KANATA

Volume 8: Winter 2015

The Undergraduate Journal of the Indigenous Studies Community of McGill University

McGill University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

KANATA acknowledges that McGill University is situated on traditional Haudenosaunee territory.

Acknowledgements

Faculty, Administrative & Scholarly: Support and Advisors
Orenda Boucher, Kakwiranoron Cook, André Costopoulos, Allan Downey, Gwenn Duval, Stefan Fong, Suzanne Fortier, Adriana Goreta, Minette Haddon, Kahente Horn-Miller, Paige Isaac, Amy Johnson, Michael Loft, Karen Elizabeth McAllister, Neale McDevitt, Suzanne Morton, Maria Naso, Charmaine Nelson, Ronald Niezen, Colin Scott, Ellen Sharpe, Will Straw, Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, Allan Vicaire

Organizational Support
Aboriginal Sustainability Project (ASP), Arts Undergraduate Society (AUS), Jay Rajpal, Le Cagibi, Le Délit, Indigenous Access McGill (IAM), First Peoples' House (FPH), McGill Aboriginal Outreach, The McGill Daily, McGill Institute for the Study of Canada (MISC), The McGill Tribune, MUGS, Native Friendship Centre of Montreal (NFCM), Quebec Public Interest Research Group – McGill (QPIRG-McGill), Social Work Student Association (SWSA), Society for Equity and Diversity in Education (SEDE), Student Society of McGill University (SSMU), Yale Native American Cultural Center

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A Word From This Year's Coordinators

As this year's Executive Coordinators of KANATA: McGill's Indigenous Studies Community, we are proud to present the eighth edition of our interdisciplinary, student-run journal as our contribution to the growing discourse surrounding Indigenous issues at McGill University. Since KANATA's first publication in 2009 - under the direction of founder and adviser, Pamela Fillion – the organization has been a strong voice promoting Indigenous content, both on campus and in the broader community of Montreal. As we look toward the future, we are humbled by the efforts of so many other students, faculty members, administrators, and activists who have worked tirelessly to ensure that our voice now joins a chorus of others advocating for Indigenous issues at McGill.

The year in Indigenous Studies at McGill has been one for the history books. In September, we witnessed the launch of the much-anticipated Indigenous Studies minor program, housed by the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada (MISC). The program presents an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the First Peoples of the territory we now know as Canada. Through encouraging collaboration between students from such disciplines as History, Anthropology, Political Science, English Literature, and International Development Studies, among others, new opportunities emerge to unsettle our understanding of the history of this land and engage in fruitful academic relationships as we move forward.

At the root of this program were three new courses: an Introduction to Indigenous Studies taught by Professor Allan Downey; the History and Development of Aboriginal Law taught by lawyer and professor-of-practice, Kathryn Tucker; and Decolonizing North American Indigenous History, co-taught by Professor Downey and visiting Yale professor and McGill alumnus, Ned Blackhawk. As Professor Downey's guest editorial illustrates, these new courses often presented alternative pedagogical approaches to complicate students' notions of the traditional academic discourse. That so many of the ideas emerging from these classes have found their way into this volume is emblematic of their immediate impact on student scholarship.

While these developments are to be celebrated in their own right, they mark the beginning of what must be a continued effort to Indigenize the academy at McGill. As such, KANATA has led an initiative this year to discuss the origins and development of the McGill "Redmen," the mascot of the men's athletic program. After consultation with First Peoples' House, McGill's Social Equity and Diversity Education Office, Professor Downey, and Professor Blackhawk, Chris presented a public forum on the history of athletic naming at McGill and advocated for a name change. KANATA endorses the appropriate representation of all Indigenous peoples at McGill. Contrary to alternative narratives, the "Redmen" name has been historically associated with Indigenous peoples through the subsequent creation of junior varsity teams, student-submitted logos, and colloquial usage in the latter half of the twentieth century. We greatly appreciated the opportunity to contribute to this discussion on the best practices for moving forward with this campaign.

Finally, we wish to extend our sincere thanks to all of those whose time and energy made KANATA's Volume Eight our largest and most successful release to date. We are particularly indebted to the kind words and wise counsel of QPIRG McGill, KANATA's founder, Pamela Fillion, last year's Executive Coordinators, Jaya Bordeleau-Cass and Nicolas Magnien, and our Editorial team, without whom this surely would not have been possible.

Chris Gismondi
Caleb Holden
Executive Coordinators, 2014-2015

Editors' Note

We are proud to present the eighth annual edition of the KANATA Indigenous Studies Journal. Reflecting on the content of this year's volume, we see it as a unique celebration of McGill's new minor program in Indigenous Studies. Our first essay, which focuses on the development of the University of Manitoba's Native Studies program in the 1970s, considers many of the questions that remain in the early days of McGill's program some five decades later:

How can Indigenous epistemologies be integrated into the Eurocentric academy?

What effect will new pedagogies have on the style and substance of students' experiences in this institutional setting?

How will they influence Indigenous and non-Indigenous students alike?

As Editors-in-Chief, we've had the pleasure of working with a talented team of authors, artists, and editorial volunteers to set about exploring the answers to these and other questions over the course of subsequent pages. We are fortunate to have been able to curate such a diverse body of work in which each contribution challenges the viewer and informs our understanding in new and interesting ways. On behalf of KANATA's editorial board, we invite you to explore the result and reflect on these questions for yourself.

Caleb Holden
Marta Kolbuszewska
Editors-in-Chief 2014-2015

Guest Editorial: Indigenizing McGill
By Dr. Allan Downey

The 2014-2015 academic year has been a historic one for McGill– located on the traditional territory of the Kanien'kehá:ka– as the university marked the launch of the new Indigenous Studies program at the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada (MISC). The undergraduate minor is the result of the determined efforts of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students who, with the help of the First Peoples' House, KANATA, MISC, SEDE, and others, challenged the university to increase its Indigenous content. This marks one positive step towards decolonizing the university and pushing the institution into new areas of study that are long overdue.

There is little question that the relationship between academia and Indigenous peoples hasn't always been a positive one and repairing that relationship is ongoing. Within the educational system there has been, drawing from the words of Cayuga Faithkeeper Delmor Jacobs, the creation of a colonial dust that has supported the disempowerment of Indigenous knowledge.[1] This dust has been created in these educational spaces and it has gotten into our eyes so we cannot see clearly, into our ears so we cannot hear clearly, into our hearts so we cannot feel "clearly," and into our minds so we cannot think clearly. We have been taught and socialized to see the ways of Indigenous peoples as folklore and this dust continues to be produced and kicked up.[2] Kanesatake community member and elder John Cree may have captured it best when he visited my class in the fall of 2014 in which he stated, "You know what's funny, I know everything about you, your governments, your laws, your history and culture, and yet, you know nothing about me." So how do we begin to bring clarity and balance and recognize the importance of Indigenous knowledge?

The new Indigenous Studies program is a start. Indigenous Studies has quickly become one of the fastest growing fields of study in Canadian universities, and arguably, one of the most innovative in recent times. There seems to be a momentum in Canada, catalyzed by Indigenous activism,

1 Marie Battiste, "Enabling the Autumn Seed: Toward a Decolonized Approach to Aboriginal Knowledge, Language, and Education," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* iss. 22, no. 1 (1998), 16-17.

2 José Barreiro, ed., *Thinking in Indian: A John Mohawk Reader* (Golden, CO: Falcrum Publishing, 2010), 203.

to re-evaluate and improve the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Specifically, universities are taking steps to recognize the validity and importance of Indigenous knowledge and the critical need to incorporate it into the Canadian educational system. Institutions that don't have Indigenous Studies programs are establishing them, others are expanding minors into majors, schools that offer graduate programs continue to expand their offerings, and most importantly, many are acknowledging that decolonizing post-secondary education cannot simply occur through the introduction of Indigenous Studies alone but must take place in every discipline. Across the country universities are incorporating Indigenous partnerships, knowledge, and land recognitions into their strategic plans and initiatives. Others are going further by establishing Indigenous/ Aboriginal initiatives offices, increasing their support programming, hiring Indigenous scholars, and making a concerted effort to be more welcoming to Indigenous students, staff, and faculty. For example, beginning in 2016 Lakehead University will be incorporating Indigenous education into each faculty on campus which will see that every student that graduates from the university will have at least some exposure to Indigenous knowledge before they graduate.[3] Likewise, the University of Winnipeg's Students' Association is calling for a similar initiative at their university.[4]

By Indigenizing the spaces around us, by recognizing that Indigenous knowledge offers legitimate ways of understanding the world and that we live, travel, and work on Indigenous territories every day, we have an opportunity to accept that Western ways of knowing are not a fundamental truth. Indigenous peoples are the youngest and fastest growing population in Canada and are re-empowering themselves, their communities, and their nations all around us. They are not simply healing historical injustices, they are building upon successive generations of strength and helping to remove the dust from the eyes, ears, hearts, and minds of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. They are becoming, as Dale Turner labelled it, "word warriors" in which they are using the forms of knowledge rooted in Indigenous communities and empowering that knowledge in

3 "Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Ont. to mandate indigenous learning" 20 February, 2015. CBC News http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/lakehead-university-in-thunder-bay-ont-to-mandate-indigenous-learning-1.2963546?cmp=abf

4 "UWinnipeg student's union calls for mandatory indigenous course" 16 February, 2015. CBC News http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/uwinnipeg-students-union-calls-for-mandatory-indigenous-course-1.2958811

the legal, political, and academic discourses and beyond.[5]

As both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples work together to expose the colonial residue that continues to stain our public, political, and educational institutions, McGill's students and alumni, as well as the public more generally, are going to turn to the university to ask what it is doing to be a leader in this process. As it stands, the university isn't going to have an answer and there is a lot of work that needs to be done. For example, Indigenous students continue to be disproportionately scarce, there are no Indigenous faculty members in tenure-track positions (in comparison the University of British Columbia has over twenty[6] and the University of Manitoba more than fifteen[7]), and the Indigenization of the university is almost nonexistent. However, there are a number of organizations at the university that have been setting a positive example such as the First Peoples' House, SEDE, and KANATA, who are all working towards building positive relationships and spaces, and are supporting the Indigenization of the university. It is my hope that McGill can become an ally to the re-empowerment of Indigenous knowledge within the academy and the new Indigenous Studies program is a step in the right direction if only a small one.

McGill is considered an elite institution and it prides itself on educating national and global leaders for change but is the institution ready to recognize that it is in need of a positive transformation? There is an opportunity for McGill to end the disempowerment of Indigenous knowledge and transform into a national and global leader that encourages the Indigenization of the academy that supports Indigenous student success, hiring and retaining Indigenous faculty, and empowering community-based relationships that will have positive implications for all students, staff, and faculty at the university.

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5 Dale Turner, *This is Not a Peace Pipe: Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 7.
6 See "UBC Aboriginal Faculty Members" http://aboriginal.ubc.ca/faculty/
7 See "University of Manitoba Indigenous Faculty Members" http://umanitoba.ca/admin/indigenous_connect/faculty.html

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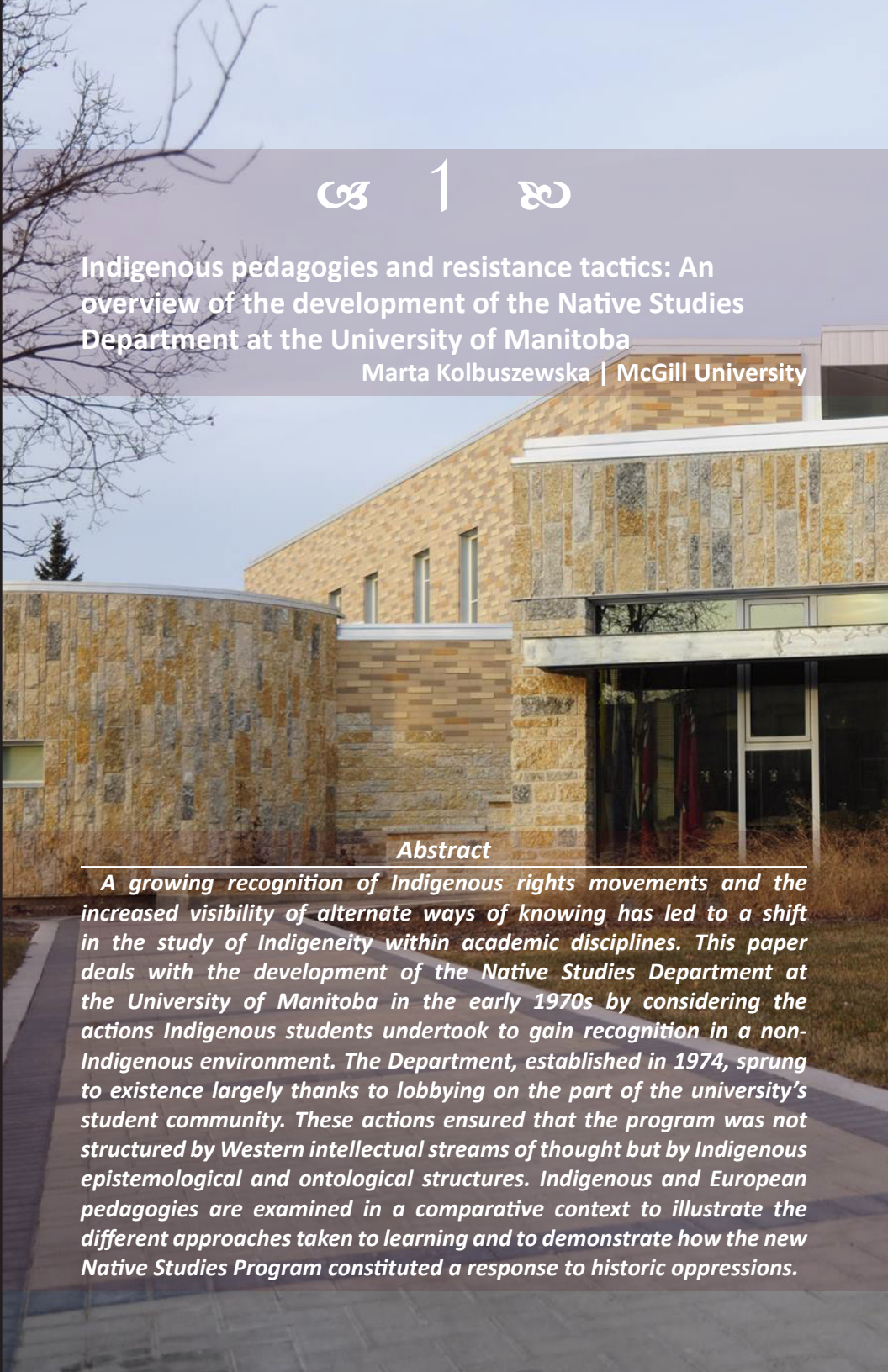

1

Indigenous pedagogies and resistance tactics: An overview of the development of the Native Studies Department at the University of Manitoba

Marta Kolbuszewska | McGill University

Abstract

A growing recognition of Indigenous rights movements and the increased visibility of alternate ways of knowing has led to a shift in the study of Indigeneity within academic disciplines. This paper deals with the development of the Native Studies Department at the University of Manitoba in the early 1970s by considering the actions Indigenous students undertook to gain recognition in a non-Indigenous environment. The Department, established in 1974, sprung to existence largely thanks to lobbying on the part of the university's student community. These actions ensured that the program was not structured by Western intellectual streams of thought but by Indigenous epistemological and ontological structures. Indigenous and European pedagogies are examined in a comparative context to illustrate the different approaches taken to learning and to demonstrate how the new Native Studies Program constituted a response to historic oppressions.

Marta Kolbuszewska is a U2 Honours History student at McGill University. Originally from unceded and unsurrendered Algonquin territory in Ottawa, she moved to Anishinaabe Winnipeg before attending McGill. She has lived on Kanien'kehá:ka territory in Montreal for the last three years and will be returning for her last year in the fall.

Introduction

In 1974 the University of Manitoba established the Native Studies Department,[1] becoming one of the first Canadian universities to develop a program specific to the study of Indigenous issues. The university instated the program after students, led by IMESA (the Indian, Metis, Eskimo Student Association), lobbied for its creation.[2] Changing discourses surrounding Indigeneity in the 1960s and 1970s had seen a push for civil rights, the development of a pan-Indian identity, and the call for recognition of Indigenous knowledge production at the university level. Indigenous students, scholars, and communities within and without academic institutions shaped "Indigenous Studies" to fit their cultures and identities. The new Indigenous studies programs were not products of the Western academy, organised around the paternalistic and appropriative theories that had previously structured studies of non-white peoples, but sites of resistance and redefinition. These programs fought ideas held by the Western elite that only particular intellectual streams constituted "real" or "legitimate" knowledge and dismantled stereotypes surrounding Indigenous pedagogies. The Native Studies Department was a response to historic oppressions.[3]

The Development of the Native Studies Department at the University of Manitoba

The University of Manitoba, founded in 1877, is a public university located in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The city of Winnipeg sits on Treaty One territory, which was negotiated between the Queen and the Anishinaabeg and the Nehiyawak in 1871.[4] Treaty One territories are also the homeland of the Red River Métis and the displaced Nakota (Assiniboine/Stoney), and are currently home to members of the Dene, Dakota, and Inuit.[5] Despite being located on traditionally Indigenous territories, the University of Manitoba did not offer services for Indigenous students or programmes that taught Indigenous issues or perspectives until recently. The University erased Indigeneity from the academy; Indigenous students constituted an invisible population. While the 1971 census reported 1.45%[6]* of

1 I use the terms 'Indigenous Studies' when referring to the general discipline and 'Native Studies' when discussing a particular program. The University of Manitoba offers a program in 'Native Studies'. When I use the terms 'Indian' and 'Eskimo' I refer to specific legislation or association names.

2 Kathi Kinew, "Native Students Roles in Establishing the Department of Native Studies" in Pushing the Margins Native and Northern Studies, (Manitoba: Native Studies Press: 2001), p 19.

3 Ibid., 23.

4 Canada, Treaty One, 1871.

5 For Occupiers to Decolonize, "Decolonize and (Re)Occupy Winnipeg Statement on Indigenous Struggles," December 7, 2011. http://foroccupierstodecolonize.blogspot.ca/2011/12/decolonize-and-reoccupy-winnipeg.html

6 K.G. Basavarajappa and Bali Ram "Estimated population of Canada, 1867 to 1977" and "Origins of the population, census dates, 1871 to 1971," *Statistics Canada*. http://www.statcan.

Canada's population to be Indigenous, Indigenous students made up less than 0.004% of the student population at the University of Manitoba.[7] Facing discrimination within and without the institution, systemic exclusion from structures of power, and economic, political, and social disadvantage, Indigenous students faced difficulties entering the university. Nevertheless, Indigenous students played a key role in establishing the Native Studies Department, drawing on support from local Indigenous organisations and the rest of the student body to put pressure on the University administration.

In 1970 a group of First Nations, Metis, and Inuit students created IMESA to foster a safe space where they could participate in a social community and discuss issues pertaining to Indigenous experiences at the University.[8] The group lobbied for the development of the Native Studies Department and led several initiatives to expand programs covering Indigenous issues. One year after establishing IMESA, Indigenous students collaborated with FREE YOU, a free university program, to offer an Indigenous studies course as part of student efforts to create accessible, socially aware education.[9] Criticism of the traditional university had emerged in the 60s and 70s and, combined with criticism of the government's treatment of Indigenous peoples, produced a rhetoric that argued for traditional academic disciplines' inability to represent marginalised histories.[10] At the University of Manitoba, this rhetoric manifested as student activism and the creation of the open 'Native Views' course. A full page spread in *The Manitoban* expressed the emerging dissatisfaction with the traditional University by detailing how the open university concept addressed topics that were often silenced by the academy: "Similarly there is a course called NATIVE VIEWS which will provide a forum for the study of Indian and Metis history and problems, a field that the regular university pointedly ignores."[11] The course aimed to dismantle stereotypes, look at contemporary issues and action, and read Indigeneity back into the academy. It served as a precursor to the Native Studies Department established three years later.

Early student mobilisation did not always revolve around establishing an Indigenous Studies Department, nor resisting the white education system. Indigenous students also revived and maintained their traditions and interacted with the greater university community; IMESA organised a Powwow on campus and pushed the university administration to create a Native Students' Lounge. Indigenous students also protested and mobilised on an individual basis. For example, Ovide Mercredi published a series of comics in *The Manitoban* detailing his experiences with racism.[12]

Nevertheless, the major tenet of organisation remained lobbying for an Indigenous Studies department.

gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/pdf/5500092-eng.pdf
*Based on census data from following years, it is possible to extrapolate that the figures are even higher
when considering the Indigenous population in Manitoba, or Winnipeg proper. However, the available
statistics only document the Indigenous population in Canada.
7 Kinew, 22.
8 Kinew, 18.
9 "Free UM," *The Manitoban,* Sept 21, 1971.
10 Clara Sue Kidwell and Alan R. Velie, *Native American Studies,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 28.
11 "Free UM," *The Manitoban*, September 21, 1971.
12 *The Manitoban*, October 2, 1970

While IMESA forged links between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students by publishing articles and comics in *The Manitoban*, its members also participated in university politics directly; IMESA members held roles on a senate appointed committee that pushed IMESA's mandate.[13] Despite this increased visibility, the university administration repeatedly denied IMESA's proposals for an Indigenous Studies Department.[14] This experience was not unique to Indigenous students at the University of Manitoba. Where Indigenous programs gained a foothold in the halls of 1970s academia, they remained marginalised administratively or relegated to the role of 'token' departments with little academic credibility.[15] Establishing a place in the shifting rhetoric on minority representation was only the first step towards gaining serious recognition. At the University of Manitoba it took further proposals, a number of conferences, and vocal support from Indigenous organisations for the idea to proceed at all.[16]

In 1972 the Native Peoples' Studies Conference opened a forum to discuss Indigenous issues and promote an Indigenous Studies Program at the university. Proposals for education reform and possible courses of study appeared in *The Manitoban:*

> *"The Native Studies Department should be unique, not like any other university department. It should have a governing board composed of representatives from the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood [Now the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs], the Manitoba Metis Federation, The Indian, Metis and Eskimo Student Association, and the university. They should set th [sic] policy, and advise and guide the department."*[17]

The statements made in the student newspaper echoed the proposal for increased Indigenous control of Indigenous education present in the *Indian Control of Indian Education Act*:

> *"We want education to provide the setting in which our children can develop the fundamental attitudes and values which have an honored place in Indian tradition and culture. The values which we want to pass on to our children, values which make our people a great race, are not written in any book. They are found in our history, in our legends and in the culture. We believe that if an Indian child is fully aware of the important Indian values he will have reason to be proud of our race and of himself as an Indian."*[18]

These demands stemmed from historic oppressions Indigenous students faced in the Canadian education system. The targeted destruction of Indigenous cultures included aggressive interference with Indigenous educational structures and methods; residential schools enacted a systematic elimination campaign aimed at Indigenous peoples, articulated through isolation, extreme violence, and cultural deprivation. A strong resistance movement emerged in response to this destruction, both across the continent and within the University of Manitoba. In the early 70s *The Manitoban* published a number of articles and comics that

13 Kinew, 23.
14 Ibid.
15 Kidwell, 27.
16 Kinew, 25.
17 *The Manitoban*, February 1, 1972
18 Canada, *Indian Control of Indian Education Act*, 2

articulated Indigenous students' dissatisfaction with the university's structure: "The white system has been successful in destroying the Indian way of life […] The white education system caused the native religion to disappear. The curriculum used is an imposed curriculum, imposed by the dominant society."[19] Criticism in *The Manitoban* targeted more than the university; the newspaper also offered critiques of broader education projects targeting Indigenous peoples:

> *"Before the Europeans [illegible] -ion, the Indians had a well-established system of educating their children in which all the members of the tribe participated […] They [the European colonisers and then the Canadian government] had a tragic effect on the Indian culture."*[20]

Indigenous students applied these ideas to institutions of higher learning, arguing that universities needed to foster a positive learning environment for Indigenous students and build a comprehensive education program that integrated Indigenous knowledges. Similar sentiments also reverberated throughout Indigenous organisations, in large part as a response to the government's 1969 policy paper. The 1969 *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* (the 'White Paper') proposed to dismantle the relationship between the government and Indigenous peoples by eliminating 'Indian' as a legal category. Although government officials claimed the statement articulated a plan to achieve greater equality among Canadian citizens, many perceived it as an abrogation of Indigenous rights. Provincial Indigenous organisations drafted response papers that took in account Indigenous perspectives. In Alberta the AIA prepared *Citizens Plus* (the 'Red Paper') and in Manitoba the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood wrote *Wahbung: Our Tomorrows*. Both these papers mentioned Indigenous knowledges in the context of broader social, political, and economic issues.

Consequently, emerging Indigenous Studies programs used Indigenous knowledges to structure their educational agenda. Where the epistemological and ontological foundations for teaching, learning, and researching emerged from Indigenous foundations, issues like colonisation and oppression were not depoliticised, nor was the course of study tailored towards non-Indigenous students. The Native Studies Department, which finally opened in 1974, pursued concrete, constructive outcomes that served the Indigenous community.[21]

Indigenous Pedagogies in Western Academia

In considering the actions Indigenous students took to introduce Indigenous studies into the academy, it is important to examine the intellectual traditions that excluded Indigenous knowledges in the first place. The Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, through the modes of thinking and practices they propagated, influenced Western educational models and academic structures.[22] Western

19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Willie Ermine, Raven Sinclair, Bonnie Jefferey "The Ethics of Research Involving Indigenous Peoples." *Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Health Research Centre to the Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics* (Saskatoon, 2004), 16.
22 Lambe, Jeff. "Some Considerations When Incorporating Indigenous Pedagogy into Native Studies," *The American Indian Quarterly*, 27 (2003), 311.

disciplines, and particularly the social sciences, colonised, estranged, and dehumanised Indigenous communities and individuals. Academics imagined Indigenous peoples as observable relics of the disappearing past or a sensationalised spiritual culture.[23] Academia also constructed an allochronistic depiction of Indigeneity, perpetuating a process whereby Indigenous people and Indigenous issues were excluded from higher education. Non-Indigenous scholars perceived Indigenous people who entered the academy as local informants, windows onto the Other rather than fellow academics.[24]

Students that read Indigeneity into Western intellectual disciplines encountered road blocks, both from the administration and from the academic disciplines themselves. The Eurocentric hegemony of knowledge production and the premise of a hierarchical structure of inquiry makes certain assumptions about the nature of knowledge and knowledge production. Humanities and social sciences value critical argumentative rhetoric, systemic logic, secularism, and rationalism.[25] Dialectical argumentative discourse provides a space for knowledge production only insofar as developments can be supported through 'objective' criteria.[26] Such an epistemology assumes that knowledge is essentially objective and produced in separate public spheres. Academic disciplines privilege a teleological notion of linear temporality, a duality between nature and culture, and a dialectical argumentative discourse of debate.[27] These assumptions posit Indigenous knowledges and worldviews as inferior and unacademic. Indigenous Studies often seeks to read a different historical, ontological, and epistemological narrative into dominant stories, and perceives history, truth, and reality in vastly different ways.[28] Indigenous traditions put more emphasis on compromise and balance than the inherently argumentative Western tradition. Additionally, Indigenous education links learning to language, land, and spirituality, accessing a cultural state and act of knowing that Western frameworks cannot envision.[29] By focusing on marginalised voices, critiquing stereotypes, and working outside traditionally academic media, Indigenous studies looks not only to incorporate Indigenous approaches in academic disciplines, but also to subvert the Western academic tradition.

Accommodating different perspectives requires recognising that European epistemologies cannot always express Indigenous knowledge appropriately. By challenging the Eurocentric hegemony over theoretical and intellectual production, Indigenous pedagogies engage in conversations that the dominant system often shies away from. Beyond teaching about power dynamics in the institution, they subvert them.

> *"A native studies program should be established at the university for all students... Indian or white. This would include Indian history prior to 1492 and after 1492, the Indian in North America Society (a general study of culture, modern problems, Indian organizations, attempted*

23 Michelle Gareau, "Colonization within the University System," *The American Indian Quarterly* 27 (2003), 196, 197.
24 Ibid., 197.
25 Lambe, 316.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid., pp. 308

solution etc.), predominate language courses in native languages and special courses for teachers during the summer. The present cross-culture education courses are open to all teachers but not all the teachers going into Indian-Metis schools take them."[30]

Students' demands exemplify the various orientations Indigenous studies can take. These orientations manifest as four distinct approaches: the first helps non-Indigenous students understand Indigenous world views, the second Indigenises the university and academic knowledge, the third fosters an environment where Indigenous people can understand their heritage and contextualise issues facing their communities, and the fourth helps Indigenous students adjust to academia.[31]

Inherent to debates over the nature of Western knowledge is its juxtaposition with other ways of knowing. There is profound harm in appropriating Indigenous knowledge through a process of translation into a dominant academic tradition.[32] The harm emerges not only in doing the translation work, but in the associated implications; it is problematic to translate information into a medium it was not intended for, and for an audience who was not intended to witness it. It is, in itself, an act of colonial disruption and dispossession. Western knowledge has historically intruded into Indigenous communities without consideration for Indigenous worldviews and self-determination, and misinterpreted or paternalistically spoken for Indigenous peoples.[33] Routing Indigenous peoples' discourses into Western social doctrines pulls them out of their inclusive context and into a marginalising, oppressive framework.[34] Indeed, this trauma extends beyond historical work to the whitewashing of Native Studies, the ongoing colonisation of Indigenous lands and bodies, and the widespread cultural appropriation that occurs on and off campus.

Given the authority with which Western traditions assign authenticity to certain attitudes, cultural values, and ways of knowing, maintaining 'subversive' beliefs presents a threat to the dominant society.[35] Indigenous Studies Programs are inherently subversive because they deconstruct hegemonic social science paradigms by reclaiming knowledges, histories, and experiences that have been occluded from academia.[36] Resistance against colonisation manifests everywhere: Indigenous students exercise agency by propagating Indigenous teachings and pedagogies, maintaining Indigenous traditions, or asserting a Pan-Indian identity.[37] Thus, the question of what constitutes valid knowledge is brought into the political realm of 'Indian nationalism.' Dave Courchene's speech, published in *The Manitoban,* expresses this political movement for cultural restoration and struggle against assimilation.

"You are part of a revolution, a social, political, and economic

30 *The Manitoban*, February 1, 1972
31 John A. Price, *Native studies: American and Canadian Indians* (New York: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978), 350.
32 Ibid., 349
33 Ermine, Sinclair, Jefferey "The Ethics of Research Involving Indigenous Peoples," 9, 12.
34 Ibid., 22.
35 George J Sefa Dei, Budd L Hall, Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg, *Indigenous knowledges in global contexts: multiple readings of our world*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2000), 4.
36 Ibid., 3.
37 Ibid.

upheaval […] The nature of our [illegible], our struggle, is Indian nationalism. The so-called 'Indian Problem' is the result [….] The past hundred years have almost brought us to cultural genocide […] bring about a cultural revolution to create a renewed respect for our heritage, our ancestors, our brothers, and ourselves."[38]

Indigenous students who established the Native Studies Department at the University of Manitoba asserted their position in a wider political and cultural movement, and from there articlulated their desire for a cultural revitalisation.

"We wanted to sensitize and take back our research; we wanted research on us, by us, from our perspective"[39] "We wish to study our history and our culture"[40] Beyond its role in cultural revitalisation, creating a forum for Indigenous studies granted Indigenous students recognition and visibility. Having an Indigenous studies program meant the university could not deny Indigenous students' existence, and thus had to acknowledge the ongoing colonisation of Indigenous communities. Creating the Native Studies Department was a political statement, a denial of erasure and assimilation, and part of a larger fight for survival. Kidwell, discussing the basis for dialogue between Indigenous communities and the academy, suggests that by creating a forum for critical reflections and interpretations on socio-political, cultural, and historical realities, Indigenous Studies programs created new spaces of exchange where students could explore issues deemed important by Indigenous communities.[41]

These spaces connected intellectual traditions, political activism, and traditional epistemologies.

Bridging two juxtaposed pedagogies requires constructing a space that recognises distinction and enables possibility. This space, "relative to cultures, is created by the recognition of the separate realities of histories, knowledge traditions, values, interests, and social, economic and political imperatives."[42] Contrasting systems always exist in tension with one another, and maintaining this tension is one of the challenges emerging Indigenous studies programs face. When academic institutions assume one system is more legitimate than another they risk folding "alternative" perspectives into a dominant tradition.

The insidious belief that European systems are universal, of the highest standard, and more valid than other means of constructing knowledge also fractures support for using Indigenous values to shape curricula.[43] Western academic models view legitimacy and validity as inherent to European intellectual traditions.[44] Western institutions dismiss Indigenous values, motivations, and teachers as un-academic and value academic credentials above experience. This belief combines with social oppression and racism to privilege white scholarship on Indigenous issues over Indigenous teachings and arguments. IMESA and its allies formulated a proposal for the Native Studies Department that combatted this inequality from the get-go. The

38 *The Manitoban*, February 1, 1972
39 Kinew, 5
40 Ibid., 6
41 Kidwell, 11.
42 Ermine, Sinclair, Jefferey "The Ethics of Research Involving Indigenous Peoples," 20.
43 Lambe, 319.
44 Ermine, Sinclair, Jefferey "The Ethics of Research Involving Indigenous Peoples," 16.

department they had in mind, "would also include full professors who have not had the required formal education. A degree would not guarantee knowledge in the Indian culture [...] There are many persons in the community with extensive experience and knowledge in the Indian culture who could teach the native studies."[45] The Native Studies Department disputed the Eurocentric claims that privileged Western knowledges as objective and absolute.

Conclusion

Indigenous ways of 'knowing' and 'seeing' must be recognised as valid by Western academia. By relegating Indigenous knowledge to the realm of un-academic, illegitimate belief, the Western intellectual tradition denies Indigenous peoples' claims to modernity, autonomy, and civilisation. "The first level of violence unleashed on local systems of knowledge is not to see them as knowledge."[46] Ordering knowledges inscribes violence by negating and denying beliefs that fall outside normative or dominant ideologies.

The creation of the Native Studies department expressed resistance to the appropriative nature of academia and reclaimed Indigenous histories, raised awareness about Indigenous issues, and validated Indigenous knowledges and narratives. By breaking down stereotypes and calling for recognition in these ways, the project embroiled itself in the political activism surrounding civil and minority rights, and increased awareness about the experiences of oppressed and marginalised groups. Forty years later, the program continues to challenge existing institutional paradigms and engage in critical examinations of issues affecting Indigenous communities. With the continued growth and reinvigoration of Indigenous studies at the university, it will be interesting to see how the University of Manitoba - and other universities in Canada - will continue to approach the field.

45 *The Manitoban*, February 1, 1972
46 Vandana Shiva, *Monocultures of the Mind* (New York: Zed Books LTD, 1993), 10.

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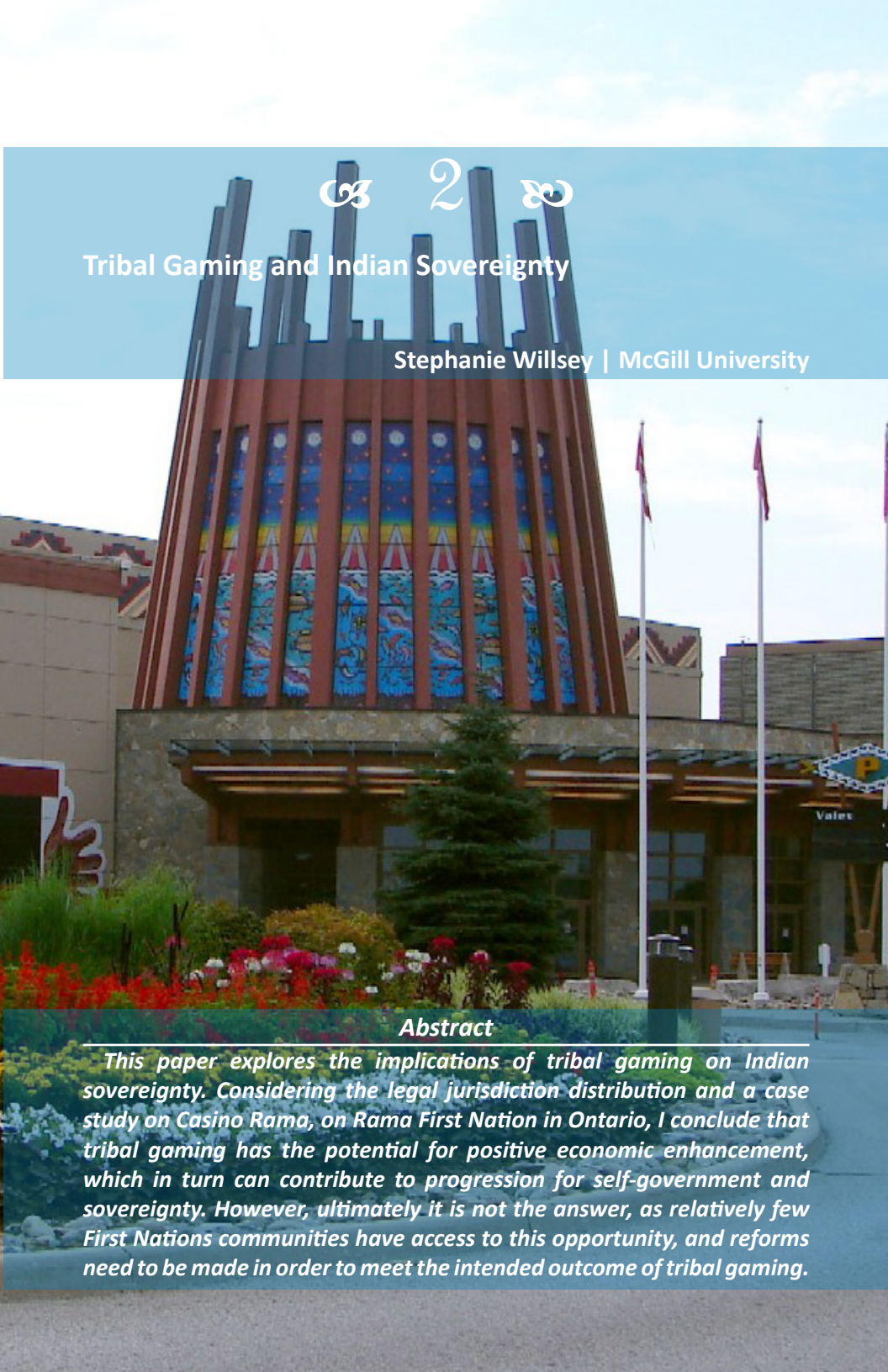

2

Tribal Gaming and Indian Sovereignty

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Abstract

This paper explores the implications of tribal gaming on Indian sovereignty. Considering the legal jurisdiction distribution and a case study on Casino Rama, on Rama First Nation in Ontario, I conclude that tribal gaming has the potential for positive economic enhancement, which in turn can contribute to progression for self-government and sovereignty. However, ultimately it is not the answer, as relatively few First Nations communities have access to this opportunity, and reforms need to be made in order to meet the intended outcome of tribal gaming.

Stephanie is of Ojibwe descent and a proud member of the Chippewas of Rama First Nation in southern Ontario. She will be graduating from McGill University this spring with concentrations in Sociology, Political Science, and Philosophy, and will be attending Allard Hall at the University of British Columbia in the fall for Law School.

1. Introduction

Throughout this paper I will consider the question: does tribal gaming contribute to Indian sovereignty? And if gaming does contribute, in what manner does it do so? Considering the aforementioned questions, I will begin by explaining what tribal gaming is. I will then provide an overview of the federal, provincial, and First Nations jurisdictional framework governing tribal gaming. Because of the complexity of overlapping jurisdiction and differing provincial policies, I will focus on tribal gaming exclusively in Ontario. Ultimately, I will argue that the revenue derived from tribal gaming contributes to Indian economic and political sovereignty. I will present a case study focusing on Casino Rama—which has been considered Canada's most successful First Nations casino and most economically developed reserve land—in order to illustrate my argument. Additionally, I will discuss some counter arguments: namely, the negative consequences associated with Indian gaming, its failure to improve employment opportunities, the unsatisfied First Nations' perspective, the fact that the effects are largely limited to the local level, and lastly, that the limited research available disables conclusive claims on the matter. In closing, I will discuss some potential reforms.

