be needed to halt the extinction of the buffalo. During the provisional council at St. Laurent, Saskatchewan in 1873-1874, Dumont and a group of other older Métis hunters enacted "rules forbidding wastefulness, and men were to be fined for leaving unused the carcasses of animals they had killed…".[42] The previous buffalo hunting laws were also strengthened, especially those forbidding the hunting of animals by individual hunters. In 1878, the Cypress Hills Métis sent a petition to the Privy Council

of the North-West Territories, in which the "Half-Breeds" asked for a 50-mile by 150-mile reserve to be set aside for them and as a refuge for the declining buffalo herds.[43] The Métis community was clearly aware by the time that the animals they relied on for sustenance were dying out. Even if these measures were too little and too late, they represented an economic policy intending to conserve the herds as a valuable resource for the future, in contrast to the buffalos' "enemies of types unknown before, like the sportsmen who killed for mere trophies and the professional hunters who killed only for robes",[44] people carelessly decimating the herds.

The Métis are remarkable because such a numerically small people managed to be a very important economic factor for so long and across such a vast area, beginning around the Great Lakes fur trade in the 18th century up until the Northwest Resistance of 1885 in the District of Saskatchewan. According to a Chief Factor (a rank of senior officer) of the HBC, by 1880 the Company was becoming disinterested in buffalo as a commodity.[45] The annexation of Métis territory into Canada also brought the free traders and other autonomous Métis economic agents under tighter judicial control. The railway also brought in large amounts of settlers thirsty for Métis lands. By the 1880s, the prairie Métis were reduced to poverty, people who had once confidently trod the grasslands with hundreds of carts and buffalo-running ponies.[46] Their political and economic independence over, the Métis soon became Road Allowance People,[47] settling on marginal crown lands in the Prairie Provinces, some even eating rodents and other desperate food sources in order to survive.[48] They thus moved from an autonomous identity based on an aspiration to nationhood and sovereign economic activity, an identity which shaped the history of the Northwest, to a new reality of exile, dispossession, and marginality.

Despite this later dispossession, the Métis for centuries kept alive the industries (furs, pemmican, trade goods etc.) that enabled Canada and Europe to extract wealth from the Northwest. Their participation in this economy, which the Métis undertook for their own

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37 Brenda Macdougall, *One of the Family: Métis Culture in Nineteenth-Century Northwestern Saskatchewan.* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 3
38 Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade,* 206
39 Butler, *The Wild North Land,* 60-62
40 Arthur J. Ray, "The Northern Great Plains: Pantry of the Northwestern Fur Trade, 1774-1885," *Prairie Forum* 9, 2 (1984): 60
41 Ibid: 61
42 George M. Woodcock, *Gabriel Dumont: The Métis Chief and His Lost World* (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2003), 116

43 "Petition from Half-Breeds Living in the Vicinity of Cypress Hills…", *Canada Sessional Papers,* 5, 1886: 10-12
44 Woodcock, *Gabriel Dumont*, 116
45 Ray, "Northern Great Plains", 71
46 Ibid
47 Maria Campbell, *Stories of the Road Allowance People* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books Ltd., 1995
48 Ray, "Northern Great Plains", 71

autonomous and collective economic benefit, eventually allowed for the colonial processes that would disinherit them of their territorial base and political independence. However, the long heyday of buffalo brigades, free traders, fur trappers, and rebels was also integral to the construction of Métis nationhood. The *otipemisiwak* became the *free people* because of this colourful history of defiant economic autonomy.

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Untitled Series

Cedar-Eve Peters

In many cultures, notions of sickness and disease, whether mental, physical, or spiritual is often attributed to and directly related to spirits who seek to harm the living. As an Ojibwa artist, aspects of First Nations sacred stories, mythologies, and dreams influence and shape my use of memory. My work questions the reality of otherness through recognizable and unrecognizable imagery, creating a play between fiction and reality.

My drawings are inspired by the knowledge I have gained about my culture, specifically the need to pass on traditions. Colonial rule and the attempts at assimilation saw the break down in oral transmission, as such stories and languages were lost and with it came a breakdown in culture. My drawings reflect the need to keep these traditions alive if the culture is to persevere. Art is another form of storytelling and allows for individuals to express ideas they would not be able to otherwise.

By understanding the history of Indigenous peoples across the Americas, we are able to understand the issues that have affected and continue to affect First Nations peoples in present day society. My drawings help me to keep a healthy mind, heart and spirit. I am honoring my ancestors through the art I create and hope to educate others in the process. By creating art that reflects not only my worldview, but contemporary issues as well, allows me to keep First Nations culture alive.

My name is Cedar- Eve Peters, this coming June I will be graduating from Concordia University with a Bachelor's degree in Studio Art. Upon receiving my degree, I would like to find placement working in a gallery or museum, as my eventual plan is to curate and own my own gallery showcasing and working with First Nations art and artists.

Figure 1: beaded postcard, pen, seed beads on postcard paper, 5cm x 7cm

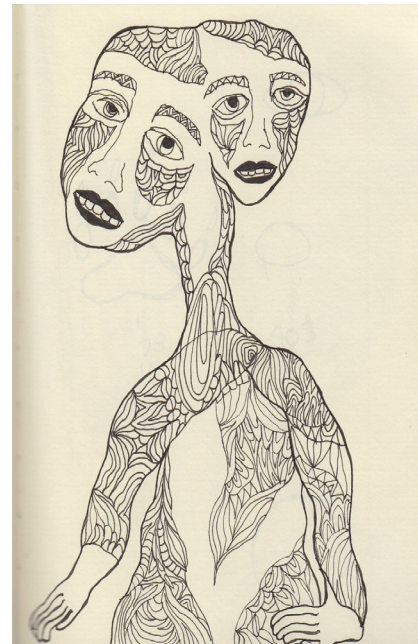*Figure 2: beaded postcard, watercolor crayon, pen, seed beads on postcard paper, 5cmX 7cm*

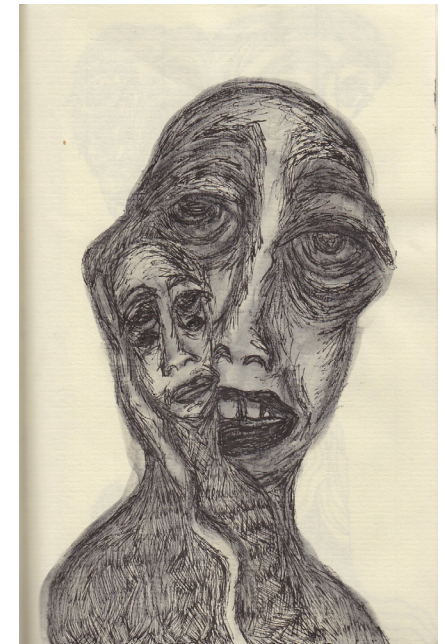*Figure 3: sketchbook drawing, pen on paper, 6 cm X 9 cm*

Figure 4: sketchbook drawing, pen on paper, 6 cm X 9 cm

Nótaxe

Bianca Lavric

Nótaxe: Cheyenne word for warrior

In this painting I wished to represent the intricate Native American ritualistic preparation for war. The colors used for the face paint are representative of social and religious traditions that are specific to each indigenous society. The red color created from natural elements was often used as "war paint" imbued with a protective design and prayer. Oftentimes a special song was sung while applying the protective charm for the warrior, bringing forth the inner and universal powers needed for battle. The painting was inspired after seeing a Native American presentation at McGill. I find it beautiful that face paint can hold so many important qualities and that each color can have various meanings.

Art is my main passion and domain where I can experiment with different mediums ranging from drawing, 3D animation and photography to traditional painting. I am currently aspiring to improve in the traditional style of oil paint on canvas.

Nótaxe

20cmx20cm Medium: Oil paint on canvas

Ayahuasca: The Plant With Intercultural Potential

Kai Thomas

It would seem fruitless to take knowledge that has been adapted over thousands of years in a specific location and try to translate it so that it has meaning in Western culture. However, as the West, with all its technological and rational knowledge, influences the world more, it is important that an exchange of knowledge is fostered and encouraged. This exchange offers boundless value to humankind. In the jungles of Amazonia, the ayahuasca plant, traditionally used in shamanic ritual, is an example of the potential value that traditional ecological knowledge has to the West.

Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), also called "ethnoscience" is knowledge of a local ecology, typically possessed by indigenous peoples, developed over many generations of habitation of a particular territory. It is generally believed that TEK is gained through a long process of trial and error. However in the case of ayahuasca, doctors such as Jacques Mabit reject this hypothesis as a Western-minded rational explanation, and suggests that ayahuasca was discovered through a more mystical, subjective method that is characteristic of the shamans that work with the plant. Indeed, although there is no clear line that separates TEK from science, there are several distinctions that generally characterize the former apart from the latter. One possible difference is that TEK is contextual, while, science is universal. Another possibility is that TEK is gained through intimate engagement to the environment, while science has a detached approach. A third possibility is that TEK gives unlimited scope for agency and has an animistic worldview, where science restricts agency to human beings or eliminates it altogether. Perhaps the most definitive distinction is that TEK is generally not considered, socially or legally, as a valid or credible partner in addressing problems in a Western setting. This case study will demonstrate the possibility and importance of adapting TEK of the ayahuasca plant to a Western setting, while acknowledging the difficulties and risks in such a venture.

Ayahuasca is a mixture of at least two plants, namely the ayahuasca vine (Banisteriopsis caapi) or "vine of the spirits" and the leaves of chacruna (Psychotria viridis). Alkaloids in the mixture allow for visionary effects in human subjects.[1] Scientifically, the mixture is classified as a hallucinogen, known by the popular term "psychedelic", which is one of three groups of "psychotropic" substances. The first group includes psychic sedatives such as barbiturates and tranquilizers. The second group encompasses psychic stimulants such as amines or drugs of mood change. The third group holds psychic deviators and these are called hallucinogens such as mescaline, LSD, and ayahuasca.[2] This mixture has been used for at least three thousand years and is still in use by over seventy indigenous groups in the Amazon basin.[3] Many indigenous healing practices remained in use through Spanish conquest due in part to the biodiversity of the South American jungle and the relative protection that it offered from invasion. Recently, interest in ayahuasca has increased due to research and stories that indicate the plant's ability to create deeply meaningful and spiritual states of consciousness.[4]

In 1968, Dr. Marlene Dobkin de Rios studied the use of ayahuasca in Belén, a slum of the city of Iquitos in the Amazonian jungle region of northeastern Peru. In Belén, magic, witchcraft, and sorcery are deeply entrenched in healing rituals. The causes of illness are thought of in a magical framework, as opposed to a scientific framework. In addition, there is a belief in a finite amount of luck or goodness and that good fortune is necessarily accompanied by someone else's envy.[5] Thus, the salient question around an illness and its consequences for the people of Belén is "why me?" as opposed to "how?" Ailments such as colds or skin infections are thought of as "God given" and are solved by store-bought medicines.[6] If physical pain is worse than a simple cold, it is usually considered to be a magical illness. Magical illnesses are caused by either "river and jungle spirits," or the "evil of people."[7] For example, the "Yacumama," or mother spirit of the river, might cause ill-

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1 Mabit, p. 1.
2 De Rios, p. 20.
3 Mabit, p. 1.
4 Trichter
5 De Rios, p. 85.
6 De Rios, p. 78.
7 De Rios, p. 78.

ness to a menstruating woman who does not follow the proper ritual custom while crossing the river.[8] "The evil of people" could refer to someone throwing a powerful plant across another's threshold, or the phenomenon of "susto," a very specific type of fear or illness caused by an emotionally violent event or impression.[9] Any of these situations would be reason to see an "Ayahuasquero," or master of ayahuasca. Thereby follows the process of finding an Ayahuasquero with whom one feels comfortable, as well as the Ayahuasquero's process of determining if their treatment is appropriate for the patient's ailment. In Belén, it is not uncommon for an Ayahuasquero to refer a patient to medical personnel, or vice versa.[10] Once an Ayahuasquero has a small group of patients, he will take them outside of Belén at night, so as to avoid noise and disturbance. The ceremony itself involves four or five hours of intense intoxication that often causes vomiting and diarrhea to the patients. But in this time, the individual experiences visions and the session is facilitated by the Ayahuasquero who will whistle, sing, shake his "schacapa" rattle, and counsel participants. The sessions are characterized by warmth, friendship, and support by participants, as well as the Ayahuasquero.[11] This environment contrasts to the "disdainful disinterest" that the poorer residents of Belén encounter when they see a doctor or go to a hospital, which is one of the reasons why an Ayahuasquero can be much more appealing than a medical practitioner. Beside the warm atmosphere, the psychosomatic nature of an Ayahuasquero's approach in treating "susto", for example, acknowledges the inseparability of mind and body, or the "emotional factor in disease."[12]

This psychosomatic approach is crucial to understanding the ayahuasca ceremony. Just as the experience of trying a particular kind of food, for example, is not defined by the physical reaction of your body to the ingredients of the dish, so too the experience of ayahuasca is "never simply reducible to pure chemical effect… how the drug is administered and by whom, the emotional atmosphere, the presence or absence of music, the individual's mood, personality attributes, expectation – "all play an integral role in the experience".[13] Ayahuasca ceremonies are so dependant on mental and emotional

involvement that Dr. De Rios compares them to yoga techniques that can also aim to change consciousness at will, ayahuasca simply has the potential to achieve this effect much more quickly.[14] In particular, the creation of a "family-community structure" is key to the ritual.[15]

As shown, an ayahuasca ceremony involves much more than a chemical reaction, therefore there is much that can go wrong in trying the ceremony out of its original context. The phenomenon of "drug tourism," whereby tourists travel to countries such as Peru in order to try drugs such as ayahuasca sometimes for the purpose of curiousity or thrill-seeking, presents a few risks. A danger is that tourists can be defrauded by non-authentic, "charlatan" drug healers, who can also be sexual predators.[16] Although this is not always the case, as a recent study shows, there are Ayahuasca retreats that offer personal development and insight to tourists who are largely seeking emotional healing.[17] Then there arises the question of what is a culturally appropriate interaction between a healer and a participant. For example, it is common for ritual healers to have sexual relationships with participants during rituals in the Amazon, a situation that is much more taboo in a Western therapeutic framework.[18] In any event, taken out of the traditional context, an ayahuaska ceremony has the potential to create emotional disturbances, especially for certain people with mental and emotional illness. There is also the risk of "spiritual addiction," where an individual craves ceremony as a coping mechanism for personal problems, or "spiritual narcissism," where an individual becomes absorbed with their spiritual sense of self and consequently experiences "an inflation of ego instead of the amplification of consciousness."[19] This is part of a Western, "consumer" tendency to "reduce the mystical and meaningful experience" of ceremonies like ayahuasca.[20] In order to ensure safety in ayahuasca practices, participants should be educated about the plant, a sense of interconnectedness within the participant group is necessary, and a dialogue that monitors the reputation of the Ayahuasqueros is needed.[21]

8 De Rios, p. 79.
9 De Rios, p. 83.
10 De Rios, pp. 67-68.
11 De Rios, p. 68.
12 De Rios, p. 88.
13 De Rios, pp. 22-23.

14 De Rios, p. 23.
15 Trichter.
16 Winkelman, p. 209.
17 Winkelman, pp. 215-216.
18 Trichter
19 Trichter. and Mabit, p. 9.
20 Mabit, p. 2.
21 Trichter

The Takiwasi Center for rehabilitation of drug addicts, founded in 1992 by French doctor Jacques Mabit, serves as a model for the safe and effective use of ayahuasca ceremonies. Dr. Mabit describes drug addiction as a distinctly Western pathology, and a symptom of the illness of Western society. This illness is society's emphasis on external rather than internal happiness, the idolatry of opulence and materialism, and the lack of a sacred dimension. For Dr. Mabit, drug addiction is a particularly destructive expression of the human need for a "transcendental dimension."[22] At a scientific level, ayahuasca activates the "emotional and psycho-affective field of the brain," physically allowing for new processes to be engaged.[23] Moreover, the ayahuasca ceremony provides the participant with an interface to an indigenous cosmology of the physical world and the spirit world, fulfilling the need to see new forms of reality, and instilling a sense of unity and peace.[24] A stay at Mabit's treatment center is a nine-month process, involving communal living, therapeutic guidance, and the integration of indigenous herbal medicine such as ayahuasca.[25] This holistic approach leads to 60% of Takiwasi participants remaining drug free over a three-year period compared to 8% at standard detoxification centers in North America.[26]

Canadian doctor Gabor Maté was inspired by Mabit's model and set up an experimental retreat for his work with drug addicts in Vancouver. His belief in the link between deep emotional pain, often caused by negative childhood experiences, and the phenomena of addiction led him to see the value in the psychosomatic nature of ayahuasca healing.[27] Here one can draw a parallel between Dr. Maté's belief in the emotional damage that causes addiction and the phenomenon of "susto", whereby a violent emotional impression leaves a person with a destructive illness. It is a logical concept that two very similar problems require a similar solution. Recently, Maté had to discontinue his use of ayahuasca due to restrictions placed by the Canadian government.