2. What is Tribal Gaming?

Gaming has been a traditional and cultural practice within First Nations communities for generations, and its roots can be traced to rudimentary bone or stick games (BCAFN 2011). In the modern era, tribal gaming includes casinos, bingo halls, and other gambling activities and operations housed on Indian reserves in Canada. Tribal gaming arrived relatively recently on the Canadian gaming landscape and it is a rapidly expanding segment within the industry. Its revenues are starting to help First Nations communities move towards diversified economic bases, and have vastly improved social and community services on reserves (Kelley 2002).

3. Legal Jurisdiction

The federal, provincial, and First Nations jurisdiction of tribal gaming in Canada is complex. Prior to 1985, the federal government had jurisdiction over gambling practices under the *Criminal Code of Canada* (BCAFN 2011). It held jurisdiction via s. 91(27) of the *Constitution Act* of 1867 (BCAFN 2011). Under Part VII of the *Criminal Code of Canada*, all forms of gaming were deemed illegal, with the exception set out in s. 207 that permitted provincial management and conduct of "lottery schemes" (BCAFN 2011). Lottery schemes include bingo, table, card, and wheel games, which are generally played at casinos.

In 1985 control was transferred completely to the provincial governments, causing significant changes regarding the management and conduct of gaming. (BCAFN

2011). Under the agreement, the federal government of Canada agreed to "refrain from re-entering the field of gaming and betting… and to ensure that the rights of the provinces in that field are not reduced or restricted" (BCAFN 2011). The federal government also agreed to amend the *Criminal Code of Canada* to divest itself of any capacity to conduct lottery schemes (BCAFN 2011). In consideration of these undertakings, Canadian provinces agreed to pay $100 million dollars to the federal government (BCAFN 2011).

To date, the Supreme Court of Canada has explicitly rejected First Nations' claims to an inherent right to conduct gaming activities (BCAFN 2011). Moreover, the Supreme Court of Canada, in *R. v. Pamajewon* (1996), held that the regulation of gaming was not an integral part of the cultures of two Ontario First Nations at the time of European contact (BCAFN 2011). It ruled that the First Nations bringing the case had not established an adequate factual basis to meet the test for an 'Aboriginal right.' First Nations interests were not considered in the 1985 agreement, notwithstanding that the federal government has jurisdiction over "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians" under s. 91(24) of the *Constitution Act* of 1867 (BCAFN 2011).

However, the *Indian Act* safeguards the right for First Nations peoples to regulate gaming activities within the confines of their reserves (BCAFN 2011). Section 81(1)(m) of the *Indian Act* stipulates that the council of a band may make by-laws consistent with this Act or with any regulation made by the Governor-in-Council or the ministers for purposes such as (m) the control and prohibition of public games, sports, races, athletic contests and other amusements. However, they are subject to ministerial disallowance under s. 82(2) of the *Indian Act*. Moreover, First Nations have jurisdiction over gaming on First Nations lands in virtue of the right of self-government, which is constitutionally protected by s. 35(1) of the *Constitution Act* of 1982 (BCAFN 2011).

Considering the aforementioned polices, there is considerable ambiguity in determining to what extent laws apply to First Nations. Overall, there are no nation-wide sectoral governance initiatives between the government of Canada and First Nations gaming (BCAFN 2011). However, there are a number of sectoral gaming arrangements between the provinces and First Nations.

4. Tribal Gaming in Ontario

The initial plan for First Nations casinos in Ontario was established in the early 1990s (Manitowabi 2011). The Chiefs of Ontario strategically determined that, rather than having multiple competing reserve-based casinos, one property should be established on an Ontario First Nation reserve; the employment and revenue generated by this one property would, in turn, benefit all Indigenous communities in the province (Casino Rama Revenue Agreement 2000). However, the New Democratic provincial government had concurrently been considering developing new casinos in Ontario when informed of the Chiefs of Ontario's intentions. Consequently, the two branches of jurisdiction—the provincial government of Ontario and the Chiefs of Ontario—forged a new joint agreement to establish only one casino so that new provincial and First Nations casinos would

not compete with one another. The Chiefs of Ontario invited all First Nations to submit proposals to host the casino (Manitowabi 2011); fourteen submitted proposals, and the community of Rama (also referred to as the Mnjikaning First Nation, located approximately 100 kilometers north of Toronto), was selected based on its location, experience with tourism, and widespread community support for the project (Manitowabi 2011).

However, since that time the agreements and restrictions have changed yet again allowing other First Nations communities to apply for permission through the Ontario Lottery and Gaming Commission (AGCO 2014). In Ontario, there are 134 First Nations communities, yet only three First Nations communities host casinos: Casino Rama located outside of Orillia, Golden Eagle Charity Casino situated in Kenora, and Great Blue Heron Charity Casino located in Port Perry (BCAFN 2011). From its inception in 1996, Casino Rama has been one of the most successful casinos in Canada. It is a joint venture with the government of Ontario and Ontario First Nations, with the goal to establish a for-profit casino for Ontario's Indigenous peoples. Profits are shared equally among all First Nations in the province in accordance with a Gaming Revenue Sharing and Financial Agreement signed by the provincial government and the Chiefs of Ontario in 2008 (BCAFN 2011). An additional agreement was drafted and signed by the Ontario Lottery and Gaming Corporation and the Chippewas of Mnjikaning First Nation to ensure the continued operation of the casino on First Nation lands (BCAFN 2011).

Based on the success of Casino Rama, it may seem surprising that more of First Nations communities in Ontario have not opened casinos. This is partially explicable by the onerous and complex process required to obtain provincial approval. First Nations communities are required to apply and enter into a highly regulated and monitored long-term gaming agreement with the government of Ontario in order to establish First Nation Licensing Authorities (BCAFN 2011). The procedure to apply for a gaming operating facility is administered through the Ontario Alcohol and Gaming Commission in Ontario (also known as the AGCO) and it is a lengthy multi-step process that spans a pre-qualification stage, a qualification period, and an approval phase (AGCO 2014). To date, in all the cases where First Nations communities have applied, on the belief their communities meet the standard for qualification, they have found their applications have failed to receive approval.

5. Economic & Political Sovereignty

There is considerable evidence to support the claim that tribal gaming has heightened Indigenous sovereignty because revenues have reduced community dependence on funding from federal and provincial governments (Kelley 2002). Integral to my argument is the premise that political sovereignty for Aboriginal communities is a product of establishing economic sovereignty. Without economic sovereignty Indigenous communities will remain dependent on governmental support at the provincial and federal levels, and in necessity, would be pressured to relinquish their self-control. Prior to the establishment of tribal gambling, many First Nations communities

experienced tragic conditions (Kelley 2002); poverty, unemployment, substance abuse, and health problems existed at a much higher rate than in neighboring communities. The growth of the Indian gaming industry has stimulated, at the very least, a primary level of economic development on the reservations and has allowed for improvements in the standard of living and social welfare among band members. Revenues support vital tribal government services, financing tribal courts, community-based law enforcement, upgraded fire protection services, as well as water treatment and waste disposal programs (Kelley 2002). There has been an accompanying development to local infrastructure including roads and environmental programs, as well as enhanced financial support for social welfare, health care and educational initiatives (Basham and White 2002). With these improvements, Indigenous peoples are able to more effectively self-govern, form their own political organizations around their self-determined priorities, and free themselves from federal and provincial assistance and control.

Moreover, on-reserve casinos offer the community substantive high-income career opportunities in a variety of trades and management (Kelley 2002). Employment opportunities on reserve lands have historically been bleak, forcing band members either to seek employment off the reserve or seek assistance through welfare and other programs. With the introduction of employment opportunities, Indigenous peoples are able to build skills and enhance their career aspirations while remaining on the reserve, all of which further contributes to their economic sovereignty. Overall, without the economic support from tribal gaming, First Nations peoples would be less equipped to exercise their economic and political sovereignty, as they would be dependent on the federal and provincial governments for financial support (Kelley 2002).

6. Case Study: Casino Rama

Casino Rama is one of the most successful casinos in Canada, and is by far the most successful First Nations casino in the country (Seaman et al 2011). It opened on the Chippewas of Rama First Nation territory in 1996. It has enjoyed Ontario provincial government authorization to operate and thereby has not had to contend with various types of government conflicts as among many other First Nations casinos throughout the country.

Much of Casino Rama's success may be attributed to its geographic location. Located 100 kilometers north of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), its proximity has proven itself ideal, particularly in light of the sustained growth of communities such as Vaughan and Markham to the immediate north of Toronto (Seaman et al 2011). The GTA's population of over five million has afforded a substantial customer base that has been crucial to the casino's commercial success. Proximal to the Muskoka tourist region, Casino Rama provides a convenient entertainment outlet for cottagers and travelers boating on the well-established Trent-Severn Waterway. Since opening 19 years ago the Casino Rama property has boasted gross revenues over $5.2 billion dollars (Bruser 2010), with the annual operating revenues at approximately $500 million (Seaman et al 2011).

Upon opening, one-third of the net profit had been given to the hosting Chippewas of Rama while the

remaining two-thirds were distributed equally among the other 133 of the province's First Nations communities (Bruser 2010). In 2001 controversy arose between the Chippewas of Rama and the provincial government on this matter (Bruser 2010). The Chippewas claimed that the original deal they had signed guaranteed them 35% of net revenues in perpetuity in exchange for hosting the casino on its land, while the provincial government claimed that the Rama was entitled to the 35% only for the first five years of operation after which the profit would be distributed evenly amongst all 134 of the province's First Nations communities (including Rama). In 2010, after 14 years in operation, an agreement was finally struck between the Chippewas and the province that guaranteed the Rama First Nation a share of the operating revenues equal to their fellow First Nations communities in Ontario.

This ruling of course has had both positive and negative consequences. There remains considerable unease amongst the First Nations over the revenue sharing agreement, which has caused resentment amongst the people of Rama. Moreover, many reserves' infrastructures are seemingly 20 years behind their neighboring municipalities; due to this lack of infrastructure, surrounding First Nations communities feel they deserve a bigger share than Rama (Bruser 2010). On the other hand, the current revenue sharing agreement provides for some assistance to reserves, providing them with the funding to acquire basic necessities. However, a much larger share would be necessary to make substantive upgrades in infrastructure and services on reserves, including more affordable housing, improved education programs, sanitation, and social programs (Bruser 2010).

Casino Rama has certainly contributed to the development of infrastructure on the reserve. In addition to the casino, a 300-room luxury hotel, spa, health club, restaurants, bars, and a 5,000 seat state-of-the-art theatre has been built on the property (Seaman et al 2011). Moreover, Casino Rama is the largest employer of First Nations peoples in Canada (Seaman et al 2011). In 2002, it was reported that the total workforce was 3,500 of which 750 were Aboriginal (Manitowabi 2011). Unfortunately, upon more in-depth research, Manitowabi (2011) found that the majority of Aboriginal employment positions were contractually limited, entry-level positions with a high turnover rate. Thereby, the employment figures do not present evidence of an overwhelming Native employment success story. Although it is still a large boost to Native employment prospects in Ontario, and there have been a number of Aboriginals who have developed the skills to succeed and develop career paths that did not exist before, Casino Rama does not promote and develop Aboriginals as enthusiastically as it could.

In addition to contributing to the economic and political sovereignty of the reserve, Casino Rama has made a concerted effort to promote and market Chippewa culture. There are many First Nations cultural events hosted on the property, an art shop featuring the work of many Indigenous artists, and the facility has been decorated with numerous large-scale murals made by local Aboriginal artists. The architecture celebrates the Ojibway culture and a focal atrium in the building features an automated multi-media show highlighting the local history of the Ojibway people.

Since the Casino opened in 1996 there have been a number of state-of-the-art facilities built servicing the local community. These include a new fire station, a new police detachment headquarters, a seniors' housing complex, an elementary school, a pre-school childcare facility, a hockey arena and recreational complex, a library and cultural offices, a community health care clinic, and the Mnjikaning First Nations government offices (Williams 2014). In addition, several hundred homes have been constructed on the reserve. Municipal services in Mnjikaning stand in stark contrast to the vast majority of conditions on reserves in other areas of Ontario. Clearly, the revenues generated through Casino Rama have contributed greatly to the economic sovereignty of the local Chippewas community.

7. Counterarguments

7.1 Negative Consequences of Tribal Gaming

There is considerable debate that First Nations peoples should not be given jurisdiction over gambling for the reason that it would facilitate and provoke greater issues among the community (Kelley 2002). Eleven studies have found that the Aboriginal population is 2 to 16 times more likely to develop gambling addictions than the non-Aboriginal population (Wardman 2001). In a survey conducted among several hundreds of reserve residents in Alberta, the results showed that individuals reported spending $2,000 per year on gambling, which is four times the national average, and 47% of respondents were considered to be "high-risk" gamblers (Stevens 2006). Thereby, despite the prospect for economic and political advancement, tribal gaming may not be a desirable option for First Nations communities that would rather avoid these prospective negative consequences of having a casino on their territory.

7.2 Lack of Employment Improvement

There are also some indications that the initial exuberance to develop First Nations casinos as an engine for economic development and Native employment has stalled. According to an executive at Casino Rama (Willsey 2014), the establishment eliminated its First Nations Affairs Department in 2013—which assured significant First Nations employment with affirmative action-like policies—and Aboriginal employment has dropped from 750 to approximately 300 since the casino's opening (Wassegijig 2002). Additionally, Manitowabi (2011) found that the majority of Aboriginal employment positions were contractually limited, entry-level positions with a high turnover rate; thereby, the employment figures do not present evidence of an overwhelming Native employment success story. The Mnjikaning Reserve continues to actively solicit industrial development but to date has not been successful in luring business to its municipal industrial park nor has it experienced any significant commercial development. While there are numerous exceptional public services on the reserve, it is difficult identify instances in which the casino's development has provided a catalyst for Indigenous entrepreneurship throughout the community. Thus, the opportunity for employment and economic development for members of First Nations communities may be overstated.

7.3 The Unsatisfied First Nations Perspective

Overall, First Nations' peoples are dissatisfied with the current gaming agreements and their effects. Many First Nations leaders resist and oppose the requirement to seek provincial approval to conduct gambling on reserve lands (Skea 1997). They claim that as a distinct and sovereign nation—whose lands are not under provincial jurisdiction—they ought to have the right to conduct on-reserve gambling activities without requesting permission or adhering to provincial gaming regulations. As briefly aforementioned earlier in this paper, this issue was brought before the Supreme Court of Canada in *R. v. Pamajewon* (1996), in which the Shawanaga and Eagle Lake First Nations both passed bylaws to allow for-profit gambling activities, without seeking provincial approval (Kelley 2002). The reserves were charged with keeping a common gaming house contrary to s. 201(1) of the *Criminal Code of Canada*. Both First Nations communities argued the provincial laws were invalid, as this section of the act did not pertain to them due to its violation of the right of Aboriginal self-government protected within s. 35 of the Canadian *Constitution*. Despite their arguments, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the province and found that while small stakes gambling may have been a defining feature of Aboriginal culture prior to contact with Europeans, high stakes, for-profit gambling activities certainly were not (Morse 1997). Thus, this ruling granted, or essentially reaffirmed, provincial authority as the sole legislative power regulating gambling activities in Canada. Many First Nations communities remain unsatisfied and in disagreement with the decision.

Moreover, a band council member from Rama First Nation, Ted Williams (2014) explains that self-government is an elusive concept and has various meanings among First Nations communities. However, he claims that it is generally agreed across First Nations communities that casinos are a means to develop cash flow and support self-sufficiency, so whether or not the definition is the same the opportunity remains appealing to all First Nations communities. Many First Nations communities would like a casino and have applied to open one but have been under review of the provincial government and are finding that approval has been a long process with no prospect of results in the near future (Williams 2014). Provincial gaming corporations see the market as saturated and do not perceive other First Nations communities as achieving the same success as Rama. Members of the Rama band council, as well as workers at Casino Rama, recommend that other First Nations communities interested in pursuing gaming developments should partner with a business experienced in the gaming industry in order to gain approval (Willsey 2014). For example, Casino Rama's operations are overseen by Penn National, a company with substantial gaming experience.

7.4 Local Level Limitation

The impact of tribal gaming on economic and political sovereignty is most noticeable at the local level; operating agreements and land lease revenues have the most impact on the host reserve. In recent years, province-initiated gaming facilities have become convenient sources of public funding and the gaming market has become increasingly saturated as

more provincial gambling venues are opened. While on the surface tribal gaming may seem to provide the key to enhanced Indigenous autonomy, the unfortunate reality is that it is an opportunity that relatively few First Nations communities have access to.

While state-of-the-art municipal facilities have erupted on the Mnjikaning Reserve over the past 20 years, conditions remain desperate in the majority of other Aboriginal communities, particularly in the remote northern regions (Willsey 2014). It is suggested that tribal gaming is primarily a local effect, and has limited potential to enhance First Nations sovereignty in many Indigenous communities due to their isolation. Casino Rama and Great Blue Heron benefit from their proximity to key gaming markets, while the majority of First Nations reserves are located far from major markets.

7.5 Research Limitations

The research presented suggests tha First Nations casinos can contribute to Indigenous economic and political sovereignty, and while this appears to be the case, it is important to note that there has been very limited research to date. Gaming operations are characteristically guarded in the release of revenues and the actual costs and margins are further obscured by the intense level of complementary services employed by the industry at sustaining player wagering. Cash back, complementary hotels, shows, as well as food and beverage services allow the gaming industry to transfer costs and associated profitability between operating divisions with profound implications. Moreover, there is a noticeable absence of economic studies targeting the potential spin-off industries within First Nations communities developed in response to the establishment of casinos on reserve territories. Moreover, social costs and benefits are extremely hard to quantify but have critical implications in evaluating the negative effects that tribal gaming has had on First Nations communities (Stevens et al 2004). The social and economic costs of problem gamblers and related issues of family financial stress, substance abuse, and the erosion of community networks and activities all must be researched and incorporated in the equation.

The impacts may also vary depending on the nature of the gaming venue. For example, depending on whether the casino is more of a tourist or resort destination in a remote area, or if it is in a city, will make a difference on how it affects people (Stevens, et al. 2004). Destination or resort casinos tend to be strongest at job creation and mitigating negative effects. This is why Casino Rama has been so successful in comparison to other First Nations casinos. While urban casinos are monopolies within their local market and therefore produce high profits, they are more likely to create a monetary loss in the local economy, create less jobs and establish less economic benefits than destination casinos (Stevens, et al. 2004). The precise type of gambling offered will influence the local economy differently. To provide another example, electronic gambling techniques such as slot machines create relatively few new jobs and economic gains. Thereby, it may not be possible to extrapolate the impacts that tribal gaming contributes to Indigenous economic and political sovereignty; contrarily, in many cases more detailed research is required to make the claim that tribal gaming enhances Indigenous

economic and political sovereignty.

8. Concluding Remarks & Potential Future Reforms

Overall, I have presented what tribal gaming is, the legal jurisdiction, and how it has subsidized First Nations economic and political sovereignty in Canada through its revenues. Due to the variability of provincial policies, I have focused exclusively on tribal gaming facilities and policies in Ontario. The effects of tribal gaming are generally positive; in the case of Casino Rama, there is strong evidence that gaming revenues can dramatically enhance the level of municipal services and critical infrastructure on the reserve, providing enormous benefits in the forms of political organization, schools, medical care, police and social services. Yet there are still areas in which the economic benefits of the gaming operation have not been maximized. Rama remains highly dependent on the success of the casino, with very few new on-reserve businesses opening since its establishment. To date, the only true commercial success stories in Mnjikaning are a handful of tobacco retailers and a high volume gas station and convenience store. Native employment within the facility has steadily declined since opening, providing fewer and fewer opportunities particularly at the management level and indications that the facility is no longer committed to this initiative. In essence, much more work is needed to maximize the contribution that tribal gaming can make in furthering the economic and political sovereignty of the First Nations.

I propose that future reforms target three main areas:

How the provincial and federal governments can assist those First Nations communities who are in a position to successfully engage in tribal gaming opportunities. I think an effective and positive first step would be to reform the provincial application process, including shortening the time frame and setting a target number of new First Nations casino properties to be opened. Provinces need to actively participate and assist the applicants in the evaluation of potential markets and their feasibility.

How the benefits can be distributed more effectively among the typically remote communities that will never be able to participate directly in tribal gaming. I propose the remote First Nations communities that would be unable to open a casino should receive a larger share of First Nations casino profits to make up for their lack of ability to form and sustain the industry.

How gaming revenues can be used to diversify First Nations economic prospects to create prosperity in other areas that will, in turn, enhance political sovereignty. The provinces should actively assist the First Nations properties in the development of economic diversification and eliminate dependency on strictly casino profits, to facilitate long-term stability for the local economy. The provinces should encourage First Nations communities to foster development in other industries, such as: shopping centers, entertainment centers, theme parks, and so on.

In conclusion, tribal gaming is generally a positive first step towards enhanced Indigenous economic and political sovereignty. However, it is not the complete answer and reforms need to be made in order to meet the intended outcomes of First Nations casinos.

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3

The Deconstruction of Place Meanings and the Forging of a New Civic Identity in Vancouver

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Abstract

The Burrard Inlet and Fraser River region of what is now Greater Vancouver have long been a place of gathering, travel and settlement for Musqueam, Squamish, Tsawassan, Semiahmoo and members of the Stó:lō Nation among others. Using the 1928 Plan for the City of Vancouver and other primary sources, this paper explains how modern-day Vancouver was created as a new immigrant city, seemingly devoid of the Indigenous presence that had long existed upon the territory. In order to replace and overwrite thousands of years of history and meaningful connection between Indigenous peoples and their land, a new set of meanings had to be imposed on the physical environment - comprised of names and geographical reference points from a Eurocentric epistemological framework. The City Plan played a significant role in this process of historical re-writing and erasure, and in perpetuating deep misconceptions that continue to lie at the core of Vancouver's historical and cultural identity to this day.

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Vancouver, as it is known today, originated in 1886 as a port city at the western terminus of the Trans-Canada Railway. In 1928, when the Plan for the City of Vancouver was drafted by Harland Bartholomew + Associates, the exploitation of the city's potential for industrial development and trade possibilities was already well underway. The authors stated,

> *"It is suggested that, scanning the world over, it would be hard to find a city which, in addition to being practically the sole port of half a continent, inhabited by a progressive and increasing population, has on its outskirts a river valley with great agricultural possibilities, with a hinterland rich in minerals, lumber and raw materials for manufacture, and adjoining at the moderate distance of five hundred miles the greatest granary of the world. Can any city claim an equal situation?"* [1]

At the time that this document was written, the well-situated city was in the process of becoming the Vancouver of today - internationally renowned for its livability, natural beauty, multiculturalism and progressive ideals regarding social values and the environment. The city and the province of British Columbia, however, were built upon a strongly enforced myth that the landscape had been an empty, blank slate for the taking and devoid of any pre-existing cultural meanings, names, peoples, or territorial claims. Any Indigenous presence or historical evidence that ran counter to this myth posed a threat to the colonial expansion in what is now British Columbia and to the new world that officials and settlers were attempting to create. As such, these elements and voices were systematically erased, undermined and devalued. Cole Harris refers to this process as the "decentralization of Coyote's world in the land of Coyote." [2]

Every culture derives meaning from the landscapes they reside in. Thomas Thornton defines place as a "framed space that is meaningful to a person or group over time."[3] Cultural understanding of landscape encompasses sense of time, space, history and the network of relationships between people, non-human entities and the physical environment. In the development of personal and cultural identity, connection to place and the significance and meaning of the place is integral. Over time, places "gather" ideas, memories, expectations and ways of knowing the physical world among people.[4] The Burrard Inlet and Fraser River region of what is now Greater Vancouver have long been a place of gathering, travel and settlement for Musqueam, Squamish, Tsawassan, Semiahmoo and members of the Stó:lō Nation among others. In order to replace and overwrite thousands of years of history and meaningful connection between these peoples and their land, a new set of meanings had to be imposed on the physical environment - comprised of names and

reference points from the Eurocentric epistemological framework that most settlers operated within. This paper seeks to illustrate how Vancouver was created as a new immigrant city, seemingly devoid of an Indigenous presence that had long existed upon the territory. How was it possible to swiftly and thoroughly remove these populations from their land and impose an entirely new and foreign epistemology and set of meanings on the landscape? This required a large-scale, calculated and determined upheaval of pre-existing Indigenous relationships to what is now Vancouver and the Lower Mainland and the deliberate creation of meaningful connections between settlers and their new physical environment.

> *"The history of the townsite ... commences with the constitutional history of the mainland of British Columbia. The Gold rush to the Cariboo in 1858 had attracted the attention of the Imperial authorities, and the mainland of British Columbia was organized as a separate colony and placed under the control of Sir James Douglas, who was already Governor of Vancouver Island."* [5]

According to the City Plan, history in Vancouver and British Columbia only began with the mass arrival of white settlers in the late nineteenth century and the formal imposition of their legal and constitutional control over the landscape. The authors claim that, preceding Douglas' appointment, "there were only indiscriminate squattings of adventurous settlers in a wild country." [6] In addition, referring to the "birth" of the "infant city" of Vancouver in 1886 when it was incorporated into Dominion Canada, indicates both the ignorance and the deliberate rhetoric that pervaded the sense of history and place among settlers in the territory.[7] The suggestion is that nothing existed on the land before white settlement or, if it did, it was not worthy of mention. By not acknowledging Indigenous presence or the history of British Columbia before 1858, the city plan undermined alternate claims to territorial legitimacy, and furthered the forging of a "new" history and culture on the land.

> *"We, the Musqueam people, have lived in our traditional territory - the lands and waters now known as the Lower Mainland of BC and encompassing the greater Vancouver region - for several thousands of years ... Our oral history tells of a connection to these lands and waters since time immemorial."* [8]

Although they were ignored in the City Plan and have often gone unheard, voices like the ones above continue to assert the long, even timeless, history of Indigenous peoples in what is now Vancouver and British Columbia. This conviction and claim to the land since time immemorial is extremely threatening to the founding mythologies of Vancouver, and the sense of unchallenged and hegemonic legitimacy upon the territory. A landscape filled with stories and meaning is much more difficult to lay claim to than one that has been de-historicized and de-contextualized of its significance.

> *"Few cities possess such a combination of nearby natural resources, a splendid harbour, a terrain ideally suited for urban use,*

> *an equable climate and a setting of great natural beauty. Vancouver is the most important Pacific port of a great country. Here, if anywhere, would develop a great city."*[9]

In Vancouver, where Euro-Canadian settlers lacked any historical or cultural roots, the natural beauty and physical environment played a central role in developing a sense of place, community and identity. Newcomers with diverse religions, goals and motivations for immigrating could collectively create a place-based identity, from their shared experience of the surrounding nature. Cole Harris discusses how, even now, British Columbia is still an immigrant society, in which people are somewhat "perched" in a place that was unknown to outsiders as recently as 200 years ago.[10] The creation of a sense of place and legitimacy upon the land was built upon romanticized images and mythologies of British Columbia as a vast, beautiful, bountiful landscape, empty of humans. Misinformation, religiously-infused conceptions of the land and colonial arrogance have pervaded the consciousness of white settler society and have helped to justify the removal and erasure of Indigenous peoples since BC's beginnings.

Though the northwest coast of North America was as densely populated as other zones in the western hemisphere, the devastating effect of European diseases on local Indigenous populations fueled the myth of an unpopulated and "empty land." Historians have estimated that smallpox reached the Strait of Georgia by 1782, before Galiano or Vancouver had even arrived in the region. In his journals, George Vancouver documented the extensive and recent depopulation in BC, illustrated by the deserted villages he encountered in Burrard Inlet (today's Vancouver), Howe Sound, Jervis Inlet, Puget Sound and the Strait of Georgia.[11] Bob Joe of the Stó:lō, stated that the Chilliwack area, like many others around the Lower Mainland and British Columbia, was formerly populated a "thousand to one, comparing [to] the population today."[12] While the enormity of this event played a central role in the shaping of colonial British Columbia, the devastation of the region's Indigenous peoples by European diseases has been largely ignored. The idea of a disease-induced depopulation of Indigenous peoples from the land ran counter to the conception of Europeans bringing only enlightenment and civilization to these "savage" peoples.[13] This, and other elements of BC's history that are incompatible with the province's founding mythology are therefore not included in the dominant, non-Indigenous narrative. In the 1928 City Plan, Indigenous history and incriminating episodes of injustice from the settler society are not addressed. This merely illustrates an example of the "white-streaming" of history, in which relevant, but controversial material is excluded from the dominant narrative.[14] Disregarding the history of Indigenous peoples and settler colonialism in British Columbia aided in the devaluing of Indigenous epistemologies and relationship to the land as well.

An investigation of the system of place-naming among Indigenous populations is important in further recognizing these differences and understanding how and why Indigenous place names have long been

devalued and ignored. These names are fascinating "boxes of daylight ... that can shed immeasurable light on the land, culture, and identity" of Indigenous peoples in British Columbia.[15] When translated or ignored, the meanings and the knowledge embedded in these names are lost both to Indigenous peoples and to settlers alike. Thomas Thornton's work with the Tlingit in Southeastern Alaska found that oral cultures that operate without written records, pass down place names and knowledge through spatial memory. As opposed to European conceptions of mapping and naming, oral cultures have what Thornton calls a "mental economy" in which only "salient cultural sites" such as productive hunting, fishing, gathering places and navigational and historical landmarks are worth remembering and naming.[16] This means that there are large areas or landscape features without names. Another difference is that, at times, a notable feature such as a mountain will not have a name, though portions of the mountain, or specific rocks upon it will have names.[17] In literate societies, unnamed space is considered unused, and in colonial territories "blank spaces on the map seem to [have stimulated] the naming impulse" among explorers and colonial officials. [18]

In contrast to the European system of naming, which is mostly based upon biographical or nostalgic references to other places, Indigenous place names in what is now British Columbia often convey clear information about the specific site or landscape feature. Names can carry knowledge regarding subsistence, travel and the spatial relationship between different locations, while making connections between the sacred, moral and historical aspects of a people.[19] Thornton states that the "English name set is topographically impoverished in comparison" to the rich network of knowledge that Indigenous place names suggest and uphold.[20] The Musqueam Indian Band explains how in their language, hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓, "there exists words and phrases that cannot be translated into English, many of which communicate thoughts and ideas too complex ... One word may have a variety of related meanings, each with a basis in oral tradition and Musqueam history."[21] Franz Boas, writing in the early 20th century, also recognized that "the translation of the Kwakiutl names are not always easy and a fair number are untranslatable" because of their dense linguistic nature and rich meanings.[22] The naming of places within oral cultures is a way of writing history onto the land. As such, a confluence between historical understanding and physical landscape become inextricably connected, with places acting as repositories of knowledge and teachings passed down through generations.[23] From her work among the Gitskan, Leslie Main Johnson found that names operated as "mnemonic pegs on which to hang ... information about places and the nature of the land" and signal the historical presence of peoples within their territory.[24] Misunderstood or seen as epistemologically invalid or inferior, Indigenous place names were often ignored and replaced by Euro-Canadian colonists and settlers in British Columbia.

The 1928 City Plan made use of all new place names and geographical reference points on the map of

Vancouver. Names were (and are today) mostly linked to European locations and people, or officials of the recently established province of British Columbia. Names such as Seymour, Trutch, Trimble, Douglas, Fraser, Blenheim, Dunbar, Granville, Hastings and countless others were deliberately grafted onto Vancouver's map in order to import references from previous European cultures and spaces, and to create a new cultural connection to figures in British Columbia's history. This mode of naming was a way to imprint European epistemologies on the land, and is indicative of the creation of a semblance of legitimacy and localized history that occurred across colonial territories.

The disregard of pre-existing place names illustrates just one of the ways in which Vancouver was de-historicized and de-contextualized by colonialism and the mass influx of settlers with entirely new epistemologies and cultural reference points. The overhaul of Indigenous presence on the land and the physical and symbolic replacement with meaningful elements of a new and growing Euro-Canadian culture were all part of the process of creating the semblance of legitimacy on recently dispossessed land. The City Plan stated that the Vancouver must become a "remembered city, a beloved city, not by its ability to manufacture or to sell, but by its ability to create and hold bits of sheer beauty and loveliness."[25] As with any place and the peoples that reside in it, a sense of territoriality and pride comes from connection, comprehension and identity localized in space. In addition to the new names on the land in and around Vancouver, the City Plan aimed to install monuments around the city to "terminate vistas, occupy commanding positions, have dominance over their surroundings, be permitted to tell their story without disturbance, make positive contributions to the adornment of the city."[26] The authors of the City Plan sought to physically and symbolically impose cultural meaning on to the landscape in Vancouver, while creating a new history of the place.

Kitsilano Reserve and Stanley Park are central sites in which these processes occurred. Stanley Park was seen as the prize of Vancouver, for the authors of the City Plan. In their opinion, "Vancouver would be much less desirable as a home if Stanley Park did not exist."[27] In order to dispossess the land from Indigenous inhabitants, and then re-conceptualize it for the purposes of generating a "civic pride" among the newcomers in Vancouver, today's Stanley Park was infused with colonial ideology and Eurocentric epistemological values.

The Musqueam settlement of Whoi Whoi on what is now Brockton Point in Stanley Park became a point of contention in the late 19th century. According to Jean Barman, the press "encouraged Vancouverites to see themselves as distinct from, and superior to, this Indigenous presence in their midst."[28] Municipal officials of Vancouver pressured the federal government to remove the Indigenous inhabitants from Whoi Whoi and, in 1886, the first unsettling occurred.[29] Despite legal testimonies from Musqueam residents regarding their long occupancy of that location, federal authorities sanctioned the steady removal of all Indigenous settlement there. "Aunt Sally" was the last living

resident of Whoi Whoi in Stanley Park and, with her death in 1923, the Indigenous physical presence there was erased. [30]

> *"If the plan is efficiently followed by those having charge of the executive government of the city, we may hope to see a Vancouver in which every acre of ground is devoted to its most appropriate purpose... In addition to industries located on False Creek, there are a number of sites on the Fraser River and on the shores of Burrard Inlet where industries could flourish, and where we would hope and expect to see these appropriate spaces develop to their fullest extent."* [31]

In this excerpt, the discussion of "appropriate" purposes and spaces illustrates the Eurocentric values of landscapes, resources, productivity and aesthetics to be planned and implemented in Vancouver. As Indigenous peoples and their land use within the city limits did not conform to these values, they were deemed inappropriate and unworthy of the valuable space they occupied. This concept of what is the proper use of land was a holdover from pre-existing ideas from the beginning of colonialism in North America and a prized method of delegitimizing Indigenous claims to land. This was based in the Lockean concept of "unassisted nature" being land that is not dominated and extracted for its resources.[32] While "civilized" peoples were those that exploited their natural resources and manipulated environments to serve their purposes, by cutting forests, planting crops, mining the earth and constructing factories and cities and even designated natural spaces, "savages" were those that were dominated by or living among nature. These Eurocentric conceptions of "legitimate" land use originated in 19th century interpretations of Genesis, in which people were to have dominion over the land.[33] Colonial arrogance and ignorance of the Other allowed Euro-Canadian settlers to view Indigenous occupants of their lands as lazy, wasteful and undeserving of the bountiful resources available in British Columbia.[34] In Vancouver, as in all of BC, imposing these new meanings and Eurocentric value systems on to the physical environment was a powerful way to delegitimize the claim of Indigenous peoples to their own land.

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 clarified that land could only be purchased by the British Crown through voluntarily signed treaties with Indigenous peoples. By the time the colony of British Columbia was established in 1858, however, the idea of treaty signing was already "out of fashion." Virtually no treaties were signed in BC, except in the northeast of the Rocky Mountains, and on parts of Vancouver Island. The lack of treaties made land dispossession in BC occur much more smoothly for colonial and provincial officials. [35]

The Kitsilano and Musqueam Indian Reserves were created in the 1860s, on land that would soon be seen as too valuable for Vancouver to be wasted on Reserves.[36] Many other Indian Reserves were established and then dispossessed in other parts of the Province, up the Fraser River around Chilliwack and in all areas affected by the Gold Rush.

As the city of Vancouver grew from its modest beginnings of trading posts and settlements at Fort Langley and New Westminster, Indigenous

territories in the Lower Mainland became increasingly valuable and seen as contentious and intolerable antitheses of the desired direction for the city. In 1875, an agreement was forged with the federal government, that "any land taken off a Reserve shall revert to the Province" - meaning that any unsettled reserves would become the property of BC.[37] This provided a clear motivation for the removal of Indigenous peoples from valuable lands, as they could be swiftly and "legally" appropriated and taken over by more legitimate and appropriate inhabitants and purposes. In 1903, BC's Premier, Richard McBride pressured the federal government to allow the unsettling of principal urban Reserves in Victoria and Vancouver that were not being used "properly" and hindered the urban development and cohesion desired. By 1911, Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier stated in parliament that "where a Reserve is in the vicinity of a growing town, as is the case in several places, it becomes a source of nuisance and an impediment to progress." Within a month of this statement, the Indian Act was amended, and residents of Indian Reserves situated within an incorporated town with a population of at least 8000 could be legally removed without consent if it was "in the interest of the public and of the Indians of the band for whose use the reserve is held." [38]

In the city of Vancouver, the concern regarding "legitimate" and "appropriate" uses of land played a major role in the dispossessing of Indian Reserves. With the 1928 City Plan, Harland Bartholomew (and Associates) sought to create an aesthetically appealing, orderly, scientific arrangement to foster positive growth and urban cohesion in the city of Vancouver.[39] Beyond the city's potential for economic and industrial development, the Plan also aimed to "take full advantage of the bountiful provision of Nature" and capitalize on the dramatic natural beauty of Vancouver and the Lower Mainland by creating parks and designated nature areas.[40]

The plan remarks that, "parks and playgrounds and other facilities for public recreation are today considered indispensable in the make-up of a great city ... A bathing beach, a playground, a lovely park, each when in full use is in a sense a factory. Its products are smiles, light hearts, ruddy cheeks, sound bodies, wholesome human interests."[41] In order to create a "healthy and vigorous community" and meet the "recreation needs of Greater Vancouver," the City Plan emphasized the need for appropriate and effective land use and the establishment of a system of parks and natural spaces for the population.[42] Indian Reserves within the city were targeted as improperly used and ideal spaces for the creation of parks. While the Musqueam Indian Reserve was pointedly referred to as an "important and well-located site," the Plan states its explicit goal to "acquire Kitsilano Reserve:"

> *"It is quite certain that [for] the recreation needs of Greater Vancouver, ... all, or practically all, of the Kitsilano area will be required as a park." [43]*

Not only was Kitsilano Reserve situated on valuable real estate, it was also framed and viewed as a wasteful use of space, and an intolerable eyesore on the landscape.

> *"The area was [first] set aside for the use and benefit of Indians resident in British Columbia. ... The purpose was laudable whilst the Indians used the land. ... but now they have gone and the parcel is virtually a waste space. All around it, however, is a growing population, ... of those who are creating the Greater Vancouver, who are making the present day province. The Planning Commission must take the lead in pointing out the great possibilities and potential usefulness of the Reserve Lands."* [44]

Here, as with Stanley Park, the historical events surrounding Kitsilano Reserve are warped and ignored in order to justify and further the goal of claiming the land. Kitsilano Reserve was established in the 1860s, and "typical of British Columbia reserves at that time," it maintained a population of approximately 45-60 inhabitants related by kinship or marriage.[45] As Vancouver rapidly grew, English Bay became the most exclusive place to live, and the nearby Kitsilano Reserve became seen as a critical and high-value space as well. As noted previously, around the turn of the century, the existence of urban reserves such as Kitsilano became highly contentious and public issues. According to a local Vancouver newspaper in the early 20th century, there were "only eleven Indians on the Reserve, and only about an acre and a half under cultivation." [46]

With legislation that permitted it, the provincial and municipal government undertook the mission of removing Kitsilano Reserve and its inhabitants from the city. Though the Indigenous peoples there never consented, threats from the provincial government ultimately caused the inhabitants to leave the Reserve and accept their $11,250 compensation on April 18, 1913. Vancouver's principal newspaper of the era had the headlines: "Natives Grinned When They Became Owners of Fat Bank Accounts."[47] No new reserve was made for these peoples - they were merely expected to be absorbed into the pre-existing reserves in the Squamish Valley. Peter Cole recalls this time in "vancouver where [his] grandfather lived on kitsilano reserve number 6 before it was taken away by the governments of canada british columbia and vancouver ... in 1913 the people of kitsilano reserve were removed shipped on a barge a scow to north vancouver bye bye now." [48] The homes were immediately burned down, and the Reserve was quickly over-run with buildings, developments and symbols of the new society being developed in Vancouver, such as the Burrard Bridge and the Armouries.[49] As hoped in the City Plan, Kitsilano Reserve was finally sold in 1946 in 6 parcels to private and public purchasers, of which the Department of National Defense was the largest. Half of the Reserve was developed into private commercial and residential spaces, and the other half became the present-day Vanier Park with the Vancouver museum, planetarium and maritime museum.[50] Here, not only was the Indigenous presence erased, but also very deliberately replaced with images of dominance of the new settler population and Euro-Canadian culture and epistemological values.

A fascinating and tragically ironic element of the new cultural identity

that was to be forged in Vancouver can be seen in the controlled and essentialized re-introduction of symbols of Indigeneity by Euro-Canadians. After the BC Supreme Court decision to remove families from Brockton Point in Stanley Park in 1923, the Vancouver Parks Board erected four Kwakwaka'wakw totem poles.[51] Jean Barman describes this as the replacement of local Indigenous material culture with the "sanitized Indigeneity got from elsewhere." As opposed to the concrete, physical presence of local Indigenous peoples or even the maintenance of their names and meanings upon the land, it was less threatening for the Euro-Canadian settlers to utilize Indigenous imagery and essentialized cultural elements that originated from peoples at a "safe distance" from Vancouver.[52] Similarly, a proposal was made in 1940 to convert the dispossessed Kitsilano Reserve into an "Indian Park" with "Indian relics and Indian art work," and turn it into a "centre of Indian cultural life and interest."[53] These examples mark a long legacy of trying to create a cultural identity for the very young city of Vancouver. Incorporating Indigenous imagery (albeit from cultures that were hundreds of kilometers away), was yet another mode of colonial arrogance and imposing meanings upon the landscape.

In Paulette Regan's book, "Unsettling the Settler Within," she asks,

> *"How is it that we know nothing about this history? What does the persistence of such invisibility ... tell us about our relationship with Indigenous peoples? What does our historical amnesia reveal about our continuing complicity in denying, erasing, and forgetting this part of our own history as colonizers while pathologizing the colonized." [54]*

The Musqueam Indian Band's book, "A Living Culture," echoes this sentiment:

> *"We, the Musqueam people, have lived in our traditional territory - the lands and waters now known as the lower mainland of BC and encompassing the greater Vancouver region - for several thousands of years ... [but] still we find many people both within our territory and around the world are poorly informed about our culture at best, and at worst unaware of our existence altogether." [55]*

In Vancouver, there is a network of names and deliberately planned parks and monuments that were implanted on the physical space to stimulate a feeling of legitimacy, civic pride and a sense of place. All people derive meaning and significance from their space and create identities out of their relationship to land. In Vancouver, the calculated crafting of a place-based identity, built upon a foundation of colonial arrogance, dispossession, obscured information and a pervasive ignorance of the physical landscape and history results in a shallow cultural identity. For this reason, it becomes more necessary for people to emphasize the connections they do hold to the land, and consolidate the othering of peoples and epistemologies that do not fit within the dominant model. According to Bernhard Giesen,"if a community has to recognize that its members, instead of being heroes, have been perpetrators who violated the cultural premises of their own identity, the reference to the past is indeed traumatic.

The community can cope with the fundamental contradiction between identity claims and recognition only by a collective schizophrenia, by denial, by decoupling or withdrawal."[56] In this way, a lack of knowledge regarding previous systems of meaning and conceiving of the landscape, as well as the presence of other, dispossessed peoples is required in order to perpetuate the new Vancouver cultural identity proposed in the City Plan. Only through institutionalized and systematic denial of information can a culture be satisfied living upon a land that has been so de-contextualized and de-historicized.

Indigenous perspectives offer an alternative to the dominant Eurocentric lens through which history and place are viewed in British Columbia. Oral histories illuminate the land with knowledge, teachings and cultural reference points which are embedded in the place - whether settler populations are aware or not. With the systematic and pervasive erasure of Indigenous languages and cultures in the province, however, much of the richness and meaning found in the landscape can be lost or weakened. The dispossession of lands and the knowledge within them in Vancouver and the Lower Mainland is not only an injustice to Indigenous peoples themselves, but also to non-Indigenous settlers on the land. It is of value to know about the history of place upon the land one occupies. Living in ignorance and denial was encouraged by the 1928 City Plan for "Vancouverites" and continues to pervade the consciousness and conception of place and self among inhabitants of the city to this day.

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4

Anthropomorphism in Inuit Sculpture: The Dancing Bears of Pauta Saila

Jennifer Mueller | McGill University

Pauta Saila, *Walking Bear*, c. 1998, green serpentine, 30.5 x 48x18cm. Private collection, photo © Jennifer Mueller, 2015

Abstract

Pauta Saila (1917–2005) was a distinguished Inuit artist who lived in Cape Dorset, Baffin Island. He was a sculptor and graphic artist, and was among the first to experiment with printmaking in Cape Dorset. While he is celebrated for his prints, Saila is best known for his series of 'dancing bears' he produced throughout his career. In the following paper I argue that these sculptures reflect Saila's deep respect for the polar bear and communicate the animal's momentous importance in traditional Inuit culture. The dancing bears simultaneously display an elegance, spiritual strength, and playfulness, which combine to make the artworks as endearing as they are powerful. By creating objects that resonate with all viewers, his sculptures have helped bring northern Canadian art to the international stage.

Jennifer is an undergraduate studying Art History and International Development at McGill. Her primary research interests are in eighteenth-century British and French art, particularly portraiture, but she is also passionate about Canadian Inuit sculpture and the decorative arts. Lately, Jennifer has focused on sociological aspects of museum practice, including the restitution of plundered cultural objects.

The figure of the polar bear has become an iconic representation of Inuit identity within the broader context of Canadian culture. The bear has long been an integral means of subsistence for arctic peoples, and is both a central figure in many legends and a spiritually powerful metaphor.[1] Pauta Saila (1917–2009) was a graphic artist and sculptor, best known for his portrayal of 'dancing bears'. He was the son of a prominent Inuit leader and was raised in Kilaparutua on Baffin Island, in close proximity to polar bear habitats. He spent the greater part of his working career in Cape Dorset, an artistic hub for Inuit art. Although many artists have explored the subject of the bear, it was Saila's deep respect for the spiritual and physical power of the animal that set him apart. Saila's ascription of human traits to the polar bear allowed him to convey the complex relationship that exists between the Inuit and the bear. His sculptures concisely represent the balance between the bear's playfulness and strength. Saila considers the animal's role in the Inuit context, its nature as a spiritual being, and his own personal relationship with the creature in his anthropomorphized dancing bear sculptures.

Canadian society has relatively recently taken a great interest in Indigenous art and cultures, particularly in the past thirty years or so. Anthropologist Nelson Graburn argues that it was the search for a Canadian national identity after World War II that led to the promotion of Inuit art in Canada; he further contends that the success of Indigenous art can be attributed to the current international interest in Indigenous peoples.[2] As Inuit art's popularity grows, viewers and critics become increasingly interested in the social and cultural context in which it is created. While this is true, more needs to be said about current interest in Indigenous cultures. It is both the simplicity of design and their status as works depicting an exotic cultural other that makes Indigenous artworks so popular, although ethnological fascination is not necessarily a positive phenomenon and may continue to perpetuate colonialist hierarchies and demarcations between so-called 'civilized' and 'native' work. Nevertheless, Inuit sculpture is widely respected for aesthetic qualities in its own right.[3] Pauta Saila's signature style of carving consists of simplified, somewhat abstracted forms. His materials of choice were soapstone, serpentine, and, to a limited extent, ivory. Saila always carefully chose stone for its veining, and polished it to a high finish, leaving little reaming evidence of any chisel marks. His reduction of forms to outlines, his choice of an animal that only inhabits the Arctic, and his humanization of the bear combine to produce a type of work with a simple aesthetic,

1 Martha Dowsley, "The Value of a Polar Bear: Evaluating the Role of a Multiple-Use Resource in the Nunavut Mixed Economy" *Arctic Anthropology* 47, no. 1 (2010): 40.

2 Nelson H.H. Graburn, "Inuit Art and Canadian Nationalism: Why Eskimos? Why Canada?" *Inuit Art Quarterly* 1, no.3 (Fall 1986): 5.

3 Ibid., 5-7.

yet representing complex social connections and dependencies that exist between animals and the land. The balance between naturalism and decorative stylization has played an important role in Saila's popularity. His dynamic and playful sculptures, which capture the liveliness of creatures little seen outside of their native Arctic habitat, have an international appeal. By appreciating the artist's motivations, a viewer can begin to delve beyond the surface of object into the cultural context behind Saila's creations.

In the 1960s Saila developed his characteristic style of carving voluminous figures with suggestive outlines, thus capturing their dynamic motion. From the strict naturalism of early Inuit art, Saila evolved to reach a decorative stylization of natural figures and motifs.[4] His early work consisted of both graphic prints and sculptures in whalebone, stone and ivory, but with a vastly different style than that of his more popular dancing bears. Originally working with wildlife themes, his depictions of uumajut (which is Inuktitut for "animals") harkened back to pre-modern Inuit art.[5] The solid, static shapes of his early sculptures depict animals without much energy or life.[6] As Saila's style began to mature, he moved away from traditional wildlife and hunting scenes towards shamanic-themed spirit figures. Besides his sculptures and his best-known subject of bears, Saila worked as a printmaker to draw a variety of arctic creatures, capturing the graceful lines of birds in the air and their awkwardness on the ground.[7] He finds a balance between the natural and the spirit world in his anthropomorphic bears, expressing their physical and spiritual importance for himself as an Inuk man and for other Inuit people.

The spiritual nature of the polar bear is intrinsically related to traditional shamanic traditions and beliefs. Angakkuit (Inuktitut for shamans) mediate between human and spiritual realms, commanding great respect in Inuit communities because of their roles as intercessors and their ability to influence good and evil spirits.[8] Their position between the Earth (human) and the sky (spiritual) is reflected in the way in which Saila depicts his bears, as metamorphosing figures captured in stone at the moment of their transformation between human and bear. An angakoq is said to "fly through the air to faraway places, assume animal forms… and make animals plentiful when people were hungry."[9] These shamans, usually male elders, would reconcile what could not be explained, such as the reasons behind sickness or the scarcity of animals to hunt. As medicine men, they draw their power from ancestors or through an initiation process, and with the help of incantations and amulets they can unravel the unknown.[10] Because few non-Arctic individuals have seen polar bears, let alone playful ones, the anthropomorphic bear as a spiritual power in turn acts as an 'unknown' to the settler Canadian or international viewer. The significant role the polar bear plays in Inuit spirituality makes it a special creature, closer to humans than birds and able to act as a helping

4 Maria von Finckenstein,, "A Curated Selection of Pauta Saila's Work," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 11, no.4 (Winter 1996): 6.
5 Anna Kovler, "Inuit Modern," *Border Crossings* 30, no. 4 (2011): 94.
6 *Ibid.*
7 Maria von Finckenstein, "A Curated Selection of Pauta Saila's Work," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 11, no.4 (Winter 1996): 7.
8 Dorothy H. Eber, "Recording the Spirit World," *Natural History* 111, no. 7 (2002): 54.
9 *Ibid., 55.*
10 Patricia D. Sutherland, "Shamanism and the Iconography of Paleo-Eskimo Art," in *The Archaeology of Shamanism*, ed. Neil S. Price, (London: Routledge, 2001), 137.

spirit.[11] The spiritual importance of the polar bear and pre-Contact Inuit dependence on the animal for survival evoke Saila's deep respect for the bear as a transformative figure. The shamanic polar bear unravels the link between Inuit spiritual beliefs, the bear and the viewer. The verticality of dancing bears, the earthiness of the stony material, and the animal subject are literal and metaphoric references to the bear's connection between the earthly and spiritual realms, as if he were an angakoq (shaman), as well as between the earth and sky.[12]

Saila's dancing bears are often delicately balanced on one paw, such as in the sculpture Dancing Bear (1984) (Fig. 1). As one of Saila's most celebrated works, a photograph of the particular object marks the front cover of Ingo Hessel's book, Inuit Art.[13] The stylized eyes are barely noticeable from aside view, and the viewer is encouraged to experience the sculpture from various angles, looking at it through the outline of stone rather than through the intricacies of the bear's features. Saila's sculptures of bears usually have elements of humour or cheek, and each of his bears has a unique and discernable personality.[14] Dancing Bear has an open mouth, showing sharp, pointed teeth made of ivory; however he is far from a menacing threat and appears instead to be laughing. Rather than acknowledging the viewer's presence, the bear's head is turned away as he continues to dance, unmindful of the onlooker. Further, instead of portraying the bear on four legs (moving around in a decidedly bear-like fashion), Saila chooses to anthropomorphize the figure by having him dance on two legs, in the manner of a human. The bear has a distinct humanized expression, with the hint of a smile and a rounded, human chin, with outstretched arms and dynamically positioned feet.

Saila successfully captures both the elegance and energy of the bear within the stone. The medium in which any artist chooses to work with directly reflect the ways in which they conceive their subjects. This is even more significant in the case of sculpture, as the materials used, such as soapstone, serpentine, whalebone and ivory, determine the size, delicacy and, to some extent, the subject of the artwork.[15] The materials of early Inuit sculpture were much the same as they are today, except that they were generally locally sourced. Today, the medium of sculpture and the materials used to polish it, such as whale and seal blubber (although beeswax and artificial polishes have proliferated) still reflect the physical aspect of the Inuit's continued spiritual connection to the land.[16] The heaviness of Dancing Bear, made as it is of stone, and its precariously balanced position combine to create tension within the

11 The figure of the raven was, however, essential to creation stories, and the loon occasionally plays a role in assisting humans in traditional Inuit legends. For more information see Shelagh D. Grant, "Imagination and Spirituality: Written Narratives and the Oral Tradition," in *Echoing Silence: Essays on Arctic Narrative*, edited by Gerald Lynch (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1997), 191-210; and Jean Blodgett, *The Coming and Going of the Shaman* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1979).

12 Harold Seidelman and James E. Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture*. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1993): 206.

13 Ingo Hessel, *Inuit Art,* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1998).

14 Patricia Feheley, "In Memoriam: Pauta Saila (1916-2009)" *Inuit Art Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (Winter 2009): 42-43.

8 Jean Blodgett, "Cape Dorset Sculpture," *Cape Dorset* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1980): 39-47.

16 Emily E. Auger, *The Way of Inuit Art: Aesthetics in and Beyond the Arctic.* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company Publishers, 2005), 105.

object. The bear's slightly inclined knee gives the impression that the sculpture is shifting its weight from side to side and is captured mid-step. The vein of colour running down the length of the bear emphasizes the twisted position of the bear. The combination of the open mouth and the energetic pose give the sculpture a unique, joyful expression.

The dancing bear, as a means of connection between the artist and the viewer, extends beyond his figure as a shaman. Dancing Bear evinces Saila's strong conviction of the bear's power that exists beyond the sculpture pedestal or resting table. Saila's bears are not constrained, static sculptures, but vigorously stretch out into the space around them. The dynamic nature of the bear sculptures goes beyond the regular animal motions of the bear and into a human-like dance. Saila allows the bears to break free from the inherent limitations of interspecies communication. By adopting the mannerisms of a human, the bear reveals much about the way an Inuk views the polar bear. The polar bear has great significance to the Inuit as a means of food and of income gained from the sale of furs.[17] Given that polar bear provides such a significant source of subsistence to the Inuit, it is natural that its strong spirit being should be so revered. The shamanic Dancing Bear is therefore a meaningful and appropriate figure to convey the resource-dependence and spiritual reverence for the animal in Arctic Inuit society.

The polar bear is a powerful, playful animal that is both loved and respected. It is this complex relationship between the Inuit and the polar bear that Saila conveys so well in his sculptures. The open mouths of Dancing Bear (Fig. 1) and Polar Bear (Fig. 2) reveal sharp teeth and an aggressively pointed tongue of a bear. The teeth and protruding tongue serve as a reminder that the bear, while humanized, is still a bear – although the claws of both sculptures are marked by less aggressive etchings on the stone. The ferocity of the dancing bear, evoked by the sculpture's mouth and teeth, is counterbalanced by the affectionate quality its pose. The dancing motions of the bears almost recall the clumsy image of the impressionist artist Edgar Degas' young, adolescent ballet dancers. The second way Saila reinforces the power and vigour of polar bears is with their bulky, sturdy bodies. Pauta Saila's Polar Bear (Fig. 2) is made of a smooth white stone, and, unusually for the artist, is unpolished. The impact of the stark white body combined with the pointed teeth and tongue present a formidable figure, yet the voluptuous body of the bear and the position of the paws next to the head give the piece a decidedly cheeky, mischievous look.

The high degree to which Saila's figures engage with the viewer rests on the basis of his humanization of the bears and the frequent contradictions between animalistic and familiar human characteristics. The distinct eyes and general human-like outline, coupled with the face, hands, body and feet of the bear, show that the bear is in the process of transforming from a human shaman into a spirit figure.[18] The delicate right foot of the bear makes the figure appear as if it is walking or dancing towards the viewer. Saila explains that a shamanic bear can be definitively recognized by its short thick neck, which is the remaining sign of its identity as a human.[19] The majority of Saila's bear sculptures are shamanic, even those in which he portrays the animals only standing or

17 Dowsley, "The Value of a Polar Bear," 40.

18 Auger, *The Way of Inuit Art*, 46.

19 Seidelman and Turner, *The Inuit Imagination*, 206.

walking (see title page figure: Walking Bear). The significance of the bear in transformation is that it expresses the Inuit epistemological belief that there exists a deep connection between all beings, uumajut (animals), jiqqat (invisible beings) and the inutuinnait (the Inuit people) included.[20]

In interviews with visitors to the Museum of Inuit Art in Toronto, Ontario, an overwhelming number of visitors responded they liked Saila's Dancing Bear (Fig. 3)[21] for its simplicity, fluidity and joyfulness.[22] The upward pointing nose and raised arms give the bear a sense of curiosity. Rather than dancing, he appears to be looking to the sky or smelling the air. The upturned muzzle of the bear endearingly resembles a child looking up to a parent for approval. In this case, the polar bear can be interpreted as looking to the spiritual realm for approbation or advice.[23] The exceptionally graceful outline of the bear produces a linear experience for the viewer as the viewer's eye is drawn from feet to nose, and then back down the shapely body. Overall, the simple form, with small details such as the ears and eyes, allows the artist to communicate a fluidity and unrestrained elegance of the polar bear not seen in the two previous sculptures. Dancing Bear (Fig. 3) is drawn up to its full height and shows itself as a graceful but dignified figure, as the polar bear appears in the physical Arctic landscape and in the spiritual world. The vertical stance of the figure, as observed before in Dancing Bear (Fig. 1), conveys that the polar bear is intimately connected with the environment around him, including the earthly realm below and the spiritual realm above the figure. The position of the bear on its two legs and the sleek dark polish of the stone, in addition to the bear's relatively small feet and charmingly diminutive ears, reinforce the combination of grace and majesty the bear possesses.

The overarching theme of strength reflects yet another aspect of Inuit spirituality, in which a bear functions as a master over other helping spirits; for this reason, it is a significant achievement for a person to bring home the skin of a bear, which is considered a trophy item.[24] Saila's depiction of a curious, proud and elegant bear can be associated with its status as a masterful helping spirit. The polar bear is a playful and elegant animal, to be feared and loved, and always respected. Saila deeply admired and respected them, saying, "they're fond of one another, they always seem to be happy with each other" and even that some are "more clever than Inuit."[25] Saila has stated that while hunting, he had often seen bears playing and balancing on ice flows. His sculptures present a balance between bears' playful side and the reality of being dangerous animals worthy of great respect.[26] Saila's personal relationship with the polar bear, as a hunter, an artist and an Inuk,

20 "Identification: The Encyclopaedia of Canada's Peoples/ Aboriginals: Inuit." Accessed November 8, 2012. http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/Encyclopedia/A-Z/a5/1

21 Not the same *Dancing Bear* as Figure 1, it is a much larger object.

22 "Pauta Saila: Playing Favourites at the Museum of Inuit Art" *The Museum of Inuit Art Blog,* http://www.museumofinuitartblog.wordpress.com/tag/pauta-saila/.

23 This observation is based on Gerhard Hoffmann in "The Aesthetics of Inuit Art," in *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Inuit Art* (Hull, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993), 383-423.

24 Auger, *The Way of Inuit Art*, 46.

25 Dorothy H. Eber "Talking With the Artists" In *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Inuit Art.* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993), 433-36

26 William Storey Twogood, "The Art of the Dancing Bears" *Arts Manitoba* 3, no. 1 (January-Feburary 1978): 66-67.

is one founded on respect.

Saila's sculptures were a way for him to explore the significance of the dancing bear for himself, as an Inuk man. Before Saila moved to Cape Dorset to commit himself wholly to art as a means of support, Saila lived primarily off of the land on the south coast of Baffin Island.[27] Shortly after moving to Cape Dorset, Saila quit his job in order to commit himself to the production of his art. It is during this period that he began to artistically express the emotions he felt for the bears by which he had once gained his livelihood.[28] Through the figures of the dancing bears, viewers can experience the joy Saila felt when seeing playful families of polar bears, the strength and power they hold as rival predators to humans in the Arctic, and their spiritual significance to and relationship with Inuit shamans.[29] By connecting polar bears to humans anthropomorphically, Saila is keeping alive both Inuit epistemology and the recognition of the importance of the polar bear. On a more personal note, Saila used anthropomorphism as a visual dialogue to emphasize the connection he felt between himself and the animal.

Pauta Saila's anthropomorphized sculptures present polar bears as vital animals within on the Arctic landscape and northern Inuit culture. Used for subsistence and income, Saila shows great respect for his livelihood dependence on the polar bear. The humanization of the bear reflects a broader cultural and spiritual relationship that exists between the Inuit and polar bears, and reinforces this objects' ability to communicate Inuit epistemological values to the viewer. The humanized bears also express his close relationship with the bear fuelled his decades-long series of sculptures exploring the subject. Saila was a key artist in the early years of contemporary Inuit art, and in the 1960s, he was one of the first to make his livelihood wholly through his art.[30] Beyond the creation of art for art's sake, Saila expressed his identity as a hunter and a spiritual man through his work. His dancing bear sculptures are full of personality and playfulness, and are as powerful as they are gleeful. The energy captured in his sculptures is immediately recognizable, as the balanced poise of his dancing bears reflects their spiritual transcendence. Pauta Saila is one of the most memorable and admired Inuit artists of the mid-twentieth century; the respect deserved by the artist is rivalled only by his respect for the bears he sculpted.

27 Feheley, "In Memoriam," 42. See also "Pauta Saila" entry in *The Canadian Encyclopaedia* (first published March 21st, 2012; last edited March 4th, 2015), http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/pauta-saila/.

28 Ibid.

29 Dowsley, "The Value of a Polar Bear," 41-56.

30 *Ibid., 42.*

Figure 1. Paula Saila, *Dancing Bear*, c. 1970, mottled dark grey stone and ivory, 51.2 x 38.8 x 22.8cm. Art Gallery of Ontario (gift of Samuel and Esther Sarick), photo © Dieter Hessel, 1998.

Figure 2. Paula Saila, *Polar Bear*, c.1980, white stone, 31.1 x 20.3 x 14cm. Waddingtons Inuit Art Auction, photo © Waddingtons, 2012.

Figure 3. Paula Saila, *Dancing Bear*, c. 1970, polished dark green stone. Private collection, on Loan to the Museum of Inuit Art, Toronto, photo © Jennifer Mueller, 2015.

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5

Sound Of The Flowing Water (2014)

Robbie Madsen | Toronto, ON

There is a scene playing on in my head
It takes me back to a time we were blessed
When grace and elegance were always first choice
And I find myself running from these streets and their noise

And I reach for the sound of the flowing water
For it is my health and elemental power
I reach for the sound of the flowing water
It is my health and elemental power

I turned away from the mean things that they said
I placed my sights on my own Elders instead
But to reach them I had to walk away and go home
One trip that I gladly did make on my own

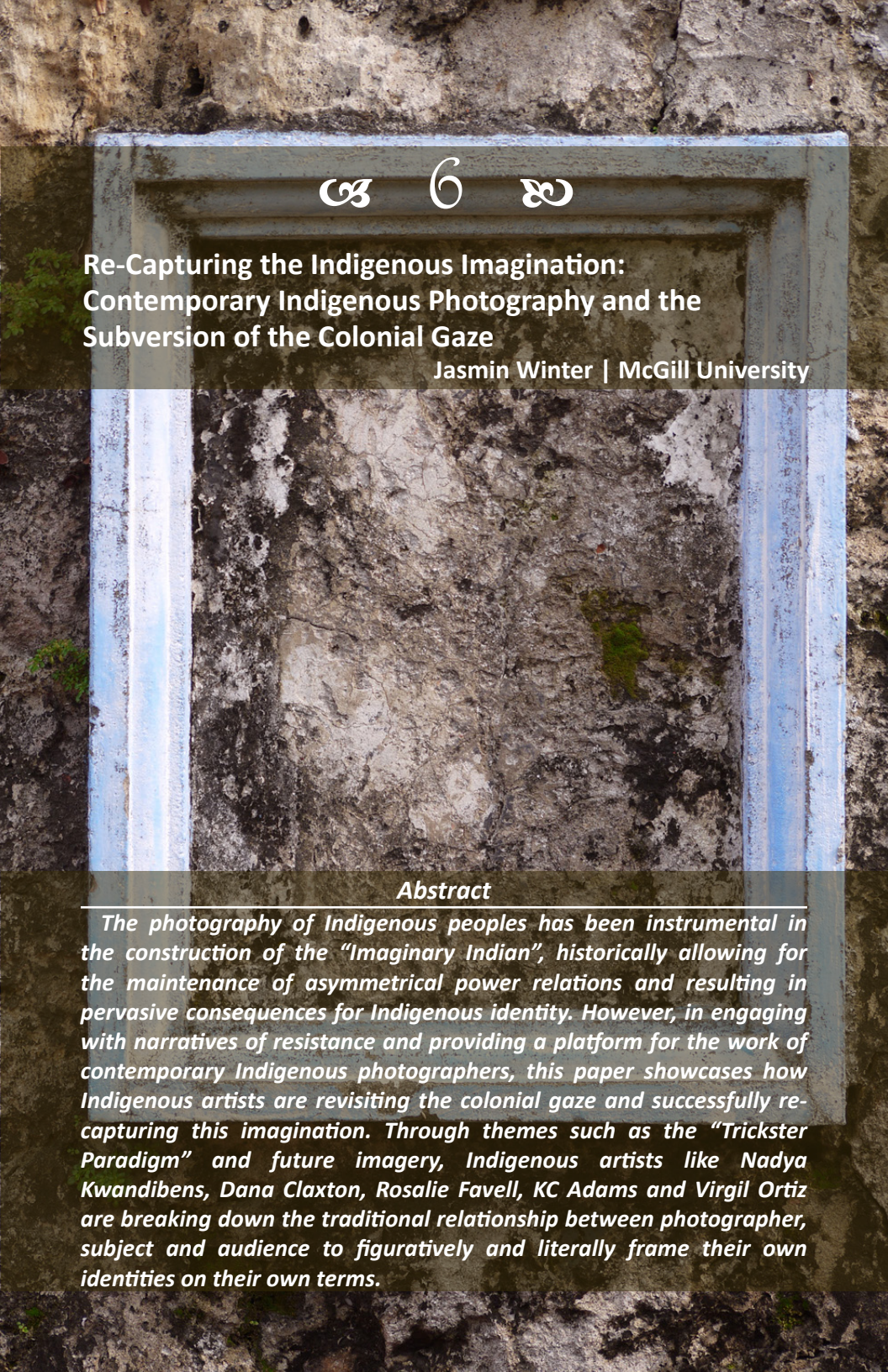
And I pray to the sound of the flowing water
For it is my health and elemental power
I pray to the sound of the flowing water
It is my health and elemental power

Exposed are the lies that they told about me
I am released to my true identity
***You are beautiful* said the Medicine Man**
And that's why you're still here - take it into your hands

Now I sing to the sound of the flowing water
For it is my health and elemental power
I sing to the sound of the flowing water
It is my health and elemental power

Re-Capturing the Indigenous Imagination: Contemporary Indigenous Photography and the Subversion of the Colonial Gaze

Jasmin Winter | McGill University



Abstract

The photography of Indigenous peoples has been instrumental in the construction of the "Imaginary Indian", historically allowing for the maintenance of asymmetrical power relations and resulting in pervasive consequences for Indigenous identity. However, in engaging with narratives of resistance and providing a platform for the work of contemporary Indigenous photographers, this paper showcases how Indigenous artists are revisiting the colonial gaze and successfully re-capturing this imagination. Through themes such as the "Trickster Paradigm" and future imagery, Indigenous artists like Nadya Kwandibens, Dana Claxton, Rosalie Favell, KC Adams and Virgil Ortiz are breaking down the traditional relationship between photographer, subject and audience to figuratively and literally frame their own identities on their own terms.

Jasmin Winter is a West coast raised, soon-to-be McGill graduate who will be meeting in the middle this fall to pursue the University of Winnipeg's Masters in Development program. Her passions include deconstructing Canadian nationalism and playing Quidditch.

The tale of Indigenous peoples' first interaction with the technology of the camera is a familiar narrative to the Western consciousness. While the notion that Indigenous peoples feared the camera's ability to "steal souls" became largely romanticized, retrospectively it is interesting to consider what it was that 19th century photographers like Edward S Curtis were "capturing" with their portraits. When it comes down to it, these portraits are more reflective of the photographer's imagination and assumptions than anything. To this day, collections like Jimmy Nelson's "Before They Pass Away"[1] are created to be sold to the gaze of the "tainted citizens of modernity"; those who wish to romanticize the beautiful simplicity and purity of exotic Indigenous peoples[2]. The parallels between these two artists would suggest that not much has changed since the early colonial era. However, in saying that we would also be complicit in engaging the wrong artists in our discourse. Contemporary Indigenous photographers have and continue to use photography, and portrait work more specifically, to re-capture and present much more complex ideas of identity through concepts such as "The Trickster" and future imagery. A focus on artists Nadya Kwandibens, Dana Claxton, Rosalie Favell and Virgil Ortiz show how contemporary artists are revisiting colonial images on their own terms to conceptualize an Indigenous space both today and in the future, facilitating the return of control over the "Imaginary Indian" back to the Indigenous imagination.

In Thomas King's "You're Not the Indian I Had in Mind" he recalls how he had the idea in 1994 to travel around North America and take black and white portraits of Indigenous artists as a project to usher in the new millennium[3]. Little did he know at the time that photographer Edward S. Curtis had done the same a century beforehand. At this point North America was "on the brink of a new adventure, and the 'Indian' was poised on the brink of extinction", if not physically, then certainly culturally. As both an artist and ethnographer, Curtis was inspired by a movement in photography known as "Photo-Secession", a style that promoted the view that photographers should use additional techniques to make fine art pictures, not just photographs, giving them the qualities and mood of paintings[4]. The desired mood staged by Curtis was clear: the ways of Indigenous peoples were disappearing, and through his lens he thought himself able to salvage their memories. In the words of Crosby, this "salvage paradigm" dictates that those doing the

1 Nelson, Jimmy. "Before They Pass Away." Web. 01 Dec. 2014.

2 Martin, Kathleen. "Native Footprints: Photographers and Stories Written on the Land." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 2.2 (2013): 13.

3 King, Thomas. "You're Not the Indian I Had in Mind". *Racism, Colonialism and Indigeneity in Canada.* 36.

4 Vizenor, Gerald. "Edward Curits: Pictorialist and Ethnographic Adventurist". October 2000.

saving also choose what fragments of a culture they will salvage[5]. To Curtis, he chose to erase any sign of modernity from his portraits. Traditional dress was mandatory - whether or not it came from your Nation or the one over. Alarm clocks were airbrushed off of bedside tables, and expressionless faces and stoic poses brought the "Noble Savage" to life (See Figure 1). He and his audience were looking desperately for the authentic "Dying Indian" in these photos, and so Indigenous peoples of the time basically had the privilege of watching their own demise caught on film.

Martin continues, in her essay "Native footprints: Photographs and stories written on the land", by asserting the following about Curtis' work: "This is the irony of the photographs since they combine memory and loss. If not for colonialism, the theft of land, extermination of culture and language, and the genocide of a people, the need or use for Curtis' photographs may not have the same importance"[6]. This irony is not at all lost on contemporary Indigenous artists. Jeff Thomas, a self-proclaimed Urban-Iroquois, has a series aptly named "A Conversation with Edward S. Curtis" (Figure 1). He, however, offers Curtis a lot of credit, contending that: "I feel that Curtis did not see his work as a definitive study of Indian-ness… I believe that Curtis thought that there was potential for The North American Indian project to engage in a future dialogue with their descendants"[7]. This is clear in his own comparative work, where his more candid, spontaneous photos act to highlight the constructed nature of Curtis'. Side by side, photos like *Four Indian Guys from Winnipeg* juxtapose the conception of Indigenous men in Curtis' *Three Pigeon Men: Spotted Eagle, Heavy Gun, Robert Calf Robe* (Figure 1). Stoic faces contrast huge smiles and laughter, showcasing how the depictions on the left better resemble the figurine in the hands of the "guys" on the right than the guys themselves.

Further supporting Thomas' proposal, Arizona State Museum recently hosted an art show titled "Regarding Curtis: Contemporary Indian Artists Respond to the Curtis Imagery". While this paper focuses primarily on the Canadian context, it is important to recognize that movements in art often transcend imposed national boundaries. Accompanying this exhibit, and of special note, was the "Photo ID: Portraits by Native Youth" project by Tohono O'odham students. Working in teams, students took on the roles of photographer, director, and lighting technician to create three portraits: the first being a representation of Curtis' work, the second a picture of the students holding one of Curtis' photographs that they researched, and finally a third that shows how the students choose to present themselves[8]. This project is both inspiring and important as it demonstrates how new Indigenous generations are being taught and internalizing a complicated and traumatic past, all with strong smiles on their faces (Figure 2).

5 Crosby, Maria. "Making Indian Art Modern". *Vancouver Art in the Sixties.* Ruins in Process. 11.

6 Martin, Kathleen. "Native Footprints: Photographers and Stories Written on the Land". *Decolonization:Indigeneity, Education and Society* 2.2 (2013): 13.

7 Thomas, Jeff. "A Conversation with Edward S. Curtis." *A Study of Indian-ness*. Web. 27 Nov. 2014.

8 ICTMN Staff. "These 10 Kids Won't Be Stereotyped by Edward S. Curtis Photos." *Indian Country Today Media Network.com*. Web. 01 Dec. 2014.

The smiles and laughter that illuminate the work of these artists suggest a lot of humour, and humour is in fact one of the most prominent ways that contemporary artists are engaging in discourse with colonial imagery. This humour plays on the multiple layers of identity present in Indigeneity, distracting the colonial gaze with what is called the "Trickster Paradigm": "a movement of politically conscious, socially active, and professionally trained Indigenous artists using humour in their art in order to relay important cultural messages"[9]. The Trickster is a central figure in many Indigenous epistemologies, known for making humorous mistakes that are used to educate and entertain [10]. While humour is noted in Indigenous communities before contact as a means to tell stories, teach lessons and to "keep the social standards in balance"[11], in many ways it is used today as a way for Indigenous communities to begin to tackle a long and painful history of oppression.

Dana Claxton's work is exemplary of a more subtle form of humour. Again referring to Kathleen Martin, "Photographs are a longing. Once taken, they capture a moment, but it is always unclear what of the moment we as viewers see"[12]. Claxton's *Mustang Suite* series helps unpackage this statement with featured pieces *Daddy's Got a New Ride* (Figure 3) and *Baby Boyz Gotta Indian Pony* (Figure 4). This exploration of Indigenous stereotypes set against plain backdrops evokes the staged colonial image, yet the Indigenous subjects take on a new and much stronger presence. In the first photo an Indigenous man in a suit sports braids and face paint, and stands in front of a Mustang muscle car. In the second a younger man rides a mustang horse with nothing but red track pants on. There are overt and less overt markings of Indigeneity present in these pieces, and in this way Claxton creates a statement about hybridity in the 21st century. The double-entendre between the car and the horse simultaneously plays with ideas of freedom and mobility as well as the balancing act of the traditional and modern. This hybridity is almost like a hidden joke, something a non-Indigenous viewer might not understand, and in a way this is part of its beauty. The primitive relationship between the photographer, the subject and the audience is dismantled in favour of a more intimate relationship between the photographer and the subject, creating a much more collaborative force that does not preoccupy itself with the needs or desires of the audience. In Claxton's portraits the subjects are complicit in the message that is being relayed to the viewer instead of the photographer roducing a commodity. If the viewer is non-Indigenous, they may very well be forced into an uncomfortable lack of understanding.

Claxton's work showcases two major ideas: how "The Trickster" device can be employed in subtle and purposeful ways, and also that it is

9 Sugrue, Meeagan. "Humour in Contemporary Indigenous Photography: Re-focusing the Colonial Gaze". *University of Vicotira* 4.7 (2011): 72.
10 Sugrue, Meeagan. "Humour in Contemporary Indigenous Photography: Re-focusing the Colonial Gaze". *University of Vicotira* 4.7 (2011): 73.
11 Hill, Richard W., L'Hirondelle, Cheryl and Joseph Nayhowtow. "You Are Never Just one Thing in One Place: Tricksters and Contrary Spirits". *The World Upside Down.* Eds. Hill, Richard W., Sylvie Gilbert and Doris Cowan. Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 2008. 46-53.
12 Martin, Kathleen. "Native Footprints: Photographers and Stories Written on the Land". *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 2.2 (2013): 13.

no longer necessary to go and "find" Indigenous peoples in remote Canada to take their photographs. The vast majority of contemporary Indigenous photographers, in fact, are focusing on the Urban-Indigenous experience. To an extent it can be argued that there is support for McMaster's concept of "post-reservationism", which associates "long-denied rights and freedoms" with the ability to both control (and therefore leave) the reserve[13]. In this way, artist Nadya Kwandibens (Anishinaabe) comes full circle in her *Concrete Indians* series, where she has spent years travelling and photographing Indigenous portraits across Canada. In her artist's statement she speaks to wishing to challenge the fact that "Indigenous people are often portrayed in history books as Nations once great; in museums as Nations frozen stoic; in the media as Nations forever troubled"[14]. The title *Concrete Indian* is both a humorous nod to the stoic, frozen colonial image as well as a nod to Indigenous peoples navigating the urban space, and this, along with the portraits themselves, manages to capture the complexities and flux of "the reserve" and "the urban" in a perhaps more nuanced way than McMaster's written word alone. In the words of Cheryl L'Hirondelle, the Trickster and the contrary spirit remind us that "many social parameters are just man-made, are not of the natural order"[15]. Much of Kwandibens' work is made up of black and white portraits of Indigenous peoples posing or in movement on the street and other public spaces. In one particular photo a woman dressed in traditional regalia stands at the center of a subway station as passersby blur around her (Figure 5). She is indeed in a stoic, static pose, but she is absolutely the one taking up the space. She personifies the internal balancing act of holding onto tradition and navigating the pace of the dominant lifestyle, and to her right, her zebra printed suitcase indicates that she is travelling with a sense of freedom. This idea is complex; in a way, perhaps, she is no longer confined to the borders established by Settlers. At the same time, the viewer knows that wherever she goes her nationality will be questioned, her documents requested and an external sense of control reinforced. This poses questions to McMaster's post-reservationism by unearthing some of the complexities of decolonization and a post-colonial, or a post-anything mentality that seeks to suggest that any of these processes have ended cleanly.