It is understandable that the majority of Canadians, who do not come from cultures with three thousand years of psychedelic healing practices, are not as open to the use of plants such as aya-

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22 Mabit, p. 3.
23 Mabit, p. 5.
24 Mabit, pp. 2-5.
25 Mabit, p.4.
26 Jungle Prescription
27 Jungle Prescription

huasca. However, the work of figures such as Jacques Mabit demonstrates that ayahuasca can be effectively integrated with a Western model. Moreover, scholars such Dennis J. Mckenna attest that ayahuasca is not just a useful tool for fighting addiction. In fact it leads people to "nurture nature and to learn from it how to nurture ourselves and our fellow beings."[28] Even if one does not believe that nature needs to be nurtured by human hands, that does not mean that humans should not have a caring relationship with the environment, because as Dr. Mckenna points out, there is much to be learned about how to treat other beings. TEK such as ayahuasca not only offers innovative and effective solutions to modern Western problems; it also offers different values and worldviews. This diversity of knowing is at risk of being lost, as the Western world and its technological and rational reach spreads across the globe. Just as diversity is the richness in life of an ecology, so too is diversity the richness of the knowledge of humankind. Ayahuasca is one example of how diversity of knowledge has value to human beings, but there is much more among the cultures of the people of the world that we cannot afford to lose.

Kai Thomas is a first year student with avid interest in cultural anthropology, community development, doodling, and unwaxed floss.

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28 Mckenna, p. 233.

Mckenna, Dennis. "Ayahuasca and Human Destiny." Journal of Psychoactive Drugs, no. 2 (2005): 231-234.

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BROKEN

Roxann Whitebean

Bodyprints covered, we are scarred deep within
We are destined to live in pain, our race is a sin.

We were just children and you took that all away
You hurt us immensely, we face it everyday.

Glass shattered in a broken home, look at what you've done
I realize it's all my fault, you are you're fathers son.

Look around our life is over, there's nothing let to do
You never stopped or got the help, so I am leaving you.

How could I be so foolish, to speak to him this way
My head is throbbing from that hit, it's time for change today.

I think I'll just be quiet, until he goes to sleep
I'm packing up and leaving town, let's hope the kids don't weep.

This freezing night we're teary eyed, we'll be there very soon.
I'm scared to death what will we do? I pray to grandma moon.

Take a stand to end the violence, your new life will begin.
My Indigenous sisters are proud and strong, it only starts within.

Karonhiarokwas Roxann Whitebean is a 27 year old traditional Mohawk Wolf clan woman from the Kahnawake reservation. She wrote this poem to give her sisters strength in regards to domestic violence in First nations families.

Aboriginal Women: The Bearers of Life and Death of Aboriginal Nations

Megan Bertasson

A well-known Cheyenne proverb proclaims: "A nation is not defeated until the hearts of its women are on the ground". Although I was a grown woman when I first encountered this powerful proverb, I was well aware of the violence that threatened and claimed the lives of Aboriginal women in Canada even as a small girl. In an effort to demonstrate the magnitude of the impact of colonially-driven violence committed against Aboriginal women in Canada, I will consider in detail the events leading up to, surrounding and following the death of Helen Betty Osborne, an Ininew (Cree) woman from Kinosao Sipi Cree Nation or Norway House Cree Nation, Manitoba. In offering an analysis of one Aboriginal woman, I hope to make apparent the important connection among Aboriginal women and their respective First Nation communities. Mi'kmaw scholar Bonita Lawrence, in *"Real" Indians and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood*, urges us to recognize that the subordination of Aboriginal women must be understood as a collective sovereignty issue rather than an individual concern (2004:46). Indeed, the most effective strategy strategy that has facilitated the decimation of Aboriginal nations has been through the fragmentation of the communities enabled by sexism and racism. Once nations are fragmented, it becomes much easier to actively target individuals who lack the support of their community.

To begin this analysis, I will offer a discussion of how Mbembe's (2003) necropower and Foucault's (1976, 1978) biopower function to create and regulate Aboriginal subjects and First Nation communities. Afterwards, I will critically examine the events immediately leading up to and following the murder of Helen Betty Osborne. Ultimately, it is my goal to demonstrate, by engaging with necropower and biopower, how Aboriginal women are transformed into deathworlds and, as a result, they are recognized as sites open for violence to be committed upon. Consequently, the violence committed against Aboriginal women in a non-Aboriginal context has consequences that extend beyond individuals and reach to negatively impact Aboriginal nations and sovereignty.

Necropower and First Nation Communities as Deathworlds

To assist in underscoring the inextricable links among Aboriginal women and their respective communities throughout this analysis, I will draw extensively from the ideas developed in Mbembe's (2003) *Necropolitics*. While Mbembe acknowledges his indebtedness to the contributions made by Michel Foucault, Mbembe argues that the original framework of biopower introduced by Foucault (1976, 1978) is insufficient to account for modern colonial regimes (2003:39). It is important to recognize that Mbembe is not dismissing Foucault's theory altogether. Rather, he approaches biopower as though it was a coloring book and the colors are dependent upon the circumstances of respective colonial projects and specific locations. Therefore, this critical exploration and analysis will, as well, be supplemented by the framework of biopower originally put forth by Foucault.

As Achille Mbembe (2003) describes, in *Necropolitics*, colonial occupation can be understood as a palimpsest; we can discern European sovereignty violently etched over Aboriginal societies. With the encroachment of a European sovereign state upon Native land, colonizers asserted their control over the physical landscape by violently seizing and rearranging the social and physical geography. Traditional modes of governance practised by various Aboriginal nations were subverted in favor of European based economies and modes of governance. As a result, the colonized were subject to classification by colonizers who were then categorized into various groups with different purposes and rights (26). Mbembe proceeds to further argue that "history, geography, cartography, and archaeology are supposed to back these claims, thereby closely binding identity and topography" (2003:27). Consequently, the categorization of colonized individuals and communities allowed the sovereign state to relegate them to deathworlds. Deathworlds are the sites where necropolitical governance is practiced. Within these sites, the sovereign state exercises the power over death and the subjugation of

life (39). In other words, we can see a high prevalence of instances of structural violence in these deathworlds. Mbembe sites Fanon to illustrate what he means by necropower:

> The town belonging to the colonized people…is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live on top of each other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees (Fanon 1991, Mbembe, 2003:27).

The establishment, organization and regulation of all First Nation communities in Canada are, in fact, colonial constructs and the frameworks of these communities are assembled in a manner that reinforces and perpetuates structural violence. Since these sites expose the community members to such harm and deprivation, it might seem that formal laws implemented in an effort to force individuals to leave are unnecessary. After all, if leaving these derelict spaces are not only an option, but a demand, who wouldn't want to leave? Nevertheless, First Nation communities have and continue to offer community members a strong sense of individual and communal cultural identity and, additionally, other various forms of support, including: protection from certain forms of racism; economic support; legal support; traditional Aboriginal and familial knowledge; healthcare, assistance with childcare; provisions for burials; and access to the land; and, of course, a network of family, friends, and acquaintances. Despite the inherent contradiction of First Nation communities, many community members are adamant in the belief that their survival, in all senses of the word, relies upon community membership.

The most important distinction that can be made from Mbembe and Foucault, is Mbembe's careful consideration of the rationale behind deathworlds and the respective colonial projects to which they are attached. For instance, a slave on a plantation is assigned a monetary value for the master. Therefore, deathworlds inhabited by slaves are organized and regulated in a manner which

seriously physically, spiritually, emotionally and mentally harms individuals, but under no circumstances should they be killed. First Nation communities, on the other hand, as Mbembe (2003) observes within his discussion on late modern colonial regimes, are actually costly. It is economically advantageous for the state to terminate any relationship to any Aboriginal nation that obliges the state to honor any contractual agreement. With this in mind, the overarching goal of First Nation deathworlds is to "starve" the community of resources as a means of diminishing the population or forcing individuals to escape the community to be absorbed and assimilated into the mainstream population.

Foucault's Biopower, Subject-Making and the Indian Act

Foucault (1976) argues, in *Society Must be Defended*, that in the nineteenth century, sovereign power, or the ancient regime, was complemented by a modern form of power. The old sovereign right could be understood as the right to take life or let live. However, Foucault observes that in the seventeenth and eighteenth century we see the emergence of a new power he refers to as biopower. This power, as opposed to the old power exercised on behalf of the sovereign, is exercised on behalf of the population. Interestingly, this population is constituted by the very technology by which it is served (241). Biopower creates populations by first concentrating on individuals. This modern technology of power seeks to: "exert a positive influence on life, that endeavours to administer, optimize and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations" (1978:137). Foucault remarks that the product of such regulatory interventions enables the creation of populations (1976:245).

While Foucault argues that biopower is a productive and positive mode of power, he notes that the function of murder within biopower continues to be very important. At this point, Foucault states that racism plays a crucial role in facilitating the subjugation of life and power over death. He avers: "the first function of racism: to fragment, to create caesuras within the biological continuum addressed by biopower" (255). Moreover, he suggests that the creation of a hierarchy of races assists in supporting the assumption that some races pose biological threats to other "pure," "superior,"

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or "good" race (1976:254-255). Furthermore, the instruments of a racist state also assume a racist function (256). With this in mind, we are able to better understand the racist and malicious intent implicit in the *Indian Act*. Not only is this legislative tool implemented with the intent to distinguish Aboriginal populations from non-Aboriginal population, but this tool also serves to internally fragment Aboriginal populations.

The *Indian Act*, which was forcibly imposed upon members of these communities, can, in part, be considered the sword wielding the full force of the sovereign (Foucault, 1978:144). Yet, it is important to recognize that entire nations cannot be fractured into unrecognizable fragments by formal law alone. As Lawrence (2004) astutely observes, the *Indian Act* is more than a set of policies that can simply be dismantled. The *Indian Act* has been instrumental shaping Aboriginal identity. This legislative body actively seeks to regulate and control Aboriginal identity and, as a result: "produced the subjects it purports to control" (25). Furthermore, the policies deployed from the *Indian Act* can be seen as operating as norms. Foucault states: the judicial institution is increasingly incorporated into a continuum of apparatuses (medical, administrative, and so on) whose function are for the most part regulatory" (1978:144). In effect, contemporary Aboriginal approaches to culture and identity are bound to influences by the *Indian Act*.

One of the most detrimental effects of the *Indian Act* has been the rampant gender discrimination throughout the Act. Either by complete omission or direct sexist and discriminatory policies extended solely to Aboriginal women, this patriarchal piece of legislation is responsible for displacing an incalculable number of Aboriginal women in the last century (Lawrence, 2004:56). Through the *Gradual Enfranchisement Act* of 1869, status-Indian Aboriginal women who married non-status men lost their Indian status (Anderson, 2000:68). This act was eventually replaced by the *Indian Act* that also included the above mentioned policy. Until 1985, Status-Indian women were forcibly enfranchised for marrying a non-Indian man and their children were also forcibly enfranchised. Yet, if a status-Indian man married a non-Indian woman she gained Indian status and so did their children. Compulsory enfranchisement had devastating material and emotional impacts on these individuals.

They were denied band membership, the right to live in their First Nation communities, and were prevented from accessing their treaty payments or funds offered to band members (RCAP 1996, Lawrence, 2004:51). Besides the financial distress compulsory enfranchisement caused, Aboriginal women were often thrust into racist and sexist urban environments. Despite the fact that they had no legal right to claim Aboriginality, these women continued to face the same sexism and racism as Aboriginal women. While the *Indian Act* is a legislative tool which is predominantly concerned with governing status-Indian individuals, non-Aboriginal authority figures have often interpreted various sections within the Act to persecute non-status individuals. The condition of being governed under the *Indian Act* was as simple and vague as being an individual who followed the Indian mode of life. As a result, displaced Aboriginal women in urban settings were particularly vulnerable as Indian agents were afforded the power to designate these women as "common prostitutes" (Lawrence, 2004:35). This assumption of the sexually promiscuous Aboriginal woman moves beyond formal sanctions and is deeply embedded within the mainstream cultural imaginary, the law serves to reinforce this assumption. In this instance, it is very clear that the most vulnerable individuals are not only thrust from their supportive networks and displaced within racist and sexist spaces, but they are also subject to criminalization.

Compulsory enfranchisement was merely one of many ways of compelling Aboriginal women to leave their First Nation communities. As above mentioned, the patriarchal driven *Indian Act* is so ingrained into respective First Nation community's structure, that the Act's sexist and racist attitudes were internalized by community members. Consequently, many Aboriginal women are compelled to leave their community to escape lateral and/or spousal violence. Another motivating consideration for leaving one's community could be seen as an act of resistance. After all, First Nation communities completely disregard the fact that many Aboriginal nations, such as the Cree, did not live in one location all year round. Lately, many young people are relocating to urban non-Aboriginal spaces because the same opportunities our grandparents had simply are not available to this generation. Aboriginal women can no longer realistically dream of becoming traditional bush wives or mothers. Besides the

upheaval of subsistence economies in favour of settler economies, the devaluation of the knowledge, skill, and exertion of the work Aboriginal women traditionally engaged in persists to this day (Anderson, 2000:62).

The Murder of Helen Betty Osborne

On November 13th, 1971, Helen Betty Osborne, a 19 year-old Aboriginal woman, was abducted, tortured and murdered in The Pas, Manitoba. The RCMP investigation concluded that four non-Aboriginal assailants: Lee Colgan, Norman Manger, Dwayne Johnston, and James Houghton were involved in her death. As she was walking home from visiting friends around 2 am, these four men forced her into their car with the intention of raping her. Helen struggled for her life and as she was physically and sexually assaulted in the vehicle, she was driven to two different remote locations outside of The Pas. At the first stop, Helen was dragged out of vehicle, stripped naked and viciously beaten on the snow-covered ground. Fearing they would be discovered, the assailants forced her back into the vehicle and drove her to an even more isolated location further from town. At this final location, it is likely that all the men participated in murdering Helen, despite the fact that only Dwayne Johnston was convicted for the murder. As stated by the autopsy report, she was stabbed over fifty times with a screwdriver and it appeared she had suffered incalculable blunt force traumas that were most likely blows from fists and boots. Afterwards, Helen's corpse was dragged into a dense portion of the woods and the men drove back to The Pas. Community members of both Norway House and The Pas were aware of the identities of Helen's assailants almost immediately after the crime was committed. However, it was not until December 1987 that one of the four men were convicted. As suggested by the *Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission* (1999), sexism and racism were the two main deterrents of obtaining justice at the formal judicial level.