With all this in mind, we can explore how Indigenous photographers are not only pushing for space in the contemporary context, but also shifting paradigms even further within the realm of future imagery. It can absolutely be argued that Edward S. Curtis' influence has contributed to the lack of representation of Indigenous peoples in science fiction and future imagery. Echoing historic discourse and practices that projected the disappearance of Indigenous peoples, this has come to suggest that there is essentially no future in being

13 McMaster, Gerald. "Post-Reservations Perspectives". *Essays on Native Modernism: Complexity and Contradiction in American Indian Art.* Washington, D.C.: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, 2006. 43-38

14 Kwandibens, Nadya. "Concrete Indians." *Red Works Photography*. Web. 01 Dec. 2014.

15 Hill, Richard W., L'Hirondelle, Cheryl and Joseph Nayhowtow. "You Are Never Just one Thing in One Place: Tricksters and Contrary Spirits". *The World Upside Down.* Eds. Hill, Richard W., Sylvie Gilbert and Doris Cowan. Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 2008. 46-53.

Indigenous. If anything, science fiction has often perpetuated a settler-colonial narrative structure with themes that use a tired view of conquering seemingly unexplored land and peoples (or "aliens")[16]. Indigenous photographers are now launching into the possibilities and promise of science fiction imagery. Instead of airbrushing over the clocks that appeared in the background of Curtis' portraits, these photographers fully embrace the idea of Indigenous peoples interacting with technology and locating themselves in a future that society was led to believe they would not have.

Rosalie Favell's *I Dreamed of Being a Warrior* (1999) shows her photoshopped face on the body of Xena: Warrior Princess (Figure 6). The original character is based in the context of an alternative, fantasy Ancient Greece, so this piece in particular plays more on the idea of re-writing history to shake up modern conceptions of the future. While simultaneously challenging the stereotypical idea of the male warrior, the poor quality of the photoshop job also evokes many things. There is a sense of trying to "fit in" to something that is largely commandeered by a dominant group; it is slightly uncomfortable and odd, almost playing with the idea of "inauthenticity". This word seems to lose all meaning when we recognize that Settlers were and continue to be able to impose imagined authenticities on Indigenous peoples. Favell's method is also successful in the way that she makes clear in her portraits that they are constructed. Referring again to author Kathleen Martin and her views on the photographic process, the recognition of photography as a construction is important as it negates the power of photographs to lead viewers to believe that their representations of people are necessarily truth: "Images have the power to convey, construct and manipulate not only a sense of time but also feelings, sentiment and attitudes, and to frame responses in a somewhat static form with some amount of permanence. In fact, through the static medium of visual images and photography, cultural attitudes and perceptions are formed, supported and fixed"[17]. Later pieces in Favell's series such as *I Searched Many Worlds* (1999) as well as *Voyageur* (2002) also suggest the complete subversion of the "conquest" of Indigenous peoples and instead imagines a reversal wherein Indigenous peoples are free to explore and discover other lands (Figures 7 and 8). Once again posing questions about decolonization, it is interesting to refer this idea to Devon Mihesuah's chapter "Feminist, Tribalist, or Activist?" where she speaks to more radical ideologies regarding "the complete return of traditions, which also means that whites will disappear, bison will return, dead Natives will arise, and the tribes will no longer use any material goods or political, religious, social or economic ideas brought to the New World by foreigners"[18]. While there is a clear note of humour in Mihesuah's description, it is refreshing to see how science fiction and future

16 Marez, Curtis. "Aliens and Indians: Science Fiction, Prophetic Photography and Near-Future Visions". *Journal of Visual Culture* 3.1 (2004): 336-352. Print.

17 Martin, Kathleen. "Native Footprints: Photographers and Stories Written on the Land". *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 2.2 (2013): 13.

18 Mihesuah, Devon. "Feminist, Tribalist or Activist?". *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism.* University of Nebraska Press.

imagery actually allow the Indigenous photographer and artist to actively play around with these aspirations, these deep fantastical desires, no matter how "unrealistic" they may be.

Part of the promise of science fiction is being able to envision societies stripped away of the power structures that are so fixed today. However, more often than not science fiction, written predominately by white males, has instead perpetuated stereotypes and power dynamics under poorly veiled caricatures[19]. KC Adams addresses these issues head-on in her "Cyborg Hybrids" series. The collection features artists with simultaneous Indigenous and non-Native identities photographed with crisp white shirts scripted with slogans such as "GANG MEMBER" and "IROQUOIS SCOUT" (Figures 9 and 10). While Adams also plays with stoic poses, the artists in her portraits don traditional looking chokers and glamorous boas to question many of the themes explored in this paper.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of future imagery is how it contributes to transcending boundaries and how it is common to the larger human consciousness. A final and brief note on photographer Virgil Ortiz (Cohiti Pueblo) also acts to highlight some aspects not as thoroughly explored in Favell and Adams' work. His portraits were featured in the "Regarding Curtis" exhibit at the University of Arizona, and accompanying his piece is a short poem that reads:

Re: Curtis

If he did not do it, we would not see them. If we do not do it, someone else will shape our identities and we will criticize it once again. Do something. Anything.[20]

Ortiz' work *Translator Triptych* depicts a humanoid figure in striking black and white body paint. The first is particularly intense as the subject truly "regards" Curtis and the contemporary viewer with an almost menacing, but perhaps more "Trickster" gaze (Figure 11). The gendered features of the subject are slightly more stripped away and ambiguous, and the use of the black and white and positive and negative space suggests more of a duality and hybridity than we see in Adams' work. Ortiz writes in his artists' statement that the character "TRANSLATOR" is the Head Commander of the Spirit World Army[21]. He takes the historic event of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt and places it in a future setting, and the repetitive cloning of the character in the last portrait reflects this idea of a more circular conception of time (Figure 12).

The language of photography is not accidental. The photographer "captures", "steals", and "takes" their shot. Looking back on Edward S. Curtis' work it is clear to see that this language formed around a view of the relationship between the photographer and subject that prioritized what the photographer and intended audience wanted to see. In his quest to capture the "Indian" Curtis captured more about the misguided nature of the era's mindset than anything else. While perhaps not his intended purpose, this has ended up acting as a tool for contemporary Indigenous photographers. With a connection to the tradition of oral history and

19 Marez, Curtis. "Aliens and Indians: Science Fiction, Prophetic Photography and Near-Future Visions". *Journal of Visual Culture* 3.1 (2004): 336-352. Print.

20 Allen, Lee. "Smudging the Colonizer's Lens: Artists Challenge Old Imagery With 'Regarding Curtis'" *Indian Country Today Media Network*. 29 Nov. 14. Web. 1 Dec. 2014.

21 Allen, Lee. 136.

passing down ancient knowledge, it is possible for colonial images to work as mnemonics rather than accurate portrayals to ultimately add to the collective memory and healing process of the next generation of Indigenous peoples. Through humour and future imagery, Indigenous artists have and are able to reclaim agency and re-assess how they are depicted through their very own lenses.

Appendix

Fig 1:

Left: Curtis, S. Edward. Three Pigeon Men: Spotted Eagle, Heavy Gun, Robert Calf Robe. 1910. Film photography. Library of Congress. Accessed Nov. 27, 2014 from <http://www.scoutingforindians.com>. **Right**: Thomas, Jeff. Four Indian Guys from Winnipeg. 2005. Digital photography. Web series. Accessed Nov. 27, 2014 from <http://www.scoutingforindians.com>.

Fig 2:

By Blessing G., student at Ha:san Preparatory. Photo shown: Curtis, Edward S. Qahatika maiden. 1907. Film photography. Accessed Dec. 1, 2014 from <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com//gallery/photo/these-10-kids-wont-be-stereotyped-edward-s-curtis-photos-158053>.

Fig 3:

Claxton, Dana. Daddy's Got a New Ride. 2008. Dye coupler print. Accessed Nov. 20 from <http://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/arbutus/article/view/12892/3971>.

Fig 4:

Claxton, Dana. Baby Boyz Got an Indian Horse. 2008. Dye coupler print. Accessed Nov. 20 from <http://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/arbutus/article/view/12892/3971>.

Fig 5:

Kwandibens, Nadya. Concrete Indians. 2010. Digital photography. Accessed Dec. 1, 2014 from <http://www.redworks.ca/portfolio-category/concrete-indians/>.

Fig 6 & 7:

Favell, Rosalie. I dreamed of being a warrior. 1999. Digitally manipulated photo. Accessed Nov. 25, 2014 from < http://www.aboriginalcuratorialcollective.org/acc_gallery/favell.html>.
Favell, Rosalie. Voyageur. 2002. Digitally manipulated photo. Accessed Nov. 25, 2014 from < http://www.aboriginalcuratorialcollective.org/acc_gallery/favell.html>.

Fig 8:

Favell, Rosalie. I Searched Many Worlds. 1999. Digitally manipulated photo. Accessed Nov. 25, 2014 from < http://www.aboriginalcuratorialcollective.org/acc_gallery/favell.html>.

Fig 9:

Adams, KC. Gang Member. 2006. Digital photography. Gallery One One One, Winnipeg. Accessed Nov. 30, 2014 from <http://www.kcadams.net/art/photography/Hybrids.html>.

Fig 10:

Adams, KC. Iroquois Scout. 2006. Digital photography. Gallery One One One, Winnipeg. Accessed Nov. 30, 2014 from <http://www.kcadams.net/art/photography/Hybrids.html>.

Fig 11:

Fig 12:

Ortiz, Virgil. Translator Triptych. 2014. Digitally manipulated photography. Arizona State Museum. Accessed Nov. 30, 2014 from <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2014/11/29/smudging-colonizers-lens-artists-challenge-old-imagery-regarding-curtis-158055>.

Ancestral Lineage Transcending the Temporal: *7 Generations* and Spatially Bound Identity

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Abstract

7 Generations: A Plains Cree Saga is a graphic novel by Scott B. Henderson and David Alexander Robertson which outlines the ancestral struggles of the Blackbird family across past generations. The protagonist, Edwin, works to heal himself from the initial plot point of his suicide attempt through listening to his mother's stories of strength and endurance in their bloodline. The Blackbird family is rife with cases of perseverance: war with neighbouring peoples, colonization, the ravages of smallpox and the residential school system bring Edwin's ancestors into contact with pain and death. However, 7 Generations affords a message of hope and ongoing transcendence beyond the ravages of such hardships through the power of collective support transmitted through the oral storytelling tradition. These past pains are passed on and brought together in discourse by Edwin's ongoing battle with his depression and are materialized by the object of the stone necklace which each Blackbird family member has held throughout the course of their saga.

DAVID ALEXANDER ROBERTSON SCOTT B. HENDERSON

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Edwin is lost, alone, and alienated from the world when he attempts to commit suicide at the outset of *7 Generations*, David Alexander Robertson and Scott B. Henderson's Aboriginal graphic novel. This crisis point is brought about as a result of the protagonist's feeling of separation from both his familial and cultural identity. Healing is visually and narratively described as a journey of reconnection to these personal roots through shared human experience; it is an accessing of the accumulated wisdoms of one's ancestry. Throughout the novel, every component of the medium works to weave a vivid experience which overlays past and present, negating a temporal conception of ancestral lineage in favor of a spatially based paradigm. In his "Coming Home Through Stories," Neal McLeod states that "to tell a story is to link, in the moments of telling, the past to the present, and the present to the past" (17). This atemporal quality of storytelling, which he suggests of the aboriginal oral narrative tradition, affords it an agency which one can only truly access through spatial elements such as land and object. McLeod speaks of spatial and ideological dissonance as the two main factors that caused cultural loss and personal struggle. Edwin's plight is symptomatic in both of these categories of alienation. The medium of the graphic novel allows for the category of the spatial to interplay with that of the narrative by means of its visualization of the Cree saga. Throughout the work, the characters interact with space as much as they are represented by it. They often journey to visit natural landmarks in order to access ancestral memory, such as the river bank, where space transcends time and the dead can speak to the living. They pass along the stone necklace as an object of power which accumulates the individual strength of its possessors throughout their times of hardship and affords them the collective strength of all of its owners, both past and present. David Alexander Robertson and Scott B. Henderson's *7 Generations* utilizes the theme of cyclical ancestry through an interweaving of oral narrative, visual similitude, and indexical bonds to convey a powerful message of healing and connectivity.

One of the most common narrative structures in the broader tradition of literature follows the development of the story through a setting up of plot, rise of events to a point of climax, and general denouement towards the eventual conclusion of the tale. However, *7 Generations* diverts from this model in a manner that enhances the Aboriginal mode of storytelling. As such, the narrative commences at a point of climactic drama as Edwin's mother races to save him from himself. As a result a convergence point of past and present initiates the narrative; all that proceeds the story's commencement, and all that follows

it, converges upon itself through the interpolation of past and present throughout the narrative. The remedial power of this method is evident when considering it as, "an ideological home [which] is a layering of generations of stories, and the culmination of storyteller after storyteller, in a long chain of transmission. To be home, in an ideological sense, means to dwell in the landscape of the familiar, collective memories, as opposed to being in exile" ("Coming Home Through Stories," 18). Lauren, Edwin's mother, uses the power of story to give her son strength on his path to recovery; she brings him home through the familiarity of pain in ancestral stories of the Blackbird family in which those members with whom they share blood were able to triumph over adversity and dissonances of their own. Stone's battle to avenge his brother's death at the hands of the Blackfoot, and White Cloud's survival of the smallpox epidemic are meant to give Edwin a sense of ancestral triumph and create a personal connection with this tradition of endurance. The protagonist of any story is meant to serve as a point of identification to its auditor. This is true in the case of Edwin's identification with his ancestors as much as it is in the case of the auditor's resonance with Edwin when reading *7 Generations*. In this manner, the projection of one's own identity onto the object of the graphic novel, and its narrative, can serve as a healing tool for its auditor as well. This is especially true for those of Cree ancestry; the work creates a space for Aboriginal characters in graphic novels, which maintains cultural accuracy rather than subjugation. Stone's story calls the colonizer/colonized dichotomy into question through recollection of a time when the Cree were, themselves, the colonizers of the Blackfoot. *7 Generations* reclaims a sense of Aboriginal agency by means of the self-authoring of narrative. As McLeod words this sentiment: "stories and languages led some of the people back to their identities; it is only through our own stories that we can find true dignity and integrity in the world" (30).

Much like the similitudes found in the narrative of *7 Generations*, there is a wealth of visual mirroring which brings the characters together across time to share in the strength of their cultural and familial identity. The auditor of this work need look no further, but certainly should not stop at, the cover of the book in order to find validity in this assessment. As Edwin looks into the river, distraught, his father's image reflects back at him; their shared emotion of pain bonds them, the stone they hold transcends the temporal distance of their struggles and staves off the dissonances which create their pains. The generations of the Blackbird family are literally folded upon themselves through visual similitude as much as they are interwoven through narrative interpolation. James' pain is passed on to Edwin very clearly in the visual resemblance of the scene of his younger brother Thomas being beaten at residential school and that of his own inclination to hit his son with a belt later in his life (*7 Generations*, 91-92, 96). McLeod speaks of the experience of residential schools as one which "exemplifies the process of ideological diaspora. Alienation from the land, political pressure and the use of force were all parts of a larger effort to destroy [Creeness]" ("Coming Home Through

Stories," 29). The emotional scars which James' loss of his younger brother at the school cause are visually likened to Edwin's near-death experience as the two young boys lie one over the other, facing the auditor with similar body posture, and the gutters of the page blur into one another just like the implications of their experiences are meant to (*7 Generations*, 121).

Another example of this visual overlapping of stories can be found in the interpolation of Edwin's image running through the forest with that of White Cloud's running through the forest; both are in states of emotional discord (56). Regardless of the generation of Blackbird, which they belong to the land that holds the wisdom necessary to transcend time and affords the answers of the ancestors. McLeod might explain this paneling choice as one which demonstrates how "narratives are thus essentially maps which emerge out of a relationship to a specific area, whereas wisdom emerges from voice and memory within that landscape" ("Coming Home Through Stories,"18). Bear appears to Stone by the riverside and speaks to him beyond the confines of life and death via exactly this power of the landscape (*7 Generations*, 22). Space is visually important in instances such as when Lauren comforts Edwin in the hospital. The page beside it directly mirrors the panel shape and arrangement, as well as the bodily posturing, of Stone as he lies over his brother Bear's slain body (18-19). Likewise, when telling stories in the kitchen, Lauren's reflection in her coffee mug sequentially precedes that of White Cloud's reflection in a bowl of water (43). Both confront the task of caring for a sick family member, one with depression and the other with smallpox; through this visual affinity the graphic novel medium is able to more powerfully emphasize the overlapping of their experiences as members of the Blackbird ancestry. These are but some of the many examples of the use of visual similitude in *7 Generations* which create a spatially bound, atemporal, collective consciousness which story telling keeps alive, a tradition the novel itself is participating in.

Finally, objects which the characters of *7 Generations* grasp to in their times of hardship act as indexical bonds which transcend time through spatially bound memory and wisdom. Photographs are one example of this. James recounts how he kept photographs of his family around his workspace as a message of hope during the years he spent healing, away from them. The calendar behind him in the previous panel looks colorless and unimportant in comparison to the strength which these indexical bonds to past moments of joy shared with Edwin and Lauren seem to afford him while engaging in the daily grind of working life (119). Likewise, Edwin looks to a cracked photograph of his father when he is feeling abandonment and isolation from his ancestry at the time of his suicidal decision (3). However, the strongest of the indexical bonds in *7 Generations* is most certainly that of the stone necklace passed on from family member to family member as an object of strength to help them through their greatest times of hardship (12, 16, 31, 39, 45, 73, 126-127). McLeod's assessment of spatially bound identity and collective memory beautifully outlines the power of the indexical bond to heal when he speaks of how

"the ancestors were speaking to you directly, the knowledge the stones contain. Bring this knowledge to bear on your disturbing situation" ("Coming Home Through Stories,"18). The stone is literally land; the foundation of ancestral identity. This is perhaps the strongest symbolic bond visually and indexically which connects all those members of the Blackbird family whose tales contribute to the larger narrative of this Plains Cree saga as a whole.

By use of narrative affinity, visual similitude and indexical bonds engaging in discourse through the medium of the graphic novel, David Alexander Robertson and Scott B. Henderson's *7 Generations* is an act of cultural reclamation, and therefore of healing through the strength of ancestral cyclicality. Just as the power of lineage courses through Stone while on his vision quest, Edwin is able to connect by the riverside to all the strength of his identity, which he felt alienated from at the outset of the series of stories (*7 Generations*, 11 and 128). It is through this hybridity of image and text by which the subjugated culture realizes that they are not victims, "but rather celebrates their ability to recreate themselves in the face of new circumstances" ("Coming Home Through Stories," 22). It is through recreation that similitude takes on new edges, new wisdom, and the collective consciousness is altered while maintaining the core values and ideologies which affords the Cree people their ancestral strength.

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Decolonizing Sexuality: Ramblings of a Queer Settler on Writing a History of Indigenous Sexuality

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Abstract

"Tradition" can function as a tool of gender-sex, and sexuality oppression for Indigenous people. But what if that history was always inclusive? This loose thesis of "decolonizing sexuality" best encompasses the place of Two-Spirit in Indigenous histories, as well as problematizing the "otherness" of Indigenous queers. This paper will analyzing methodology, the field of Two- Spirit scholarship, and contemporary experiences to break down Indigenous heteronormativity. Detrimental gender-sex binaries and heterosexuality, and will be positioned as a learned, colonially imposed behaviour to contest the "otherness" of "queer" sexualities.

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In 2014, Robbie Watt an openly gay man from Kuujjuq met resistance after establishing an online support group for LGBT people in Nunavut as a platform to discuss homophobia and sexual orientation in Inuit communities.[1] My personal response was appalled at how the "traditional Inuk way" was being used to actively oppress community members. Diverse desires from heterosexuality are not a modern or Western invention, but have always existed. In the West, where sexuality and gender have been policed and regulated extensively, is it too easy to try to imagine Indigenous history as being more accepting? To attempt to "decolonize sexuality" means trying to deconstruct the way colonialism conceives of Indigenous people and their sexuality, while recognizing that Indigenous people have to confront internalized colonial thinking. This loose thesis best encompasses the place of Two-Spirit in Indigenous histories, as well as contesting the naturalness of the Western reproductive heterosexual relationship. To elaborate, this essay sets out to problematize the notion that Indigenous people—like everyone else—are naturally heterosexual. I see this scholarship having to create links from the historic to the contemporary as colonization imposed frameworks for "appropriate" human relations drawn along lines of gender, sex, and sexuality intersectionally. I am attempting to place Two-Spirit people back into a pan-Indigenous history and challenge how "tradition" functions as a tool for sexual and gender oppression. Highlighting alternative genders, is one way of challenging internalized colonization and heteronormativity propagated in contemporary Indigenous life. I will outline the many methodological problems, explore the field of Two-Spirit scholarship, and ask readers to challenge their own prejudices of sexuality regardless of how they identify, either as a settler or Indigenous to Turtle Island.

Terminology:

A few notes on the terminology used. "Queer" is a distinctly Western conception of non-normative sexualities, genders and biologies. This includes, but is not limited to homosexuality, gender-queer, and trans* identities. The term Two-Spirit is a contemporary self-defined, Indigenous identity that refers to worldviews where both sexes/spirits operate within the body.[2] The term Two-Spirit, historically refers to a diverse range of gender practices specific to Indigenous cultures, as well as biological sex variations that in Western terminology could be broadly understood as "intersex". Wherever possible, I aim to employ the specific cultural-linguistic names for these alternative genders. For example, the four Navajo genders are female, male, Dilbaa ("women" functioning as "men"), and Nádleehi ("men" functioning as "women").[3] The outdated term of "berdache/bardadj" is derogatory coming from

bastardized Arabic, referring to male prostitution and sodomy.[4] Historically, Two-Spirit would have specific gender conceptions and would operate in what would be trans-gendered performance in Western terminology. The cross-gender performance is not common for all contemporary Two-Spirited people, who in Western terms, could be identified as cis-sexual, cis-gendered with a queer sexual orientation. In underscoring the terminology used throughout this paper, I have to recognize that the sexual labels are Western in their creation and recognize the problems of applying labels like "homosexual" or "heterosexual" in the Indigenous context. This language, and the sexualities they represent are foreign and imposed, which contests the "normativity" of Indigenous heterosexuality as a result.

Methodology:

I also have to identify some of the methodological problems for this research. Rifkin's provocative new work When Did Indians Become Straight?: Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty comes from a cultural studies background. I wish to acknowledge that "decolonizing" sexuality from an orthodox historical methodology is near impossible given its colonial taboo and erasure. Settler-colonists sought to eliminate "deviances from Judeo-Christian interpretations of sex and sexuality."[5] Furthermore, processes of manifest destiny and westward expansion brought transportation networks that "allowed the arbiters of 'normal' sexuality" i.e. Settlers, to propagate Western heterosexuality and a gender-sex binary.[6] Working from historic European sources laced with homophobia, transphobia, and a perspective of a gender-sex binary is an obvious detriment. An infamous painting by ethno-anthropologist George Catlin, the "Dance of the Berdache" among the Fox Nation of the Great Lakes for example, should be recontextualized from his bias. The central figure should be reconsidered as an elevated individual and their dancers by a process of association.[7] In the Haudenosaunee context, the matriarchal societies were shoved into patriarchal—and I would add gender-binary—historic accounts, which created hierarchies out of gender, and disempowered women who found themselves navigating the porous roles of power.[8] Early explorers, traders, and other colonists had to equate what they observed to European experiences and conceptions of the body. [9]

While we have historical accounts of Two-Spirit people, as well as some surviving scattered oral histories, the traditional scope of scholarly research here has to be stretched.

Indigenous studies itself is broadening the definitions of research to include unorthodox methods like creation stories, land based education, and oral history. Importantly, we should not quarantine Indigenous scholarship to the ethno-anthropological realms of academia but position it as "an intellectual project that can shape scholarly discourses as a whole."[10] Subsequently, all scholarship needs to be "decolonized/ indigenized", including sexuality studies. Indigenous studies should "escape its position of ethnographic entrapment within the academy."[11] I would further this momentum out of the academy by

saying we should allow Indigenous scholarship to let us reconsider how we relate to and conceive of our own, and others' bodies.

Bodies in Indigenous epistemology are mutable, shapeshifting genders, sexes and species. I draw attention to worldviews and creation stories to problematize the naturalness of heterosexuality and gender-sex binaries. I have encountered a version of the Inuit creation story where the sea goddess Sedna/Uinigumasuittuq (she who did not marry) was featured living on the ocean floor with a female partner.[12] Another Inuit story I have encountered features the original inhabitants, two male hunters Aakulujjuusi and Uumarnituq, who become lonely, make love and Uumarnituq becomes pregnant and changes sexes in order to birth the child.[13] This story I found on a Settler's queer pagan podcast, Discovering the Male Mysteries. We should wonder why these stories are not being told by Indigenous voices, why queer Settlers—like myself—are interested in them, with questions about who has access to these stories, and why they are, or are not being disseminated.

Another methodological issue is about accessibility. Much of the accessible scholarship on Two-Spirit comes from Settler scholars, despite recognizing that prominent self-identified Two-Spirit scholars do exist. I also recognize that some knowledge is not mine to know within the scope of Indigenous spirituality and sexuality. I have tried to include Indigenous voices into this work wherever possible to make sure they are heard in this dialogue. However, I regret that they are not the prominent source of information. To highlight the importance of Two-Spirit scholars, Settler scholar Scott Lauria Morgensen considers Two-Spirit as having a prominent place in "decolonizing" by rejecting colonial conditions where Settler scholars can write at a distance of Native "queers".[14] The Two-Spirit identity allows "Native queers" to be unassimilated by conventional queer critics that "(naturalize) non-Natives in a settler society."[15]

Two-Spirit and their place in oral history, is another place of methodological contention. Anthropologist Julie Cruikshank notes that oral traditions cannot be treated as "evidence to be used for facts," but that they are "told from the perspectives of the people who views inevitably differ depending on the context" and that the history cannot be taken as homogenous to the community.[16] I highlight that the internalized colonization of Indigenous storytellers might explain why sexuality and Two-Spirit are not more prominent in the stories available.

Lastly, to address methodology is to outline how intersecting gender, sex and sexuality are within the scope of this work. The three cultural constructions operate intimately in tandem with one another. Historically, sources had to label gender roles according to European familiarity. Scholar Brian Joseph Gilley, who self-identifies as a "straight Cherokee-Chickasaw" man cautions considering Two-Spirit as a sexual orientation, but recognizes that the alienation Two-Spirit face is comparable to "homophobia" rooted in their sexuality.[17] Will Roscoe considers that gender as opposed to sexuality is "a more appropriate rubric for social status" in the Indigenous context.[18]

However, I wish to challenge sexuality directly given its near universal permeation into culture. My specificity aims to critique heterosexuality's natural, assumed, and normalized compulsory status. I recognize that I will have to collaborate with, and be in dialogue with avenues of gender in order to do this. As notions of sex and biology come into discussion as "naturalized" under Foucauldian discourse analysis as an "artificial unity" or "casual principle."[19] This problematic pairing links marital heteronormativity to bourgeois homemaking, private property, inheritance, legal determination, and gendered labour as socially foundational for the Settler state.[20]

Scholarship:

One effect of colonialism was the near complete overlay of Western ideology over top of multiple, diverse Indigenous knowledge frameworks through processes of assimilation. I wish to mention that Two-Spirit—like all Indigenous people—are resisting these ongoing processes. It is suspected by some scholars that alternative gender practices, and subsequent sexualities were prolific throughout the Americas. Some scholars believe nations are actively suppressing their Two-Spirit histories inspired from internalized colonial imposition. Where can we even begin to draw the line on what conceptions of the self are Indigenous or Settler?

From the field of social work, Settler Lester B. Brown is the most liberal scholar on the subject I have encountered. His view is pan-Indigenous, in that he posits alternative genders as a a prolific phenomenon "from Alaska to Chile".[21] In contrast, most scholars recognize alternative genders as distinct cultural practices commonly cited among the Navajo, Lakota, and Dakota.[22] Brown notes that Indigenous gender is "spiritually directed" and that "sexual play" was embraced along side pro-creation.[23] He sees historic Two-Spirit as an "institutionalized homosexuality" participating in cultural rites like marriages and occupying respected, elevated statuses in society from their spiritual/ gender power.[24] In his view, Christianization from missionaries tried to eradicate these sexualities and practices. By the 1800's Haudenosaunee and Iroquoian groups were "traumatized" away from alternative genders, which gave way to Settler ideologies of heterosexual pro-creation.[25]

Settler scholar Andrea Smith, sees Native people "entrapped in a logic of genocidal appropriation" in terms of Settler colonialism's heteronormativity.[26] I would first challenge Smith's thesis and consider that we trust Indigenous people to best navigate the systems of colonial processes and second, recognize that culture is never static or "authentic", to be measured, or used as a tool of measure. John Tanner, a historic explorer of the Minnesota area encountered Two-Spirit along his journey. He recorded: "There are several of this sort among most, if not all the Indian tribes."[27] I reluctantly want to believe the work of a scholar like Brown, and his pan-Indigenous theory. However, I, as a settler on this land, have to recognize that perpetuating this narrative is a heavy romanticization of a history that is not my own. I wish to defend that

alternative sexualities/genders are not an "appropriation" of Western queer sexualities, but pre-exist queer theory, the Stonewall riots, and gay liberation indefinitely. At the same time, I am opposed to "tradition" functioning as oppressive. I am trying to make space within ideas of "tradition" that are open and inclusive.

Two-Spirit Histories:

What would pre-contact, Indigenous sexuality look like? Regardless, we should not hold notions of "authenticity" and "tradition" over Indigenous people as markers of their "Indian-ness". How do we even begin to recover histories, and people who were targeted and erased from historical memory? As explained in the methodology section, historic accounts of Two-Spirit come at the expense of European authors and how they perceived the world. I hope to demonstrate the broad geographic ranges of these accounts as crucial to imaging a pan-Indigenous "decolonized" sexuality.

Coming from the discourse of anthropology, a study of alternative genders in the Northwest Coast Salish Stó:lō Nation, recognizes the permeable difference between gender and sexuality. Those who identified as a traditional alternative gender and contemporary gay, lesbian identities both accept the term Two-Spirit.[28] The "fixed permanency" and "malleable performativity" of gender and sexuality are complicated in this Indigenous contemporary and traditional context.

Common Two-Spirit histories are from the Dakota and Navajo, and sometimes Ojibwe.[29] In the geographic space of Minnesota, North West Company fur trader Alexander Henry between 1799 and 1814 had accounts of Two-Spirit Ozaawindib at the modern site of the Ojibwe Leech Lake Reservation.[30] Around 1674, Jesuit Jacques Marquette, while voyaging through the Illinois country mentions accounts of men who "assume the garb of women" and suspects a similar custom among the Sioux.[31] His account is clouded with patriarchy from the transgendered pursuits of the Two-Spirit, exemplary is how he considers them "demeaning themselves to do everything the women do."[32] In the geographic space termed the "Upper Missouri", explorer Edwin Thompson Denig recounts a Two-Spirit individual along his journeys through Sioux, Arickaras, Assiniboine, Cree and Crow territory in the 17th century.[33] However, his negligence made me unable to pinpoint among which nation this observation was made.

In the North, an anthropological study examined non-conforming gender Shamans among the Inuit of Igluik near the Melville Peninsula of Baffin Island.[34] At a festival referred to as Tivajuut around 1922 or 1923, the son of two shamans Ujaraq, remembers being dressed like a girl to participate. This process, termed an "anthroponymic identity", came from Ujaraq receiving the names of female ancestors at his birth.[35] Among the Kodiak and Kaska of Alaska is an account of gender self-determination. A family in the Chukchi Nation was lead by "a husband who was a biological female and a wife who was a biological male."[36] Even within the scope of alternative gender and sexuality practices, there is the ability for reproduction.

In southern spaces, Spanish conquistadors in Florida mentions

a "male-berdache" doing what is arguably a sacred and specialized task of preparing the dead for burial, highlighting their spiritual significance.[37] Further south in modern Mexico, Chicimeca circa 1530, colonizers encountered what they perceived as a woman on the battlefield. Conquistador Nuno de Guzman accounts "everyone was amazed to see such heart and force in a woman."[38] After being taken prisoner, and undressing her, they learned she was not "biologically female" and executed her.[39]

These historic accounts of Two-Spirit individuals throughout the Americas score the geographic range of non-binary genders and their subsequent sexualities. Although coloured with European bias they are useful for scholars in that they memorialize these individuals as to not erase their identities and significances in history.

Problematizing the Norm:

Here I hope to further challenge tradition as a tool for sexual oppression and consider heteronormativity as a learned colonial behaviour. Navajo scholar Jenifer Nez Denetedale, has commented on the way Navajo leaders—primarily men—"reproduce Navajo ideology in ways that re-inscribe gender roles based on Western concepts even as they claim to operate under traditional Navajo philosophy."[40] This internalization of learned colonial behaviours is operating under the guise of "tradition". Rifkin considers how Sioux writer, Zitkala-Ša redefines Dakota masculinity in his writings to play into white/Settler assumptions of sex and gender. An analysis of the "regulation of homoeroticism" in the writing American Indian Stories first published in 1921, erases the Winkte gender category, same-sex eroticism, and cultural recognition in marriage by catering to Settler readers.[41] However, "(Indigenous people) rebuke colonialism and the political-economic situation cause by European intervention in the same breath (they)… apply Western value judgments on their sexuality."[42] This paradox of internal-colonization and oppressive "tradition" are fundamentally at odds.

As previously mentioned, I am contesting the normative status of heterosexuality as not natural, but learned. Rifkin considers educational policies like Boarding School (or the Canadian equivalent of the Residential School system) as the main avenues for institutionalizing colonial social relations like the gendered labour division of the husband and wife as the "paradigmatic model for appropriate social order…and the construction of (the) bourgeois home."[43] He furthers this critique by outlining the impact of the reproductive heterosexual relationship as "splintering tribal territory into single family households…(and) the abandonment of Indigenous kinship networks."[44] In a chapter provocatively titled "Killing the Indian, Saving the Heterosexual Homesteader", he links these theories to the implementation of two 1870 education programs at the Hampton Institute and Carlisle Institution under Colonel Richard Henry Pratt. This education based on an "outing system", which placed students with white-Settler families to "receive an adequate idea of civilized home-life."[45] This learned "civilized" life is patriarchial, gender-binary, and heterosexual.

A recorded oral history by Cree orator Louis Bird, details the traditional marriage practice of the Omushkego Cree of the Lower James Bay. He explains that his story is about pre-Christian, nomadic Cree lifestyle.[46] His discussion of pre-contact marriages is automatically heterosexual; marriages are arranged, usually held according to the seasons and sanctified by a Shaman or dignitary.[47] He speaks little of the details of the Shaman figures and focuses his story along a "fairy tale" type narrative resulting in children. He does not define his genders, or who is allowed to be conceived of as a "man" or "woman", but premises marriage exclusively around the heterosexual.

Prominent post-structuralist gender scholar Judith Butler problematizes the heterosexual reproduction of Western "kinship." She sees kinship as institutional, creating fundamental forms of human dependancy and links it to modern political struggles for marriage equality and attempts to redefine marriage beyond pro-creation.[48] Kinship, as a process, not a thing, allows room for active agency through creation, and "reorients it away from reproductive notions of transmitted biological substance or privatized homemaking."[49] Similarly, Rifkin posits heterosexual kinship as forming a self-perpetuating dynamic:

> *Heteronormativity legitimizes the liberal settler state by presenting the political economy of privatization as simply an expression of the natural conditions for human intimacy, reproduction, and resource distribution; thus the critique of heternormativity offers a potent means for challenging the ideological process by which settler governance comes to appear as self evident.* [50]

This analysis is inviting for anti-colonial/decolonizing politics, and its disempowerment of the Settler state's uninterrupted process of creating legitimacy. Similarly, sovereignty is another dimension of colonial imposition. Rifkin defines sovereignty as "the settler states exertion of meta political authority" with reference to the state's ability to define land tenure, political identity, and meaningful consent which is prominent in contested resource extraction negotiations.[51] Sovereignty's intersection to sexuality is positioned where Indigenous people are "legitimized" by demonstrating their "self-evident superiority of bourgeois homemaking…through investments in Native *straightness*." (emphasis his)[52] Sovereignty functions as a way for the Settler state to empower itself by "recognizing" or "disavowing" Indigenous title and notions of peoplehood.[53]

Contemporary Two-Spirit:

In linking this work to the experience of contemporary Two-Spirit, I hope to exemplify how Indigenous people have subsequently naturalized heteronormativity. The way Two-Spirit today are ostracized in Indian Country means that previous acceptances have been replaced with—I would argue, Western, colonial—negligence and intolerance. In the documentary film Two-Spirit by Lydia Nibley, she follows the life of Navajo Nádleeh Fred Martinez, where with life tragically culminating in a hate crime by a Settler.[54] For Two-Spirit their existence is challenged by intolerance,

threats, and violence, not just from within the community, but outside as well. Straight Cherokee-Chickasaw scholar Brian Joseph Gilley, works extensively with contemporary Two-Spirit and queer Indigenous peoples about how AIDS and sexuality affect their community life. Through conducting interviews he found that the Two-Spirit men he works with uphold that "family values" and that their sexuality are in opposition to their perceived "traditional Indian values."[55] Some of their fears stems from Western stereotypes and associations. "Most people don't want to think of Indian men as queens or stereotyped about unhealthy gay people and most people do not want to recognize a historical place for Two-Spirit men based on their sexual orientation."[56] For his subjects, it seems that their sexuality is at odds with their Indigeneity. Despite their self-importance for their traditions, they felt as if they were "conflicted participating in ceremonies or powwows."[57] Whereas the sacred and traditional roles of Two-Spirit beading, singing, jingle dancing, were revered. It should be telling that modern Two-Spirit feel their sexuality is in opposition to their "Indianness" and to what extent they feel they can participate in their communities.[58]

However, advocates within Indigenous communities recognize this homophobic, oppressive thinking and are combating it by disseminating toolkits such as "TRIBAL Resolutions and Codes To Support Two Spirit & LBGT Justice in Indian Country" which addresses they ways Two-Spirit are disadvantaged and disenfranchised.[59] Contemporary scholars have even taken to engaging with Indigenous Two-Spirit scholarship that seems to follow in the trend of "queering" (verb) certain discourses. Gabriel Estrada identifies as a "queer feminist of Chiricahua Apache, Rarámuri, Caxcan Nahua, and Chicana matrilineages who participates in two-spirit social networks."[60] Inspired from Apache scholar Edison Cassadorre who provided a "critical Western Apache two-spirit" critique rethinking Laura Mulvey's patriarchal and heterosexual gaze in cinema, he arrives at an analysis of the Nádleeh gaze in cinema.[61] The motive for work of this nature is a "resistance to imperial whiteness in film."[62] In this line of scholarship, "whiteness" is reasoned as heterosexual, and something that should be resisted.

In an interview with Two-Spirit Bo Young, and his Shoshone mentor Clyde Hall, Young confides how from a queer Settler perspective it is "distressing" how most Two-Spirit spiritualists "would deny gay brothers and sisters access to a history, to a tradition that would empower us all."[63] However, I need to mention that Young's ambiguous background means he might fall into this "non-Indigenous" category despite being incorporated into Two-Spirit communities, having participated in Sweat Lodge, Vision Quests, and Feasts of the Dead.[64] We should obviously be critical of Young's potential appropriation of Indigenous spirituality and ceremonies. This idea of a shared non-normative history for both Indigenous Two-Spirit and Settler queers raises issues previously recognized about what knowledge is meant to remain sacred, and Settler's romanticization of Indigenous "queer" histories.

In an attempt to "decolonize"

sexuality, I have tried to broadly explore the intersections of gender, sex, and sexuality, and how they function in tandem for Two-Spirit and Indigenous "queer" people. I have tried to challenge "tradition" as a tool for oppression and perpetuating heteronormativity by demonstrating that Two-Spirit histories and mutable conceptions of the body are common across pan-Indigenous worldviews. I think this is important for addressing how colonial teachings of the gender-binary and heterosexual bourgeois relationships are learned, not natural. However, by trying to conceive of a place for Two-Spirit in a pan-Indigenous history, this work hopes to create a space for tolerance within contemporary Indigenous societies where hostility is perceived. The thread between the historic and the contemporary experiences are crucial not just for considering Indigenous sexuality and gender, but Indigenous issues broadly. After experiences of colonialism, I am contesting what becomes naturalized (heterosexuality) and what becomes "other" (queer, Two-Spirit). I also hope I have thoughtfully recognized that trying to "make space" in Indigenous sexuality to be inclusive, is a romanticization and disruption of a history and experience that are not my own. As a result of this Settler's intervention into sexuality, I think works of this nature are important in order to consider how Indigenous studies can influence whole scholarly discourses by "Indigenizing the academy" and leaving the ethnographic niche of theory. After all, Indigenous experiences are not simply racialized colonial experiences, but rather are ~~also lived sexual~~ experiences that henceforth need to be "decolonized" off the pages of academia.

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9

Reconciliation, Truth, and Commitment to Growth

Michael Klassen | University of Manitoba

Abstract

The Anishinaabe world view is said to be a great family of relations that encompass all parts of the universe, a concept in Anishinaabemowin called nindinawemaganidog. Nindinawemaganidog is the world view that the universe is made up of a family with many different, but interconnected parts with many responsibilities shared between one another – both physical and metaphysical. This paper examines the philosophical principles of enawendiwin - the spiritual and material connections Anishinaabeg share with creation. And how these connections interact with waawyeyaag - the law of circularity that gives shape and meaning to the Anishinaabeg universe. Using these two elements this paper will explore their relation to the Anishinaabe story, "The Man, the Snake, and the Fox." Together, these elements and concepts will illustrate the importance of relationship building in both its political, historical, and cultural contexts, and in relation to personal stories.

First and foremost, Michael is a dad and husband living in Winnipeg, Manitoba. He entered university as a mature student to further his understanding of the human condition, in all its complexities. Michael has worked as an educational assistant for the Winnipeg School Division for many years and will enter into the Faculty ofEducation with a Major in Native Studies and Minor in Psychology at the University of Manitoba in 2016.

Anishinaabe stories demonstrate an ongoing sense of nindinawemaganidog, which is the Anishinaabe world view that all is connected through a family of relations that encircles every part of the universe. Nindinawemaganidog is the totality of the connection between the ideological and physical Anishinaabe principles of enawendiwin, the spiritual and material connections Anishinaabeg share with entities throughout Creation, and waawyeyaag, the law of circularity that gives shape, meaning, and purpose to the universe. Together, enawendiwin and waawyeyaag are the concepts that constitute an Anishinaabeg universe. This paper will explore these elements in relation to, "The Man, the Snake, and the Fox," an Anishinaabe story described by Basil Johnston in "Tribal Literature" in order to illustrate the importance of relationship building, and other Anishinaabe principles. I will elaborate on this concept of relationship building, both in its political, historical, and cultural contexts, and in relation to personal narratives.

According to Basil Johnston, the story "The Man, the Snake, and the Fox," demonstrates that human nature is inherently well intentioned, , but can also be forgetful. The story follows the tale of a hunter, who, while out in search of food, is drawn to the screams of a serpent that has become entangled in a net. The serpent begs for help, only to attack the man once it is freed.. A fox that is watching saves the man through cunning intervention. While the fox explains that a reward is unnecessary, he asks the man to feed him should he become hungry in the future. Years later, the hunter shoots the fox, but before he dies, the fox asks him, "Don't you remember?" (C.A.S, p.8). The story illustrates the requirement of respect, by including acts like trust and generosity as building blocks for successful relationship building. Additionally, the story presents a cautionary tale of betrayal and the duality of the natural condition of all beings, both human and animal. For example, the relationship between the man and the snake at first appears as a cautionary tale. This plea mirrors the relationship between Anishinaabe and European settlers. Like the snake, European settlers were tangled in a situation that required continuous help from the Anishinaabe upon their arrival. In order to survive, the Europeans entered into relationships or treaties with Anishinaabe. Frideres and Gadacz (2012) explain, "the federal government decided to negotiate with the Aboriginal peoples largely because its own agents foresaw violence against European settlers if treaties were not signed" (p.205). The Europeans, in desperation for safety and survival, were quick to make promises to appease the Anishinaabe to ensure their personal security,

After the Anishinaabe assisted them, Europeans endeavoured to manipulate

and systematically implement tactics of cultural domination. The historical relationship between Europeans and Anishinaabe is marred by betrayal. Anishinaabe had offered Europeans a gift by inviting them into a reciprocal relationship, and in that tradition, when you are offered a gift, you give back to the giver. This relationship parallels our universal connection to others, both human and animal. In the Anishinaabe world view, every gift comes with a responsibility that is directly related to the creator, Giche Manitou's, original invitation for all of creation to enter into a relationship. As Johnston explains in *Ojibway Heritage*, Giche Manitou saw all of creation in a vision and from that vision "…breathed the breath of life" into all things; earth, plants, and both animal and human beings (p.12). He gifted animal and human beings life and invited all things into a relationship that necessitated reciprocity to maintain universal balance.

Europeans failed to reciprocate the gifts they received from Anishinaabeg and ultimately betrayed them when they chose to implement barriers like the *Indian Act* that included such policies as residential schools and the marginalization of the Anishinaabe. These barriers are paralleled by the snake's betrayal when attempting to entangle the hunter in the story. The European policies are the struggle between snake and hunter that were intended to destroy Anishinaabe culture, and resulted in the widespread poverty of a people forced to live an imprisoned life. In the story, the fox saves the hunter from the struggle before the hunter is entangled and killed by the snake. The fox in this illustration could be representative of traditional cultural and spiritual practices like language initiatives, potlatch, and Sun Dance ceremonies. These Anishinaabe practices served as an antidote to the poisonous venom being inflicted upon the Anishinaabe by assimilation policies that attempted to impose cultural genocide.

When the fox first aids the man, his actions contain a deeper meaning. By saving the hunter, the fox has made a selfless decision. The fox could have allowed the hunter to die , but chose to assist him and fulfill an obligation to human beings that is as old as time. In the beginning, in a time before time, Giche Manitou asked the animal beings to help out human beings, because "at birth man was helpless" (Johnston, Ojibway Heritage, p.49). And as a result of Giche Manitou's request to animals, "…almost every animal being offered himself in sacrifice" so that human beings could survive (Johnston, Ojibway Heritage, p.50). The fox's kindness is the embodiment of responsibility that causes one to reflect on the principles of the Anishinaabe world view. The fox's first act is an example of how enawendiwin, or the spiritual connection between animal and human, and waawyeyaag, or the fox's obligations throughout time immemorial, interact in forming a sense of totality within Anishinaabe universality or nindinawemaganidog.

But even after fox saved man, man soon became forgetful again. In the colonial analogy of the story, this could be representative of the lasting impact that cultural suppression and religious discrimination had on the people. In response to the White Paper of 1969, Harold Cardinal explains that the *Indian Act* deliberately suppressed the spirituality of Indigenous peoples, and forbade ceremonies that had spiritual significance, under threat of prosecution and confinement.

Canada's historical policies viewed the continued practice of ceremonies as a delay to the assimilation process (Unjust Society, p.114). The result of this betrayal and the ongoing struggle between Anishinaabe and state policies created a form of coerced forgetfulness in traditional ways. The fallout from the struggle enshrouded Anishinaabe. Even reaching so far as to marginalize Anishinaabemowin, attempting to replace it with English and French. The Anishinaabe were forced to endure these hardships that systematically led to their neglect and the decline of their traditional values that had once been the source of health, well-being, and cultural pride.

Anishinaabe had been forced to the brink of cultural extinction. Regarding the Anishinaabeg principle of responsibility, reminders or a gesture were needed to undo this forgetfulness, to remind them of their relationship with the Creator. In the story, when the hunter has shot and is about to kill the fox, the fox asks, "Don't you remember?" (Johnston. Tribal Literature, p.9) The fox is not only asking the man to remember the act of help that the fox provided, but all of the obligations that came with that act and gesture of selflessness. Beyond the immediate assistance, it asks human beings to examine our relationship with animal beings. What are our obligations to making this a successful relationship if it is to continue? The fox asking, "Don't your remember?" is clear reminder to acknowledge and reestablish our relationship with animal beings or relationships we have neglected in our own lives. It serves as a wake up call, its message is universal: nindinawemaganidog.

Another example of such a gesture came to the Anishinaabe in the form of political resistance to the status quo. Cardinal's book was the first, while the actions of Manitoba MLA, Elijah Harper, and his refusal to sign the constitutional reform package known as the Meech Lake Accord is another. Both actions can be viewed as enacting memory. As a result of his connection to traditional ways, Harper gifted a symbolic gesture that served as a reminder to a way of life that had been forgotten. According to Harper:

The Accord totally ignored the integrity of aboriginal peoples as distinct societies. In referring to the 'two founding nations,' the architects of the accord neglected to acknowledge the equally legitimate place of aboriginal people within the Canadian federation. (Comeau, 1993. p.1)

This was a watershed moment; the Canadian concept of two "founding nations" that ignored the First Nations, exemplifies the forgetfulness of the Canadian government. But it served as the catalyst that forced Harper to take responsibility and make a stand. The proposals put forth in Meech Lake violated the original intent of the treaties. His actions were the embodiment of his thoughts and the gesture collectively served as a way to inspire change. He reciprocated that first breath that Giche Manitou gifted him and offered a gift of his own; to breathe life into an action of social change and awareness. Anishinaabeg were no longer going to sit idly by while their identity as a distinct society was ignored in favour of Quebec's. Harper embodied the responsibility of that first gift when he rejected the Meech Lake Accord. His gesture was for everyone, but it specifically invited the Anishinaabe to reconnect with their identity. His act of dissent was to "…hundreds of years of being

ignored and to centuries of patiently waiting to be treated fairly by people welcomed to this country by the original inhabitants" (Comeau, 1993, p. .216). His act of resistance serves as a reminder of the relationship that needed mending between Anishinaabe and their traditional ways, and to help repel the poisonous policies of the past. In essence, his gesture could be interpreted as a question both to the Canadian government and to Anishinaabe people: "Don't you remember? Why are you forgetting your responsibilities?"

Successful relationship building is reliant on reciprocity of good will. What obligates both fox and the hunter to reciprocate their relationship is respect, trust and generosity, which is highlighted by the question, "Don't you remember?" The hunter has to be questioned and reminded of his obligations and responsibilities. For their relationship to be successful, both fox and man need to acknowledge this. It is a responsibility like love. For their relationship to work they will both have to work at it. There will be times when they forget and need reminding, but that is love. It is something that is not perfect; it takes time, work, and is ongoing. This parallels the relationship made between Anishinaabe and Canada that began at first contact, but was formalized in treaties. These relationships are complicated and at times seem broken and un-fixable, but the need for reconciliation is paramount. Like love, the treaties are a process and require all the work and time that go along with it to make it beneficial for both sides, not one. That is a successful, truly reciprocal relationship. Niigaanwewidam Sinclair summarizes this nicely, "The act of story - and relationship - making among ourselves and with each other is therefore an act of love; it is what maintains us, (re-) creates us, and ultimately, what defines us as Anishinaabeg" (p.83).

In reflecting on my personal connection to this topic, this story crept into my dreams. Understanding the importance of dreams in Anishinaabe cosmology, I figured that this story, my story, was the one to explore within the context of the "The Man, the Snake, and the Fox". In my dream, the snake in the tree was represented by my wife, who years ago, was reminding me of our commitment to have children. I recall at the time, and during my dream, that I was overcome with anxiety. Anxiety caused by the selfish need to maintain my own status quo of partying, socializing etc. I was content and this sudden change to our family dynamic would throw everything out of balance. My wife was entangled by her desire to have children and expand our family, while I was entangled by selfishness and egoism. What I perceived as entanglement during the pregnancy was restored 7 months later. The lack of balance I had felt leading up to the birth of our first child was countered by my first glimpse of him entering the world. I recall sitting with him in the Neonatal Intensive Care Unit at the hospital and realized the insignificance of my selfish desires. He was my fox. He brought perspective into my life. I silently promised him that I would return to university, to not only help provide a better future for our family, but to better understand my place in the universe. We had entered into one of the most important relationships of all. I saw the relationship between mother and child and my place within it. It taught me about true balance, and if that relationship was to get out

of balance, the health of my baby, his mother and myself would be affected.

At first, I was happy and committed to my education plan, but after a few years of part-time school, I became convinced that it was too much of an inconvenience, too demanding. I had forgotten my commitment to our familial relationship. But with the imminent arrival of our second child, I was forced to remember that commitment. It was my, "Don't you remember?" moment. Her birth served as a catalyst, a reminder to the obligations of our relationship. So for the next four years I worked steadily to balance family, part-time education, and work until I was able to enter university, for the first time, as a full-time student. Through revisiting my own history in the context of the story and some of the conclusions I reached , I realized I too had to work at our relationship. It carried responsibilities and those were love. It is complicated, and takes both time and work, and is always ongoing. The story gave me a sense of perspective both in the complex historical framework of the Anishinaabe, but also the complicated framework of everyday life and trying to live it well.

I was further reminded of how pervasive the powers of enawendiwin and waawyeyaag can be when I was reflecting on my paper. For example, choosing Elijah Harper from all possible examples of Anishinaabe cultural resurgence had me perplexed. But as I re-read Sinclair's "Storying Ourselves into Life" I understood why I chose Harper. Sinclair's examination and explanation of Basil Johnston's use of a single eagle feather at a conference was a great example of nindinawemaganidog and likely prompted my use of Harper. Like Johnston, Harper famously held a single eagle feather when he stood against the Meech Lake Accord. It was a symbolic gesture to the Anishinaabe, "that we are made up of thousands of tiny (and virtually unexplainable) filaments that constitute unique parts of a system that together make up a crucial, interconnected process of making our universe fly" (p.89). Nindinawemaganidog.

Through the teachings of Anishinaabe, I have, as a non-Anishinaabe person, been able to find supporting concepts for my worldview. Concepts that not only support it, but challenge my former cognitive disposition to colonial entitlement. It challenged my former worldview, in which the stratification of people was accepted, so much so, as to be normalized and unnoticed. I have not only seen the way in which enawendiwin and waawyeyaag work together to demonstrate nindinawemaganidog in stories, but in my own life as well.

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10

Artwork

Sophie Beauregard | Aaron Blair | Clare Heggie | Cedar Eve-Peters | Joe Jaw Ashoona

Laloba

Sophie Beauregard

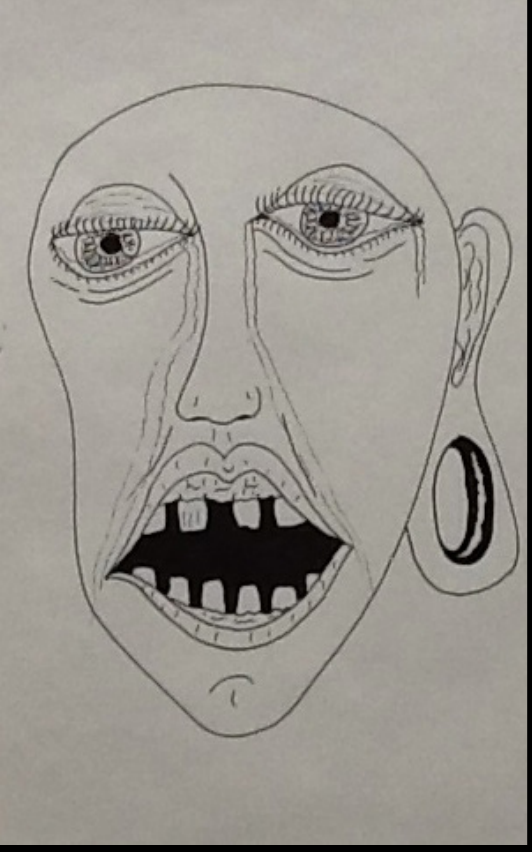
It's hard for me to know if I paint because I'm stormy inside or if I'm stormy inside because I need to paint…
The pieces in this journal came from a deep, beautiful, and wild place within me.
These creatures came in a moment when I needed them.
They helped me find the way, they kept me company and because of them, everything finally made sense.

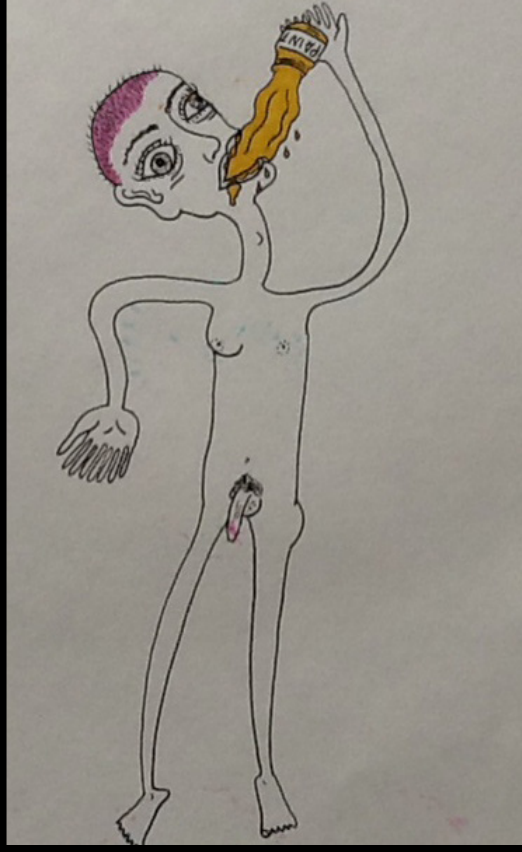
About Sophie Beauregard

I'm a Bachelor of Nursing, Integrated student, graduating in the fall of 2016. I believe that our main priority as a society should be autonomy. I think that the way to it is through extensive gardening, seeds saving, creative expression and the building of strong community. I deeply hope to bring this ideal into my nursing career. Good food, hard work, nature and art, that's the health cornucopia.

The One That Never Sleeps

The Owl

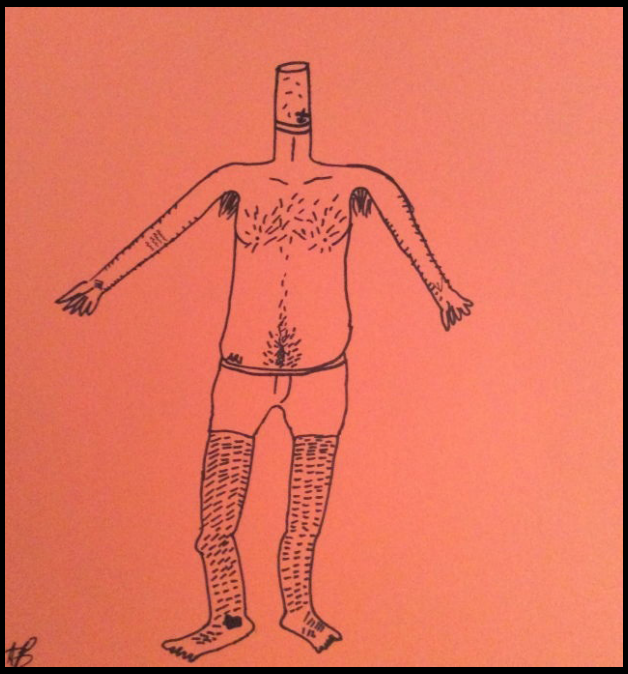




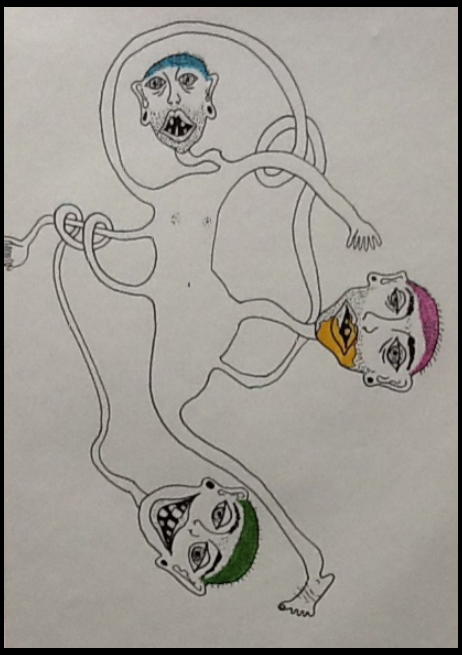
Left: ***Emotions After Listening To A Song By A Childhood Friend Who Had Passed Away Two Years Before***
Right: ***Illustration Of The Story Where Vincent Van Gogh Consumed Yellow Paint In Desperation For Happiness***

Aaron Blair

My name is Aaron Blair. I am an 18-year-old Métis aspiring illustrator living in Montreal, Quebec. My illustrations are inspired by former experiences and emotions being felt at the time, almost like a visual diary.



Acceptance Of The Body, Quitting Smoking



Alter Egos Intertwined

Old Masset

Tanker Free

Clare Heggie

These photos were taken on Haida Gwaii, an archipelago on the North Coast of BC and the traditional territory of the Haida people. Enbridge's proposal to run a bitumen and solvent pipeline from Alberta to Kitimat is a critical threat to Haida Gwaii's food supply, subsistence, lifestyle and economy, as well as a threat to more than 800 streams and rivers in Northern BC including sensitive salmon-spawning watersheds and numerous marine and coastal species habitats. To learn more visit pull-together.ca or haidagwaiicoast.ca

Haida Gwaii Coastline

Haida Gwaii vs. Enbridge

Various Seed Bead Bracelets (Leather)

Various beaded Earrings (Seed beads, Bugle Beeds, Sterling Silver)

Cedar Eve Peters

I was born and raised in Toronto. I am from the Ojibwa nation, currently living in Montreal, where I attended Concordia University until 2012 when I graduated with a BFA. While studying in Montreal, I majored in Studio Arts with a focus on drawing, painting and fibre-based work. I decided to stay in Montreal to pursue my art career.

This past year, I have been making jewellery as my main source of income and have discovered a passion for beading. All of my work is intuitive. I like to use bright colours, as colour is a healing tool. I am inspired by the traditional earrings my mother and grandmother wore and find this influences some of the patterns I decide to use. I am self-taught, using art as a means of therapy to help me keep a healthy mind, body and spirit.

My beadwork is not specific to one culture, but rather pertains to a myriad of indigenous cultural beliefs and motifs. I am inspired by their stories, mythologies and the spirit world. My beadwork is brightly coloured and are often inspired by my dreams. I find inspiration in the Wampum Belts of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) and by the regalia worn by African Tribes.

I am interested in identities of indigenous peoples in the 21st century. It is important to keep tradition alive. The colours I use are contemporary, but are rooted in the ancestors' knowledge. Beading with odd colour combinations and having patterns that are random are what make my jewellery unique. They are one-of-a-kind pieces.

My chokers and bracelets can serve as mnemonic devices, as a means for me to communicate with my ancestors while reclaiming and acknowledging my own identity.

My work is meant to encourage the viewer to question what they know about First Peoples culture. It is about questioning history and reclaiming culture. I create because the impulse is embedded within me. I could not imagine living this life without art. It is important for me to communicate ideas not only verbally, but visually as well.

Cream, Copper and Red Seed Bead Choker (Leather)

Cotton Pastel - Beaded Earrings and Choker (Choker: Seed Beads; Earrings: Seed Beads, Bugle Beads, Sterling Silver Ear Wires)

Tip of Iceberg

"I Often Carve Nanuit (Polar Bears)

Because I See Them In My Dreams"

Joe Jaw Ashoona

Joe Jaw Ashoona is a fourth generation Inuit artist from Baffin Island, Cape Dorset, Nunavut.

11

Liquid Courage (2014)

Robbie Madsen | Toronto, ON

There's no way I can talk with you
You won't remember tomorrow anyway
I'll be lucky if you don't hit me
The way you did the other day
And I know it's possible
You just don't know how deep you are
Allow me now to walk away from you
While you run for the nearest bar

You can't get up
Oh no, you've been so damaged
All you have left now
Is your liquid courage

Is this the person you hoped to be?
With all that sweetness running through your veins
When the rush is over and you go dry
You're back to remembering your name
What is it inside that bottle?
That makes you feel as though you are safe
Well, swimming and drowning are two different things
And you're drowning right now, I'm afraid

You can't get up
Oh no, you've been so damaged
All you have left now
Is your liquid courage

What is it inside that bottle?
That makes you feel as though you are safe
Well, swimming and drowning are two different things
And you're drowning right now I'm afraid

You can't get up
Oh no, you've been so damaged
All you have left now
Is your liquid courage

12

The Fiction of Immigration and the Limitations of Political Recognition in the Settler Colonial State

Ava Liu | McGill University

Abstract

For individuals to be denied recognition of their differences constitutes a form of oppression; thus, a liberal multicultural state should practice political recognition with respect to its minorities. However, the politics of recognition are only useful in the immigrant nation and not in the settler-colonial nation. The politics of recognition commit erasure of how the occupying nation has created the terms of exclusion that now define the "difference" of the colonized minority. They over-emphasize political recognition over material re-articulation and ignore the fact that the subaltern group has been subjected without consent to the terms of occupation by which recognition is now extended. This paper contends with how the politics of recognition replace the history of the settler nation with the fiction of the immigrant nation.

Ava Liu is a Honours Political Science and Philosophy student currently attending McGill University on Kanien'kehá:ka territory.

In his theorization of the politics of recognition, Charles Taylor believes that "affirmative recognition of societal cultural differences" is essential to "the freedom and well-being of marginalized individuals and groups living in ethnically diverse states" (Coulthard, 6). For individuals to be denied recognition of their differences constitutes a form of oppression; thus, a liberal multicultural state should practice 'mutual recognition' with respect to its minorities. There has been disagreement regarding the applicability of the politics of recognition to Indigenous communities. For example, Glenn Coulthard states that the politics of recognition merely reproduces the imbalanced terms of power where the master and slave come together through the process of mutual recognition, i.e. the very terms that produce the master-slave relationship (Coulthard, 5). In her work on the Mohawk nation of Kahnawake, Audra Simpson states that definitions of "difference" and consequent steps toward "tolerance" and "recognition" actually construct Indigenous communities as internal populations eligible for government regulation, rather than as their own sovereign entities (Simpson, 21). Simpson writes that the techniques employed by the state in sustaining the self-authorizing framework from which it grants 'recognition' include justifying colonial occupation as "the practice of immigration (called such in the United States and Canada) rather than 'settlement'", its rightful name (Simpson, 21). I will build on Simpson's comment to provide an analysis of how the logic of recognition politics tacitly assumes the fiction of the immigrant nation. In particular, I will contrast multiculturalism in the immigrant nation versus the colonial history of the settler nation to show that application of recognition politics in the Indigenous context relies on the fiction of North American settlement as immigration rather than colonization. Ultimately, the politics of recognition are inapplicable to Indigenous people in the settler-colonial context because they obscure the lack of consent in the colonizer-colonized relationship and evade the colonial state's responsibility in producing the differences that now require "recognition".

Simpson writes that within recognition by settler colonialist regimes, there is a "deep impossibility of representation and consent within governance systems that are predicated upon dispossession and disavowal of the political histories that govern the populations now found within state regimes" (Simpson, 18). Ultimately, my analysis of the immigrant nation versus the settler nation aims to get at the deeper relationship of consent between the majority in power and the minority eligible for recognition. As explained by Tuck and Yang, it is important to recognize that settlers are not immigrants and that immigrants are settlers. Settler colonialism refers to the specific form of colonialism on which modern North American society has been built. In particular, settler colonialism involves the colonizer's occupation effecting the displacement of the colonized. As articulated by Tuck and Yang, "in order for the settlers to make a place their home, they must

destroy and disappear the Indigenous peoples that live there" (Tuck and Yang, 4). Whereas immigrants consent to the Indigenous laws and epistemologies of the lands they migrate to, settlers become the law, supplanting Indigenous laws and epistemologies (Tuck and Yang, 6). Therefore, settler nations are not immigrant nations. Furthermore, settler colonialism continues in the contemporary society as occupation of former Indigenous territories is a continued mark of settler colonialism. Although there is general assumption that the colonial project has been realized and 'that settlement is now considered a "nation of immigrants" (except the Indians)', this eludes the reality of how settler-colonial statehood was constructed and remains maintained (Simpson, 12).

In its contemporary form, the modern North American state *is* both an immigrant nation and a settler nation. In many ways, the politics of recognition is effective in a multicultural context such as Canada, where thousands of immigrants make their way to their new adopted nation every year. Recognition politics is central to the progressive movements of many racialized and/or religious minorities who seek accommodation and recognition from the state for their differences. Furthermore, there has been a history of national leaders trying to present the United States or Canada as a nation of immigrants. Two U.S Presidents, Barack Obama and John F. Kennedy, have labeled the United States "a nation of immigrants". Obama stated in 2012 that unless "you are one of the first Americans, a Native American, we are all descended from folks who came from somewhere else. The story of immigrants in America isn't a story of them. It's a story of us" (Simpson, 1). I hope to show that the politics of recognition may be applicable to multiculturalism in the context of the immigrant nation, but that it is not applicable to settler colonial relations. Furthermore, the application of recognition politics to Indigenous minorities incorrectly fits their histories into the same category as other racialized minorities in a multicultural society. However, this obscures Indigenous history by ignoring the nonconsensual colonial terms of occupation which have constructed their "minoritization".

Simpson writes that "recognition is the gentler form… of managing Indians and their difference, a multicultural solution to the settlers' Indian problem" (Simpson, 20). However, the reason why the politics of recognition cannot be applied to the "Indian problem" is that the liberal context of multiculturalism as fitting the immigrant nation does not apply to the settler nation. If Canada were merely a culturally pluralistic nation of immigrants, then acknowledging everyone's identities and their differences would move toward the Hegelian ideal of *reciprocity* to integrate power imbalances and produce a peaceful coexistence. However, Canada is not merely such an immigrant nation. It is a settler colonial nation. It is not that the Indigenous peoples now *find* themselves different within the modern state and modern economy, but that they were made different by the establishment of the colonial state itself. Thus, the politics of recognition which confers an understanding of individual identities and their differences elides over the fact that it is the modern state

which has maligned those differences and perpetuated the terms of their exclusion, i.e. through the occupation of lands and the destruction of Indigenous relationships to their land, a fundamental basis for much of Indigenous culture and identity.

As Simpson states, "Charles Taylor offers a foundational and empirically driven moral formulation and defence of recognition for those whose difference is of such culturally determined form that they cannot help *but* be different, and so must be recognized as having traditions that should be more than just "tolerated" (Simpson, 21). This is true of immigrants who come to a new nation and find themselves different. The politics of recognition can be useful in a form of multiculturalism that contends with immigrants that *consent by choice* to come to this country and thus *find* themselves different. The liberal society thus makes positive accommodations to recognize their difference and pronounce their cultures as equal of membership against the unarticulated status quo (white, male, Protestant, etc.). However, in the case of Indigenous peoples, the politics of difference evades the fact that the relationship between the minority and the state is more than one of just "cultural difference". In fact, it is the nation's own occupation of the Indigenous way of life that has created this isolation and its perpetuation which now manifest themselves as difference. To merely recognize these differences is to evade the responsibility to correct their material cause and undo the legacy of colonialism. I believe that this unique position distinguishes the decolonization politics of settler colonialism from other "decolonial desires of white, non- white, immigrant, postcolonial, and oppressed people" (Tuck and Yang, 1). The Indigenous peoples cannot merely desire recognition from the government on account of their differences as they may also desire material action from the state to *correct* the outcomes of these differences. Furthermore, the politics of difference not only evades that understanding, it obscures the *responsibility* that the state has in undoing the material terms of exclusion, occupation, and difference.

Additionally, in the Indigenous context, the politics of recognition appear to confer recognition on a group of people who never consented to *the state that is granting recognition*, nor to the terms that the state grants it by. Whereas immigrants move to a nation to join its society and build its history, the colonized are the people who must be exterminated by the colonizers so that the latter may construct their nation. The politics of recognition ignores this fact, and this is why to reject recognition can be conceived as a rejection of the power of the oppressor. As Simpson writes, "Indigeneity is imagined as something trapped within the analytics of "minoritization", a statistical model for the apprehension of radicalized populations "within" nation-states" (Simpson, 25), but Indigeneity is also a history of the displacement of former nations that once stood with sovereignty on now-occupied lands, lands which were seized and occupied without consent. Furthermore, following along Simpson, the desired "recognition is not of culture, but of sovereignty" (Simpson, 28). The politics of recognition are valuable when "in its simplest terms, it is to be seen by another as *one wants to be seen" (*Simpson, 27). Taylor bases his analysis on the fact that the

minority group places importance on the recognition given or withheld by others. Although this is true, the minority group does not necessarily value that recognition when it is given on the terms of the other, in the language of the other, or by the statehood practices of the other. For example, the Kahnawake nation of the Mohawks only desires recognition of its sovereignty on a nation-to-nation basis but refuses recognition as a community (Simpson, 25). Simpson argues that Indigenous communities may choose to not recognize the state and to reject the state's recognition on the basis of calling attention to the imbalance of power that characterizes this dynamic (Simpson, 22). This is the key difference between a settler history and an immigrant history. In an immigrant history, recognition can be the last step to peaceful cultural co-existence, but in a settler history, recognition merely entertains the idea of a settler future, one in which the settler diminishes its responsibility for *producing* and/or *undoing* the terms of which the colonized group now finds itself in.

My last point engages the note of political economy. As Glenn Coulthard writes in his critique of Taylor:

> *"When his work is at its weakest, however, Taylor tends to focus on the recognition end of the spectrum too much, and as a result leaves uninterrogated deeply rooted economic structures of oppression. Richard Day has succinctly framed the problem this way: 'although Taylor's recognition model allows for diversity of culture within a particular state by admitting the possibility of multiple national identifications', it is less 'permissive with regard to polity and economy in assuming that any subaltern group that is granted [recognition] will thereby acquire a subordinate articulation with a capitalist state'" (Coulthard, 6).*

The politics of recognition does little to address the generative structures of colonialism that include a racially stratified capitalist economy and the hegemony of the colonial state. Settlers have occupied Indigenous peoples and constructed their own realities through erasure of the pre-settler society, which they label as pre-modern or primitive. In contrast to immigrants who arrived to a foreign land in order to join its economic systems and learn its logic, Indigenous communities never consented to the capitalist economy that they now find themselves a part of and which actively attempts to assimilate them. Furthermore, they find their traditional ways of life threatened by these economic conditions that continue to commit erasure of their way of life and their land. Not only do the politics of recognition overemphasize political recognition over material re-articulation, they also ignore the fact that the subaltern group has been subjected without consent to the predominant economic terms by which relationships are now negotiated.

Thus, in many ways, the politics of recognition exists within perpetuation the power imbalances that define the settler colonial nation. In particular, it applies a false fiction of consent to the colonial relationship by reconfiguring it with assumptions that underlie the immigration nation. The real history of Indigenous peoples is not the same as those of other minorities in

a multicultural society. As Coulthard notes, "Taylor's variant of liberalism as *liberalism* fails to confront the structural/economic aspects of colonialism at its generative roots" (Coulthard, 15). The politics of recognition define the sovereignty of the colonized along the terms of the settler nation and they commit erasure of how the occupying nation has created the terms of exclusion that now define the "difference" of colonized communities. Ultimately, the politics of recognition is more effective in the consensual context of an immigrant nation, but modern North American countries are not merely immigrant nations, they are also settler colonial nations, and this is a reality that must be retrieved in Indigenous politics.

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13

The Promise of Accommodation: The Choctaw Nation from 1798 to 1814

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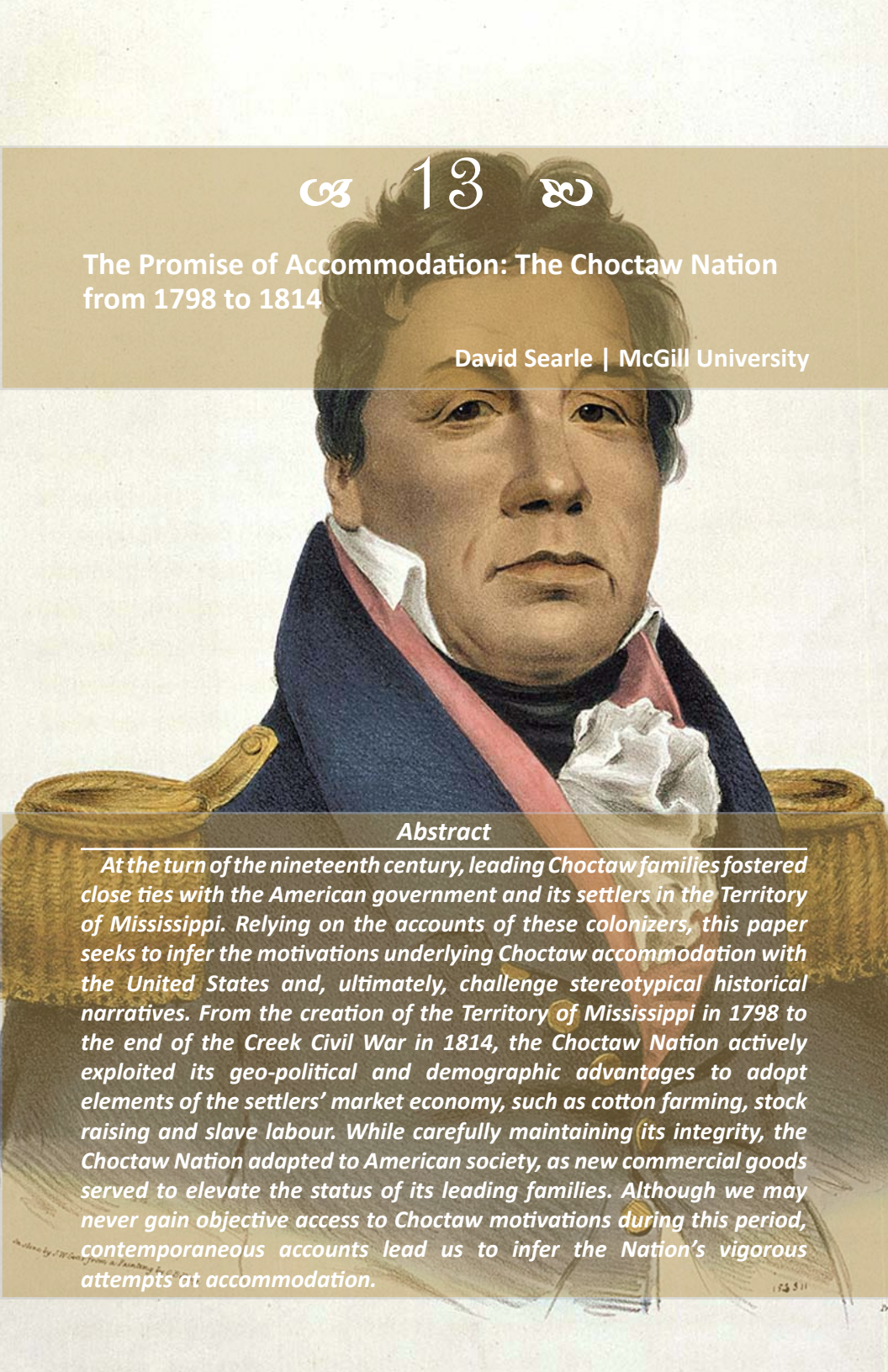

Abstract

At the turn of the nineteenth century, leading Choctaw families fostered close ties with the American government and its settlers in the Territory of Mississippi. Relying on the accounts of these colonizers, this paper seeks to infer the motivations underlying Choctaw accommodation with the United States and, ultimately, challenge stereotypical historical narratives. From the creation of the Territory of Mississippi in 1798 to the end of the Creek Civil War in 1814, the Choctaw Nation actively exploited its geo-political and demographic advantages to adopt elements of the settlers' market economy, such as cotton farming, stock raising and slave labour. While carefully maintaining its integrity, the Choctaw Nation adapted to American society, as new commercial goods served to elevate the status of its leading families. Although we may never gain objective access to Choctaw motivations during this period, contemporaneous accounts lead us to infer the Nation's vigorous attempts at accommodation.