The Circumstances and Events Leading to Helen's Murder

The circumstances that compelled Helen to leave her community to attend school in a non-Aboriginal community where she was subsequently murdered are not necessarily as simple as 'there was no secondary school in Norway House'. Rather, the reasons are more likely attributed to the overall transformation of Norway House's cultural lifestyle as its participation in settler economies intensified. Traditionally, Aboriginal women were considered not only the centre of the home, but they were also the centre of the community (Anderson, 2000:64). Aboriginal women had authority over nearly aspect of community existence including: the fact that they were active political voices; they prepared and, sometimes, acquired food for the household; they were responsible for food distribution; the household, or any property, belonged to the women and, most importantly, Aboriginal women were respected for their vast amount of knowledge (Anderson, 2000:62-64). With the introduction of settler economies followed patriarchal assumptions of womanhood that relegated these women to the margins. Indian residential schools in Canada were important sites where this degradation of Aboriginal womanhood occurred. It appears as though residential schools were less concerned with education than they were concerned with assimilation and attacking traditional Aboriginal practices. From the mid-nineteenth century until the 1970s, as much as one third of Aboriginal children were raised in residential schools (Anderson, 2000:75). The primary goal of residential schools, with regards to Aboriginal girls, was to shape them to fit the western ideals of femininity. In other words, these girls were raised with the hopes that they would become obedient, subservient housewives. As a result, the traditional role of Aboriginal women and the organization of Aboriginal communities were viciously attacked (Anderson, 2000:83). Helen, having already received at least eight years of Western education prior to relocating, was likely to have already been indoctrinated by these institutions to perceive the traditional lifestyle of northern Cree Aboriginal women as uncivilized, deplete of value, and by Western measures, perhaps, these women were viewed as failures. In an effort to fulfil these western expectations of success and, importantly, to acquire the necessary skills that would allow Helen to participate in the imposed settler economy, Helen's choice to attend residential school was undeniably informed by coercion.

In 1969, Helen attended the Guy Hill Residential School lo-

cated just outside of The Pas, Manitoba for two years. In 1971, in an effort to intensify the assimilatory measures, Helen was boarded within a non-Aboriginal household and began attending the local high school. It is important to note, that The Pas is adjacent to the First Nation community of Opaskwayak Cree Nation. While the Saskatchewan River splits the two communities, prevailing racist and sexist attitudes towards Aboriginal individuals and populations serves to reinforce this division. According to the *Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission* (1999), at best, the social relations among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people did not extend beyond superficial pleasantries; more often, these encounters resulted in violent clashes. Aboriginal people were welcome within The Pas as consumers; however, this invitation was extended with extremely discriminatory conditions. For example, in public spaces, such as movie theatres, bars, and sidewalks, informal segregation was upheld.

This differentiation in treatment of these two populations by the local RCMP served to reinforce and maintain cross-cultural divisions. The RCMP actively targeted and discriminated Aboriginal individuals within the communities and, at the same time, failed to protect Aboriginal people who were vulnerable to racist and sexist attacks. For instance, police officers testifying before the *Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission* assert that it was a common practice within The Pas for non-Aboriginal men to drive throughout the town in an attempt to ply Aboriginal women with alcohol and convince these women to have sex with them. Despite the fact that the police officers themselves acknowledge this practice, within the same testimony, these officers admit that they did nothing to protect the safety of these women. This behaviour on the part of the members of the RCMP is reminiscent of a feature of late-modern colonial occupation described by Mbembe. He states: "Freedom is given to local military commanders to use their discretion as to when and whom to shoot…Invisible killing is added to outright executions" (2003:30). From this vantage point, it is evident that the 'invisible killing' is an ongoing practice taken up by RCMP police officers when they choose not to question the safety of Aboriginal women in the communities. The concept of 'invisible killing' is very much linked to Foucault's (1976) discussion on the mode in which rac-

ism sought to eliminate unwanted races. He argues: "the death of the other…is not a military or warlike relationship of confrontation, but a biological-type relationship: 'The more inferior species die out, the more abnormal individuals are eliminated'" (1976:255). Through this neglect, the local police and non-Aboriginal community's mistaken assumption of Aboriginal inferiority are reinforced and reproduced. However, Mbembe (2003) argues that late-modern colonial occupation is effected through the: "concatenation of multiple powers: disciplinary, biopolitical and necropolitical" (29). With this in mind, in ignoring the presence of disciplinary technologies exercised over Aboriginal populations, Foucault only offers a partial explanation. The practice of 'invisible killing' complements the explicit violence direct from police officers onto Aboriginal individuals. Indeed, the disciplinary practices that the local police engage in against Aboriginal populations are one of the most easily identifiable and distinguishing features of their relationship. However, it is important to note that the conduct and attitudes of the local police was unevenly applied among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal individuals. While non-Aboriginal individuals undoubtedly received fair treatment, the treatment of Aboriginal people by the local police is marked by discrimination and violent treatment (*Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission*, 1999).

With the introduction of biopower, Foucault remarks that individuals are not necessarily created into a society, but, rather, we see, "a new body, a multiple body, a body with so many heads that, while they might not be infinite in number, cannot necessarily be counted" (1976:245). While Helen's friends could easily comment on Helen's exceptional and unique character, with biopower, individuals who are transformed into subjects then to be categorized and placed into populations. When Helen was walking home after visiting friends, the men who abducted and eventually murdered Helen merely perceived a vulnerable and lone woman, an Aboriginal subject of a particular population. As the men in the vehicle approached Helen, who was walking home alone, their understanding of appropriate conduct was informed by sexist and racist discourses towards Aboriginal women which were circulating within The Pas in 1971. Discourses, as Foucault explains, refer the manner in which specialized knowledge must correspond to a particular language and gram-

mar in order to be considered true (Foucault, 1978, Young, 1995:2). These circulating discourses allow another feature of biopower to occur, that is, with this technology one can predict, forecast, measure, assess, and so on (Foucault, 1976:246). As a result of the circulating sexist and racist discourses, the violent actions of these men that led to Helen's subsequent death were not considered out of the ordinary. Mbembe comments on the treatment of the colonized by settlers throughout colonial occupation, he observes that the prevailing attitude of colonizers had a dehumanizing effect upon Native societies. The following passage illustrates the materialization of the dehumanizing of Native societies: "so that when European men massacred them they somehow were not aware that they had committed murder" (Arendt, 1966, Mbembe, 2003:24). Instead of viewing Aboriginal women as humans, they become objects who are representative of landscapes upon which the insidious and violent manifestations of sexist and racist discourses are realized. Helen's body was produced into a deathworld. In the same sense that wars massacres take place upon physical, geographical landscapes, Aboriginal women's bodies, too, become the site where massacres take place.

The Investigation

As suggested by the *Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission* (1999), the investigation of the murder of Helen Betty Osborne appeared to have three stages. The first phase of the investigation commenced upon the discovery of Helen's body until the end of 1972. While the local RCMP police were active during this period, the case lacked adequate resources necessary to conduct a thorough investigation. Moreover, the rural RCMP detachment, which was responsible for the case, did not have a staff that had received the appropriate training for coping with a murder of this magnitude. In spite of these limitations: "It would appear that the rural detachment made extensive and appropriate use of the extra resources and personnel available to it" (*Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission*, 1999). Despite of the swift response, the numerous careless missteps slowed progress significantly. For example, the photographic equipment utilized inadequately captured the crime scene. Additionally,

the local police failed to properly and thoroughly measure all of the footprints on the scene. Less than a month after Helen's death, the RCMP received an important tip that would eventually lead them to and reveal that there were several assailants. Taxi driver Philip McGillivary was able to identify nearly the entire license plate of a vehicle which Helen was believed to have been abducted in. In fact, with the information offered, a search was generated and the only car from The Pas was owned by the Harold Colgan, the father of Lee Colgan. Once this was determined, the detachment in charge of the investigation made a major mistake with this information; they did absolutely nothing with it (*Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission*, 1999). According to the justice inquiry, the cavalier handling of this information is most likely attributed to the fact that the Colgan's were a middle-class and non-Aboriginal family.

The investigators followed the sloppy gathering of evidence with a pitiful search for the perpetrator of the crime. The immediate suspects were Helen's boyfriend and her friends. Perhaps the two people most personally impacted by police brutality were Helen's partner, Cornelius Bighetty, and Helen's friend, Annaliese Dumas. Like Helen, both of these individuals had relocated from their own respective First Nation communities. Both individuals, at the time, were unaware of the murder of Helen when they were apprehended. Cornelius, who was only seventeen, was forced to accompany police officers to the detachment without the consent of his parents or guardians. The justice inquiry described the interrogation of Cornelius as a heartless disregard of his rights. Eighteen year-old Annaliese Dumas, according to the justice inquiry, was forced to accompany the police officers to the detachment without any understanding why. Inexplicably, two officers drove her to a secluded space on the outskirts of town where they began interrogating her. When Dumas became overwhelmed and flustered, she was tossed against the hood of the police cruiser. Afterwards, they forced her to the morgue to view the corpse of her friend. The cruel and blatant disregard for standard police conduct is a far cry from the treatment extended to non-Aboriginal suspects of the murder of Helen. As observed by the justice inquiry, the treatment of the non-Aboriginal suspects was very respectful and, at times, the casual treatment of these individuals seemed to demonstrate a reluctance of the part of

the officers to believe these middle-class and non-Aboriginal men could have committed this crime. As stated by the justice inquiry: "This apparent difference in treatment suggests that the RCMP tailored their treatment in accordance with the race, sex or class of the person with who they were dealing" (*Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission*, 1999).

By the end of 1972, the investigation of the murder of Helen had become stagnant despite the fact that by this time it was very clear to the community and RCMP who was involved in the murder. This inactive phase would last for over ten years. In 1985, an article seeking public assistance was published within the local newspaper. This appeal proved to be quite fruitful and, given the fact that the community was familiar with the crime, one wonders why an article was not published sooner. With the assistance of testimonies offered by various community members, in 1987, Dwayne Johnston, one of the four men involved was convicted of murder. Lee Colgan offered to testify with the promise of immunity, while James Houghton was acquitted. Norman Manger, though present throughout the ordeal, was never charged.

Despite the fact that at least one of the assailants was convicted of murder, it is difficult to confidently state justice was served. Following the criminal case, as summarized by the *Amnesty International's Stolen Sister Profile* (2007), the *Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission* (1999) concluded with over 150 recommendations. It was later suggested by one of the original commissioners that almost none of the recommendations were acted upon. In recognizing the significant role of racism and sexism of Aboriginal women in general in the murder of Helen, the recommendation put forth proposals that sought to reconcile the violent acts committed against individuals to the broader context of racism and sexism against Aboriginal people in Canada. Some of the recommendations included: the recognition of Aboriginal people's right to self-determination; the establishment of Aboriginal criminal and legal systems; and the establishment of programs and services which would address violence committed against Aboriginal women (*Amnesty International*, 2007). In concluding the report of Helen Betty Osborne's death, the justice inquiry stated:

It is clear that Betty Osborne would not have been killed if she had not been Aboriginal. The four men who took her to her death from the streets of The Pas that night had gone looking for an Aboriginal girl with whom to "party". They found Betty Osborne. When she refused to party she was driven out of town and murdered. Those who abducted her showed a total lack of regard for her person and her rights as an individual. Those who stood by while the physical assault took place, while sexual advances were made and while she was being beaten to death showed their own racism, sexism and indifference. Those who knew the story and remained silent must show their guilt (Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission, 1999).

As described by Fanon (1952), Helen's status as an Aboriginal woman determined her fate as she was: "Sealed into that crushing objecthood" (109). Mbembe proceeds to expand on the significance of such a status during late-modern colonial occupation. With the rearrangement of spatial configurations of the physical landscape, colonizers also assume the right to determine the fate of the land's original inhabitants and, as a result, these individuals, themselves, become landscapes to be shaped and determined by colonial endeavors. In effect, through necropolitical governance, we see the production of Aboriginal women, like Helen, as deathworlds. He states: "sovereignty means the capacity to define who matters and who does not, who is *disposable* and who is not" (2003:27, emphasis in the original). With this in mind, it is clear that contrary to the passage above, Helen cannot be recognized as a person or an individual with rights in a necropolitical society.

Conclusion

The murder of Helen Betty Osborne continues to serve an important purpose under the late-modern colonial occupation in Canada. While most Aboriginal people are compelled to leave their respective First Nation communities for myriad colonially driven reasons, Aboriginal women are particularly vulnerable within the violently sexist and racist mainstream Canadian context. Helen's murder

functions to strike fear into the hearts of other Aboriginal women who must leave home. Helen was not murdered for any other reason other than the fact that she was an Aboriginal woman; this fact serves as a reminder that any Aboriginal woman could have taken her place that night. To emphasize the powerful function of terror, I will quote Mbembe at length:

> To live under late modern occupation is to experience a permanent condition of "being in pain": fortified structures, military posts, and roadblocks everywhere; buildings that bring back painful memories of humiliations, interrogations, and beatings; curfews, that imprison hundreds of thousands in their cramped homes every night from dusk to day-break; soldiers patrolling the unlit streets, frightened by their own shadows; children blinded by rubber bullets; parents shamed and beaten in front of their own families; soldiers urinating on fences, shooting at rooftops water tanks just for fun, chanting loud offensive slogans, pounding on fragile tin doors to frighten the children, confiscating papers, or dumping garbage in the middle of a residential neighborhood; border guards kicking over a vegetable stand or closing borders at whim; bones broken; shootings and fatalities –a certain kind of madness (2003:39).

Indeed, terror is a startlingly effective means of subjugating colonized populations. One of the most interesting qualities of this colonizing tool, that I have observed, is that it is not governed by any standard measure of time. Rather, terror is sustained by the memory's measure of time. As a result, individual and collective memories of specific acts of violence which in actuality may have only ranged from a few seconds to a finite number of years, the memories of violence are produced and reproduced infinitely to sustain feelings of terror and the "permanent condition of 'being in pain'" (2003:39).

Foucault (1976, 1978) effectively demonstrates the way in which individuals are transformed into subjects of a particular population with biopower. As Mbembe (2003) observes, biopower is insufficient in accounting for the manner in which individuals are transformed in to objects. In transforming Aboriginal people and communities into objects throughout the late-modern colonial occupation, the state has assumed the power to determine the fate of Aboriginal existence. One of the most effective strategies has been through the fragmentation of Aboriginal communities. As a result, violence committed against Aboriginal individuals to the point of murder is a brilliant way of enacting the genocide of Aboriginal populations. Targeting Aboriginal women is especially promising for a number of reasons. First, in most Aboriginal societies, Aboriginal women were traditionally considered the centre of the community. Their traditional roles, varying among Nations, were not considered subordinate to the role of Aboriginal men and Aboriginal women were held in high esteem for their vast knowledge. Furthermore, in murdering Aboriginal women, the potential of future generations die alongside the individual. However, as suggested above, what is born from the death of an Aboriginal woman is rampant terror.

While the anniversary of Helen Betty Osborne's murder was over thirty years ago, the terror inspired and the potential lost from her death continues to have a powerful impact. Her body continues to serve as a deathworld where violent memories are reenacted indefinitely. There are some who might argue that memories and reality, while both powerful in their own right, are two completely separate issues and that the murder of Helen Betty Osborne was committed at a very specific time in history that is unlikely to occur today. I invite those to look to Helen's family to witness the vicious reproduction of violence against Aboriginal women. In fact, in 2003 Velicia Solomon-Osborne, Helen's niece, became yet another missing Aboriginal woman in Canada. Shortly after her disappearance, Velicia's severed limbs were retrieved from Winnipeg's Red River. The violent burial of Velicia within the depths of the Red River is a powerful gesture suggesting that death is not fixed, but, rather, even through death we flow and cut through the landscape and, inevitably, impact the social topography. Helen Betty Osborne was created and shaped into a deathworld that sprawls time and space.

Megan Bertasson's Cree name is Whitebear Woman and her English name is Megan. Megan is a Cree woman originally

from Kinosao Sipi or what is more commonly known as Norway House Cree Nation. She is currently completing her studies in Socio-Legal Studies (MA) at York University. Megan is committed to raising awareness of the violence that is committed against Aboriginal women and, at the same time, celebrating the beauty and strength that is within not only every Aboriginal woman, but all people.

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SCULPTURE SERIES

Lionel Auburn Peyachew

Maquette (**12"x24"x 28"; Wood, Clay, Wire; 2007**)
Short Listed to submit a maquette design for Dakota Dunes Casino, Dakota First Nations.

Doorways to Opportunity (**8' x 24 dia.; Corten Steel; 2006**)
After being short listed, I was awarded to do one of four commissions as gifts from the Federal Government to four doorway communities in Saskatchewan to celebrate the 100 year Centennial. The $75,000 project called *Doorways to Opportunities* was completed and installed in Yorkton, Saskatchewan in 2006.

The Four Directions (**20'x20'x24' high; 10" Metal Pipe, Cable; 2005**)
The Four Directions was a funded project from the University of Regina, City of Regina and the Cultural Capital of Canada. My submission maquette was the winning design to propose to build the 24 foot sculpture on University Drive in Regina. The $100.000 dollar project was completed in the spring of 2005.

Counting Cup (**14'x14' high; Bronze Cast; 2010**)
Commission awarded in 2008 to complete two horses and riders in bronze called *Counting Coup*. I completed the enlargement in Santa Fe N.M. and the public sculpture was unveiling in the spring of 2010. The $248,000 project was designed and managed independently by myself. All my foundry work is done by Shidoni Foundry Inc. and any major fabrication or engineering was done by Pro Metal a Regina Company.

Lionel Auburn Peyachew, BFA, MFA is an Assistant Professor in the area of Indian Fine Arts at the First Nations University of Canada. Peyachew attended the Alberta College of Art and Design from 1977- 1979. In 1998 he completed his undergraduate degree from the University of Lethbridge. In 2000 Peyachew graduated with a MFA from the University of Calgary. Peyachew is a Chippawa, Cree from the Red Pheasant First Nations. Peyachew is a faculty member of the First Nations University of Canada where he teaches sculpture, traditional Indian art and Indian art history.
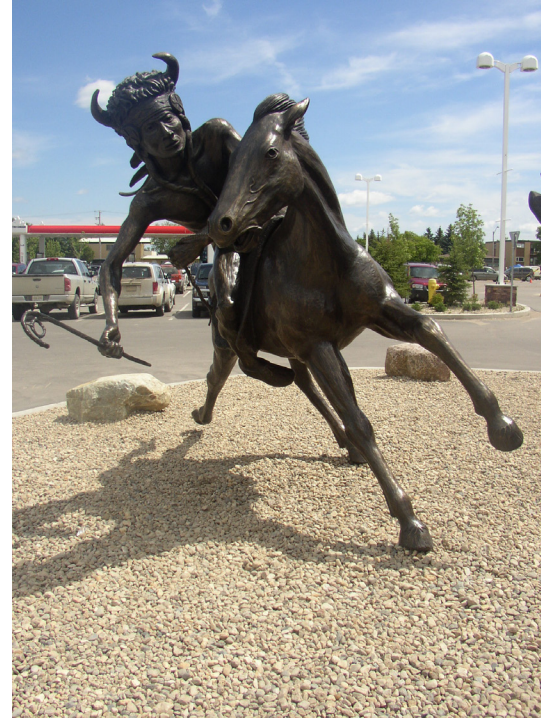
Maquette

The
Four
Directions

Doorways to Opportunity

Counting
Cup

DËNE SŲŁINÉ:
An Iroquois Kinship System[1]

Jeanette R. P. Wiens

1.0 Introduction

This paper examines the kin terms and kinship system of the Athapaskan language, Dëne Sųłiné. The data obtained for this paper comes from the dialect of Dëne Sųłiné spoken in Dillon, Saskatchewan. Beginning with a brief introduction to the language and culture, I move on to discuss the kinship system in Dëne Sųłiné, specifically with regard to the insights that may be gleaned from a closer examination of the present-day kin terminology used by speakers of this language. I argue that this system belongs to the Iroquois system of kinship organization, despite its apparent resemblance to the Eskimo or American system. I also suggest that there is evidence for cross-cousin marriage in the history of this people.

2.0 Background

2.1 Introduction to Dëne Sųłiné

Dëne Sųłiné is spoken in northern Alberta, Saskatchewan, northwestern Manitoba, and parts of the Northwest Territories. Also referred to simply as Dëne, it is one of thirteen Athapaskan languages spoken in Canada and belongs to the sub-group Hare-Chipewyan (Ethnologue.com). Its most closely related languages are Dogrib, North Slavey and South Slavey, all of which also belong to the Hare-Chipewyan group. Other related languages that will be examined in this paper include Beaver, of the Beaver-Sekani sub-group (Canadian Athapaskan); Koyukon, belonging to the Ingalik-Koyukon group (Athapaskan); Dena'ina and Ahtna, of the Tanaina-Ahtna group (Athapaskan) (Ethnologue.com).

Dëne Sųłiné is an autonym that means "the real people" (ElderSpeak) or "human beings" (Northern Research). They prefer to be called Dëne Sųłiné or Dëne rather than Chipewyan, a name given to them by the Cree, which translates as "pointed hide," and is said to refer to their mode of dress (Wolvengrey 2006). The term Dëne is also used by some as a much broader category, a synonym to Athapaskan. I will, however, use the terms Dëne and Dëne Sųłiné relatively interchangeably in this paper, using both to refer more specifically to one language and people group.

As previously mentioned, this paper looks most closely at the dialect of Dëne spoken at Buffalo River Dëne Nation, near Dillon, Saskatchewan. Originally called the Peter Pond Band, together with Birch River Narrows Dëne Nation, these people moved from Buffalo Narrows to Buffalo River after the band split in 1972 (Northern Research). In 2005, there were 1,097 members registered with the Buffalo River Dëne Nation (BRDN), half of which lived off the reserve (Northern Research). The language is still spoken by children in some communities (though not in Dillon), however it is considered by many to be severely endangered. Some measures have been taken by the school board to introduce Dëne Sųłiné into the curriculum to address the decreasing number of speakers in the community (Northern Research).

2.2 Data collection

The majority of the data obtained for this paper comes from a member of this community. This woman, a native Dëne Sųłiné speaker in her sixties, acted as language consultant for myself and two other students for the purpose of completing a language class requirement. We conducted and recorded seven language sessions[2] with the consultant, over the course of three months. Each of these was approximately two hours in length. It must be noted at the outset that basing one's data on only one informant has significant limitations. For the purposes of this paper, it is particularly limiting that I was not able to elicit kin terminology from a male speaker, as there is clear evidence in the literature – on which I will elaborate

2 When citing information disclosed during these sessions, I will give the date of the session in parentheses.

further – that terms may vary according to the sex of the speaker. Drawing on data from only one consultant also means that I was unable to note generational differences in this particular dialect. Having here addressed and acknowledged these limitations, I will proceed with my knowledge of this dialect based on data from one consultant.

2.3 Relevant literature

Harry Hoijer (1956) provides a partial reconstruction for Proto-Athapaskan kin terms based on a systematic look at terms in the daughter languages. This follows from Kroeber's (1937) initial, somewhat tentative reconstruction of Proto-Athapaskan kinship terminology. These works provide an initial framework in which to explore the kin system of Dëne, as part of the Athapaskan language family. The data cited from the above-described consultant will be examined against the kinship structures and terminology in other dialects of Dëne Sųłiné (cf. Elford and Elford 1998), in other languages or dialects that are most closely related (cf. MacNeish 1960; Ridington 1969), and in other, more distantly related Athapaskan languages (cf. Krauss 2000; Kari 2007, 1990). This comparative approach will, I trust, facilitate a better description and subsequent understanding of the kin system of Dëne Sųłiné.

2.4 Anthropological linguistics

The approach adopted for this paper draws on the approaches of two disciplines: linguistics and anthropology. Although the motivation for this paper is primarily linguistic in nature, to neglect the inherent role of culture in the study of kinship would, I suggest, leave this account sorely lacking. In his study of the Bear Lake Athapaskans, Scott Rushforth (1981) illustrates the 'intimate relationship' between these two disciplines in his ethnographic analysis of the way people speak to their affines, or 'relatives-through-marriage.' He claims that "speech is purposeful social behaviour organized to accomplish culturally defined and socially constituted ends;" thus, to study the way a given group of people speaks gives insight into the cultural and social values which inform the terminology and the style of

speech used (Rushforth 1981:29). For my purposes here, I suggest that an understanding of Dëne kinship structure will be enhanced by an appreciation of the cultural and social setting within which these people situate themselves.

3.0 Dëne: A Cultural Backdrop

The purpose of this section is, as stated above, to provide a cultural context within which we may examine the Dëne kinship system. Relying on specific examples gathered over the course of my meetings with the consultant, I will show that the Dëne have, in the past particularly, valued their extended kinship networks, moving beyond blood relations to the community at large. This is changing, however, as will be evidenced in the following discussion; the emphasis on extended kin relations seems to be decreasing in favour of more nucleated, independent and smaller families. I will briefly discuss the influence of the Roman Catholic Church over the past two hundred years, and conclude with several observations regarding marriage practices among the Dëne.

3.1 Dëne kin relations: reciprocity

The consultant grew up in a household that consisted of ten children (all but one of whom were girls), two parents and, on occasion, the consultant's grandmothers. Her grandmothers used to live with them and help out when her mother was sick and in hospital. Later, when her grandmothers were ill, the consultant's mother took care of them in her home. This reciprocal responsibility of caring for one's relatives and expecting the same in return was a theme that surfaced numerous times in my conversations with the consultant.

The principle of reciprocity also came up in a discussion of inheritance. The consultant's husband, who is not First Nation (a distinction she herself made), is concerned with saving for their retirement. The consultant, however, claims she does not share his preoccupation with saving money. While she admits to enjoying some creature comforts, she says "then again my children will provide for me; they will give me things that I have given" and so saying, expresses her fundamental belief that kin must take care of

one another and may expect the same in return (November 26, 2009). She also expresses, however, that this is changing among many Dëne people. She herself does not wish to burden her own children if there comes a day when she is unable to care for herself. She indicated that she would rather go into a long-term care facility than burden her children. Here the consultant expresses two seemingly contradictory values: on the one hand she affirms the principle of reciprocal responsibility between kin members and conveys her own expectation that her children will provide for her one day; on the other hand, she challenges the way things have been done in the past, not wishing to burden her children. This struggle appears, in fact, to be particularly salient for the Dëne people today.

3.2 The role of the community

Reciprocity goes beyond one's connections with blood relatives to the wider Dëne community. When asked who would be considered responsible or expected to help out a family in the case of a house fire or some other crisis situation, the consultant responded that it would be the responsibility of everyone in the community to help out, regardless of blood relations (November 26, 2009). Someone might, she added, go around and have an auction to provide necessities for the family. In the event of a tragedy, everybody pitches in to help the family get back on their feet. While one may expect to benefit from connections outside of family in such an event, one is also expected to give back to the community, to maintain these connections. In a discussion regarding hunting and trapping traditions in Buffalo River, the consultant insisted that the game from a successful hunt is to be shared among the community. She recalls that when her father used to return from a moose hunt, her mother would send her and her siblings out with some of the meat to give to different elders in the community (November 26, 2009). These were not individuals who were necessarily related to their family by blood; it was important that not only relatives got a portion of the kill, but everybody in the community. Although the consultant clearly expresses that this is the way things 'should' be, she also acknowledges that not everyone does this anymore. It is becoming increasingly common for people to "hoard everything for themselves" rather than share what they

have with their extended kin and non-kin relations (November 26, 2009).

In each of these examples, there seems to be a predominant sense for the speaker of how things 'should' be: children should care for their parents in their old age and everyone should contribute to the needs of the wider community beyond the family 'unit.' In each case, however, the consultant is aware of conflicting values that are becoming increasingly prevalent among her people: children wish to be more independent and indeed 'should' be free to live their lives without being 'burdened' by aging parents. People no longer wish to share what they have with the community but would rather be self-sufficient and keep to themselves. Thus, there appears to be an increasing emphasis on smaller, more independent and autonomous family units rather than on wider kin and non-kin networks. Why the shift? Undoubtedly it has to do, in part, with outside forces.

3.3 The influence of the Roman Catholic Church and European contact

Europeans made contact with the Dëne people in the late 18th century. In addition to a number of deadly diseases against which these people had no immunity, the Europeans brought with them ideas regarding familial relationships, social organization, economic prosperity and religion. It did not take many conversations with the consultant to unearth the depth of influence this has had on her community. All weddings, funerals, and baptisms strictly follow the ordinances of the Roman Catholic Church. The consultant recalls that her grandmother attended church every day (Octbober 27, 2009).

While she did not indicate feelings of disdain for the role of the Catholic church among her people, the consultant did express a desire to have more of their 'own' rituals. When asked whether her people had any sort of ritual to mark puberty or 'coming of age' the consultant responded, "no, but I wish we did" and promptly went on to describe in some detail a puberty rite observed by another First Nations community she knew of (October 27, 2009). Later in the conversation, she mentioned that her people used to have sweat lodges, but she has no recollection of this growing up. She talked about how some in her community are starting to attend sweats now,

and are moving away from the Catholic tradition. Unfortunately, so much of the knowledge from those who once practiced these sweats has been lost; the consultant expressed concern that oftentimes those who run the sweats are not the ones who 'should' be doing it. This is either due to their reputation or because they haven't 'earned' the right to do this. Some learn from the Cree or have people come in to teach them, but there is a sense that even this is inadequate because it is not the 'Dëne way' that these things were originally done. As these few examples illustrate, it is evident that European contact and the presence of Roman Catholic missionaries had and consequently continues to have a widespread impact on the Dëne people and their culture. It is quite conceivable then, that the influence of these outside forces would extend to alter the social organization of these people and their kinship structures. It is to this point that I return in the final discussion of this paper.

3.4 Marriage 'rules'

I will conclude this section with a brief look at marriage practices among the Dëne, keeping in mind that these have likely been shaped by the aforementioned outside influences. When asked if there are rules governing marriage partners, the consultant replied, "nobody decides who marries who anymore" (October 27, 2009). She thought it was generally considered a "no-no" to go out with one's relatives, although she knew of some first cousins who married. A child is told early on who his/her relatives are and the consultant said it is not acceptable to marry one's first cousin. On the other hand, she noted that, due to the size of the community, most people are related in some way or another. The result is that many people just don't talk about who they're related to and that's why, in her opinion, some second or first cousins marry and the parents don't say anything about it. The consultant was not clear about whom one could marry, just that there are 'rules' by which this is determined; she seemed to feel that everyone knows or should know these rules, but not everyone chooses to abide by them.

While this conversation did not give conclusive evidence for any particular marriage patterns, several things may be noted. First, when asked whether people used to marry outside the village, the consultant said she didn't think so. Today, there is a fairly equal distribution of those who marry outside the village and those who marry within the community, but this wasn't always so. Second, there is a definite sense that there is a 'right' and 'wrong' set of people whom one may marry, which is determined by some set of 'rules' known implicitly by members of the community. Third, there is no clan system among the Dëne people. Clan systems, among many cultures, provide the parameters for determining marriage partners; one may marry, for instance, a member from one particular clan, but not from another. If these people used to marry within a community where nearly everyone is related, and there was no clan system by which to avoid incest, how did they determine marriage partners? In the next section and for the remainder of this paper, I will argue that the kinship terminology of this language provides some important clues as to the past marriage practices of the Dëne people.

4.0 Dëne Kinship

4.1 The Iroquois system of kin classification

The Dëne kinship system falls largely into the Iroquois system, one of six main kinship systems of the world. A distinguishing feature of this system is bifurcate merging (Schwimmer 1996). Bifurcation refers to a tendency among unilineal descent groups whereby the relatives on one's mother's side are distinguished from those on one's father's side. The merging occurs where one's father is addressed by the same term as one's father's brother, and one's mother is addressed by the term assigned to one's mother's sister; thus the two respective relations are 'merged' (Schwimmer 1996). Likewise, the children of one's father's brother or one's mother's sister are merged with one's siblings and addressed as 'brother' and 'sister.' These relatives are all considered 'parallel' relatives. Siblings of opposite sexes in the parental generation (i.e. mother's brother and father's sister) are given unique terms, and their children are referred to as 'cousins.' These relatives are grouped together as 'cross' relatives. Typically, in Iroquois kin systems, it is among one's cross-relatives that one may seek out a marriage partner. To marry one's parallel cousin would be looked upon as incestuous and is strictly forbidden.