I hope you enjoyed reading this paper as much as I enjoyed researching it for my History and Political Science degree at McGill (BA'11). I am currently completing a law degree at McGill (BCL/LLB'16) and am interested in pursuing a career in social justice law.

Introduction

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the United States initiated a tremendous period of expansion, stretching ever westwards from the Appalachian Mountains. Although an increase in Trans-Appalachian settlement reified contact between Indigenous peoples and white colonizers, the American historical narrative of conquest had yet to be confirmed. From the creation of the Territory of Mississippi in 1798 to the end of the Creek Civil War, the demographic strength of the Choctaw Nation obliged the American government and its accompanying populace of some 5,000 settlers to compromise in their dealings with the Choctaws. Residing mainly in Central Mississippi and numbering approximately 20,000, the Choctaws were able to dictate the terms of their relationship with the isolated settlers on the Mississippi River. The Choctaws exploited their strategic advantages to actively adapt to trade on the frontier, thereby encouraging accommodation between themselves, the American government and settlers in the Territory of Mississippi prior to the Creek Civil War. Following this period, the Choctaws' reduced numbers led to their eventual removal from their ancestral lands, as a racially defined and exclusive American identity supplanted earlier attempts at accommodation and doomed cohabitation in Mississippi.[1]

The establishment of the Territory of Mississippi in 1798 marked the beginning of the Choctaw Nation's active accommodation of the economic demands of the United States. American settlement of the Territory of Mississippi ensured a drastic change in Choctaw lifestyle, as treaties reduced access to hunting grounds, and trade partnerships introduced new elements of the settlers' market economy, such as cotton farming and stock raising. These reforms presented a balancing exercise for prominent Choctaw families, who sought to complement their traditional interests with the benefit of strategic partnership. These Choctaws sought to maintain their commercial ties with settlers through a process of miscegenation and the restoration of stolen property. Skilled negotiators, the Choctaws used their geo-political advantage to satisfy their interests, to the detriment of the United States in the cession of Choctaw lands in the Mount Dexter Treaty. By the time of removal in 1830, the Choctaws had undergone significant economic transformations, most notably in the adoption of American herding practices which culminated in their acquisition of more than 43,000 heads of cattle to sustain a population of 21,000 people.[2] Nevertheless, the Creek Civil War sealed their fate, as mass migration to the lands east of the Choctaw Nation increased pressure for land cessions,

1 For estimates of the population of the Territory of Mississippi, see Charles S. Snydor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966): 186n ; For Choctaw estimate see John D. W. Guice, "Face to Face in Mississippi Territory, 1798-1817," *The Choctaw Before Removal,* Carolyn Keller Reeves, ed. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985): 158.

2 James Taylor Carson, "Native Americans, the Market Revolution, and Culture Change: The Choctaw Cattle Economy, 1690-1830," *Agricultural History* 71:1 (Winter 1997): 11.

foreshadowing their eventual removal from Mississippi during Andrew Jackson's presidency.

Sources

The absence of known testimonies written by Choctaws during this period hinders historians' ability to discover their motivations behind their relations with American settlers. As a nation dependent on oral histories, Choctaws merely appear as adjuncts to the narratives constructed by their white neighbours. Needless to say that such sources influence analysis of Choctaw history by limiting the ability to interpret their intentions at the time. For instance, Richard White's proposal of a dependent relationship between Choctaws and settlers cannot fully account for the views and reactions of Choctaws to their rapidly evolving economic system. Thus, we may never gain objective access to the motivations underlying Choctaw accommodation. However, settlers and government accounts of the Choctaws enable us to infer their relationship with the United States. Predating the government census of the Choctaw in 1830 with the Armstrong Roll, these records are derived mainly from treaty negotiations, letters of government officials, traders, settlers, and later missionaries. These records offer a clearer understanding of Choctaw objectives: to carefully maintain the integrity of their nation, while adapting to American society.[3]

The Choctaws Prior to the Treaty of San Lorenzo

The Choctaw Nation's initial contact with European colonizers came nearly a century before the establishment of the Territory of Mississippi. Located at the centre of territorial disputes between France, England and Spain, the Choctaws negotiated several alliances with these imperial powers, providing military support in exchange for annual gifts, such as weapons and other manufactured goods to guarantee their friendship. The Choctaws' geographic and military importance ensured their diplomatic successes throughout eighteenth century, and contributed to the transformation of their traditional economic system. The Choctaws practiced a combination of horticulture in settled regions in Central Mississippi and hunting in the borderlands surrounding these areas. Responsibility for nutrition and trade was largely gendered: women were responsible for the cultivation of corn and other produce, as well as the collection of wild fruit and vegetables, whereas men left settlements to hunt deer and trade goods. According to Richard White, agriculture accounted for two-thirds of their diet, with hunting and fishing making up the rest.[4]

Relations with colonists extended to the exchange of deer pelts for European goods, such as weapons and whisky. White's Roots of Dependency

3 White offers a more extensive analysis of sources available for the study of the Choctaws before removal, see Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988): 406-8. Sources can be divided into four categories: early descriptions of the nation by traders and foreign officers, government documents, missionary diaries and autobiographical accounts of childhood experiences among the Choctaws. The absence of primary documents written by Choctaws in the territorial period forces any historical analysis to rely on one or all of these types of documents.

4 For Choctaw traditional economy, see White, 20-21; For gendered division of labour, see Michelene E. Pesantubbee, "Beyond Domesticity: Choctaw Women Negotiating the Tension between Choctaw Culture and Protestantism," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 67:2 (June 1999): 391; For Choctaw diet, see White, 26.

identifies this exchange as having undermined the Choctaws, forcing them into a state of dependency in a system of unequal exchange as early as the 1770s. However, White's account – and dependency theory more broadly – ignores the benefits accrued from a trade system that undermined traditional subsistence hunting practices. Although overhunting and the introduction of liquor had negative consequences on the Nation's traditional means of subsistence, the fur trade also benefited the Choctaws through commercial expansion. The introduction of manufactured goods improved the Choctaws' quality of life, as guns, cloth, and hoes reduced their workload, and provided new status symbols. This period of accommodation of imperial powers can be better described by White's famous notion of the "middle ground," as the former paid generously for their alliances with the Choctaws, particularly during the Spanish era.[5]

American Commercial Expansion and the Choctaws' Economic Transformation

As a result of the Treaty of San Lorenzo, which saw Spain relinquish control over Natchez and a portion of its territories east of the Mississippi in 1975, the Choctaw Nation fell under the jurisdiction of the United States. Accompanying this shift came a loss of the Nation's ability to strategically bargain between imperial powers. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the declining importance of this rivalry system committed the Choctaws to amicable relations with the United States, giving greater strength to the Treaty of Hopewell, which promised friendship between both entities.[6] This jurisdictional transfer occurred the same year that Eli Whitney's cotton gin revolutionized the Natchez agricultural economy. As a result of the heightened contact with settlers on the Natchez Trace, the Choctaws' trading practices would expand from the exclusive exchange of furs to a more robust marketplace that promoted a surplus-subsistence economy in tandem with profit-oriented production. As this model expanded among the Choctaws, their interactions with the United States government sought to preserve the commercial interests of the Choctaws' leading families.[7]

Prior to the introduction of the cotton gin to the Mississippi territory in 1795, plantation owners faced great difficulty in cultivating the lands surrounding Natchez and along the Mississippi. Indeed, stiff competition, successive droughts, and insect infestations in the 1790s undermined the profitability of indigo and tobacco crops. The mechanization of cotton production permitted a large-scale investment in short-staple cotton in Mississippi,

5 For White's thesis, see ibid., xiii-xix; For description of Choctaw trade, see Greg O'Brien, *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750-1830* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002): 51; For Choctaw alcoholism, see Stephen P. van Hoak, "Untangling the Roots of Dependency: Choctaw Economics, 1800-1860" *American Indian Quarterly* 23:3/4 (Summer-Autumn 1999): 117; For gifts made by the Spanish, see White, 88.

6 Members of the Choctaw Nation nevertheless continued their diplomatic contacts with the Spaniards during the territorial period. Prior to the ratification of the Mount Dexter Treaty, Choctaws entertained relations with Spain, either in New Orleans or later in West Florida. For example of Choctaw diplomacy with Spain, see "The Choctaws, Communicated to the Senate, March 10 1802" in Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke, eds., *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs: vol. 1 (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1: 658-9.

7 For cotton gin, see David J. Libby, *Slavery and Frontier Mississippi, 1720-1835* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004): 40; For surplus-subsistence Choctaw economy, see James Taylor Carson, *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999): 70.

reorienting plantations towards a crop that had previously only been used in Mississippi for domestic purposes. Indeed, the construction of cotton gins by enterprising merchants offered an outlet for the short-staple cotton. In a letter to then Congressional Committee Chairman William C. C. Claiborne on the Territory of Mississippi, a resident of the territory estimated that cotton fetched approximately 25 cents a pound and offered "singular advantage to the planter." As well as rendering cotton production financially rewarding, cotton gins provided a source of reliable credit for farmers and plantation owners. Indeed, receipts granted upon the delivery of cotton at public gins became the dominant form of currency in the Mississippi cotton-dominated economy. Moreover, the renting of gins encouraged an industrial-style division of labour, as merchants who received these receipts could dispose of them at a fixed rate, relieving farmers of the cost of selling their cotton to manufacturers.[8]

As cotton exports flowed south to New Orleans and then to England for their manufacturing, Mississippi plantation owners experienced a great demand for slaves, who passed through the Choctaw Nation as they travelled southward from Tennessee and the Atlantic states. Given the directly proportional relationship between the number of "hands" working on a plantation and the distribution of "merchantable cotton", cotton profits drove Mississippi settlers to procure ever more slaves. In January of 1802, Mississippi's first appointed Democratic-Republican Governor, William Claiborne, recognized the relationship between cotton production and high demand for slaves in a letter to James Madison: "The culture of Cotton is so lucrative, and personal labor consequently so valuable, that Common Negro Fellows will generally Command five hundred dollars per head." Nonetheless, Claiborne supported a bill passed by the Mississippi House of Representatives that would have prohibited the importation of male slaves above the age of sixteen. While this measure did not amount to an outright ban on slavery, it held the potential to stunt the territory's budding economy, which had grown increasingly dependent on slave labour. Indeed, Claiborne was more inspired by racist fears than by notions of philanthropy: "this Territory must soon be overrun, by the most abandoned of that unfortunate race."[9] Although the bill failed to secure a majority in the Territory's Legislative Council, it highlights the tension between racial fears and the tremendous profits reserved for plantation owners. Indeed, the practice of slavery was accompanied with feelings of racism throughout the South, but the particularly isolated nature of the Mississippi territory heightened these anxieties, as evinced by Claiborne's fear of being "overrun." Nevertheless, slave-ownership eventually became a source of prestige in the territory's plantation economy,

8 For Mississippi crops from 1780-1800, see Libby 35-8; for cotton gin economy, see B. L. C. Wailes, *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi: Embracing a Sketch of the Social and Natural History of the State* (Washington: E. Barksdale, 1854): 169-170; For price of cotton in 1800, see "Printed Article: Charges Against Governor Sargent, May 28 1800" in Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, vol. 5 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937-8): 99-101.

9 For incentives to produce cotton and buy slaves, see Carter, 5, 99-101; For Governor Claiborne's understanding of the cotton economy, see William Claiborne to James Madison, January 23 1802, in Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816*, vol. 1 (Jackson: State department of Archives and History, 1917): 38-9.

encouraging its further expansion among settlers seeking to establish themselves in Natchez high society.[10]

While the increased demand for slaves encouraged settlers to procure their own before relocating to the territory, plantation owners such as William Dunbar also relied on the African slave trade up until its ban in 1808. In addition to the excess slaves sold by arriving settlers, the new cotton economy also attracted slave-traders such as Andrew Jackson from the American interior and the Atlantic coast. The importance of the slave-trade is emphasized by its tremendous growth between 1800 and 1810, with the territory's slave population more than quadrupling, from 3,489 to 17,088. With the signature of the Treaty of Fort Adams in 1801, the Natchez Trace facilitated growth in settlement and the slave-trade between Tennessee and Natchez, and resulted in greater contact with the Choctaw Nation . In an 1803 letter to Governor Clairborne discussing the territory's strategic vulnerability, General James Wilkinson of the United States Army observed an increasing level of interaction between Americans and Choctaws: "the constant intercourse held with [the Choctaw] Towns by the passage & repassage of travellers, will infallibly expose any enemical [sic] design to you." Thus, trade between Tennessee and Natchez served to draw the Choctaws into the American, commerce-based marketplace, and away from traditional behaviours of gift-giving and reciprocity. According to James Carson, exchange between Choctaws and Americans led to a surplus-subsistence economy, where trade represented a secondary means of sustenance, and eventually resulted in the growth of a profit-oriented economy among the Choctaws.[11]

One direct account of the evolving trade networks stems from Andrew Jackson's quarrel with the Indian agent responsible for the Choctaws in 1812, Silas Dinsmoor. Returning to Tennessee from a business trip in Natchez, Andrew Jackson's passage through the Choctaw Nation on the Natchez Trace convinced him of the opportunities to sell slaves among the Choctaws:

> *It was well known that my business to [Natchez] was to bring away a number of negroes which had been sent to that Country for sale, and from the fall of the market and scarcity of cash remained unsold - finding as I passed thro' the Choctaw Country that I could sell several of them [...] I set out with twenty six negroes, and my servant.*

Jackson's experience highlights the Tennessee-Natchez economic ties, as Jackson's home near Nashville served as a base for his slave-trading enterprise in Mississippi. This letter to the Governor of Tennessee, Willie Blount, emphasizes the desire to remove obstacles facing travel and trade through the Nation in the form of passports required by Silas Dinsmoor.

10 For selling of slaves, see William Charles Cole Claiborne to Andrew Jackson, December 9 1801, in Sam B. Smith & Harriet Chappel Owsley, eds., *The Papers of Andrew Jackson,* vol. 1 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980): 260-1; For slave demographics in Mississippi, see Snydor, 186n; For Claiborne's aspersions, see Rowland, ed., 1, 38-9; For interesting description of prestige associated to slave-ownership in Mississippi, see John Mills to Gilbert Jackson, 19 May 1807, John Mills, *John Mills Letters, 1795-1807* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press [n.d.]): 6.

11 For slave importation, see Libby, 52; For Choctaw and settler intercourse, see James Wilkinson to Governor Claiborne, May 10 1803, in Carter, ed., 5, 215-8.

Although the latter was enforcing the 1802 Intercourse Act, the federal government forbid him to uphold the law for individuals believed to be "travelling through the country in a peacable manner on the public road or highway."[12] Thus, travel and trade through Choctaw territory along the Natchez Trace remained largely unregulated, resulting in intercultural exchange and economic gain for the Choctaws. In this manner, the purchase of slaves from white traders by the Choctaws speaks to an economic reorientation towards a market economy, solely devoted to profit through trade. Jackson's confirmation of a demand for slaves indicates that wealthy Choctaws invested in their agricultural productive capacities with the intention of living off of the surplus through trade. By the time of Choctaw removal in 1830, the Choctaw slave community numbered two thousand for a population of 21,000 Choctaws, or almost one slave for every ten Choctaws. Although much smaller in comparison to the majority slave population in Natchez during this same period, the relatively high prevalence of slaves illustrates an active adaptation to the American market system.[13]

The expansion of stock raising in Mississippi at the end of the Revolutionary War created an additional demand for slaves among ranch owners. In 1805, the territory counted approximately 35,000 heads of cattle, mainly around Natchez and the Tombigbee rivers. As the largest herds depended on slave labour, the growth of this industry through the exportation of beef encouraged the further expansion of slave-ownership in Mississippi. Concentrated near the fertile plains of the Choctaw nation, the practice of stock raising spread to the Choctaws as a result of the gradual abandonment of traditional hunting practices in borderlands depleted of their game. Supposedly introduced to the Choctaws by settler intermarriage in the late eighteenth century, stock raising illustrated the divide in Choctaw society between factions deemed progressive, who adapted to economic changes, and conservative, who opposed them. According to James Carson, a decline in the rate of warfare among Southern Indian tribes had led to an increase in horse stealing in the Territory of Mississippi in the 1790s and the first decade of the nineteenth century. By stealing and slaughtering the horses, cattle and hogs of frontier settlers, Choctaws forced their hunting and warrior traditions on American settlers, who effectively restricted their access to land. A letter in 1802 from Governor Claiborne testified to the confrontation between settlers and Choctaws: "they are encamped in dozens, in every Neighborhood & support themselves principally by depredations upon the Cattle Hogs of the Citizens."[14]

12 For Jackson's account of his travel through the Choctaw Nation, see Andrew Jackson to Willie Blount, January 25 1812, in Sam B. Smith & Harriet Chappel Owsley, eds., 2, 277-9; For examples of Jackson's business with Natchez, see Sam B. Smith & Harriet Chappel Owsley, eds., 1, 32n; For policy on travel through Choctaw Nation, see the Secretary of War to Silas Dinsmoor, 23 March 1812, in Carter, ed., 6, 285.

13 For number of slaves owned by Choctaws, see Arrel M. Gibson, "The Indians of Mississippi," *A History of Mississippi,* Richard Aubrey McLemore, ed. (Hattiesburg: University & College Press of Mississippi, 1973): 81.

14 For cattle in Mississippi, see John D. W. Guice, "Cattle Raisers of the Old Southwest: A Reinterpretation," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 8:2 (April 1977): 177; For introduction of stockraising to Choctaws, see White, 105-7; For symbolism behind Choctaw actions against settler herds, see James Taylor Carson, "Horses and the Economy and Culture of the Choctaw Indians, 1690-1840," *The American Society for Ethnohistory* 42:3 (Summer 1995): 501; For

This opposition to settler practices of stock raising by Choctaw warriors stood in contrast to its active adoption by elite Choctaw families. Within the Choctaw Nation, the introduction of trade and new industries meant the increased distortion of material wealth over a spiritual source of authority, associated to successfully hunting dear, or the power to kill other living creatures. According to Greg O'Brien, this transformation among Choctaw elites, who increasingly derived their power from material wealth and whose influence increased through diplomatic contact with American settlers, emphasized the changing orientation of Choctaw culture towards economic gain. Rather than resisting the changes occurring in Mississippi, the leading Choctaw families embraced stock raising in the early nineteenth-century. By 1829, missionaries reported that the north-eastern district of the Choctaw Nation counted an impressive 11,661 cattle, 3,974 horses and 22,047 hogs, for a population of 5,627. Although demographic and geographic shifts within the nation were not recorded prior to the late 1820s, the Choctaws' widespread integration of cattle and hogs into their ritual ceremonies prior to the War of 1812 highlights the common integration of stock raising in the nation's economy. Borrowing Anglo-American techniques for cattle herding, the Choctaws integrated themselves within the settler economy, answering demands for beef among an expanding settler population.[15]

As these herds were most predominantly found in the nation's north-eastern and western borderlands, stock raising linked the Choctaws to the traders, settlers, and the slaves with whom they came in contact. As herdsmen, slaves often entered Choctaw territory when fleeing their American owners. Described by John Guice as a "buffer between established settlements and the native tribesmen," these herdsmen were essential in promoting communication and exchange. As a result of this intercourse, some slaves in Mississippi learned to speak Choctaw, thus gaining a strategic advantage in relation to their owners who relied on them to communicate with the Choctaws. In 1799, residents of Adams County, in which Natchez is located, expressed their deep resentment of this situation: "We present as a very great grievance the want of a white man for an Indian Interpreter which was hitherto been effected by a negro slave to the great shame of a free and independent people." Consequently, the economic orientations of the Territory of Mississippi influenced discourse between Choctaws and settlers. The former's relations with their Choctaw neighbours highlight the need for communication on the frontier, as disputes, trade and inter-cultural relationships determined the nature of accommodation on the frontier.[16]

Accommodation on the Frontier

Born in 1808 in the Territory of Mississippi, Colonel John A. Watkins recalls from his early childhood playing a ball game with the Choctaws,

Claiborne's account, see Governor Claiborne to John McKee, Rowland, ed., 1, 59-60.

15 For sources of authority among Choctaw, see O'Brien, xvii, 100; For census of north-eastern Choctaws, see "Choctaws" in American Board of Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald,* 25:3 (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, March 1829): 152-4; For stock raising-related ceremonies, see White, 105-7; For Choctaw cattle techniques, see Carson (1997), 9.

16 For geographic location of stockraising, see White, 105-7; For intercourse between slaves and Choctaws, see Guice (April 1977): 171; For examples of slaves escaping to the Choctaws, see Libby, 14; For complaints of slave interpreters, see "Presentments of the Grand Jury of Adams County, June 6 1799" in Carter, ed., 5, 63-6.

which he would later describe as a "national institution, in which all the males participated, no matter how degraded or elevated their positions." Known as Achahpih or Chungkee, this game of the pre-removal era fell out of use in the early nineteenth century as a result of evolving social mores. Indeed, the Choctaws' integration into the American economic system translated into the adoption of new agricultural and herding habits. These changes meant the gradual abandonment of Achahpih, as the Choctaws never replaced the stones that were essential components in the traditional game devoting their leisure time instead to the raising of livestock, the production of cotton crops and of hand-made goods for trade purposes. The demise of Achahpih thus serves to contextualise changes in Choctaw society, as contact with American settlers and their governments led to a process of accommodation on the part of the Choctaws. According to Richard White, accommodation occurred on the American frontier due to a relative parity of forces between settlers and Indigenous Peoples. Wielding their substantial demographic, military and geographic power over the Mississippi settlers and their territorial government, the Choctaws successfully accommodated the American polity and its settlers in the context of expanding economic relations, while still imposing their own preferences in their cultural intercourse. Indeed, the politics of language, race and land served to determine the nature of the relationship between the Choctaws and the United States.[17]

The Choctaws' inability to directly communicate with the American government posed an important barrier to their attempts to define their relationship with the United States. For instance, the deliberate misrepresentation of their views by Wigton King led to the removal of a trusted Choctaw agent, Silas Dinsmoor, on June 29, 1814. By forging a letter to the United States government from the prominent Choctaw chiefs, Pooshemataha and Mooshulatabbe, King demanded the removal of Dinsmoor, and suggested himself for the position . Minutes from the 1814 Council with Pooshemataha and Mooshulatabbe revealed that the chiefs denied having ever spoken ill of Dinsmoor and regretted his departure. Without the power of communication, the Choctaw chiefs were disadvantaged in their relations with the American government. However, this event also highlights the role of interpreters in promoting accommodation between Choctaws and Americans. Indeed, John Pitchlynn, American interpreter for the Choctaw Nation, effectively thwarted Wigton King's efforts to usurp the title of agent by disavowing his certification of the forged letter, and ensured that John McKee, a respected trader of long-standing among the Choctaws, would replace Dinsmoor.[18]

Interpreters acted as important bridges between the Choctaws and the United States government, wielding a language of accommodation. Commissioned by the American Secretary of War, interpreters were

17 For Watkins memory of Achahpih, see John A. Watkins, "The Choctaws in Mississippi," *The American Antiquarian* (1892): 72; For demise of Achahpih, see H. S. Halbert "The Choctaw Achahpih (Chungkee) Game" *A Choctaw Source Book*, John J. Peterson Jr., ed. (London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985): 285-6. For White's views on accommodation on the frontier, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 71.

18 For account of Silas Dinsmoor's departure and the Choctaws' reaction, see John McKee to the Secretary of War, June 29 1814, Carter, ed., 6, 440-4.

obliged to "truly serve the U. States" in the regulation of trade and intercourse with the Choctaws, and "to preserve peace on the frontiers," as required by law. Although interpreters might have ensured an imbalanced exchange due to their reliance on the American government , this did not occur among the Choctaws prior to the 1820s. Considerd only in passing by historians , John Pitchlynn acted as interpreter during treaty negotiations between the Choctaws and the United States. The son of a British trader who died in Choctaw territory, Pitchlynn married into a powerful family in the Nation. He was thus trusted among them , allowing him to mediate relations between all parties within the Territory of Mississippi.[19]

An example of the interpreter's ability to bridge divides between communities lay in the restoration of stolen horses to settlers. Horse stealing provided a potential source of conflict with settlers, considering the Nation's early hegemony in the territory. In his instructions to American treaty negotiators in 1801, President Thomas Jefferson emphasized the Nation's powerful position: "[the] Choctaws may be considered one of the most powerful nations of Indians within the limits of the United States; and a pacific and friendly disposition in and towards them should be cultivated." Because of this relative superiority over the settlers and the territorial government, Governor Claiborne had difficulty obtaining compliance from horse robbers, as he depended on the cooperation of the Choctaws to return stolen horses. Claiborne sometimes declined to pursue charges of theft, as evinced by a message he sent to Pitchlynn to be communicated to the concerned Choctaw parties: "I will forget and forgive your late bad Conduct, upon one Condition, which is, that you immediately depart for your own Land, and do no more mischief." Although Claiborne was not always effective in redressing the theft of property, he still conceived such actions as "acts of aggression" that threatened the security of the territory and therefore needed to be addressed to satisfy American interests.[20]

The resolution of cases of horse stealing depended both on the actions of Pitchlynn who communicated the interests of the territorial government, and the support of the Choctaw chiefs. In one instance, a settler whose "horses & other property"- presumably slaves imported for cotton farming - was robbed by a party of Choctaws on the road from Tennessee to Natchez. Under the instructions of Governor Claiborne, Pitchlynn ensured the return of the goods in question through mediation with Choctaw chiefs, who willingly complied with American demands. Borrowing from White's analysis in The Middle Ground, the lack of colonial authority over the Choctaw Nation meant that it adopted a conciliatory approach, rather than unilaterally obtaining a restitution of horses. Weakness thus encouraged accommodation on the frontier. However, this example also underlines Choctaw agency in accommodating American demands, as the Choctaw

19 For responsibilities of interpreters, see the Secretary of War to Silas Dinsmoor, May 8 1802, Carter, ed., 5, 148-9; For Pitchlynn's position within Choctaw Nation, see Theda Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South* (London: The University of Georgia Press, 2003): 3, 24.

20 For Jefferson's strategic evaluation of the Choctaws, see "Instructions to William R. Davie, James Wilkinson, and Benjamin Hawkins, July 3 1801" Lowrie and Clarke, eds., 1, 649-50; For Claiborne's message to the Choctaws, see Governor Claiborne to John Pitchlynn, Rowland, ed., 1, 204; For Claiborne's views on attacks, see Governor Claiborne to John McKee, Rowland, ed., 1, 130.

chiefs used their influence over the warriors to satisfy the American government's requests. These actions on the part of the Choctaws promised to improve relations with the American government, as well as with settlers and traders who benefitted the leading families by selling them commercial goods, an important new source of prestige in the nation. As a result, Pitchlynn, who served as a trusted bridge between Choctaws and the United States government, encouraged dialogue and ultimately accommodation between both parties.[21]

In fact, Pitchlynn embodied an important tactic used by the Choctaws to come to terms with the growing presence of white settlers in Mississippi. By encouraging the marriage of Choctaw women with traders and government officials, the nation actively promoted an adaptation to white culture. Many historians consider this process of miscegenation as central to the decline of the Choctaw Nation, as it created "mixed-bloods" who did not conform to traditional ways. Indeed, historians often disqualify "mixed-bloods" as not representative of the Choctaw Nation and, therefore, disregard subsequent cultural adaptations, such as in the case of black slavery in the nineteenth century. Indeed, De Rosier's analysis of the Choctaw Nation rejected the practice of black slave ownership as contrary to Choctaw values, as it was most predominantly found among "mixed-bloods."[22] Similarly, White's materialistic approach relates the adoption of stock raising at the turn of the nineteenth century to these "mixed-bloods":

> *Those people who first moved into the borderlands were not traditionalists. The pioneers of this new settlement were the intermarried whites and the mixed-bloods, and they came not to re-establish the old economy but to raise cattle [...] Many full-blood Choctaws settled with them in the borderlands, and gradually the way of life and the interests of these people would diverge from their kinsman in the old towns.*[23]

In addition to a lack of sources to support his argument, White's analysis incorrectly equivocates the abandonment of traditional economic behaviour with a culturally and racially distinct group of Choctaws. Identified as "pioneers," the "intermarried whites" and "mixed-bloods" are clearly distinguished from the "full-blood" Choctaws who passively "settled with them." White neither clarifies a time-order in which settlement occurred, nor does he explain the means by which the racially distinct Choctaw group became leaders in herding practices on the nation's borderlands. Such an analysis of changing economic practices relies on a Western concept of race, distorting contemporaneous Choctaw culture that did not distinguish between races within their own nation.

Indeed, the matrilineal structure of Choctaw society meant the maternal control of both goods and offspring in marriage, undermining the role of race in determining social relations within the Choctaw Nation. Although a white trader may have opposed such practices, the child of a Choctaw mother was considered a Choctaw

21 For case of restored settler property, see Governor Claiborne to John Pitchlynn, Rowland, ed., 1, 162.

22 For the practice of miscegenation among the Choctaws, see Perdue, 25; For a racial analysis of the Choctaws' adaptation to the market system, see Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr., "Pioneers with Conflicting Ideals: Christianity and Slavery in the Choctaw Nation," *The Journal of Mississippi History* 21:3 (July 1959): 184-9.

23 For the excerpt from *The Roots of Dependency*, see White (1988): 103.

and belonged to the mother's clan. As a matrilocal society, the Choctaws also benefitted materially from unions with white traders and government officials, since the latter's households were considered the property of their Choctaw wives. The active pursuit of miscegenation among the most distinguished Choctaw families, such as the marriages of Nathaniel Folsom and John Pitchlynn into the family of a prominent Choctaw chief, Miko Pushkush, emphasizes the perceived gains accrued from these unions. In a letter addressed to President Jefferson in 1803, the Indian agent to the Creek Nation, Benjamin Hawkins, thus complained of the consequences of miscegenation in his own agency: "The wife and [her] family first took direction of the provisions, then the house and pay and finally the absolute government of every thing at the agency." Nevertheless, secondary sources neglect the advantage of such unions for Southern Indian tribes, as well as for the traders and officials who married into the Nation, thereby gaining legitimate access to lands otherwise denied to American citizens by law. As a result, miscegenation in the Choctaw Nation can be identified as an example of accommodation on the part of Choctaws and Americans, as both gained materially from such alliances.[24]

While remaining under the sphere of Choctaw influence, the use of miscegenation among leading Choctaw families also served to foster change, bringing in individuals who could promote integration into the modern market economy with their access to new technologies and capital. In treaty negotiations with the United States government, Choctaw leaders of all lineages promoted the adoption of American economic means of production in the territory's early history. In December of 1801, United States officials were sent to negotiate a passage for the Natchez Trace and minutes from this conference reveal that both "half-bloods" and "full-blooded" Choctaws requested access to blacksmiths, interpreters, spinning wheels, sowing attendants and cotton cards to facilitate economic development. Interestingly, for both categories of Choctaws, justification for these demands was based on the presence of "half-breads" within the nation; the Choctaws thus used miscegenation as an argument to secure the interests of the Nation as a whole. Indeed, the Choctaw warrior Puck-shum-ubbee associated the need for spinning wheels to the nation's "half breads" and "young women," allowing for the widespread adoption of new economic realities within the Choctaw Nation. Among other purposes, blacksmiths also served to build cotton gins in the early 1800s for the transformation of cotton. The desire to adapt to American economic practices was in fact an investment in the Nation's future on the part of prominent Choctaw families. Far from representing a symbolic other, the descendants of miscegenation would go on to lead the nation over the course of the nineteenth century, as figures such as Peter Pitchlynn, John Pitchlynn's son, would later serve to defend the interests of the Choctaws with respect to relations with the United States.[25]

In many ways, relations in the territory between both cultures centred on the issue of land and who controlled

24 For the Choctaws' matrilocal society, see Perdue, 25; For account of matrilocal society in Creek Nation, see Bejamin Hawkins to Thomas Jefferson, 11 July 1803, Perdue: 23.

25 For minutes of the Fort Adams Treaty, see "The Choctaws, Communicated to the Senate, March 10 1802" in Lowrie & Clarke, eds., 1, 658-62.

it. As the number of settlers in the Territory of Mississippi more than quadrupled between 1800 and 1810, from 5,179 to 23,024, the American government heightened pressures on the Choctaws to cede land.[26] President Jefferson's policy towards Native Americans as dictated in a famous letter to Governor William Henry Harrison in 1803 made clear his intentions to provide land to American settlers:

> *When they withdraw themselves to the culture of a small piece of land, they will perceive how useless to them are their extensive forests, and will be willing to pare them off from time to time in exchange for necessaries for their farms and families. To promote this disposition to exchange lands, which they have to spare and we want, for necessaries, which we have to spare and they want, we shall push our trading houses, and be glad to see the good and the influential individuals among them run in debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands. [...] In this way our settlements will gradually circumscribe and approach the Indians, and they will in time either incorporate with us as citizens of the United States, or remove beyond the Mississippi.*[27]

In the case of the Choctaws, Jefferson's predictions were borne out, as commercial exchange with American traders led to a significant accumulation of debt. In the early nineteenth century, the Choctaws owed $48,000 to Panton, Leslie & Co., a frontier trading company, which the Jefferson Administration attempted to leverage into the first forced cession of lands from the Choctaws to the United States. Indeed, the previous Fort Adams and Fort Confederation treaties had merely reaffirmed cessions negotiated by the British Crown with the Choctaws, and therefore did not clearly establish the American government's ability to obtain lands from the Choctaws without a precedent. With the 1805 Treaty of Mount Dexter, the United States impressed upon the Choctaws the need to cede their lands in order to provide the American government with the funds necessary to repay the Choctaw national debt to Panton, Leslie & Co. At first unsuccessful, the treaty commissioners convinced the Choctaws to cede over four million acres of land in their Southern borderland in exchange for an annuity of $3,000 and the elimination of their debt. However, Jefferson only presented the treaty three years after its signing, as he had desired more productive and strategic lands along the Mississippi River. Conversely, the treaty benefitted the leading Choctaw families by paying off the goods they had been predominantly responsible for purchasing from Panton, Leslie & Co., as well as by promising an annuity for the nation, at the cost of overhunted and less fertile borderlands. Although contemporary economists may consider this exchange vastly unequal, the Choctaws who invested in the reorientation of their economy likely viewed it in a favourable light. The treaty was eventually presented to and ratified by the United States Senate at the end of Jefferson's term, representing only a muted victory on the part of the American government prior to the Creek Civil War. Indeed, the

26 For the territory's population breakdown, see Snydor, 186n.

27 For excerpt, see President Jefferson to William Henry Harrison, February 27 1803, in Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975): 22-3.

Choctaws' influence in the Mississippi Territory and their diplomatic prowess ensured the protection of the Nation's interests when confronted by American demands.[28] As a result, the expansion of commercial links between Choctaws and settlers as of 1798 encouraged accommodation. Indeed, the leading families in the Choctaw Nation often conceded to American demands in order to secure their trading interests, just as they used their position of power in the early nineteenth century to limit any abuses on the part of the American government, as in the Mount Dexter Treaty. However, demographic shifts following the end of the Creek War ensured that the Choctaws' influence rapidly evaporated as a consequence of increasing American hegemony. Consequently, the Choctaws would no longer remain capable of resisting the authority of the American government and the settler interests it represented.

Epilogue & Discussion: The End of Accommodation

In 1811, the Choctaws were offered the opportunity of joining Tecumseh's pan-Indian movement to reaffirm Native American rights, in the face of settler encroachments on ancestral lands and a perceived disintegration of traditional culture. Although the details of his reception remain unclear, it appears that the Pawnee chief failed to rally the support of any of the Choctaw towns he visited. Most notably, the influential chief of the southern Six Towns, Pooshemataha, opposed any move away from the Americans, with whom the Choctaws had been allied with for 25 years. Indeed, Pooshemataha eventually offered the Nation's military support to the United States in the Creek Civil War in 1813. Fighting alongside Andrew Jackson, Pooshemataha and the Choctaws won great respect from the general for their military valour.[29]

Facing two clear paths, the Choctaws unsurprisingly chose to side with the United States. Leading Choctaw families had fostered important ties with Americans since the establishment of the Mississippi Territory, garnering greater material wealth and prestige through trade, stockraising and cotton production. Moreover, these families encouraged greater integration into the market economy through miscegenation and the restoration of stolen property. From this perspective, anything but rejecting the proposals of Tecumseh would have been irrational on the part of a confident nation seeking to position itself favourably with regards to the United States. However, their American allies proved unwilling to tolerate a nation of Native Americans situated on such valuable land, no matter how accommodating. By facilitating the defeat of the Creek Nation, the Choctaw were confronted by a massive migration of settlers to the Territory of Mississippi, tremendously increasing pressure to cede lands. Thus, the Choctaws renounced their claims to very significant borderlands in 1816 and 1820, prior to their final removal in the 1830s west of the Mississippi River. These last two agreements carry particular symbolic weight, as Andrew Jackson was personally involved, first as a negotiator and then as the president, in removing the Choctaws from their lands. Indeed, Jackson embodied the belief that the United States needed

28 For Choctaw debt to Panton, Leslie & Co., see White (1988), 95-6; For Choctaws' strategic cession of southern borderlands, see van Hoak, 119.

29 For Tecumseh, see John Sugden, "Early Pan-Indianism: Tecumseh's Tour of the Indian Country, 1811-1812," *American Indian Quarterly* 10:4 (Autumn 1986): 274-283; For Jackson's impression of the Choctaw, see Rowland, ed., 3, 36.

to continuously expand at whatever cost, i.e. the expulsion and unnecessary death of the Choctaws.[30] As a result, the Choctaws' active adaptation to American economic practices ultimately failed to secure the nation's territorial integrity, highlighting the challenges posed by an American settler population with an insatiable appetite for land. Nevertheless, the Choctaw example prior to the Creek Civil War demonstrates the potential for accommodation on the frontier with the United States.

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30 For Jackson's removal policies, see Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999): 56.

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14

Casting the Rails: The Creation of the 'Imaginary Indian' through Canadian Pacific Railway Tourism

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Abstract

The Canadian Pacific Railway was not only hugely important for the settlement of Western Canada, but also for the introduction of tourism in the area. Through various tourist attractions, such as the Banff Springs Hotel and Banff Indian Days, White settlers produced 'Imaginary Indian' narratives, many of which were based on gendered tropes and were founded on the dichotomous notions of "savagery and tamed nobility." Imaginary Indian narratives served as a way of producing a distinct Canadian national identity: one that recognized itself as a civilized society, in contrast to the perceived 'Indian savage.' These racialized narratives were produced and propagated through advertisements and photography.

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The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), completed in 1885, was hugely important to the settlement of Western Canada. It attracted immigrants to work in the agricultural sector and brought in large profits from the tourism industry. Tourism was especially important in the late 19th and early 20th centuries after the CPR was constructed to make up for the money lost during the construction of the CPR. Indeed, the CPR was often advertised as being a means for tourists (primarily European) to see Canada from East to West. White Canadian settlers produced various narratives about Indigenous people that changed according to their purposes, be they to encourage travel on the CPR, to promote the Banff Springs Hotel (BSH), or to advertise Banff Indian Days. These narratives were intended to bolster Western and Canadian national identities, though perhaps not explicitly. In this essay, I will begin with a discussion on the concept of 'northernness' and its association with certain 'manly' characteristics. I will then discuss the role that the CPR played in constructing 'Imaginary Indian' narratives, namely those of Indigenous people's association with nature, of Indigenous women, and of exotic but controllable 'Indians.' I will then explore the Banff Springs Hotel and its identity as a civilized centre in the heart of the wilderness. I will also explore the ways in which this identity constructed images of impure nature and of the vanishing Indian. I will consider Banff Indian Days and the narratives constructed about Indigenous people through those events, namely of the earth-connected Indian, of Indians temporalized in a primitive past, and of the tamable and controllable Indian. Finally, throughout the essay I will analyze these narratives through various advertisements, promotional posters, and photographs.