Thus, one's cross-relatives tend to become one's in-laws or affinal relatives. This system of differentiating between parallel or 'blood' relatives and cross- or 'in-law' relatives represents a classificatory system, in which categories are not determined solely on the basis of biological descent. While there is much evidence that Dëne kin terminology, for the most part, resembles the system here described, it does in some aspects appear to stray slightly from the general Iroquois system. I will now proceed to present the data collected from the consultant described above, examining it in terms of the Iroquois system of kin classification.

4.2 Data

The kinship diagrams below illustrate the kin terms I elicited to represent the various relationships among one's relatives. I have denoted Ego, the point of reference, as female because the consultant from whom I obtained this data is female and, as I will explain in more detail, I believe this to be pertinent to the particular terms elicited. All terms are given as first person possessives because kin terms in this language are obligatorily possessed. It is not possible to simply say 'sister,' one must say 'my sister' or 'her sister,' and so forth. Figure 1 shows the relatives in Ego's generation and two ascending generations. Figure 2 shows the terms for the two descending generations with respect to Ego, as well as terms for Ego's spouse's family. I've also included a table with additional terms not covered in the kinship diagrams [Table 1] as well as a complete possessive paradigm for 'father' [Table 2].

'my parents'	setikui
'my child'	seyaze
'my children'	séskëne
'children'	sekui
'my siblings'	sek'įke
'my grandchildren'	setthųke
'my wife'	sets'ákuie
'my brother'	sechële
'household'	ʔilá kuë hots'į dëne
[lit. 'people living together in one house']	

Table 1. Kinship terms not illustrated in kin diagrams.

'my father'	setá
'your (sg) father'	netá
'his/her father'	betá
'our father'	nuhtá
'your (pl) father'	nuhtá
'their father'	hubetá

Table 2. Possessive paradigm of 'father.'

4.3 Analysis

Upon first examination, the above data does not at all seem to fit the Iroquois system described at the beginning of this section. While there are unique terms for each member of Ego's immediate or nuclear family, there appears to be a great deal of collateral merging, the grouping together of more distant relatives, with no distinctions made between those on the mother's or father's sides, and no distinction between so-called parallel or cross- relatives (Schwimmer 1996). All female siblings in Ego's parents' generation, for example, may be called sąk'íe or 'my aunt' and all male siblings in the parental generation may be referred to as seʔe or 'my uncle.' Moreover, all members of Ego's generation, with the exception of those in the nuclear family, are referred to as selá, which translates as 'my cousin.' These results resemble much more closely the Eskimo system, in which no distinction is made between patrilineal relatives (on Ego's father's side) and matrilineal relatives (on Ego's mother's side). However, the consultant also gave the form setsų for a paternal aunt. During a subsequent session, when asked for clarification, she said setsų would be used to refer to one's mother's brother's wife. Interestingly, setsų also means 'my mother-in-law' and seʔe, 'my uncle,' can also mean 'my father-in-law.' Polysemy of this sort commonly occurs in the Iroquois system, because the children of one's cross-aunt or cross-uncle are generally considered desirable marriage partners. I will return to and expand on this point shortly.

In regards to Ego's cousins, all of which are here referred to as selá, the consultant informed me that her cousins were considered to be the same as her siblings. Her mother even called her nieces selié, 'my daughter,' and her nephews sįyëze, 'my son.' The consultant

also commented that she considered her aunt to be like her mom and her uncle like her dad, although she would never have called them Ɂëne[3], 'my mother,' or setá, 'my father.' These comments do not at all fit in the Eskimo kinship system, which places a strong emphasis on the nuclear family over extended kin relations and groups distant relatives together, apart from immediate family (Schwimmer 1996). Although I argue for an Iroquois kinship system among the Dëne, it seems likely that the system has undergone changes that cause it to increasingly resemble the Eskimo system (sometimes referred to as the American system). I will return to this discussion and comparison at the conclusion of this paper. It should also be noted that while the Iroquois system tends to occur among groups that reckon descent unilineally, that is, according to only one parent's line, neither my data nor that which I read concerning the Dëne provide evidence for unilineal descent.

The fact that the consultant referred to setsu as a term used for a paternal aunt is worthy of note because it was translated 'my mother's brother's wife,' a relative on one's mother's side. The term 'paternal' typically denotes relatives on one's father's side. It is possible that this designation reflects a slightly different distinction between relatives. Suppose the terms sąk'íe and setsu, which both mean 'my aunt,' reflect a parallel/cross- relative distinction that is becoming less and less salient for the speakers of this language. Indeed, Elford & Elford (1998:355), in their data based largely on the dialect of Dëne Sųłiné spoken in Cold Lake, AB, cite the following terms: sɛtsu 'my aunt (father's sister)' and sąk'íɛ 'my aunt (mother's sister).' This seems to confirm that this language does, or did at one time, have a parallel/cross- relative distinction that is now preserved only in some dialects. As discussed above, contact with European colonists and missionaries since the late 18th century has greatly changed the scope of Dëne culture. Just as many aspects of the Roman Catholic Church and European culture infiltrated that of these people, it is entirely feasible that categories such as 'paternal' and 'maternal' may have become adopted into the vocabulary of the Dëne people. It warrants the question of whether concepts such as these may have worked themselves into the framework of existing Dëne kinship structures, altering their original system to conform to

the American system. I acknowledge that this argument is tenuous at best, but it serves to promote further discussion and research into whether this distinction is or has in the past been made among the Dëne people, and thus is reflected in their kin terminology.

4.4 Cross-cousin marriage

As previously noted, the data collected from the consultant is extremely limited on its own, however it certainly raises questions for further study. Again, a major limitation is the fact that I was only able to elicit kin terms from a female speaker and not from a male speaker. The argument that there is evidence for a parallel/cross-cousin distinction intrinsically implies that the sex of the speaker is relevant to the kin terminology (i.e. whom one may marry and whom one may not marry is dependent on the sex of the speaker). Nonetheless, bearing this limitation in mind, I will proceed to discuss the evidence in my own data that suggests that cross-cousin marriage may have, at one time, been a feature of the Dëne kinship system. I will then move on to provide additional evidence from the literature on other dialects of Dëne Sųłiné, as well as related languages.

4.4.1 Polysemy

I now return to an earlier statement regarding one particular case of polysemy in my data. The term, setsu, is used to refer both to 'my aunt' and to 'my mother-in-law.' Likewise seɁe, 'my uncle,' can also mean 'my father-in-law.' This is a common feature of the Iroquois kinship system and one that strongly indicates cross-cousin marriage practices. As briefly discussed above, one's parallel relatives, in the Iroquois system, are considered 'blood' relatives and one's cross-relatives tend to be considered 'in-laws' because it is among the latter group that one looks to marry. To address one's cross-aunt as 'mother-in-law' reflects that her children are likely candidates for marriage.

Unfortunately, my data is sorely lacking in terms of Ego's own generation to argue for the distinction between cross- and parallel cousins. The consultant gave only one term to refer to

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3 The term(s) for *mother* warrant further comment: the term *Ɂëne* is actually a vocative and only used when one is addressing one's own mother. The second term given in Figure 1, *hą* is used to refer to someone else's mother, as in 'his mother.'

all cousins: selá. Although she did not refer to them as 'brother' or 'sister', she claimed that they were like her own siblings. As mentioned in the above discussion regarding marriage rules and practices in the consultant's community, it is considered by most to be unacceptable to marry one's first cousins. Clearly, if cross-cousin marriage was a part of her people's past, there remains little if any trace of its existence within the terms for her own generation.

Elford and Elford (1998) compiled a dictionary of English to Chipewyan based largely on research in the Cold Lake area. Their data cites three different cross-cousin terms. For a female speaker, sɛchái[4] is used to refer to her mother's brother's son or her father's sister's son (Elford & Elford 1998:355). In the case of cross-cousin marriage, these would both be eligible marriage partners. Her female cross-cousins are called sɛghe. In my own data, as well as in Elford and Elford, sechái is also given to mean 'my brother-in-law' and seghe also refers to 'my sister-in-law' [Figure 3]. This strengthens the evidence for cross-cousin marriage; should a female marry her male cross-cousin, his sister would then become her sister-in-law [Figure 4]. Equally, for a male speaker, seghe refers to his father's sister's son or his mother's brother's son: his male cross-cousins. His female cross cousins are called setsų [Figure 5]. My consultant also said that her husband would refer to her brother (his brother-in-law) as seghe, and to her sister (his sister-in-law) as setsų [Figure 6]. In a system of cross-cousin marriage, it follows that the siblings of a man's wife would not only be his brother- and/or sister-in-law, but also his male and/or female cross- cousins; thus only one term is needed for each sex to denote both the cross-cousin relationship and the sibling-in-law relationship.

Another type of polysemy that surfaces in my data may prove slightly more problematic as it cuts across the generational divide that is characteristic to kinship systems of the Iroquoian type. I refer here to the terms setsų and sechái. The former is said to mean 'my mother-in-law' or 'my cross-aunt' for either a male or female speaker; these are both relatives in Ego's first ascending generation. However, setsų also means 'my sister-in-law' or 'my female cross-cousin' for a male speaker; these are relatives in Ego's generation. Sechai refers both to 'my brother-in-law' (Ego's generation) and

'my son-in-law' (Ego's first descending generation). My own data is insufficient to address this, but a look at a related language may shed some light on this case.

Robin Ridington's (1969) description of kin structure in Beaver, another Canadian Athapaskan language, provides a useful comparison to my data of Dëne Sųłiné. Beaver kinship, he argues, shows a preference for bilateral, cross-cousin marriage, where parallel cousins are classed with siblings and cross-cousins with siblings-in-law (Ridington 1969:461). Kin terms reflect a set of conceptual categories by which Ego may determine his relationship to any kinsperson. Ridington argues that these categories are 'conceptual' in that those people who are classed as Ego's cross-relatives do not form a socially recognizable group; indeed the 'group' varies for every particular "Ego" (1969:461). Thus, kin terms are determined along egocentric lines rather than according to sociocentric groups such as lineages or clans (Ridington 1969:461). Ego's relatives fall into four categories: 1 – grandparents; 2 – grandchildren; 3 – parallel relatives; and 4 – cross relatives. Any opposite-sex member belonging to the fourth 'group' or category is considered a potential marriage partner for Ego. Thus, Ego may marry an opposite-sex cross- relative in either the same generation, the first ascending, or first descending generations.

While there are notable comparisons between the system of Beaver kinship and that which I have described for the Dëne Sųłiné, the former does not map so easily onto the latter. Dëne kin terms, unlike those presented in Ridington's (1969) data for the Beaver, do for the most part distinguish between generations. The term for one's female cross-cousin is, for example, different from the term for one's cross-aunt. For a male speaker of Beaver, saze may refer to one's sister's daughter or one's cross-cousin (Ridington 1969:465). This is because the man's relationship to each of these women is considered "just the same": both women are potential marriage partners and thus are referred to by the same term (1969:465). My data do not substantiate such a system in Dëne, aside from the curious case of sechái, which denotes both a cross relative in Ego's generation and a cross relative one generation down from Ego, or setsų, which represents a similar case. While there is not sufficient evidence to determine the degree of overlap between these two

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4 The symbol /ɛ/ in Elford & Elford's (1998) data corresponds to /e/ in my own data, and sometimes /ë/. All examples from other sources will be given in their original spellings.

systems, it is useful to note the case of Beaver as a related language to Dëne. Perhaps there has been in the history of the Dëne people some degree of inter-generational marriage, which is now only vaguely reflected in the language. Beyond mere speculation, I am not equipped to attempt further explanation of the polysemy of these terms.

4.4.2 Further evidence for cross-cousin marriage

There is one more detail I wish to highlight from my own data, which concerns the first descending generation from Ego. As previously noted, the consultant claimed that her mother referred to her niece and nephew (the consultant's cousins) as selié̢ 'my daughter,' and sı̨́yëze, 'my son', respectively. However, she also gave the term sáze for 'my niece/nephew.' Why this discrepancy in terms? According to the Iroquois system, it makes sense that there would be a term for one's opposite-sex sibling's children (cross- nieces/nephews), and that one would use the terms 'son' or 'daughter' for one's same-sex sibling's children. It could be that, as cousin marriages happen less and less frequently and the kinship structure changes to resemble the so-called American or Eskimo system, the differences between these terms becomes obscure. In one discussion of kin terms, the consultant said that sáze is used more often now instead of selié̢ or sı̨́yëze.

Elford and Elford cite sáze as the term with which a male speaker would refer to his sister's daughter, his cross-niece, or his sister's son, his cross-nephew; these would also be potential 'daughter-in-law' or 'son-in-law,' both of which are given the term sáze (1998:357). A female speaker, in Elford and Elford's data, would refer to her brother's child (male or female) as sɛcháazɛ, but to her 'son-in-law' or 'daughter-in-law' as sɛchái (1998:357). While these terms appear to be based on the same stem, I do not have sufficient data to address the discrepancy between them. However, the kin term used by the male speaker, sázɛ, to refer both to a cross-niece or nephew and to a daughter- or son-in-law, is similar to the cousin term in my own data (sáze), and seems to indicate, albeit rather weakly, some history of cross-cousin marriage among the Dëne.

June Helm MacNeish (1960), in her comparison of Hare, Slavey and Chipewyan, also discusses the distinction made between parallel and cross- cousins in the Chipewyan[5] language. Hare and Slavey are both closely related to Dëne, or Chipewyan. Among these related languages, parallel cousins are given sibling terms (MacNeish 1960:284). MacNeish's Chipewyan informants, however, gave slightly different terms. One male speaker of Chipewyan called his male parallel cousin sela and added that this meant he was "pretty near like a brother" (1960:285). His female cross-cousins and brothers-in-law both sečae[6], and her sweetheart sečaeze, for which she adds an affectionate diminutive (MacNeish 1960:285). The author also discusses the tendency towards bifurcation in these languages, which she explains as a distinction between the members of certain 'trios' of relatives in Ego's first ascending generation: 1 - mother is distinguished from mother's sister and from father's sister; 2 – mother is distinguished from father's brother's wife and mother's brother's wife; 3 – father is distinguished from father's brother and mother's brother; and 4 – father is distinguished from mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband (MacNeish 1960:282). While this may seem complicated to follow, it may also be understood in the following way: the first member of each trio is a parent, the second member is a parallel relative and the third is a cross-relative. While I do not have plain evidence of this in my own data, I have explained above that there is reason to believe (and thus explore further) that these distinctions used to be more salient.

Finally, I wish to look briefly at data from three other languages that are related to Dëne Sųłiné, namely Koyukon, Dena'ina and Ahtna. Koyukon is an Athapaskan language spoken mainly in Alaska (ethnologue.org). In his description of Koyukon kinship, Michael E. Krauss notes the "concept of cross and parallel is all-important for understanding the traditional Athapaskan kinship system" (2000:815, emphasis in original). Parallel cousins are given the same terms as siblings and often treated as such (i.e. one could not marry one's parallel cousin), whereas cross-cousins were called by a different term and were "quite desirable marriage partners" (Krauss 2000:816). Krauss also notes how this inclination towards

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5 Recall earlier discussion of the terms *Chipewyan* and *Dëne Sųłiné*, which both refer to the same language.
6 The /č/ in MacNeish's data corresponds to the /ch/ in my own and the diphthong /ae/ corresponds to /ai/.

cross-cousin marriage was so strong that the term for one's cross-aunt (in Koyukon, -*baats'e*) came eventually to be the term for 'mother-in-law' as well (2000:816). This echoes that which I have described regarding the meaning and uses of *setsy* in Dëne Sųłiné.

In his topical dictionary of Dena'ina, James Kari (2007) lists kin terms for several different dialects of this south-central Alaskan Athapaskan language. While there is no evidence for cross-cousin marriage, there seems to be at least a cross-/parallel distinction for most dialects: there are two terms for 'uncle,' one for 'father's brother' and one for 'mother's brother'; and two terms for 'aunt,' one for 'mother's sister' and another for 'father's sister.' Some dialects even terminologically equate 'mother' with 'mother's sister' and 'father' with 'father's brother' (Kari 2007:68). While my consultant commented that her aunt is *like* a mother and her uncle is *like* a father, she indicated that she would never actually call her aunt 'my mother' (*Ɂëne*) or her uncle 'my father' (*setá*). A similar difference occurs in the terms for Ego's own generation relatives: all dialects of Dena'ina listed by Kari group one's sister with one's female parallel cousin, giving these relations the same term, and likewise one's brother is called by the same term as one's male parallel cousin (2007:68-69). A separate, distinct term is given for 'cousin.' Our Dëne consultant said that her cousins were just like brothers and sisters to her, but she did not address them as such. Several Dena'ina terms in Kari's lexicon are noted with reference to the sex of the speaker, but this distinction appears to have been largely lost in most dialects (Kari 2007: 69). As for Ego's first descending generation, there do not appear to be the same associations in Dena'ina between terms for one's opposite-sex sibling's children and terms for one's children-in-law, as was noted above in Elford and Elford's (1998) data. Still, the fact that this slightly more distantly related language has similar categories of cross- and parallel relatives is worthy of note.

Ahtna, an Athapaskan language very closely related to Dena'ina, also shows a cross-/parallel distinction between relatives, although not necessarily with respect to cross-cousin marriage. James Kari's (1990:699) data shows that, as in Dena'ina, parallel cousins are called by the same terms as brothers and sisters; one term for both male parallel cousin and brother (-*ciile'*), and another term for both sister and female parallel cousin (-*tełts'e'*). Cross-cousins are called by distinct terms and differ according to the sex of the speaker. Although both Ahtna and Dena'ina kin terms suggest a grouping together of relatives according to cross- and parallel relations, neither of these languages indicate, by their kin terminology, any propensity to cross-cousin marriage. This most likely has to do with the fact that they both make use of a system of clans or moieties in their kinship structures. As such, marriages were likely arranged between members of particular clans and thus determined on an entirely different basis than I am suggesting for the Dëne. My aim here is not to describe marriage institutions among the Ahtna and Dena'ina peoples; rather it is to show that the tendency to distinguish between cross- and parallel relatives is widespread across Athapaskan languages, not only those closely related to Dëne Sųłiné. In doing so, I hope to portray that there is much evidence to support the idea that Dëne kin terms do, or did in the past, reflect such a distinction, and further, that there is persuasive evidence for cross-cousin marriage in this people's past.

4.5 Dëne kin terminology, past and present

I began this section with the assertion that Dëne kin terms fall into the Iroquois kinship system, despite the fact that my data appears to more closely fit the Eskimo or American system. I move now to a discussion of these changes along with possible reasons for the current structure of Dëne kin terms as elicited from my consultant.

MacNeish discusses the discrepancies in the literature concerning kin structures in the Arctic Drainage Dëne languages (here referring to Hare, Slavey and Chipewyan). She also suggests possible historical factors that may have influenced and changed the nature of Dëne culture and subsequently Dëne languages (MacNeish 1960:291). She notes that very little is known of Dëne culture prior to European contact in the late 1700s/early 1800s and that, even within the contact period itself, knowledge is lacking (1960:291). The Roman Catholic missionaries brought with them an entirely different perspective on social organization, gender roles and kin relations. Their presence among these people, as I described above, affected profound changes in Dëne culture; it is possible then, that an institution such as cross-cousin marriage would have been

disapproved of and thus largely discontinued. How far-reaching might the effects of famine and disease have been in completely altering traditional social organization (MacNeish 1960: 291)? MacNeish notes that epidemics such as that of virulent influenza in 1928 killed an inordinate number of the older generation, thus breaking "the continuity of traditional knowledge" (1960:291). As I suggested above in the case of 'paternal' and 'maternal' relatives, European categories of kin relations (for example, patrilineal *versus* matrilineal) may have been adopted into the existing Dëne kinship structures, altering their original form.

Through my conversations with our consultant, it was very evident that kin relations and the terms that denote them have changed over time. As noted in my overview of Dëne culture, the consultant frequently noted that things were not as they used to be. Recall the above discussion regarding marriage rules: the consultant commented, "nobody decides who marries who *anymore*" (October 27, 2009, emphasis mine). She referred ambiguously to 'rules' that are no longer adhered to by everybody, but did not specify what these rules actually entail. As previously noted, the consultant noted that people are using the term *sáze* for 'my niece/nephew' more often now, rather than referring to one's nieces and nephews as one's own children. Evidently, there is a sense that things have changed, that different terms are used now than in the past for certain relationships; perhaps even that certain practices are no longer salient for Dëne people.

In my discussions with the consultant, the importance of extended kin was very prevalent in the way she talked about kin relations, present experiences and past memories. The actual structure of the kin terms elicited, however, seems to bear a resemblance to the Eskimo system in which there is a strong emphasis on the nuclear family (Schwimmer 1996). This appears to be a mark of European/American influence. In the example cited above regarding hunting traditions, the consultant remarked that instead of sharing one's kill after a successful hunt, as would have been the proper way, "people hoard everything for themselves" (November 24, 2009). In this and other examples there seems to be a general trend away from extended kin networks and towards an emphasis on individual, independent family units. It is not surprising, then, that such a cultural change

is now evidenced in the language used among these people. Along similar lines, if cross-cousin marriage was a mark of Dëne culture in the past, as I suggest it may have been, it is not anymore and thus, there is no need for terms differentiating between cross- and parallel cousins. As Michael Krauss states in his analysis of Koyukon kin terminology, "this system is in a state of flux, especially under the influence of English" (2000:815). The Dëne system is also in a state of flux, not only under the influence of English, but of a wider integration with European and now Canadian culture.

5.0 Conclusion

This paper has shown the Dëne system of kin classification to closely fit the description of the Iroquois kinship system. While such a broad categorization has the potential to lead to an overly simplistic view of this system, it is nevertheless useful for understanding the ways in which kinship structures are conceived and constructed in this particular language and people. Through a careful examination of Dëne kin terms, I have argued that there is evidence for cross-cousin marriage in this people's history. The loss of such an institution from Dëne culture may be attributed in large part to the influence of European contact and the presence of Roman Catholic Missionaries since the 18th century. As culture ebbs and flows, and is shaped by outside forces, certain practices are adopted, others are simply changed and still others are completely abandoned, as I have argued may be the case for the practice of cross-cousin marriage. As culture changes, language follows suit, adapting to the demands of social life. Linguistic terms that were once salient for a particular people may become relatively meaningless or unnecessary. This does not always happen in a linear or predictable way, however, and thus cultural evidence must be considered along with linguistic for a better understanding of the processes at work behind these changes. I have attempted just such a task in this analysis of the Dëne kinship system.

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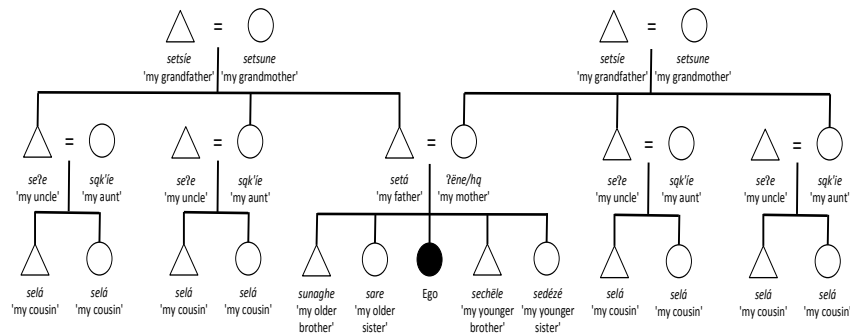
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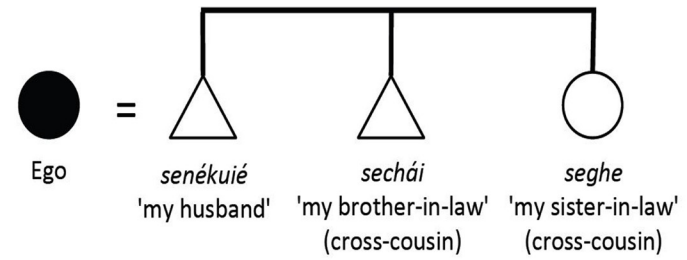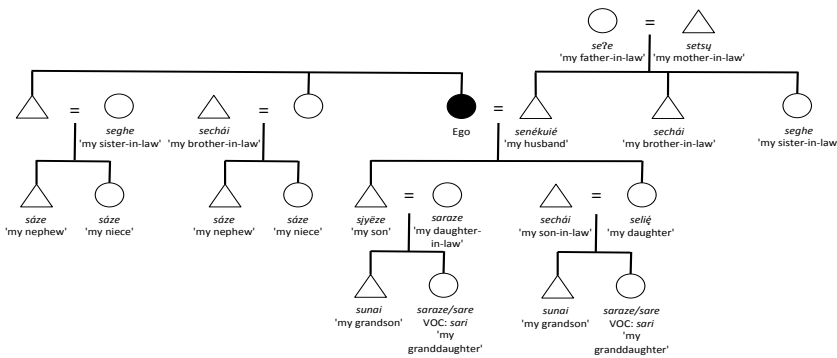Figure 1. Kin diagram including Ego's generation and two ascending generations.

Figure 2. Kin diagram showing two descending generations of Ego, and relatives of Ego's spouse (same generation and one ascending generation).

Figure 3. Kin diagram showing a woman's cross-cousins (children of her mother's brother and children of her father's sister). Her male cross-cousins are marked with an asterisk (*) to show that these are desirable marriage partners.

Figure 4. When a woman marries her male cross-cousin (*sechái*), he becomes her husband (*senékuié*), and his siblings become her in-laws (still referred to as *seghe* and *sechái*).
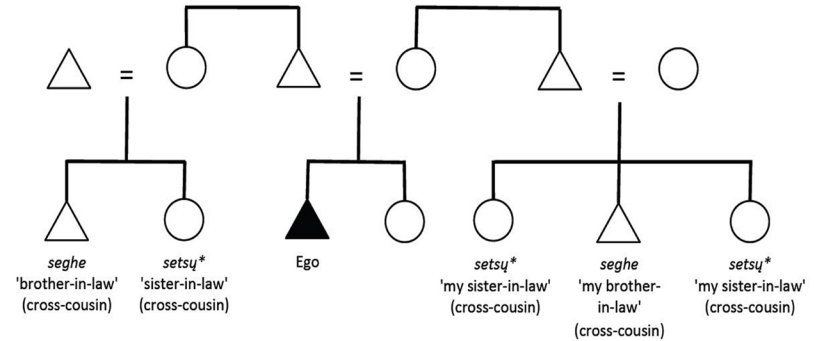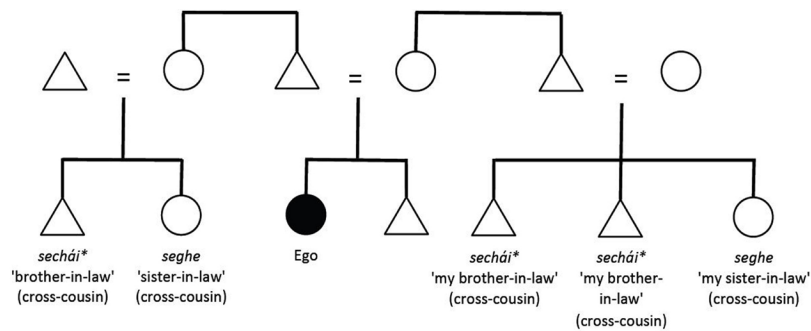

Figure 5. Kin diagram showing a man's cross-cousins (children of his mother's brother and children of his father's sister). His female cross-cousins are marked with an asterisk (*) to show that these are desirable marriage partners.
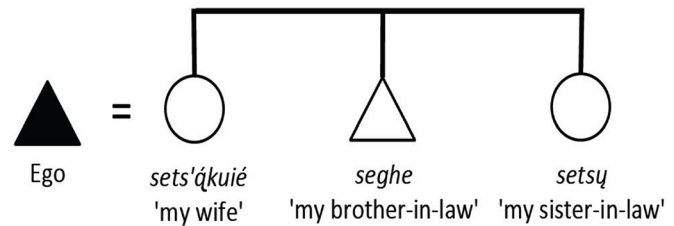

Figure 6. When a man marries his female cross-cousin (*setsy*), she becomes his wife (*sets'ą́kuié*), and her siblings become his in-laws (still referred to as *seghe* and *setsy*).

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Challenging the Status-Quo: Indigenous Knowledge in Science Education

Eun-Ji Amy Kim

Now, I want you to draw a scientist in your mind. Could your scientist perhaps be wearing a white gown, with crazy hair with a big pair of glasses? Maybe around the scientist, are there a plentiful of beakers; flasks filled with liquid, gas, perhaps even a big explosion?

Wait, now,

Is your scientist male or female?

Is your scientist a "white" person?

Is your scientist perhaps studying about spirituality?

What were your answers for the questions above? As a science educator, I often asked students what their scientists in mind looked like. Most of the students answered that their scientists were white-male, studying "Western Modern Science" (WMS). Based on literature, it is my aim to explore the background reasons why our society only focuses on WMS as well as the experience of Aboriginal students in a curriculum anchored in WMS. To challenge the existing ideas of what science should be, I will be introducing the ideas of integrating the Aboriginal knowledge (i.e., Indigenous Knowledge and Traditional Ecological Knowledge) in science education.

The Experiences of Aboriginal Students in Mainstream Science Education

From my volunteering experience as a science workshop facilitator on Aboriginal reserves, it was my goal as a facilitator to promote hands-on scientific activities, thus engaging students in learning and appreciation of science. However, many students would make comments such as: "Science is boring" or "I like drawing but science has way too much words and formulas to memorize and never has anything to draw." Such comments show the lack of interest Aboriginal students have in science. This lack of engagement has been mentioned as a main factor that led to the low participation of Aboriginal students in school science classes (Canadian Council on Learning, 2007). Furthermore, this low participation is argued as one of the lead causes of the low level entrance to post-secondary educational system in science. As a result, other social problems emerge in the communities, such as the shortage of health care professionals or limiting career choices for Aboriginal students (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Canadian Council on Learning 2007). The British Columbia Ministry of Education (2004) examined the outcomes of this lack of engagement of Aboriginal students in science. According to the British Columbia Ministry of Education (2004), Aboriginal students' participation and achievement in science is much lower than non-Aboriginal students. Canadian Council of Learning (CCL) (2007) also reports on the low achievement of Aboriginal students in science:

> In 2000, the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) results for science testing [revealed that]…Non-Aboriginal Canadian students posted a mean science score of 531; however, the corresponding Aboriginal score was 489 – dramatically lower than the non- Aboriginal score and also lower than the international average (PISA scores are normed so that the international average is 500). (p.7)

With Aboriginal students scoring significantly lower in science testing, this could limit the number of Aboriginal students pursuing post-secondary education in scientific fields. Indeed, the extremely low number of Aboriginal students pursuing science courses at post-secondary levels has been reported (Aikenhead & Huntley, 1999; CCL 2007). As shown in the case of my experience on the reserves, the Aboriginal students' low participation rate creates barriers for these students and limits their career and educational opportunities in the science industry. Consequently, Aboriginal people are underrepresented in careers in the science and technology field. The CCL (2007) provides an example which illustrates the under-representation of the Aboriginals in science field:

> Despite the prominent role played by fisheries in Aboriginal treaty negotiations, economic activity and cultural identity, in 2002 there was not a single Ph.D level Aboriginal fisheries

biologist in British Columbia… the primary problem seems to revolve around the failure to validate and incorporate Aboriginal values and knowledge at all levels of fisheries training and education. (p.5)

The lack of scholarly Aboriginal representation has also been observed in the medical field. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (1996) reported to parliament that 10,000 Aboriginal health professionals were needed to meet the health care needs of Aboriginal people. However, the current number of Aboriginal health professionals are far short of this recommended target (King, 2005). King (2005) points out that "there are well-defined benefits to having Aboriginal health professionals deliver health services to Aboriginal people, such as cultural sensitivity and retention and probably many more less tangible benefits" (para. 1). Hampton (1995) underlined the importance of having Aboriginal values and knowledge in education systems when preparing the Aboriginal students for careers:

If native nations are to have engineers, managers, business people, natural resource specialists, and all the other experts we need to meet non- Indians on equal terms… We need to train our educators so that the next generation of students is more comfortable with these tools than the previous generation has been. Most Indian parents want their children to be taught those things needed for success in both the white and the Native worlds. (p.7)

Poonwassie (1992) speaks of the failure of the current education system as he asserts, "curricula imbued with alien values have devastated the self-confidence of Aboriginal youth… the effects of this are seen in the high drop-out rates in schools, personal disorientation, and consequent social problems" (p.41). Aikenhead (2006) also argues that Western scientific perspectives on nature do not harmonize with Aboriginals' own worldviews. In order to enhance the learning of students in science, *cultural border crossing* has to occur between their everyday culture (i.e., indigenous culture) and the culture of school science (Aikenhead & Huntly, 1999). However,

they argue that for students whose worldviews differ from those of Western culture, the process of crossing can be complicated. The idea of cultural border crossing can be explained by a theory called *collateral learning*, which is developed by Jegede (1999). Within the framework of collateral learning, the importance of culturally relevant curriculum can be observed. Aikenhead and Huntley (1999) state that "learning something in one cultural setting that conflicts with their indigenous knowledge embedded in a different cultural setting (for example, Aboriginal students learning Western science)" (p.5), could result in conflicting ideas in long-term memory of Aboriginal students. The collateral learning theory supports the idea that when the learning material is not culturally relevant, it can impede the learning process of the students. Therefore, this theory emphasizes the importance of incorporating the Aboriginal knowledge and perspectives into curriculum for the Aboriginal students.