In this essay, I will be using the term "Indian" when referring to the image of Indigenous people held by non-Indigenous people. I will be using the term "Indigenous people" when referring to the actual people, as opposed to their socially-constructed image.

Canada has historically been portrayed (and still is portrayed) as being a nation within a harsh and wild nature. Early Canadian nationalists associated northernness with masculine virtues, such as resilience and strength.[1] Whereas their southern counterparts were considered to be effeminate and diseased, they, as inhabitants of a northern country, considered themselves to be of a superior race.[2] Ideas of racial superiority were very common in the late 19th century, paralleling the emergence of eugenics in social discourse. Yet, given this logic, it would be rational to assume

1 Eva Mackey, The House of Difference: Cultural politics and national identity in Canada, vol. 23 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 246.

2 Margot Francis, Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 54.

that Indigenous people would be considered relatively *stronger* and *more* resilient, given that they have inhabited this land that we now know as Canada for much longer than European settlers who generally came from much milder climates. Perhaps White settlers did not feel that they needed to consider this question, given the commonly held notion that Indigenous people were soon to vanish.[3] However, even though Indigenous people were not considered as hardy as White settlers, they were often associated with nature. The noble Indian was thought to exist within a purer state of nature, in comparison with Western civilization,[4] and was thus connected with nature in a way that Westerners were not.

The construction of the CPR was completed in 1885, the same year as the Rebellion led by Louis Riel. In stories about the Rebellion, Indigenous people were often characterized as being vicious and potentially poised to attack at any moment. It was consequently believed by White historians that Indigenous people were very close to leading a mass uprising in the West during the Rebellion.[5] The completed CPR therefore came at a very important time as it allowed White Canadians to show their strength and power: "in the CPR's love affair with technology, the powerful speed and scheduled regularity of the railway became the emblem of masculinity's domination of nature in conquering the vast spaces of the new continent."[6] The intersections of all of these notions – technology, White masculinity, and the domination over nature – are seen in the iconic photograph of the last spike being hammered into the railway by Donald A. Smith, co-founder of the CPR (Fig. 1).[7] In this photo, we see a White man being surrounded by many other White men, with CPR rails in the foreground, depicting Canada as a newly industrialized and modern country. We see these White men showing dominance over the nature that looms behind them in the background. Thus, White Canadians believed themselves able to conquer nature, and given that Indigenous people were associated with nature, it may have suggested to some that White people were also able to conquer Indigenous people.

There were other narratives, though perhaps not very explicit, surrounding Indigenous women specifically. While Indigenous people generally were equated with nature, Indigenous women have historically been equated with the land. Images of Indigenous women have therefore mirrored Western attitudes towards the earth.[8] Thus, upon first arrival by Europeans to North America in the 16th century, Indigenous women (according to Westerners) symbolized a paradox: on the one hand, they embodied the richness and beauty of the land that the Europeans had encountered; on the other hand, the image created of Indigenous women was of the exotic,

3 Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural politics and national identity in Canada*, vol. 23 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 247.
4 Ibid., 253.
5 Daniel Francis, *Selling Canada: Three propaganda campaigns that shaped the nation* (North Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins & Dosil, 2011), 65.
6 Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 60.
7 Hon. Donald A. Smith driving the last spike to complete the Canadian Pacific Railway. Craigallachie, BC, 7 November 1885. Image 3624692. Library and Archives of Canada. 25 November 2014.
8 Kim Anderson, "The Construction of a Negative Identity," in *Gender and Women's Studies in Canada: Critical Terrain*, eds. Margaret Hobbs and Carla Rice (Toronto: Women's Press, an imprint of Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2013), 270.

powerful, and dangerous "Indian Queen".[9] Yet, in order to claim the land upon which they had arrived during initial settlement in Canada, White colonizers had to construct an image of the land (and thus of Indigenous women) that was less powerful and less dangerous, and therefore more accessible. It is this evolution in thinking that spurred the image of the "Indian Princess": "'Indian Princess' imagery constructed Indigenous women as the virgin frontier, the pure border waiting to be crossed."[10] The image of the Indian Princess was therefore of a highly sexualized yet virginal young woman who was thought to be on her way to becoming White.[11] The Indian Princess, along with the land she represented, was just waiting to be 'taken' by the White man.[12] For instance, in one advertisement for CPR tourism (Fig. 2),[13] we see a young fair-skinned Indigenous woman wearing a Plains headdress and smoking a calumet. She is also dressed scantily, wearing only a bra and a skirt showing her thighs. Moreover, in this picture the background is of a nature scene. This picture is precisely the image of the Indian Princess: a young, practically white, sexualized Indigenous woman, wearing traditional Plains garb, and being associated with the land. I would thus argue that White men conquered the land through the construction of the CPR just as they were attempting to conquer and tame the Indian Princess, as is elucidated through this advertisement.

Yet, in reality, most Indigenous women were not as innocent and submissive as the "Indian Princess" trope would lead some to believe. Indeed, Indigenous women often resisted colonization and the colonial project. This disobedience gave way to a new image of Indigenous women: that of the "dirty squaw".[14] The "squaw" was depicted as being violent (which thereby served as justification for colonial violence), lewd, and morally reprehensible.[15] Indigenous women increasingly became immoral sexual objects for White men, a characteristic which was supposedly "inherent in their Indian blood."[16] The wild sexuality associated with Indigenous women was used as a tool to distinguish them from the cultured femininity supposedly expressed by White women.[17] Whereas the Indian squaw was supposedly a sexually loose, disobedient drudge, the White woman was supposed to be sexually pure, weak, frail, and a model of domesticity and obedience.[18]

Advertisements for the CPR were integral to promoting these narratives about White and Indigenous women. For example, Figure 3[19] is an image

9 Kim Anderson, "The Construction of a Negative Identity," in *Gender and Women's Studies in Canada: Critical Terrain*, eds. Margaret Hobbs and Carla Rice (Toronto: Women's Press, an imprint of Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2013), 270.
10 Ibid., 270.
11 Ibid., 273.
12 Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 15.
13 "Canada for Holidays." Circa 1930. Poster. *24 Media*. Web. 26 November 2014.
14 Kim Anderson, "The Construction of a Negative Identity," in *Gender and Women's Studies in Canada: Critical Terrain*, eds. Margaret Hobbs and Carla Rice (Toronto: Women's Press, an imprint of Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2013), 271.
15 Ibid., 272.
16 Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 45.
17 Ibid., 57.
18 Kim Anderson, "The Construction of a Negative Identity," in *Gender and Women's Studies in Canada: Critical Terrain*, eds. Margaret Hobbs and Carla Rice (Toronto: Women's Press, an imprint of Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2013), 272.
19 "Canadian Pacific Railway Banff Girl." Circa

similar to the one of the "Indian Princess" discussed above. It shows a young woman perched atop a rock with the BSH glowing in the distance. The woman is dressed modestly and she appears happy and innocent. This image is similar to the advertisement of the "Indian Princess" in that both women look young, innocent, and happy. Yet, the Indian Princess is depicted in a much more overtly sexual light, given that she is wearing fewer articles of clothing than the White woman in this advertisement. In addition, whereas the Indian Princess is being associated with the land (because the background is of mountain peaks), the White woman is being associated with civilization, given that the background of her advertisement is of the BSH, which, as will be discussed, became a marker of 'civilization.' Moreover, Figure 4[20] shows an advertisement for Banff Indian Days (which will be discussed at length later in this essay). In this picture, there are many Indian "squaws" who are hunched over (which asserts the White narrative of the Indian drudge) and are scowling (which asserts the narrative of the disobedient Indian). The women in this advertisement are also portrayed in a much more negative light than both the ads of the Indian Princess and of the civilized White woman. Advertisements for touring with the CPR were thus extremely important for perpetuating White narratives about various racialized myths of the imaginary Indian woman.

Another narrative that White people perpetuated through the construction of the CPR was that of the exotic but controlled Indian. After the construction of the CPR, Canada put a lot of effort into selling the Rocky Mountains along with their Indigenous inhabitants as a tourist attraction.[21] Seeing Indigenous people living in the wilderness from the safety of a railway car was promoted as being just as exotic as "the depths of Africa or a remote island in the South Pacific."[22] However, though the CPR was trying to sell the image of the pure and authentic Indian, they were also trying to reassure tourists (as well as potential settlers) of the success of the Canadian government in controlling them. For example, in *Plain Facts*, a settlement booklet, it reads: "No trouble whatever need be anticipated from the indigenous Indians of the North-West for, thanks to the just and generous policy pursued towards them by the Canadian Government, they are quiet and peaceful."[23] This passage succeeds in doing two things: first, it creates an image of the Indian that appeals to the White settler; and second, it bolsters the image of the Canadian government and thus shapes the Canadian identity. The CPR and the Canadian government were therefore promoting an image of exotic yet tame Indians, which was a means of proving the success of the Canadian government and of the powerful nature of White Canadians.

The Banff Springs Hotel was built in Banff National Park in 1888 by William Van Horne, general manager of the

1930. Poster. *Sports Poster Warehouse*. Web. 26 November 2014.

20 Wilfred Langdon Kinh, Indian Days Banff July 20-21-22. Banff, Alberta, 1926. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies Art Collection. Banff, AB, Canada. 25 November, 2014.

21 Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural politics and national identity in Canada*, vol. 23 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 249.

22 Daniel Francis, *Selling Canada: Three propaganda campaigns that shaped the nation* (North Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins & Dosil, 2011), 136.

23 Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 66.

CPR.[24] It is he who famously said, "Since we can't export the scenery, we'll have to import the tourists."[25] The BSH was to serve as a hotel for tourists travelling through Canada on the CPR. Like CPR tours, the BSH was meant to appeal to a high-class audience; indeed, this hotel has a history of being visited by politicians and royalty, such as the Duke and Duchess of Connaught.[26] Yet, it would appear contradictory that such an upscale hotel would be located in the heart of a seemingly undomesticated wilderness. In fact, the BSH rose to prominence at a time when Canadians were becoming concerned with the effects of 'overcivilization' and the effeminacy that this would produce. They believed that the best cure for this 'brain-fag,' as it was called, was a holiday in the wilderness where 'manly' qualities could be encouraged outside of the confinement of an urban setting.[27] The West was believed to reveal the "man" in boys who could stand forth in the "naked simplicity of their native[28] manhood," as written by novelist Ralph Connor in his 1899 novel *Sky Pilot*.[29] Thus, the BSH was specifically intended to be a civilized centre in the midst of the wilderness where men could re-assert their manliness.

In White settler culture, wilderness was viewed as a pristine nature that was "untouched or uncorrupted by civilization."[30] In the late 19th century, there was general concern over the imminent demise of the wild nature with the onslaught of 'civilization.' One of the reasons why national parks began to be established at this time was in order to promote the conservation of nature. Moreover, as was previously discussed, nature has often been associated with Indigenous people. Indeed, George Catlin, an historic painter who usually painted romantic scenes of nature and Indians, promoted national parks as being a place "where the world could see for ages to come, the native Indian in his classic attire, galloping his wild horse, with sinewy bow, and shield and lance, amid the fleeting herds of elk and buffaloes."[31] Indians were therefore an integral part of the national park landscape. Yet, by the force of paternalistic policy, Indigenous peoples, specifically the Stoney (Nakoda) people, were removed from Banff National Park from 1890 to 1920 because they were believed to be depleting the wildlife in the park.[32] It is therefore paradoxical that a hotel, which in this case was meant to be a symbol of 'civilization,' was built in a national park where nature was supposed to be uncorrupted by civilization, and,

24 Jody Berland, "Fire and Flame, Lightning and Landscape: Tourism and Nature in Banff, Alberta," in *Between Views,* eds. Diane Augaitis and Sylvie Gilbert (Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1991), 13.

25 Daniel Francis, *Selling Canada: Three propaganda campaigns that shaped the nation* (North Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins & Dosil, 2011), 129.

26 Bart Robinson, *Banff Springs: The story of a hotel* (Banff: Summerthought Publishing, 2007), 56.

27 Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 100.

28 It is worth noting the use of the word "native" in this context, which I suggest clearly indicates the association of wild and untamed 'manliness' with male Indians.

29 Daniel Francis, *Selling Canada: Three propaganda campaigns that shaped the nation* (North Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins & Dosil, 2011), 192.

30 Jody Berland, "Fire and Flame, Lightning and Landscape: Tourism and Nature in Banff, Alberta," in *Between Views,* eds. Diane Augaitis and Sylvie Gilbert (Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1991), 15.

31 Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 97.

32 Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 95.

similarly, that Indigenous people were removed from the national park when they were integral to the national park image.

Although Indigenous people were physically removed from the Banff National Park land, they were consistently represented in promotions for both the CPR and the BSH. For instance, in a CPR menu dating to 1931, there is an illustration of "Banff Indian Hunting Grounds," in which there are two Indigenous Chiefs wearing Plains headdresses and hovering above the BSH (Fig. 5).[33] The chiefs appear very tame and stoic,[34] contrary to the common narrative perpetuated by Catlin of the wild and free Indian. It would seem as if the Chiefs had been 'civilized' by White Canadians, just as a portion of the national park had been civilized through the construction of the BSH. I would argue that this opposition of civilization and wilderness acted as a way for White settlers to create a narrative in which they had the power to tame and control the 'wild' Indian and the 'wild' wilderness. As argues Margot Francis, "Here the welcome salute of the chiefs is a gesture from one group of patriarchs to the next, reassuring the visitor that no one would deny the (white) sportsman his right to hunt and fish at will."[35] In this pamphlet, the CPR and the BSH were therefore assuring White tourists that, although they were infringing on Indigenous land, their right to practice 'manly' sport (or, in other words, sport that was civilized without being *too* civilized) would not be impinged on by Indigenous people.

Indians were represented in other sectors of the tourist industry although they had been removed from Banff National Park proper. In the late 19th century, it was a widely-held belief that Indians and 'pure nature' were on the verge of extinction due to the progress of civilization. Most people of this era agreed that Indigenous people were dying from disease, starvation, alcoholism, and the encroachment of civilization. While some believed that it was Indigenous cultures that were being eradicated, leaving behind 'inauthentic' Indians, others believed that Indigenous people themselves were literally dying.[36] Thus, Banff Indian Days were created in Banff National Park to commemorate the 'dying Indian.' In 1889, bad weather washed out several CPR bridges, halting train traffic for many days. Manager Mathews rounded up members of the Stoney people to dance for guests as entertainment.[37] This activity proved so popular that it continued annually until 1978. During these festivals that would last about a week, a 'typical Indian village' was constructed and Indigenous people would participate in parades, dances, and sporting competitions that were meant to entertain White tourists.[38] The images of Indians portrayed in these events were very simple because, as explained by Daniel Francis, it was easier to 'sell' a region to visitors if

33 "Canadian Pacific Railway." *Banff Indian Hunting Grounds*. 1931. Francis, Margot. *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary*. UBC Press, 2011.
34 Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 68.
35 Ibid., 69.
36 Daniel Francis, *Selling Canada: Three propaganda campaigns that shaped the nation* (North Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins & Dosil, 2011), 23.
37 Bart Robinson, *Banff Springs: The story of a hotel* (Banff: Summerthought Publishing, 2007), 34.
38 Courtney W Mason, "The Buffalo Nations/ Luxton Museum: Tourism, regional forces and problematising cultural representations of aboriginal peoples in Banff, Canada," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15, no. 4 (2009): 359.

the experience could be boiled down to a few basic images that seemed to depict the essence of the heritage that they were meant to be experiencing.[39] Banff Indians Days were therefore promoted by creating a simple image of the 'Indian' that was void of any cultural differences between Indigenous peoples. Moreover, the images perpetuated were of Indians whose culture remained frozen in a pre-industrial time, pre-'civilized' time.

Banff Indian Days were organized and advertised very strategically in order to promote the romantic narrative of the ecological Indian. For instance, after Banff's zoo acquired a few bison, newspaper articles were excitedly exclaiming that the species was no longer in danger of becoming extinct and that the bison would become as they were "100 years ago." This exact same slogan was used to describe Indians on Banff Indian Days.[40] Similarly, a Banff Indian Days supplement described Indians standing stoically and gazing at the mountains surrounding them, explaining that "there is no doubt that for them the wheels of time have temporarily rolled back, and in imagination they are once more standing as they did in youth – as did their fathers before them – lords of the mountains and the plains – majesty amidst the majestic."[41] There are therefore two very distinct narratives being furthered in these advertisements. The first is that, through events such as Banff Indian Days, the extinction of Indians could be prevented. Yet, this narrative is contrary to the other narrative upon which Banff Indian Days were founded: that Indians were going to disappear, and that they therefore had to be commemorated in these events. The second narrative being described in these advertisements is of the Indian who has not evolved whatsoever since pre-colonial days; rather, although his surroundings have been changed by White settler society, he[42] has remained static in a romantic past era when nature was still pristine and pure, as was he. Romantic discourse around the Indian who was inherently connected to nature was thus strongly promoted in Banff Indian Days festivals.

Promoting a narrative of the romantic, pure, and natural Indian was essential for the creation of a 'civilized' Western identity.[43] By framing Indians in the context of a romanticized past, Western audiences were consigning Indigenous peoples to an early stage of progress or development, which thus had the effect of bolstering images of Western progress and modernity.[44] Photography, as will be discussed later in this essay, was an important tool for creating this image. For example, in one photo (Fig. 6)[45] we see a group of Indigenous people performing a traditional dance in front of the BSH.

39 Daniel Francis, *Selling Canada: Three propaganda campaigns that shaped the nation* (North Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins & Dosil, 2011), 157.

40 Jonathan Clapperton, "Naturalizing Race Relations: Conservation, Colonialism, and Spectacle at the Banff Indian Days," *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 3 (2013): 354.

41 Ibid., 355.

42 I am using the gendered term "he" here to elucidate that narratives about Indigenous men were not necessarily the same as the ones about Indigenous women. Thus, in this context, the narratives were specifically about male Indians.

43 Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural politics and national identity in Canada*, vol. 23 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 253.

44 Courtney W Mason, "The Buffalo Nations/ Luxton Museum: Tourism, regional forces and problematising cultural representations of aboriginal peoples in Banff, Canada," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15, no. 4 (2009): 363.

45 F. Gully, Stoney chicken dancers. Alberta, 1941. Image NA-1241-655. Glenbow Archives. Calgary, AB, Canada. 25 November 2014.

They are being watched by a group of White onlookers. This creates a stark distinction between 'primitiveness' and 'civilization.' The Indigenous people (being depicted here as Indians) are performing an 'exotic' tradition that is not practiced by White people, and that is therefore considered lesser (by Western standards) than White cultural practices because it is a practice that is temporalized in a pre-colonial, 'primitive' Indigenous era.[46] By contrast, in the photo of Figure 7,[47] we see a group of White tourists in a bus looking at the BSH from a distance. These people epitomize the virtues of Western civilization in that they are acting respectably by being calm and not engaging in any 'exotic' activities, while also travelling in a modern mode of transportation (the bus) and gazing upon the BSH which was emblematic of Western society having dominated nature by imposing on it civilization.[48] Though the BSH features in both images, the White people in the second image are acting 'civilized' while the Indigenous people in the first image are engaging in a 'primitive' and pre-colonial (and thus, I would argue, what was conceived as a pre-'civilized') practice.

Another important narrative about Indigenous people was that they were tamable and controllable by White settlers. Settlers explicitly constructed a narrative by controlling the images produced of Indigenous people on Banff Indian Days. The famous pioneer Norman Luxton, for instance, instructed Banff Indian Days organizers to remind Indigenous participants, "You are an Indian…act your part. You are a specimen on exhibition, your work is being looked at critically."[49] Indeed, the parks department in Banff chose which traditional practices Indigenous people could partake in and which were deemed inappropriate. For example, Indigenous people were encouraged to engage in beadwork and horsemanship, while they were discouraged from practicing traditional cultural and religious practices.[50] Yet, although the government disapproved of the traditional cultural practices performed by Indigenous people, it is how the White audience preferred to see the Indian performers on Banff Indian Days: "The Performing Indian was a tame Indian, one who had lost the power to frighten anyone."[51] Thus, although Indigenous people were supposed to perform traditional 'Indianness', they were supposed to do so in the safe confines of White, Western civilization, which thus became a celebration of the success of White civilization.[52] Controlling Indigenous people was therefore once again a tactic of bolstering Western

46 Courtney W Mason, "The Buffalo Nations/ Luxton Museum: Tourism, regional forces and problematising cultural representations of aboriginal peoples in Banff, Canada," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15, no. 4 (2009): 361.

47 Underwood and Underwood Publishers. A view showing the Springs Hotel and a Grayline Bus. Alberta, c. 1915-1930. Image CN157. White Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Archives and Library. Edmonton, AB, Canada. 25 November 2014.

48 Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 60.

49 Jonathan Clapperton, "Naturalizing Race Relations: Conservation, Colonialism, and Spectacle at the Banff Indian Days," *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 3 (2013): 357.

50 Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 99-100.

51 Daniel Francis, *Selling Canada: Three propaganda campaigns that shaped the nation* (North Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins & Dosil, 2011), 102.

52 Daniel Francis, *Selling Canada: Three propaganda campaigns that shaped the nation* (North Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins & Dosil, 2011), 103.

identity in that it proved that White settlers were powerful enough to tame and control the once wild Indian, and that Western civilization was therefore a success.

Though Indigenous people were supposed to emphasize their difference as Indians from non-Indigenous people, they were supposed to do so in a civilized manner. By exhibiting 'proper' behaviour, they were deemed acceptable park attractions. For instance, one newspaper article from the early days of the Banff Indian Days events explained that Stoney Chiefs McLean and Benjamin exhibited "well-spoken English and [a] courteous manner."[53] Similarly, promotional advertisements often emphasized that Indigenous people recognized that they had been conquered and, in fact, were in support of the colonial system. Indigenous Chiefs, for example, were often described as being "staunch friends of the British Empire in Canada."[54] Thus, though Indigenous people were supposed to maintain their image as Indians at Banff Indian Days events, they were supposed to do so within the confines of proper, 'civilized,' Western behaviour. Moreover, in order to further the colonial narrative, it was necessary that White authorities organize and lead Banff Indian Days parades. Often at other Canadian stampedes and rodeos, Indigenous people led parades and were followed by non-Indigenous people to map out the history of Western Canadian settlement. Yet, in Banff Indian Days parades, White men always preceded Indigenous people in the parades. This was meant to symbolize the control held by White people over Indigenous people, or rather, the *lack* of control maintained by Indigenous people over themselves.

Advertisements for Banff Indian Days were a very important tool for promoting such simplistic images of the Indian. For instance, Figure 4 shows a group of Indians standing around wearing unidentifiable "Indian" garb. Though two men (assumedly chiefs) are wearing Plains headdresses, which is appropriate given the geographic location, these images of the Indian exist all over Canada to represent Indigenous people, not only in the West where Indigenous people would have worn this kind of regalia. Such is the case as well for the teepees erected in the picture. All of the people in this picture have very neutral, stoic facial expressions. In addition, two people, one of whom is at the forefront of the picture, are wearing what appear to be Hudson's Bay Blankets. Thus, this advertisement perpetuates many narratives that White people have held about Indigenous people. First, it is the myth of a homogenous 'Indian culture,' rather than the reality of the many Indigenous cultures.[55] Second, it is that Indians are stoic and wise because they are connected with nature and thus remain in a static and romantic past.[56] And third, I would argue that the blankets resembling those sold by the Hudson's Bay Company were a means of propagating the narrative that Canada had successfully tamed the character of the 'wild' Indian, while still permitting them to practice

53 Jonathan Clapperton, "Naturalizing Race Relations: Conservation, Colonialism, and Spectacle at the Banff Indian Days," *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 3 (2013): 358.
54 Ibid., 358.
55 Courtney W Mason, "The Buffalo Nations/ Luxton Museum: Tourism, regional forces and problematising cultural representations of aboriginal peoples in Banff, Canada," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15, no. 4 (2009): 363.
56 Jonathan Clapperton, "Naturalizing Race Relations: Conservation, Colonialism, and Spectacle at the Banff Indian Days," *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 3 (2013): 355.

their culture, which once again places Indigenous people under the control of White people. Thus, in a simple advertisement for Banff Indian Days, there were many narratives being established and perpetuated.

Similarly, photography was a very important tool of control, especially at Banff Indian Days festivals. Writer and filmmaker Susan Sontag explains, "To photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed. It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge – and, therefore, like power."[57] Thus, to photograph Indigenous people at Banff Indians Days, which was extremely common, was to preserve their image in Banff's environment as a mechanism of control.[58] This once again acts as a means of temporalizing Indigenous people in a primitive past while denying their presence in a modern, industrialized present, given that the tourists could photograph the Indigenous people in any which way they chose. For instance, in Figure 8[59] we see two Indigenous men wearing headdresses and posing next to a White mother and her son, while being photographed by a White man. From the way the woman and her son are dressed, one could assume that they are fairly wealthy. There is a stark contrast between the White people and the Indigenous people in this photo. Where the Indigenous men are looking very serious and are posing in a noble way, the mother and her son look candid, relaxed, and happy. The Indigenous men are wearing garb that was deemed acceptable by the parks department, such as headdresses and beaded clothing with lots of fringe, while the White people are wearing Western and therefore 'civilized' clothing. Because they have taken possession of the Indian photographic images, the White people can manipulate the images in any way they want and treat them as true representations of Indigenous people.[60] This photo therefore temporalizes White people in a modern and civilized present and allows the White people taking the photo to control the image of the Indian, thus relegating Indigenous people to a primitive past.

White Canadian settler narratives around Indigenous people were varied according to their purposes, be they to sell Canadian Pacific Railway tours to tourists, to encourage upper-class tourists to stay at the Banff Springs Hotel, or to promote attendance of Banff Indian Days. The narratives about Indigenous people, moreover, were often used as a tool to bolster Western and Canadian national identities. Though narratives in and of themselves are not inherently harmful, they can and do affect the ways in which people perceive and consequently treat others. By depicting Indigenous peoples as being inferior to Western society, it becomes justifiable to treat Indigenous peoples accordingly. The effects of these narratives have been innumerable, resulting in such programs as residential schools and various other discriminatory Aboriginal policies. These programs and policies have created long-

57 Daniel Francis, *Selling Canada: Three propaganda campaigns that shaped the nation* (North Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins & Dosil, 2011), 43.

58 Jonathan Clapperton, "Naturalizing Race Relations: Conservation, Colonialism, and Spectacle at the Banff Indian Days," *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 3 (2013): 359.

59 Chris Lund, A man taking a photograph of a woman and child posed with men wearing headdresses and beaded clothing during Banff Indian Days. Alberta, August 1957. Image 4301698. Library and Archives of Canada. 25 November 2014.

60 Daniel Francis, *Selling Canada: Three propaganda campaigns that shaped the nation* (North Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins & Dosil, 2011), 43.

lasting colonial legacies and are at the root of intergenerational trauma borne by Indigenous communities contemporarily. It is thus important to deconstruct socially-constructed narratives in order to undo the legacies of colonialism and to attempt to effect positive social change.

Plates List

Figure 1: A photograph of the last spike being hammered into the railway by Donald A. Smith, co-founder of the Canadian Pacific Railway.
Hon. Donald A. Smith driving the last spike to complete the Canadian Pacific Railway. Craigallachie, BC, 7 November 1885. Image 3624692. Library and Archives of Canada. 25 November 2014.

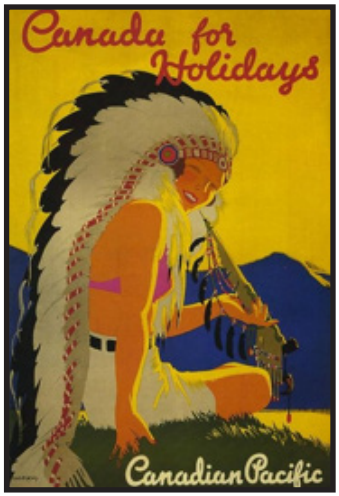

Figure 2: A promotional poster for the Canadian Pacific Railway of an "Indian Princess," c. 1930.
"Canada for Holidays." Circa 1930. Poster. 24 Media. Web. 26 November 2014.

Figure 3: A promotional poster for the Banff Springs Hotel and the Canadian Pacific Railway showing a White woman, c. 1930.
"Canadian Pacific Railway Banff Girl." Circa 1930. Poster. Sports Poster Warehouse. Web. 26 November 2014.

Figure 4: An advertisement for Banff Indian Days dating to 1926.
Kinh, Wilfred Langdon. Indian Days Banff July 20-21-22. Banff, Alberta, 1926. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies Art Collection. Banff, AB, Canada. 25 November, 2014.

Figure 5: A promotional poster for the Banff Springs Hotel dating to 1931, showing two Indigenous Chiefs hovering above the Banff Springs Hotel.
"Canadian Pacific Railway." Banff Indian Hunting Grounds. 1931. Francis, Margot. Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary. UBC Press, 2011.

Figure 6: A photograph dating to 1941 of Indigenous people doing a traditional dance at a Banff Indian Days festival in front of the Banff Springs Hotel.
Gully, F. Stoney chicken dancers. Alberta, 1941. Image NA-1241-655. Glenbow Archives. Calgary, AB, Canada. 25 November 2014.

Figure 7: A photograph of White tourists in a bus observing the Banff Springs Hotel from a distance, c. 1915-1930.
Underwood and Underwood Publishers. A view showing the Springs Hotel and a Grayline Bus. Alberta, c. 1915-1930. Image CN157. White Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Archives and Library. Edmonton, AB, Canada. 25 November 2014.

Figure 8: A photograph dating to 1957 of a White man taking a picture of two Indigenous Chiefs and a White woman with her child at a Banff Indian Days event.
Lund, Chris. A man taking a photograph of a woman and child posed with men wearing headdresses and beaded clothing during Banff Indian Days. Alberta, August 1957. Image4301698. Library and Archives of Canada. 25 November 2014.

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Gully, F. Stoney chicken dancers. Alberta, 1941. Image NA-1241-655. Glenbow Archives. Calgary, AB, Canada. 25 November 2014.

Hon. Donald A. Smith driving the last spike to complete the Canadian Pacific Railway. Craigallachie, BC, 7 November 1885. Image 3624692. Library and Archives of Canada. 2 5 November 2014.

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Underwood and Underwood Publishers. A view showing the Springs Hotel and a Grayline Bus. Alberta, c. 1915-1930. Image CN157. White Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Archives and Library. Edmonton, AB, Canada. 25 November 2014.

15

Allyship in Environmental Movements: Lessons from Clayoquot Sound and Athlii Gwaii

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Abstract

This paper examines solidarity and allyship in environmental resistance movements. Environmental resistance at Athlii Gwaii and Clayoquot Sound will be critically compared using a broad definition of allyship. A closer examination of both movements suggests that mainstream environmental movements in Canada often operate from a place of privilege and should place more focus on title and meaningful inclusion of Indigenous perspectives, as well as raise more awareness of the connection between environmental degradation and colonial dispossession.

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The concept of solidarity or 'allyship' has been defined and used by different groups for different purposes. The Anti-Oppression Network defines allyship as "An active, consistent, and arduous practice of unlearning and re-evaluating, in which a person of privilege seeks to operate in solidarity with a marginalized group of people."[1] Mia McKenzie explains that allyship is "not supposed to be about your feelings. It's not supposed to be a way of glorifying yourself at the expense of the folks you claim to be an ally to. It's not supposed to be a performance. It's supposed to be a way of living your life that doesn't reinforce the same oppressive behaviors you're claiming to be against."[2] Dr. Lynn Gehl, an Algonquin Anishinaabe states that, "if alliance seekers cannot stand behind "my" needs as an Indigenous woman, I want nothing to do with "your" need for an alliance."[3]

Working within these definitions of what allyship should be, this paper will consider how environmental movements have acted (or not acted) as allies to Indigenous interests. Specifically, I will compare protests at Clayoquot Sound and Athlii Gwaii. I argue that the climate movement in a broader sense must stand with and act as an ally to Indigenous rights movements. The connection between environmental degradation and colonial dispossession is unavoidable and all environmental resistance should operate as a solidarity movement first and foremost.

Clayoquot Sound

Clayoquot Sound is on the traditional territories of the Hesquiaht, Ahousaht and Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, all of which are part of the Nuu-chah-nulth Nations on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Competing interests between tourism, logging, environmentalists and First Nations came to a head in 1984 when MacMillan-Bloedel began logging Meares Island despite Ahousaht leaders rejecting their proposal. The protests at Clayoquot Sound, which spanned the late eighties and were most prominent in the summer of 1993, were ultimately successful: the logging companies left, First Nations were able to control the logging tenures in the area, and most of the sound was designated a UNESCO biosphere reserve.

Without devaluing the significant win of these protests, it is important to examine the movement more critically. In her analysis of Clayoquot Sound, Catriona Sandilands suspects that, "the struggle to "save" the landscape is not so much about freeing the resident ecological and social communities to negotiate multiple possible futures as it is about imposing a particular view of the landscape on precisely these communities."[4] The efforts to raise

1 "Allyship," *THE ANTIOPPRESSION NETWORK*, PeerNetBC, 10 Dec. 2011, Web.
2 Mia McKenzie, "No More "Allies" -."*Black Girl Dangerous*. N.p., 30 Sept. 2013, Web.
3 Lynn Gehl, "The Turtle Must Lead, Anything Else Is False Solidarity," *Rabble.ca*, N.p., 20 Feb. 2013, Web.
4 Catriona Sandilands, "Between the Local and the Global: Clayoquot Sound and Simulacral Politics," A Political Space: Reading the Global through Clayoquot Sound, By Warren

public awareness to save Clayoqout Sound were centered on a wilderness discourse: that this area must be saved so that future generations can enjoy it in its pristine state. In his landmark essay "The Trouble with Wilderness", William Cronon points out that the construction of wilderness space for mass consumption requires that the land appear uninhabited, erasing Indigenous peoples who see the land as a home rather than as wilderness: "they were forced to go elsewhere, with the result that tourists could safely enjoy the illusion that they were seeing their nation in its pristine, original state."[5]

Along with the strategic construction of Clayoquot Sound as an uninhabited wilderness space, I argue that though many of the organizers and environmental protesters may have been acting out of solidarity, the movement as a whole was not acting as an ally to Indigenous interests because they saw First Nations groups as one of many stakeholders rather than as the rightful owners of the land upon which protesters were projecting their own ideas of proper environmentalism. The 1991 BC Task Force on Native Forestry found that, "Native voices – if heard at all – have often been incorporated as simply one among many special interests within a system of forest management founded on productions of colonial space."[6] The Clayoquot protests brought global attention to the BC environmental movement and the protection of Canadian temperate rainforests, but it presented the conflict as environmentalists vs. logging – failing to address issues such as title or the fact that many First Nations groups also had an interest in (locally controlled) logging. The protests were an environmental movement first and a solidarity movement only as an afterthought.

Athlii Gwaii

During roughly the same time period as the Clayoqout Protests, another conflict unfolded on BC's North Coast. Logging on a biologically and culturally significant area of Haida Gwaii, known to the Haida as Gwaii Haanas, catalyzed the establishment of the Council of the Haida Nation (CHN) and the official registration of a comprehensive Haida land claim. Environmentalist interests in protecting Gwaii Haanas as a wilderness area became linked with the Haida claim. The most public direct action was a blockade of logging on Athlii Gwaii (Lyell Island) in 1985, but the conflict unfolded over decades of direct action and lobbying. There were several outcomes to the action taken by the Haida people and residents of Haida Gwaii: the contested area was protected as Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site in 1993, to be co-managed by the CHN and Parks Canada. In 1997, stemming from the actions taken to protect Gwaii Haanas, the BC Court of Appeal ruled that the Tree Farm License (TFL) 39 – the largest TFL on the island – was "encumbered by title – however, only once title was proven."[7]

Magnusson and Karena Shaw, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2003), 2.

5 William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Environmental History* 1.1 (1996): 79.

6 Bruce Braun, "Producing Marginality: Abstraction and Displacement in the Temperate Rainforest," *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture, and Power on Canada's West Coast*, (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota, 2002), 31.

7 Louise Takeda and Inge Røpke, "Power and Contestation in Collaborative Ecosystem-based Management: The Case of Haida Gwaii," *Ecological Economics* 70.2 (2010): 181.

In 2001, the CHN and the Province of BC officially signed a co-management land use planning agreement. Athlii Gwaii and the creation of Gwaii Haanas were different from Clayoquot Sound because of the focus on title. Title was never the dominant discourse in the Clayoquot protests and the environmental idea of what should be protected did not include opportunities for the Nuu-chah-nulth tribes to earn a livelihood from their land: "Only uses of the land that are already approved in wilderness view are natural, and any person who crosses the line beyond this narrow notion of tradition … is not acting like a "real Native" anymore… "[8] Gwaii Hanaas and the land use planning process are not without flaws. The structural power relations that have been re-created in the decision-making process need to be addressed. Even with this in mind, the outcome works towards transcending the industry vs. environment dichotomy that erased Indigenous interests in the Sound. The resulting collaborative management process has also allowed for a more meaningful inclusion of Indigenous perspective and an acknowledgement that environmental issues and resource protection are intertwined with title.

Lessons learned; looking forward

As defined previously, allyship is "An active, consistent, and arduous practice of unlearning and re-evaluating, in which a person of privilege seeks to operate in solidarity with a marginalized group of people." Mainstream environmental movements typically operate from a place of privilege and should ask whom they are fighting for – and if they are aligning with Indigenous interests, to what end? Does it only benefit their end goals or does it come from a place of solidarity? Effective environmental resistance movements should address and deconstruct the dominant power inequalities and capitalist systems that have led to environmental degradation rather than reframe them. As a settler on this land and as someone who considers myself an environmentalist, these are questions I will continue to ask and consider.

8 Sandilands, 22.

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16

So The Mirror Told Me (2014)

Robbie Madsen | Toronto, ON

Listen
You a Two-Spirited person
Now that you're back to being a person, that is
Seems you lost your identity as such along the way
At the hands of the Europeans
Well, I don't know who they thought they were
Or what they thought they were up to
Why they can't mind their business
And leave things to Creator who made you

Listen
You a Two-Spirited person
The point is they couldn't make their case
Your Spirit friends pushed you through the cracks
And brought you up their own way
And you know better than to think
The haters would sleep wrong over it
But wouldn't you prefer them awake
For their karmic consequence?

Listen
You a two-Spirited person
The lie about you has been exposed
Stick to what your Elders tell you
And forget the deceit of old
The truth has been spoken
You have your community calling you
And all of your Medicine
The man in you – and the woman too

17

Understanding Indigenous Well-Being In Vancouver's Downtown Eastside: Tracing The History Of Colonialism And Intergenerational Trauma In Mental Health

Jannika Nyberg | McGill University

Abstract

Vancouver's Downtown Eastside is home to a diverse and unique community. Its residents are disproportionally Indigenous men and women, many of whom face severe mental health issues. This paper contends that Canada's colonial legacy is directly responsible for the interconnected traumas that disrupt the mental wellness of Indigenous communities. It presents an analysis of the intergenerational traumas that contribute to mental health challenges and reveals the complex history of municipal colonialism and cultural genocide as the influencing factors in the neighbourhood's mental health crisis. Ultimately, the history of this community speaks to the importance of recognizing Indigenous mental health as more than a medical illness.

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Vancouver's Downtown Eastside is a small neighborhood strife with outsized problems, addiction and a mental health "crisis." As a result, it is a target for high rates of violence. It is a crisis, not only because addiction and mental health challenges are concentrated in this area, but also because the majority of people living with these challenges are Indigenous. The predominance of Indigenous people suffering from mental health challenges is not a coincidence. British Columbia's colonial heritage has played a crucial role in shaping today's mental health crisis. Specifically, residential schools and municipal colonialism cultured the intergenerational traumas responsible for the over-representation of Indigenous people living with mental health challenges in the downtown eastside. Because historical perspective is too rarely used in analyzing Indigenous well-being, key links between intergenerational trauma and contemporary mental health issues have not been made. It is therefore pertinent that both academic and city officials take into account the severity of intergenerational trauma when assessing this crisis and the means for healing.