Cup of Water: Interconnectedness of Knowledge and Science

In order to discuss different knowledge systems and science that exists in our world, there is a need to define what *Knowledge* and *Science* mean. Knowledge is a concept or a belief that is justified by community members as correct (Hunt, 2003). Goldblatt (2000) defines knowledge as "a body of skills, practices and understandings that we possess and use in practical ways" (p.2). In contrast to knowledge, science is "a rational perceiving of reality where perceiving means both the action of constructing reality [methods, process of science] and the construction of reality [knowledge]" (Snively & Corsiglia, 2001, p.9). According to Saavedra-Vargas (2012), Knowledge and Science are "dynamically interdependent on each other" (personal communication). Before the evolution of natural philosophy by BASS, science (derived from the latin *scientia*) simply meant knowledge (Hatcher et al, p.142). Therefore, Snively and Corsiglia (2001) stated that without knowledge there is no science. Saavedra-Vargas (2012) uses the analogy of a *cup of water* to explain how knowledge and science are interconnected and inseparable. According to him, knowledge is water inside of a cup whereas science would be the cup.
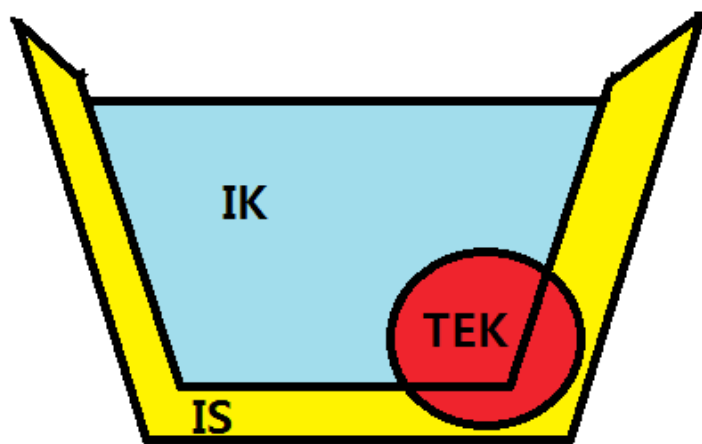
Figure 1. The Relationship between IK, IS, and TEK

In other words, science is a set of knowledge and techniques that shapes the perception of knowledge; knowledge is perceived differently according to the shape of the science (Figure 1). As Hatcher et al (2009) assert, "what is defined as science is deeply steeped cultural tradition and reflects the world view of the definer" (p.142). Here, *Tradition* is defined as "knowledge where authority is linked to antiquity and where its status is entirely accepted" (Goldblatt, 2000, p.33). Thus cultures, traditions and worldviews together play a big role in shaping the *cup* (i.e., science). The shape of the cup, (i.e., science) is molded differently according to definers' worldview, culture, and the society he/she is embedded in. Therefore, there is not only one form of science. Based on cultures and locations, science can exist in many forms and knowledge systems, (Jegede, 1989). This view can be seen in the idea of *Multiculturalism*. Multiculturalism in science believes in the idea that science "is embedded in the context of a cultural group; that all systems therefore are culture laden" (vanEijck & Roth, 2009, p.929.) Within the framework of multiculturalism, there are multi-sciences. What is normally referred to as Western Modern Science (WMS), is anchored in the culture and worldview of western European people

(Aikenhead, 2006; Ogawa, 1995). Indigenous Science (IS) is hence anchored in the culture and worldview of Indigenous people (Ogawa,1995). Therefore European Knowledge (EK) otherwise known as Western Knowledge is shaped by WMS; Indigenous Knowledge (IK) is shaped by IS (Hatcher et al, 2009; Snively& Corsiglia, 2001).

The Status of Science Sducation in Society and the Status of WMS in the Canadian Science Curricula

Scientific knowledge holds an elevated academic and social status in our society because it is important for many careers. For example, there are more than 46 occupations (e.g., doctors, scientists, engineers, nurses, teachers etc) where science is a main part of the job, or a critical part of their job (Osborne, 2003). Moreover, science also plays an important role in developing citizenship. Osborne (2000) argues that the real challenges of the future are likely to be the moral and political dilemmas set by the expansion of scientific knowledge. A healthy democratic society, therefore, requires the participation and involvement of all its citizens (or as many as possible) in the resolution of the decisions emerging from the choices that contemporary science presents. In order to become an active citizen in society, it is necessary to possess *civic scientific literacy* which Osborne. J (2000) describe as the ability to understand the procedures of science ("grammar of science") as well as its content ("vocabulary of science"). As mentioned previously, scientific knowledge has become critical for choosing careers and also for becoming an active citizen in present and future society. A lack of scientific knowledge, would therefore create a social barrier for people who are civic-scientifically illiterate (Osborne. K., 2000). Being scientifically illiterate, as Osborne. J (2000) notes, will lead to the marginalization of some people in society. For this reason, ministries of education in Canada have greatly emphasized the development of scientific literacy for students over the years (Osborne. K., 2000). The low number of professionals in science fields has been reported and has been recognized as a problem for our society (CCL, 2007; Johnstone, Haines, and Wallace, 2001; University of Manitoba, 2009). Students' learning experiences in secondary science courses have statistically significant impacts on the participa-

tion in post-secondary science. Thus developing career interests in science and engineering fields has been recognized as a main goal for Canadian higher education (Johnstone et al., 2001). Scientific literacy has become an important factor for career choices, and for creating active citizenship as well (Roth & Desautel, 2008). Therefore, conventional science education has been playing a role as a transmitter of the knowledge, skills and values of the scientific community to students. However, the current Canadian science curriculum is argued to convey a particular Eurocentric worldview (Aikenhead & Huntley, 1999). Aikenhead (1996) and CCL (2001) state that our science education is highly anchored in the traditions of WMS, focusing on European scientific knowledge. WMS is defined as "officially sanctioned knowledge which can be thought of as inquiry and investigation that Western governments and courses are prepared to support, acknowledge, and use" (Snively & Corsiglia, 2001, p.9). This WMS has been the dominant science in our science education (Ogawa, 1995). As demonstrated above, scientific knowledge holds a very high status in our society. In fact, it can be used to create social hierarchy in our society. Reis and Ng-A-Fook (2010) and Carter et al (2003) speak about the gatekeeper existing in the scientific community:

> The scientific community is like a special kind of 'club' that has its own rules, and if you are not willing to play by those rules you cannot become a member. Science education that is indoctrination into this club does not take into account that modern science is only one way of constructing the world. (Carter et al, 2003, p.6)

Indeed, Snively & Corsiglia (2001) state that another name for Western Modern Science (WMS) is *White-Male-Science*. In order to keep their "club" special, White males in scientific communities use the idea of *universalism* as a gate keeper (Reis & Ng-A-Fook, 2010; Snively & Corsiglia, 2001). vanEijck & Roth (2007) define *universalism* as "the position that views science as knowledge that transcends cultural milieu" (as cited in Muller & Tippins, 2009, p.994). Hence, universalists believe that science is gender-free, ethnicity-free, and culture-free. Western Modern Science (WMS), assumed

to be universal, displaces the revelation-based knowledge such as creation science and pragmatic local Indigenous Knowledge (Snively & Corsiglia, 2001). Applying the *Collateral Learning Theory* mentioned previously, within the framework of WMS, knowledge being taught in education systems will facilitate students from the western culture better than the students from Indigenous cultures who experience cognitive conflicts between the tenets of the two worldviews (Aikenhead, 1996; Battiste, 2008; Snively & Corsiglia, 2001).

As Aikenhead (1996) and Snively & Corsiglia (2001) point out, WMS is in fact a sub-culture of White-male Western culture; thus Indigenous Sciences (IS) can be thought of as sub-cultures of a particular culture. Reflecting the multicultural society of ours, Roth (2008) states that the re-articulation of science education is needed for Canadian society "which already is characterized by diversity, heterogeneity [incorporating non-Western views]" (p.96). To ensure the equity, not only in the education system but in society as a whole, the effort to develop an education mechanism that facilitates the development of scientific literacy of these students from non-Western (i.e., European) cultures is needed. Many scholars have argued that historically Canadian curriculum convey Eurocentric content and perspectives such as WMS in science curriculum which perpetuates the status-quo in the scientific community (Aikenhead, 2006; Cary, 2006; Ninnes, 2003).

One might argue that WMS is dominant in our society because science from cultural groups other than Western-European culture such as Traditional Ecological Knowledge is not useful in solving scientific problems that arises in our current technology-based society. However, the importance of Indigenous Knowledge (i.e., Traditional Ecological Knowledge) in our society has been emphasized by many scholars (Aikenhead, 2006; CCL, 2007; Tsuji & Ho, 2002). Indigenous Knowledge and Science Education.

The terms, Indigenous Knowledge (IK), Traditional Ecological (Environmental) Knowledge (TEK), Ecological Wisdom and many others are used to describe the body of expertise and knowledge held within indigenous communities (Manitoba Education and Youth, 2003). Some argue that the term, TEK is problematic. The term "traditional" implies that this knowledge system was only used

in ancient times (van Eijck & Roth, 2007). Some prefer the term Indigenous Knowledge (IK), which helps to evade the debate about the term "traditional" and puts emphasis on indigenous peoples, (Snively & Corsiglia, 2000). However, the term TEK is still widely used in literature and many scientists and educators refer to such knowledge as TEK. For these reasons, I use the term Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and TEK interchangeably in this paper.

VanEijck and Roth (2007) define TEK as " a concept that is used in the scientific community to name experiences acquired over thousands of years of direct human contact with the environment" (p.928). Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) is considered to be a very valuable knowledge system in science (Kimmerer, 2002). The studies done by Tsuji & Ho (2002) and Kimmerer (2002) summarize TEK as a set of empirical observations about a local environment, a system of classification, and a system of self-management which governs resource use in local communities. Since the knowledge is based on the local environment, the quantity and quality of TEK can vary among community members depending on their gender, age, social status, intellectual capability, and professions (Tsuji & Ho, 2002; Kimmerer, 2000). Moreover, TEK is holistic; it views environmental aspects to be closely tied to social and spiritual aspects of knowledge systems. TEK is also both cumulative and dynamic. The knowledge is derived from long-term observational data and maintained through an oral tradition. TEK, therefore, builds upon the experience of earlier generations and adapts to new technological and socioeconomic changes of the present (Ford, 2001; Tsuji & Ho, 2002; Omura, 2005). All in all, TEK acts as a baseline of information on the local environment and Aboriginal governments in Canada value and recognize the significance of TEK (Tsuji & Ho, 2002).

Aboriginal people have been in close contact with the environment for a long time. (Manitoba Education and Youth, 2003). Manitoba Education and Youth (2003) suggest that integration of TEK in the science curriculum provides "a foundation that validates local TEK along with Western science" (p.16). Studies have shown that many Aboriginal students have a better grasp of Western science when it is complemented with Indigenous Knowledge (Aikenhead, 2006; McGregor, 2000). Therefore, in order to prepare Aboriginal

students for careers in science fields, it is imperative to incorporate Aboriginal knowledge and worldview in the science curriculum. A framework of *integrative science* (including both TEK and WMS), would create a better educational environment for Aboriginal students to succeed in "both the white and the Native worlds" (Aikenhead, 2006; Battiste, 1995). Once the Aboriginal perspectives are incorporated into the science curriculum, they would provide a means of increasing Aboriginal students' access to scientific and technological fields (Patchen & Cox-Peterson, 2008). I believe that both TEK and WMS are valuable in science. Hatcher et al (2009) suggest "two-eyed seeing", or integrative science, as one of the solutions for our science education. *Two-eyed seeing* refers to "learning to see from one eye with the strength of Indigenous ways of knowing and from the other eye with the strength of Western ways of knowing and to using both of these eyes together" (Hatcher et al., 2009, p.148). From a Western perspective, knowledge is a noun whereas in an indigenous view, knowledge is a verb. Thus, Hatcher et al (2009) write that, "using the two-eyed seeing approaches means that education within Integrative Science incorporates a more holistic mindset and is transcultural as well as multidisciplinary, multidirectional, and multisensory, with the total environment as the laboratory" (p.146). Two-eyed seeing in Integrative science would enhance Aboriginal studen's' learning in Science as well as avoid a clash of knowledge (Hatcher et al., 2009). Many scholars includin, Snively (1990, 1995), Aikenhead (2006), Battiste and Henderson (2000) have shown how Indigenous Knowledge that includes TEK can act as a bridge between Western and Indigenous science. Aikenhead (2006) claims that since our future science will become postcolonial and cross-cultural in nature, cross-cultural science teaching should be implemented to help studentsetransition from their everyday culture into the culture of Western-science. Aikenhead (2006) conducted a study to see how cross-cultural curriculum can influence Aboriginal students' learning in science. His study showed that when Western science content was introduced to Aboriginal students with authentic knowledge that had been shared by their communities, "students became more interested in their science course and no longer approached it as content to be memorized" (p.234). McGregor (2000) developed a *coexistence model*, which is a culturally

sensitive instructional strategy,sintegrating Aboriginal science and Western science for Aboriginal students in pilot schools of northern Saskatchewan. McGregor reported that upon implementation of the strategy, students were more involved in science classes, even staying after school to complete projects when necessary. Considering that "voluntarily staying after school was normally almost unheard of in the pilot schools of northern Saskatchewan", this demonstrates improvement in Aboriginal students' interest in science (Aikenhead, 2006, p. 234). Nevertheless, TEK is "a distinct knowledge system in its own right with its own internal consistency, diversities, and way of knowing" (Battiste, 2008, p. 85). This distinctive knowledge system contains certain characteristics that, when combined with conventional science curriculum, can benefit not only Aboriginals, but all learners (Aikenhead, 2006; Battiste, 2008).

For non-Aboriginal students, learning TEK in science could lead to a heterogeneous view of the world where students come to understand "science knowledge" from non-Western cultural or traditional way of knowing (i.e., WMS). Ahlquist and Kailin (2003) suggest that "the development of modern science needs to be understood within the context of the global contributions to its development" (p. 38). Western scientific methods have exchanged or borrowed scientific ideas from non-Western (or European) cultures. For example, Quinin, Aspirin, and Ipecac, drugs used in traumatic medicine to expel stomach contents, as well as 500 other important drugs were discovered and used by traditional native American healers (Snively & Corsiglia, 2001). Canada is often described as a multicultural nation. Our society is increasingly becoming more culturally diverse. With increasing numbers of minority students in our schools, it is imperative to adopt mechanisms to facilitate an inclusive classroom. Many scholars including Hadi-Tabassum (2003) and Ogawa (1995) mention the need for promoting scientific literacy for all students by providing inclusive science curricula and training teachers in anti-discriminatory practices that can increase minority student participation in the sciences. Hadi-Tabassum (2003) argues that in order to create culturally inclusive classrooms that are democratic learning communities, we need to establish *multicultural science education* in our classroom. Here, I follow Ogawa's (1995) definition of *multiculturalism*. Multiculturalism stresses the "the need to acknowledge

and draw upon cultural diversity" (p.593). Therefore, Multicultural science promotes:

> Alternative ways of knowing or epistemologies that approach scientific knowledge from a first world and postcolonial framework that critically questions the empirical characteristics and ontological premise of Western science in order to emphasize the concept of 'epistemological pluralism' (Hadi-Tabassum, 2003, p.188).

Multicultural science education enables a heterogeneous view of the world where students come to understand "science knowledge" from their cultural or traditional way of knowing as well as from other cultures. In order to achieve multicultural science education in a multicultural society, science must be taught through critical, global and inclusive perspectives (Ogawa, 1995). Canadian students need to learn non-western knowledge in order to make decisions that help them to solve global issues. Snively and Corsiglia (2001) state that curriculum which integrates TEK develops scientific thinking and grounds the study of science within the actual world in which students live their lives. Curriculum that links the local knowledge from their home, local communities and their *cultural* knowledge to discuss global topics would act as a *linking mechanism* between students and educators. Therefore, TEK, developed locally, helps students to connect themselves to global environmental/scientific issues.

It is not my intention to demean the value of knowledge in WMS, but to make a point that one form of science is not more relevant than another, and also to illustrate the benefit of a synthesis of both WMS and TEK; focusing on the similarities as well as differences, and determining areas where IK helps fill the gap where knowledge in WMS is lacking, or vice versa.

The Status of Indigenous Knowledge in the Canadian Science Curricula

TEK (i.e., Indigenous Knowledge that is relevant to scientific fields) in Canadian science education has been a major subject of the de-

bate (vanEjick & Roth, 2008). Unfortunately, in the field of science, IS and TEK carry less prestige than WMS and EK (Omura, 2005). According to many science scholars, such as Semali & Kincheloe (1999) and Dei, Hall, and Rosenberg (2000), Indigenous Knowledge is represented as primitive, wild, and natural, and evokes condescension from Western observers. Historically, TEK has been excluded from the school curriculum and offered space in lower status optional courses in education (Alsop & Fawcett, 2010). However, the importance of principles as a way of ensuring diversity within the science education curricula has been recognized and some curricula have already adopted this approach around the world (Alsop & Fawcett, 2010). Alsop & Fawcett (2010) assert that there has been much to celebrate in instructional strategies that help learners negotiate borders between WMS and IS. However, the status-quo between WMS and IK within science curriculum still subsists. Ninnes (2003) conducted a textual analysis to study the representation of indigenous identities and knowledge within Canadian and Australian intermediate (grades7-9) science textbooks. According to his study, Canadian textbooks cover very little of traditional Aboriginal knowledge and even if it is represented, it is implicated in antiquity or primitive terms and is subordinated or peripheral in relation to western knowledge (Ninnes, 2003). Kimmerer (2002) also describes that in curricula we are unknowingly or knowingly, "ignoring an entire body of knowledge that has potential significance to contemporary science and policy: TEK" (p.432). However, there has not been any published study to confirm the extent of the coverage and representation that each provincial or territorial official science curriculum (i.e., reflecting ministries' policy and perception) gives to TEK.

Conclusion

Our educational system is at a stage where, we "acknowledge the distinctiveness of and the attempts to balance the knowledge systems [IK and WMS]" (Battiste, 2008, p.88). Despite the significant recognition of TEK, some Canadian science curriculum contain none or less than 1% of TEK content (Kim, 2012). This could be an example of what Dei et al. (2001) call *crisis of knowledge*. Dei

(2011, personal communication) explains crisis of knowledge as "disjunction of theory and practice" or "misrepresentation of knowledge". Indigenous Knowledge such as TEK is a knowledge system that *all* students need to acquire because it provides an extensive body of knowledge that has applied values (Battiste, 2008; Kimmerer 2002). In order to introduce TEK into "a much wider scope of societies," Canadian science education needs another approach to integrate TEK (Omura, 2005, p. 323). According to Snively and Corsiglia (2001),

> Non-Western and minority culture students of Western science may be forced to accept Western values and assumptions…in the course of receiving instruction on Western science. At the same time, mainstream students can be prevented from examining important values, assumptions, and information imbedded in other cultural perspectives. Thus students from Aboriginal culture (as well as many mainstream students) inadvertently face a dilemma whenever they study Western science. (p.24)

A lack or misrepresentation of IS therefore sets a border not only for Aboriginal students, but for western students as well. Instead of viewing TEK as primitive or the Other, we need to take other avenues to educate our students about this knowledge system. Ninnes (2003) also argues that representation of particular indigenous lifestyles as 'traditional' should be reconsidered because "such a discourse of traditionality can be viewed as a means by which non-indigenous people create and control identities for indigenous people[s]" (p.614). In order to provide instruction and curricula that reflects IK in a contemporary and scientific way, the author suggests that when teaching IK, the curriculum documents should integrate pedagogies that include interacting with knowledge holders or elders. This would include both bringing knowledge holders into the classroom as well as taking students to the knowledge holders outside the classroom (Saavedra-Vargas, 2012). Such pedagogies would allow students to see TEK as modern and ever-evolving knowledge rather than primitive. Snively and Corsiglia (2001) also acknowledge the need for a "curriculum that recognizes a community's indigenous knowledge or worldview in a way that creates a

need to know Western science" (p.27). Consulting with local indigenous elders and knowledge holders is necessary in developing such curriculum. We also need a national policy framework that would mandate all provincial and territorial documents to integrate correct representation of TEK in our science education (Canadian Council on Learning, 2011). An accurate representation of TEK content with WMS content through all learning domains (e.g., life science, physical science and earth and space science) and foundations of scientific literacy will facilitate students and teachers to see "similarities as well as differences, areas where IK [TEK, IS] helps fill the gap where knowledge in WMS is lacking, and vice versa" (Snively & Corsiglia, 2001, p.28). Snively & Corsiglia (2001) also argue that science education must help all students understand how science [both IS and WMS] relates to action by emphasizing the relationship between science and technology and the culture, values, and decision-making processes of the society within which we operate (i.e., four dimensions of the conceptual framework of this study). With the partnership and consultation with indigenous knowledge holders (i.e., Elders) in communities, linking IS and WMS in the four foundations of scientific literacy (therein organizing principles, attitudes, knowledge, and skills) will be the one possible way of overcoming the "crisis of knowledge", connecting the theory and practice together in science education. Thus, we will challenge the subsisting prestige and power that WMS carries within our current science education system and let the future generations in this land appreciate and prosper the knowledge of our first peoples.

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Partners

Aboriginal Health Interest Group of McGill

We are a group based in the Faculty of Medicine at McGill, but welcome everyone interested in promoting and improving the health of aboriginal people, families and communities in Canada. Our VISION: Healthy and vibrant Indigenous nations, communities, families and individuals supported by an abundance of well informed Indigenous and non-Indigenous health care practitioners working together. Because... HIV, TB, diabetes and suicide rates in Canada's First Peoples are unacceptably high; there are incredible young Aboriginal leaders that would make terrific doctors and nurses if given the opportunity; a lack of sustainable health care workers for northern communities; a lack of interest among medical students in pursuing a northern career; a need to inform health care workers of traditional healing and cultural practices; environmental health impacts of climate change, Hydro development, persistent organic pollutants; Justice for all.

Our areas of action:
ADVOCACY
Locally = Lobbying to improve conditions in Montreal
Broadly = Lobbying to increase enrollment of aboriginal students in the health professions
AWARENESS
Locally =   Hosting events, engaging media, reaching out to raise awareness
URBAN HEALTH
Locally = Connecting volunteers with local organizations including the Native Friendship Centre and the Native Women's Centre
RURAL HEALTH
Locally = Training medical students in cultural sensitivity and preparedness
Beyond = Funding options, SARROS, etc

Contact Information:
W: http://groups.google.ca/group/aboriginalhealth

Aboriginal Law Association of McGill (ALA)

The Aboriginal Law Association (ALA) is a group of McGill Law students committed to raising awareness about legal issues affecting Aboriginal Canadians. ALA members seek to expose students at the faculty to the legal traditions of Aboriginal peoples. The ALA is a non-hierarchical club open to everyone.

Contact Information:
E: ala.law@mcgill.ca

Anthropology Student Association (ASA)

The Anthropology Students' Association represents the interests of students in the Department of Anthropology.

Contact Information:
Leacock Building
855 Sherbrooke Street West
Montreal, Quebec, H3A 2T7
E: mcgillasa@hebel.com

The Aboriginal Sustainability Project

This project is supported by First Peoples' House, the Social Equity and Diversity Education Office (SEDE), the Office of the Dean of Students (represented by the Aboriginal Outreach Coordinator) and the Officeof Sustainability Office at McGill. The aim is to enhance the visibility and presence of Aboriginal peoples in the McGill and Montreal community through educational and cultural activities. The project seeks to develop a broad-based educational campaign aiming to provide Aboriginal-specific programming and opportunities for bridge-building among diverse members of the McGill community.

Contact Information:
T: 514-398-3711.
W: http://www.mcgill.ca/equity_diversity/activities/aboriginal

Arts Undergraduate Society (AUS)

The AUS is an elected student government with two aims: to represent and promote the welfare and interests of its members, and to provide activities and services to enhance the educational, cultural, environmental and social conditions of its members. All undergraduates in the Faculty of Arts are members of the AUS.

Contact Information:
McGill University
Leacock Building B-12
855 Sherbrooke Ouest, Room B-12
Montreal, Quebec, H3A 2T7
T: 514-398-1993
F: 514-398-4431
W: http://ausmcgill.com

Social Work Student Society (SWSA)

SWSA works to represent social work students' interests politically and facilitate meaningful learning opportunities outside of school.

Contact Information:
SWSA
3506 University St., Room 314
Montreal, Quebec, H3A 2A7
E: communication.swsa@gmail.com
W: http://mcgillswsa.blogspot.com

Student Society of McGill University (SSMU)

The SSMU stands for the Students' Society of McGill University! They are the McGill student union. Every undergraduate at McGill is a member of the SSMU. They advocate for students at the university, provincial, and national levels. They also aim to provide students with everything they might need during their time here at McGill that isn't provided by the University itself.

Contact Information:
SSMU
3600 rue McTavish, Suite 1200
Montreal, Quebec, H3A 1Y2
T: 514-398-6800
W: http://ssmu.mcgill.ca/

First People's House (FPH)

FIRST PEOPLE'S HOUSE
LA MAISON DES PEUPLES AUTOCHTONES

Mission
The First Peoples' House believes that innovative partnerships should exist between McGill University and Aboriginal communities. The First Peoples' House aims to provide Aboriginal students with a "home away from home" and envisions the following:
To increase the admission and retention rates of Aboriginal students studying at McGill.
To promote and increase the accessibility of student services of McGill to Aboriginal students.
To meet the concerns of Aboriginal communities which include educational programming and policies that are culturally relevant to Aboriginal peoples.
To promote collaborative research and learning between McGill University and Aboriginal communities.
To raise awareness within the McGill University community regarding the past, present, and future aspirations of Aboriginal peoples through the promotion of activities that encourage personal, social, intellectual, and cultural interactions between Aboriginals and McGill students and staff.
To work on the creation of an Aboriginal Studies Program with the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada.

Contact Information:
First Peoples' House at McGill
Peel 3505
Montreal, Quebec H3A 1W7
T: 514-398-3217
E: firstpeopleshouse@mcgill.ca
W: http://www.mcgill.ca/fph

Indigenous Access McGill

What they do
is provide support to students from First Nations and Inuit communities studying in the Health and Social Services disciplines at McGill (Social Work, Nursing, OccupationaI Therapy, Physiotherapy, Dietetics and Speech and Language Pathology)

What they offer:

is a dedicated support team of advisors who will offer mentoring and tutoring on all aspects of your studies

is a direct link to all the resources available to students at McGill from counseling to study skills, from writing skills to library research and much more

is the use of a resource centre in the School of Social work where you can consult documentation, do on-line research, discuss with other students, talk to the tutors

is an opportunity to get together with other First Nations and Inuit students and to support each other

is a summer support program for First Nations and Inuit students who have been accepted into the social work program or one of the health disciplines mentioned above (two weeks of mini-courses, field placement visits, introduction to McGill support services)

Contact Information:
Indigenous Access McGill Office
McGill University School of Social Work
3506 University, Room 319
Montreal, Quebec, H3A 2A
T: 514-398-2129
E: iam.socialwork@mcgill.ca

The McGill Institute for the Study of Canada (MISC)

McGill Institute for the Study of Canada
L'Institut d'études canadiennes de McGill

The McGill Institute for the Study of Canada was established in 1994. Its mission is to:

promote a better understanding of Canada through the study of our heritage;

develop a clearer understanding of Canada's social, political and economic future;

identify and explore the benefits that a pluralistic society offers;

support the study of Canada across the country and internationally.

In order to achieve these goals, the Institute:

encourages a multidisciplinary approach to the study of Canada;

promotes public as well as university-based education about Canada;

fosters the development of networks in the areas of Canadian Studies;

enhances informed discussion of public policy.

Contact Information:
McGill Institute for the Study of Canada (MISC)
3463 Peel Street
Montreal, Quebec H3A 1W7
T: 514-398-8346
W: http://www.mcgill.ca/misc

Office of Social Equity and Diversity Education (SEDE)

The Social Equity and Diversity Education (SEDE) Office is committed to fostering a fair and inclusive environment that respects the dignity of each member of the McGill Community. By actively educating, heightening awareness, and providing opportunities for dialogue about equity and diversity-related issues, we strive to strengthen the Community in our shared responsibility toward a truly equitable society.

Our Goals:
Raise awareness and understanding by members of the University Community on matters of equity, diversity, discrimination and harassment;

Make connections between different members of the McGill Community, and the wider communities in Montréal, Québec, and across Canada in order to foster dialogue, networks and learning, and to develop and promote best practices;

Organize events and information campaigns through workshops, guest speakers, and print and electronic media;

Provide members of the McGill Community with help to understand the relevant policies and their implications.

Inform members of the McGill Community of available avenues and mechanisms to which they can direct their concerns.

Contact Information:
Social Equity and Diversity Education Office (SEDE)
3610 McTavish Street
Montreal, Quebec H3A 1Y2
T: 514-398-2039

Quebec Public Interest Research Group (QPIRG)

The Quebec Public Interest Research Group at McGill is a non-profit, student-run organization that conducts research, education, and action on environmental and social justice issues at McGill University and in the Montreal community. With such a broad mandate, QPIRG brings together a wide range of activists interested in many different issues. QPIRG-McGill is opposed to all forms of discrimination on the basis of: class, gender, race, sexual orientation, and dis/ability. QPIRG-McGill is run by a volunteer Board of Directors which is responsible for QPIRG management, budgeting, project development, staff, working groups and the development of the group's political vision. Every March, students are elected at the Annual General Meeting open to all QPIRG members. In addition, the Students' Society of McGill University (SSMU) and the Post-Graduate Students' Society (PGSS) each have one representative on the Board.

Contact Information:
QPIRG McGill
3647 University, 3rd Floor
Montreal, Quebec, H3Z 2P8
Hours: Monday - Friday 11 - 5 PM
(QPIRG McGill regrets that their space is not wheelchair accessible)
T: 514-398-7432
F: 514-398-8976
E: qpirg@ssmu.mcgill.ca
W: http://qpirgmcgill.org/