As a white settler who is benefitting from the same system of colonialism that continues to oppress so many Indigenous nations today, it is important I establish my positionality in writing this essay. The Downtown Eastside is a neighborhood very close to my heart, because it is where I began my work as a community organizer. I hope to shed some light on the stories of individuals who make this neighborhood so resilient by evoking my privilege as someone who is able to attend post-secondary school.

In examining the topic of mental health, language is paramount. This essay uses the term 'mental health' or 'mental health challenges' instead of 'mental illness' as the word 'illness' implies something that must be cured or reverted to a standard of normalcy. For the purpose of this paper, mental health (used interchangeably with well-being) is defined as: the distal, intermediate and proximal social factors that determine an individual's wellness and how they manage their health.[1] Essentially, all forces that influence an individual's socialization will ultimately determine their mental health. For example, physical abuse and neglect can create problems with attachment in children. These social influences may result in an adult having low self-esteem or even anxiety. This definition of mental health stems from the broader "social model" of mental health, which is a framework used in response to the more modern "medical model." The social model incorporates environment, history and social interactions when examining how an individual experiences life.

1 Charlotte Loppie Reading, "Social determinants of Aboriginal health" and "Distal determinants of health," *Health Inequalities and social determinants of aboriginal people's health* (National Collaborating Centre for aboriginal health: 2009), p. 2.

It understands mental health as being the result of a complicated and intricate web of factors that shape and will continue to influence how an individual responds to stress or trauma in their life. When treating mental health issues, practitioners using the social model take a holistic approach, and often look to peer-led support groups instead of individually focused treatment plans. Another distinct aspect to the social model is that it emphasizes the individual as the expert of their symptoms and coping strategies.[2] This model of holistic understanding is common to many Indigenous communities of Canada. According to scholar Peter Menzies, a member of the Sagamok Anishnaubek nation, many Indigenous nations have been "historically collectivist in their social institutions and processes, specifically the way in which health is perceived;"[3] understanding and treating mental wellness has also followed the same ideology. Though this model clearly existed long before the invention of modern Western science, the social model today is often seen as progressive and innovative. In fact, social practice is only now taking into account historical determinants when treating Indigenous people in Canada.[4] Standing in stark opposition to the social model is the science-based "medical model." This framework is rooted in a biological pathology of mental health, and seeks to 'cure' the individual of their illness. Terms such as illness, normal and abnormal are standard within the medical model's lexicon. Establishing a binary is key to the medical model's understanding of mental health; as a result, all treatment plans seek only to revert an individual to a state of 'normalcy.' What qualifies normalcy is also determined by the medical world. In understanding causes of mental health challenges, practitioners of the medical model typically attribute genetics and biological factors to the individual's struggle. The medical professional is considered the expert on the individual's symptoms, giving the individual little agency in their own health care. This is not to say that the medical model should be removed entirely — the scientific stream of epigenetics is an important voice in the dialogue of intergeneration trauma. However, for the purpose of this essay, the lens of socialization is used instead of an approach based on genetics or biology so as to provide insight into the often-overlooked significance of social and historical factors in mental health.

In addition, Charlotte Reading's theoretical framework centres on the social determinants used within the social model. Reading argues that social stressors " create health issues that lead to circumstances that, in turn, represent subsequent determinants of health."[5] The author identifies a crucial aspect to any analysis of mental health, especially among Indigenous populations: that of interacting forces of oppression. Barriers such as racism are still real obstacles for Indigenous people in the Downtown Eastside, and when coupled with poverty, the intersection becomes even more influential in regards to an individual's wellness. The complex question of why Indigenous people are the most severely affected is best explained through an intersectional lens, for intersectionality takes into account the various intersecting barriers of oppression that further complicate an

2 Peter Menzies, "Intergenerational trauma from a mental health perspective," *The Native Social Work Journal* 7, (2010).
3 Charlotte Loppie Reading, p.3.
4 Peter Menzies, "Intergenerational trauma from a mental health perspective," *The Native Social Work Journal* 7, (2010).
5 Charlotte Loppie Reading, p. 2

individual's experience.

The severe mental health challenges and addiction faced by so many Indigenous people in the Downtown Eastside is caused by the continuing effects of residential schools and past municipal land dispossession policies. Both sources of trauma are explored within Peter Menzies's theory of intersecting levels of intergenerational trauma. His theory is used to contextualize both sources in a wider explanation of intergenerational trauma and its sphere of influence. Four areas of trauma are illustrated in the *Intergenerational Trauma Model* (ITM): individual, family, community and nation. Premised on the "main constructs of the traditional teachings of the Aboriginal medicine wheel, it is a conceptual process that frames this understanding of the world as Canada's First Peoples,"[6] explains Menzies. Choosing to represent trauma as a wheel highlights how Menzies comprehends the mental health of Indigenous people today: as holistic, cyclical and interconnected. Similar to the social model, the medicine wheel model contends that there must be harmony between the four elements (often referred to as the four directions) in order for well-being to be achieved.[7] When colonial policies and events interrupt this harmony, the separation between elements then creates the space for trauma. For example, individual trauma is always tied to how a person constructs their identity. The "sixties scoop" phenomenon exemplifies how a government policy removed Indigenous children from their families and placed them into non-Indigenous families to be raised with a Western identity.[8] Family trauma generally includes episodic violence or gaps in parenting leading to neglect or insufficient emotional bonds. Such trauma is often caused by policies that fragment the family unit, such as residential schools or the erosion of communal land. Indicators of community trauma include lack of social capital and low levels of community connection. The historic barring of community-specific activities such as potlatch has caused this lack in social capital. The loss of language or history as a result of residential schools also falls within community trauma. The final element of trauma according to Menzies is on a national level. National trauma results from broad social policies that colonize all aspects of Indigenous life. This has been most effectively achieved through Canada's *Indian Act.* The following discussion uses Menzies's Indigenous version of the social model to unearth the reasons behind the Downtown Eastside's over-representation of Indigenous people facing severe mental health challenges.

Individual and Family trauma caused by the Residential School system

Indian residential schools, specifically schools located in the greater Vancouver area, have directly contributed to the over-representation of Indigenous people facing severe mental health issues, as they caused the intergenerational trauma experienced by the individual and the family. According to Nicholas Davin, the federal policy to implement Canada-wide Residential schools was intended to "catch the children very young and keep them constantly within the circle of civilized conditions"[9]

6 Peter Menzies, p. 77.

7 C. Morrisseau, *Into the daylight: A Holistic approach to Healing*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

8 Patrick Johnston. "Chapter two," *Native Children and the Child Welfare System,* Toronto: James Lorimer and the Canadian Council on Social Development, 1983.

9 Nicholas Flood Davin, "Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds," 1879.

through a publicly funded residential-style schooling program. Because Residential schools so efficiently erased and re-shaped identity on an individual level, the trauma that ensued was transcended through generations on an individual and family level. The Canadian Residential schooling program was actually inspired by the American industrial schooling model for Indigenous children. The American Inspiration can be read in Nicholas F. Davin's 1879 report to Prime Minister John A. Macdonald entitled *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds*. Macdonald commissioned the report in the hopes of finding a solution to better assimilate Indigenous people into the euro-centric Canadian civilization. It was thought that the best way to ensure assimilation was by shaping young malleable minds. By the 1880s, official federal policy was implemented to establish Residential schools, which were funded by the government and managed by the either Catholic of Protestant churches. In British Columbia, the Roman Catholic Church managed the majority of schools, including the two closest to the Downtown Eastside: St. Paul's school, located in what is now North Vancouver, and St. Mary's, located just outside the city of Vancouver in Mission. The Roman Catholic Church managed both schools until quite recently, as St. Paul's closed in the late 1960s and St. Mary's in 1984.[10] Though Indigenous residents of the Downtown Eastside come from all corners of Canada, this essay focuses solely on the testimonies of St. Paul's "students" to illustrate how intergenerational trauma for individuals and families began in these horrific places, horrific being perhaps too gentle a term to describe the experiences of many Indigenous children. Canada's Residential schools, as defined by the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, are in fact institutions of genocide. According to Article II, "genocide" means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnic or religious group:

a) Killing members of the group
b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction in whole or in part;
d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group[11]

As it relates to intergenerational trauma, sections A, B and E constitute the genocidal experiences that led to individual and family and community trauma now prevalent in the Downtown Eastside. Specifically because these sections speak to how identity can be re-constructed through various mechanisms, they are direct sources of individual and family trauma as defined within Menzies's ITM Indicators of individual trauma that are later passed through generations, which always show a lack of belonging or affiliation with family or group. This happens when members of an individual's "group" are killed, when deliberate mental harm is inflicted and when children are forcibly removed from one group to another. Though

10 "BC Indian Residential Schools"(map) *First Nations Summit, http://www.fns.bc.ca/pdf/Map_Recognized_IRS.pdf.*

11 The Truth Commission into Genocide in Canada, "Hidden from history: The Canadian Holocaust: The Untold Story of the Genocide of Aboriginal Peoples by Church and State in Canada," The Truth Commission into Genocide in Canada: 2001 p. 10.

primary accounts from children who attended St. Paul's are limited, Globe and Mail reporter Andrea Woo had the opportunity to retrieve a firsthand account from a now sixty-year-old Squamish woman. The survivor, Amy George, recounts being told by nuns that " the worst thing in the world was to be an Indian," a sentiment that " stayed with [her] for the rest of [her] life."[12] George's experience demonstrates how Residential schools administered a philosophy of shaming the "Indianness" out of the child in order to replace it with Western, 'civilized' characteristics. This process of demonizing the child's family and community value systems was standard during the early years of Residential schools when administrators were working to assimilate Indigenous children into Canadian society. George's story corresponds with Menzies's indicators of individual trauma since she was forced into having her identity shaped by people outside of her community. George's story also exemplifies why Residential schools committed acts of genocide. She clearly suffered serious mental harm (section B), and presumably was one of the many children taken from her home without consent of guardians to the Residential school (section E). Up until the early twentieth century, the Indian Act made attendance to Residential schools mandatory for all children of legal "Indians."[13] Given the assault on George's Indigenous identity, returning to her family life would have been extremely difficult. George's story is unfortunately not unique within the community of Indigenous children who attended residential schools. Unless children had received a lot of support upon returning home, they would have internalized their trauma and passed it on to their own children through emotional and social behaviors. In addition, if these children had been given the opportunity to re-connect with their parents, inter-family strife may also have occurred, causing further trauma to the family. As many children would have had thier family values torn away from them due to this family trauma, re-connection would have been made very difficult. Consequently, the process of intergenerational trauma for both the individual and the family would begin. For other Indigenous survivors of Residential schools living in the Downtown Eastside, such individual and family trauma can be intensified when coupled with sexism, stigma or poverty, for example. An account from St. Paul's school also provides excellent evidence to how Residential schools broke down the collectivist construction of Indigenous identity Overall, the assimilationist policies enacted through BC's Residential schools effectively eroded the individual identities of Indigenous children, to the extent that their now-internalized emotional abuse created a chain of intergenerational trauma stemming from a loss of identity.

Community and National trauma as a result of the Indian Act trickle-down effect

Intergenerational trauma within communities and nations in the Downtown Eastside can be attributed to Vancouver's unique brand of municipal colonialism. In keeping with the federal policy of land dispossession in the *Indian Act*, Vancouver city planners introduced their own liberalist economic system to force the dispossession of land on a local

12 Andrea Woo, "Truth and Reconciliation event opens wounds, exposes truth" *The Globe and Mail,* September 18th, 2013 (Vancouver) http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/truth-and-reconciliation-event-opens-wounds-exposes-truths/article14406263/.

13 Government of Canada, *Indian Act,* 1867.

level. By breaking up communally held land through creative taxation policies, city planners forced the sale of Kitsilano and Musqueam reserves. This process effectively broke down the community and national bonds of the Musqueam and Squamish nations — bonds that are inextricably linked to their territory. British Columbia has an unusual story when it comes to Indigenous land entitlement, as it was one of the last provinces to join the Confederation. It is also one of the few provinces that does not have a long history of land claim settlements since much of the province still resides on unceded territory. As a province subject to the Confederation, its land and the Indigenous people living on that land were also subject to the Indian Act. Heavily influenced by John Locke's theory of classical liberalism, the *Indian Act* sought to assimilate all status Indians into the Western system of individual property through a process of enfranchisement. Locke claimed individual ownership of land could only exist when an individual, who inherently owns their own labour, adds their laboring power to the land, thus making it their individual property.[14] This individualistic approach to land economics was absorbed into the Indian Act, as it promoted the fragmentation of communally held land into plots of individual ownership and therefore individual profit. The 1867 *Indian Act* sought to force the swap of Indian status for full Canadian citizenship. This legal process of enfranchisement was meant to break down all collectively held Indigenous territory. At the time, legislators of the Act thought Indigenous peoples would be thrilled to surrender their land and identity so as to gain the great privilege of Canadian citizenship. The government greatly miscalculated, leading to further legislation on all levels of government that forced enfranchisement in one way or another. So when city planners set out to expand the land base of the Vancouver city in the 1920s, they used the only power they had as a municipality: taxation. Stranger-Ross details how city officials used taxation on the Musqueam reserve in the hopes of forcing its sale. Because the *Indian Act* prohibited the raising of funds or settler support for land entitlement, many band councils could still make a profit through the loophole of on-reserve leasing. The Musqueam reserve leased land to many Chinese immigrants and migrant workers, which pleased the Chinese, as the lease rent was still significantly cheaper than municipal taxes. When the city got wind of the hundreds of Chinese workers now farming on Musqueam land, they implemented a tax on Chinese farmers. The goal of taxing non-Indigenous occupants was to make farming on reserve land untenable for the Chinese, in order to stop the flow of lease monies from the Chinese farmers to the reserve. The city hoped the deprivation of lucrative leases might force the nation to sell their reserve.[15] Ultimately, this tactic did succeed — in combination with other oppressive forces of colonial assimilation policy — for the Musqueam nation did sell their reserve to the Crown in 1960 to gain profit for their community.[16] Vancouver's municipal colonialism led to the lack of social capital

14 John Locke " On Property" *Second Treatise of Government,* 1689.

15 Jordan Stranger-Ross, "Municipal colonialism in Vancouver, City planning and the conflict over Indian reserves, 1928-1950." *The Canadian Historical Review* 89, no. 4 (2008): 541-580 p.34

16 Musqueam Legal History Digital Media Archive, *Indigenous Foundations* (UBC) http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/land-rights/musqueam-legal-history-digital-media-archive.html.

within the Squamish and Musqueam nations and their communities. This economic fragmentation had drastic effects on both nations. Furthermore, Menzies argues the spirituality tied to nationhood is embedded within the land.[17] As the land of these nations was fractured, so too was their spiritual health, which translated into even further damages to the nation and the community's mental health.

Barriers to Healing

The Downtown Eastside is home to a multitude of resource centres and support services, and yet the crisis persists. Either the support services are not offering effective support, or the crisis is misunderstood. According to the City of Vancouver's Healthy City Strategy, the key challenges facing residents are poverty and housing (or a lack thereof).[18] Furthermore, when taking into account the myriad of barriers intersecting to create the layered oppression that is so common in the Downtown Eastside, it is clear that support services are not offering effective support. Without a dignified home space, the healing process can be nearly impossible. Perhaps more important than the lack of appropriate housing are the years of internalized trauma that resource centres cannot address. In part because of ignorance, but mostly because these services do not have the capacity to deal with this compounded trauma, they cannot unearth the root of the problem. In other words, it is *insidious trauma* that continues to perpetuate severe addiction and mental health challenges in the Downtown Eastside.

For as long as an individual must continue to face insidious trauma, creating the space to heal from intergenerational trauma can be nearly impossible. Root describes insidious trauma as the normalization or internalization of racism and discrimination to the point where the oppressed group is no longer consciously aware of how social conditions continue to oppress and them.[19] This subtle yet extremely harmful form of trauma is perhaps the biggest obstacle to overcome for the Indigenous people facing mental health challenges and addiction in the Downtown Eastside. Because this form of trauma is virtually invisible and woven into the very identity of an individual, it makes the healing process incredibly challenging. The only means of healing is through community wide consciousness. Each individual of a given community would have to become conscious of how they have internalized the trauma, and then take painful steps in re-constructing their identity in a way that is empowering. The famous philosopher-psychiatrist Frantz Fanon provides perhaps the most appropriate explanation of this process. In his essay "On Violence," a chapter from the now iconic book *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon's argument claims the colonizer takes ownership of the colonized so as to manufacture a new identity based on colonial social structures. This process happens slowly, as the legal and political systems of the colonizer begin to erase the societal structures that once shaped individual and community identity, and subsequently replace the void with an identity based on inferiority to the colonial state. These legal structures often use racism to construct the colonized

17 Peter Menzies, p. 78.

18 City of Vancouver, "Downtown Eastside local area profile" (2012) http://vancouver.ca/files/cov/profile-dtes-local-area-2012.pdf.

19 M. Root, "Reconstructing the Impact of Trauma on Personality." In Brown, L. & Ballou,M. (Eds.), *Personality and Psycho-Pathology: Feminist Reprisals*. New York: The Guilford Press, 1992.

as inferior and in need of civilizing. Fanon argues that this process happens thoughtfully, over generations, so that many people do not realize how suppressed their power is or how their identity has been manipulated.[20] It appears Fanon's theory is applicable to the colonized Indigenous peoples of Canada, and by extension those who are also facing serious mental health challenges. Canada's colonial process has and continues to imbue legal and political structures that are racist and discriminatory against Indigenous peoples. The *Indian Act*, for instance, originally defined what they referred to as the "Indian" as " any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band" or " any woman who is or was lawfully married to such person."[21] This piece of federal legislation effectively took ownership of Indigenous identity by legally defining that identity. Evidently, the legal Indian identity was blatantly sexist in excluding women from being independently defined, but it was also racist in that it established an incorrect and imposed racial identity. As this legislation began to take effect, it separated the legal Indian from the Indigenous, status from non-status, and eventually led to the fragmentation of communities. As the Indian Act only applied to Indians associated with a band and Indians living on reserve, thus leaving out all other Indigenous people, the next generation internalized these new identities and, as time went on, this overall discrimination became normalized. Within the Downtown Eastside, many Indigenous residents are so overwhelmed by their addiction or unbalanced wellness that their internalized trauma is never brought to the surface to be dealt with. Until both practitioners and residents acknowledge insidious trauma and take the necessary steps to empower the individual to consciously re-claim their identity, then the Downtown Eastside will continue to see an over-representation of Indigenous people facing severe mental health challenges. Insidious trauma is obviously not unique to Canada or Vancouver; however, its residual effects continue to truncate the journey to balanced mental health for Indigenous people in the Downtown Eastside.

Conclusion

Though Residential Schools and municipal colonialism are the two most immediate, direct sources of the over-representation of Indigenous people facing severe mental health issues in the Downtown Eastside, it is clear that all areas of intergenerational trauma and insidious trauma share a common theme. The fragmentation of the collective is seen within all elements of Menzies's ITM and Root's insidious trauma theory. It is a recurring theme because the narrative of breaking apart collective practice, ideas and land is repeated in each area of intergenerational trauma. This common thread also re-enforces the significance of the social model as the most appropriate model to use when exploring mental health issues in communities, especially colonized communities such as the residents of the Downtown Eastside. The social model is the only framework that addresses historical, social and environmental factors as interconnected pieces of much larger collective systems, making it the ideal container for said theme. Much like a spider's web, these collective systems are fragile; if one thread is broken, each connecting thread will be damaged or weakened.

20 Frantz Fanon, "On Violence," *The Wretched of the Earth,* trans. Richard Philcox, (New York: Grove Press, 1963).

21 The *Indian Act*, 1867, terms (3).

Moving forward, it is evident that a massive shift is needed. Social workers practicing in the Downtown Eastside must use the social model if they are to be effective in supporting Indigenous people in their journey to heal. Current research from scholars such as Lynn Holley should be used as valuable resources in understanding the barriers to healing. Holly's anti-oppression paradigm is an effective resource because it addresses the complexities of colonialism.[22]In addition, city officials and planners could collaborate with Coast Salish nations to de-colonize urban spaces in an effort to provide more spaces for healing.[23] For the ideological shift to be effective in lowering the current over-representation, changes must be made in all areas of social policy.

Overall, Canada's colonial heritage did more than dispossess Indigenous people: it established a cycle of intergenerational trauma that has hindered the growth of Indigenous prosperity, in all four elements (individual, family, community and nation) of Indigenous society. So as long as these elements remain unharmonious and continue to exist in isolation, the trauma will continue to perpetuate the underlying theme of fragmenting the collective social bonds that keep individuals and communities healthy.

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18

Autochtones et policiers : rapports identitaires et rapports de pouvoirs (note de recherche)

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Abstract

Cette note de recherche analyse les rapports identitaires existants entre les communautés autochtones et les différents services de police présent au Canada (y compris les polices autochtones) ainsi que les rapports de pouvoir ayant court entre les communautés autochtones et l'État canadien dans le contexte de la prestation des services policiers. L'approche privilégié est une revue de la littérature scientifique existant sur le sujet. Une première partie est dédiée à l'analyse du discours gouvernemental sur les rapports existants entre autochtones et policiers. La seconde partie cherche à cerner les bases identitaires de ces rapports et la troisième à faire l'état des lieux de la Politique sur la police des premières nations. En fin de texte, quelques pistes de recherches et de solutions sont explorées.

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1 Introduction

Le problème de la surreprésentation des autochtones dans les institutions pénitentiaires canadiennes est bien connu et a entre autres été couvert par de nombreux rapports gouvernementaux ainsi que par divers travaux en criminologie et en anthropologie (Laing, 1967; Bienvenue et Latif, 1974; LaPrairie, 1997; LaPrairie, 2002). Néanmoins, la question du rapport des autochtones du Canada envers les forces de l'ordre est une thématique qui a beaucoup moins fait couler d'encre dans les sciences sociales. Très peu de travaux s'y sont attardés et le faible nombre chute davantage quand on s'attarde aux travaux qui traitent des policiers autochtones. Pourtant, les relations tendues entre autochtones et policiers ont fait les manchettes à plusieurs reprises depuis les années 1960, que ce soit pour ce qu'on a appelé la « guerre du saumon » (McKenzie, 2010) ou encore la crise d'Oka (Chalifoux, 2009) et ce sans oublier toutes les altercations routinières et banalisées qui sont reléguées aux chroniques de justice et de faits divers de différents journaux locaux. C'est pour combler ce manque dans la littérature scientifique et pour inciter d'autres chercheurs à aller dans cette voie que j'ai initialement amorcé ce travail.

La présente note de recherche vise à faire la revue de la littérature existante sur le sujet en exposant les divers enjeux et approches qui auront marqué la constitution de cette thématique comme objet scientifique et de proposer de nouvelles avenues de recherche pour l'avenir. La perspective sous-tendant cette démarche est d'explorer les relations de pouvoirs existant entre l'État canadien et les différentes communautés autochtones du Canada dans la prestation des services policiers. La première partie sera dédiée à l'analyse du discours gouvernemental sur les rapports entre les populations autochtones et les policiers canadiens. L'analyse des rapports gouvernementaux sera inspirée des travaux de Françoise Piron sur la délinquance autochtone (1994) en prêtant une attention particulière à la prise en compte de la diversité des réalités autochtones et à la potentialité que pourrait avoir le discours des administrateurs à reproduire des rapports de domination de type coloniaux. Les rapports ont été choisis pour leur accent sur les questions policières entourant les autochtones et leur date de publication (des années 2000 à aujourd'hui). La deuxième partie tentera de brosser un portrait des relations entre forces de l'ordre et autochtones à partir de données empiriques en utilisant le concept de conflit culturel (Fraser, 1980; LaPrairie, 1989; Torrie, 1989) qui situe ces relations dans le contexte politique opposant les autochtones à l'État canadien. Néanmoins, ce cadre

théorique sera dépassé en inscrivant la résistance aux forces de l'ordre dans une trame identitaire, à l'instar des travaux de Bernard Roy sur l'alcool en milieu autochtone (Roy, 2005). La troisième partie visera à faire l'état actuel de la Politique sur la Police des Premières Nations dans le contexte des relations de pouvoirs entre les communautés autochtones et l'État canadien à travers une analyse inspirée de celle de Paul Charest sur la prise en charge des services administratifs par les communautés autochtones (Charest, 1992). Cette dernière partie cherchera d'ailleurs à répondre à la question suivante : la Politique sur la Police des Premières Nations donne-t-elle plus de pouvoir au communautés autochtones ? La note de recherche se conclura finalement sur un plaidoyer pour plus de travail empirique et qualitatif sur les rapports entre autochtones et policiers au Canada.

Le discours gouvernemental

Les questions entourant les relations entre les autochtones et les divers corps policiers du Canada a fait l'objet de plusieurs rapports gouvernementaux. Ces rapports sont empreints d'effets de pouvoirs dans le sens où ceux-ci produisent un sens légitime pouvant être « repris par les acteurs sociaux pour justifier, expliquer, disqualifier ou exclure certains types d'action sociale, certains projets d'action » (Piron, 1994 : 107-108 paraphrasant Foucault, 1980 : 131). Ils possèdent également un procédé discursif qui leur est propre et dont la critique est nécessaire si l'on veut bien comprendre les relations de pouvoir opérant entre nations autochtones et État canadien dans le cadre de l'administration des services de police et de leur perception par les différentes populations autochtones. Pour ce faire, une synthèse-critique de la section sur les populations autochtones dans le rapport Pouvoir discrétionnaire de la police à l'égard des jeunes contrevenants du ministère de la justice (2013) est tout à fait à propos et permettra donc de cerner les procédés discursifs utilisés par les administrateurs gouvernementaux. En fin de section, d'autres rapports seront mentionnés afin de vérifier si les critiques soulevées sont généralisables à une plus large partie des rapports gouvernementaux.

Le rapport constate au départ certaines situations ayant cours dans les relations entre les autochtones et le système judiciaire canadien. On y aborde la « surreprésentation des Autochtones devant les tribunaux et dans les prisons » qu'on attribue à une haine des autochtones envers les différents corps policiers et à une mauvaise compréhension de la culture autochtone de la part des policiers. Cette idée de mauvaise compréhension de la part des policiers prend une place importante dans le discours du rapport puisqu'elle y est réitérée en ajoutant que les policiers canadiens n'avaient « aucun parti pris d'ordre racial » ni aucun « préjugé conscient » envers les autochtones. Cette affirmation reste douteuse surtout lorsqu'on prend en considération leurs propres moyens d'intervention qui impliquent à certaines occasions des pratiques discriminatoires (comme un traitement différentiel en comparaison avec les populations non autochtones, les intrusions dans des domiciles sans mandats qui prévalaient à une certaine époque et une surveillance policière excessive couplée d'une sous offre de services communautaires policiers)

(Fraser, 1980 : 26-27; Griffiths, 1988 : 156; Bousquet et Morissette, 2009 : 149; Dugré et Thomas, 2010 : 82). Également, si l'on considère tous les préjugés entretenus envers les autochtones par la société canadienne au sens large (Arcand et Vincent, 1979; Bousquet, 2012), on se demande comment les forces policières dans leur entièreté pourraient échapper à cette situation. Comme le propose Ariane Loranger-Saindon dans une étude des discours journalistiques couvrant l'Approche commune, le discours de la société dominante, entretenu par son imaginaire collectif, prend une forme de négation qui « cherche à délégitimer l'identité spécifique et les prétentions des autochtones sur les territoires et les ressources » (Loranger-Saindon, 2007: 137).

D'autre part, le rapport mentionne la difficulté des policiers à établir des relations à long terme dans des communautés autochtones en raison de leurs fréquents transferts et ce, spécialement dans les communautés nordiques. Le rapport met également beaucoup d'emphase sur l'effet criminogène des problèmes sociaux ayant cours dans les communautés autochtones : alcoolisme, toxicomanie, pauvreté, marginalisation, etc. On va même jusqu'à qualifier les communautés autochtones de « socialement désorganisées », ce qui expliquerait une criminalité plus élevée et la nécessité d'un plus grand contrôle et d'une plus grande surveillance policière. Cette affirmation peut être vraie pour certaines communautés, mais de généraliser cette situation à l'ensemble des communautés autochtones canadienne reste néanmoins dangereux.

Par la suite, le rapport se base sur différentes données statistiques pour comparer les agissements des policiers desservant des communautés autochtones à ceux qui n'en desservent pas. La comparaison nous apprend que les policiers amenés à travailler en contact avec des autochtones sont plus susceptibles de porter des accusations après arrestations; qu'ils sont plus portés à utiliser des mesures officieuses, mais qu'ils sont aussi plus portés à donner des avertissements officiels; qu'ils sont deux fois plus enclins à utiliser un programme communautaire de justice réparatrice avant accusation, mais qu'ils auront aussi moins tendance à utiliser des mesures de rechange après accusations (ce qui représente un rétrécissement du filet social après arrestation); qu'ils auront davantage tendance à détenir les adolescents récidivistes; et finalement qu'ils auront plus tendance à détenir des adolescents dans leur « propre intérêt » (en cas d'intoxication ou s'ils croient que l'adolescent ne serait pas en sécurité au domicile familial).

Un premier élément frappant du discours employé par le rapport est l'assimilation des différents peuples autochtones du Canada à une culture unique et partagée. En effet, le rapport reconnaît une « connaissance insuffisante de la culture autochtone » aux policiers à travers le Canada. Dans cette perspective, le rapport ne va jamais appréhender les différences culturelles qui existent entre les différentes nations autochtones du Canada. Les réalités autochtones sont donc assimilées à une condition unique qui est celle d'une autochtonie que l'on caractérise par de multiples problèmes sociaux. De l'autre côté du miroir, on ne vient pas non plus spécifier l'origine

des policiers, ce qui invisibilise les traitements différentiels qui peuvent en découler. Ainsi, les relations ne seront sans doute pas les mêmes envers un policier d'origine africaine, d'origine autochtone ou d'origine euro-canadienne, par exemple.

Dans un autre ordre d'idée, on évite également de parler de la composante coloniale de l'institution policière. Les forces de l'ordre ont été appelées à jouer un rôle prépondérant dans le processus de colonisation des nations autochtones du Canada. Leur rôle, en tant que bras armé d'un État auxquels les autochtones ne s'identifiaient pas ou peu, les ont souvent fait passer pour le visage d'une oppression associée à un processus de dépossession territoriale et culturelle qui perdure toujours aujourd'hui (Panasuk et Proulx, 1979; Savard, 1981; Savard, 2009; Ross-Tremblay et Hamidi, 2013). En ce sens, pour plusieurs autochtones les forces policières sont associées directement au conflit culturel qui existe toujours entre l'État canadien et les différents peuples autochtones du Canada. Bien que plusieurs auteurs en criminologie et en anthropologie aient décidé d'analyser la question sous cet angle (Fraser, 1980; LaPrairie, 1989; Torrie, 1989), les administrateurs gouvernementaux ont choisi de ne pas le faire, laissant ainsi de côté tout un historique d'oppression pourtant nécessaire à la bonne compréhension des rapports qu'entretiennent les peuples autochtones envers les différents services de police au Canada.

Le discours employé par le rapport et par les policiers cités se réfère, à mon avis, directement à la politique gouvernementale de l'État canadien en matière de question autochtone. Cette politique en est une de paternalisme, d'assimilation et de mise sous tutelle (Leslie, 2002; Ladner et Orsini, 2004; Bohaker et Iacovetta, 2009) : on prétend connaitre plus que les autochtones ce que est mieux pour eux.

Par exemple, un policier racontant son travail avec un jeune autochtone dit que ceux-ci ont besoin d'une « structure » pour bien fonctionner dans leur vie. Évidemment, cette structure est celle de la société dominante : l'école, le travail, un horaire fixe, etc. Un autre policier raconte l'expérience d'un programme de valorisation de la scolarité dans une communauté autochtone. Le programme, nommé « échoue l'école, échoue tout », consistait principalement, selon les mots du policier, à « soudoyer les adolescents pour qu'ils restent à l'école » en leur donnant des cadeaux s'ils ne s'absentaient pas de l'école durant le mois. Ici encore, l'infantilisation des autochtones et leur mise sous tutelle est flagrante et ne fait l'objet d'aucune considération dans le discours des administrateurs.

Dans la même lignée, l'assimilation de certains problèmes sociaux à la condition d'autochtone est en soi une idée problématique. De l'avis de Françoise Piron, « la représentation de la déficience des Autochtones et l'idée qu'ils ont/sont un problème auquel il faut trouver une solution, peuvent être utilisées pour justifier et légitimer des politiques plutôt paternalistes de l'État canadien à leur endroit ainsi que la nécessité de réformer et de rééduquer les Autochtones » (1994 : 123). Bien entendu, la « référence normative sous-jacente » impliquée dans cette assimilation des autochtones à un problème sont

les normes de la société canadienne (ibid : 125). Ainsi, une « délinquance autochtone tolérable est avant tout une délinquance proportionnée selon les normes de la délinquance propres à la société canadienne » (ibid : 125). Le rapport laisse ainsi supposer qu'une solution au « problème » autochtone serait la fin de l'asymétrie statistique entre autochtones et non-autochtones au niveau de la représentation dans le système judiciaire. Cette conception masque néanmoins toute une série de considérations de l'ordre des dynamiques de pouvoir et des relations identitaires dont des statistiques ne peuvent pas bien représenter.

Plusieurs critiques soulignées ci-haut peuvent être généralisables à d'autres rapports gouvernementaux, malgré la relative rareté de ceux-ci, concernant les relations entre autochtones et policiers. Il est possible de citer à cet effet l'Étude comparative des modèles de police des indigènes au Canada, aux États-Unis, en Australie et en Nouvelle-Zélande de la Sécurité publique et de la Protection civile du Canada (2007) et sa mise à jour l'Étude comparative des tendances en matière de modèles de police des Indigènes à l'échelle internationale (2013). Ces rapports laissent peu de place à la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle des différents peuples autochtones du Canada. D'ailleurs, en conclusion, le rapport va vanter le modèle canadien de police autochtone sur la base de son haut degré de centralisme (ce qui n'est pas le cas pour les autres pays décrits par le rapport). Néanmoins, la mise à jour du rapport laisse plus de place à la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle et encourage (en citant un examen de Sécurité publique Canada datant de 2010 sur les polices des premières nations) les initiatives locales et communautaires dans la prestation des services policiers autochtones. Sécurité publique Canada a d'ailleurs produit un court manuel, Lignes directrices pour un Groupe consultatif communautaire (2013), faisant la promotion et expliquant le fonctionnement de groupes consultatifs communautaires servant à faire le pont entre la communauté, ses différents acteurs et les services de police quant à leurs attentes mutuelles. D'autre part, les deux études vont assimiler la condition d'autochtone à divers problèmes sociaux et laisse aussi planer (notamment en citant une panacée de statistiques sur les problèmes sociaux des autochtones) qu'une solution au « problème » autochtone serait la fin de l'asymétrie statistique entre ceux-ci et la société canadienne en ce qui a trait aux problèmes sociaux.

Les relations entre autochtones et policiers

L'arrivée de la police dans les communautés autochtones et leur composante coloniale

Les autochtones du Canada, bien qu'assujettis à l'ordre juridico-politique émanant de l'État canadien, ne possèdent pas une culture juridique traditionnelle partagée. Néanmoins, avant l'arrivée de la justice canadienne et des forces policières qu'elle sous-tend, les autochtones avaient leurs propres façons de réguler leurs interactions sociales et leurs propres mécanismes de contrôle social. Sans vouloir généraliser pour toutes les nations autochtones du Canada, on peut dire que l'ordre juridique des populations algonquiennes et inuits du Québec pouvait être qualifié par

un désir de restaurer l'ordre social nouvellement brisé (Rouland, 1983 : 179; Lacasse, 2004 : 87) en opposition à l'idée de justice punitive. Au cour des processus de résolution de conflit, on retrouvait les différentes figures d'autorité traditionnelles (chefs, chasseurs expérimentés et chamanes) qui pouvaient agir à titre de médiateurs lorsque le besoin se faisait ressentir (Roger, 1965 : 267-270; Bousquet, 2009 : 57-58).

Le contact avec la société euro-canadienne est venu changer la donne dans les dynamiques juridiques des sociétés algonquiennes et inuit. Pour les sociétés algonquiennes, l'arrivée des traiteurs de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, des missionnaires et, plus tard, des agents des affaires indiennes représente aussi l'arrivée de nouvelles figures d'autorité externes (Rogers, 1965 : 270-275; Lacasse, 2004 : 89; Bousquet, 2009 : 60-61). On s'est donc référé à ces figures d'autorité pour qu'elles tranchent dans des cas où la communauté peinait à arriver à une décision sur la sanction à appliquer à quelqu'un ayant transgressé l'ordre et les normes sociales algonquiennes (Lacasse, 2004 : 89; Bousquet, 2009 : 61). Ces nouvelles figures d'autorité étaient choisies justement parce qu'elles n'étaient pas ou peu impliquées dans les affaires de la communauté et leur statut externe leur conférait une certaine aura de neutralité (Lacasse, 2004 : 89). Néanmoins, l'appel à ces figures d'autorité pouvait diviser les communautés (Bousquet, 2009 : 61) dans un contexte où les figures d'autorité traditionnelles étaient affaiblies (Rogers, 1965 : 280) mais toujours appelées à agir comme médiateur lors de conflits interpersonnels dans la communauté (Bousquet, 2009 : 62).

C'est dans ce contexte d'inhibition du développement du leadership et de l'autorité chez les autochtones (Rogers, 1965 : 280) que l'appel aux forces de l'ordre va se généraliser et que l'on verra une accentuation du processus d'acculturation des autochtones au système juridique canadien et des normes qui y sont rattachées. Chez les Inuit par exemple, on disait souvent que l'appel aux forces de l'ordre représentait un dernier recours mais, sous l'effet d'un « déclin du contrôle traditionnel au profit de celui exercé par la justice blanche», on demande de plus en plus l'intervention de la justice canadienne (Rouland, 1983 : 185). La GRC a aussi été longtemps un lien important entre le gouvernement et les communautés autochtones et incidemment une des plus visibles et des plus fortes présences de la société dominante dans les communautés autochtones puisqu'elle était chargée d'appliquer les lois des institutions euro-canadiennes (Griffiths 1988 : 156 citant Morrison, 1985).

Il faut également situer l'arrivée de la police dans les communautés autochtones dans le contexte du colonialisme bureaucratique (Morantz, 2002) où les communautés voyaient arriver successivement services sociaux et chèques d'assistance sociale (Ouellette, 1977 : 11). Par colonialisme bureaucratique, on entend un processus où une société en « subsume une autre dans son orbite, créant ainsi une société assujettie dont il ou elle «s'approprie, dirige et domine ses diverses sphères d'activités» (Homi Bhaba, dans Thomas, 1994 : 10) » (Morantz, 2002 : 65). La composante bureaucratique de ce colonialisme vient du fait que « ce

n'est pas une autorité directe de l'État qui faisait ou exécutait les décrets. Les véritables bureaucrates étaient les agents qui, sur le terrain, interprétaient les directives loin du regard d'Ottawa, avec toutes les possibilités de petitesse et d'abus d'influence qu'on imagine » (ibid : 69).

La série de documents vidéo d'Arthur Lamothe sur la « Justice Blanche » (1973) peut nous apprendre beaucoup sur les rapports entre autochtones et policiers dans les années 1960-1970 dans les régions éloignées. Des Innus de Matimekush y relatent plusieurs épisodes de brutalité policière où des Innus ont été battus à coup de pied et à coup de poing en ajoutant que ces épisodes de brutalité policière revenaient régulièrement (Lamothe, 1973a; Lamothe, 1973b; Lamothe, 1973c; Lamothe 1973d). Les Innus associent souvent ces épisodes de brutalité policière et le manque de respect des policiers à leur égard à la discrimination qu'ils vivent de la part de la société canadienne et plus particulièrement des habitants de la ville de Schefferville (Lamothe, 1973d). Du côté des forces policières, un représentant du service de police de Schefferville va dire que les allégations de brutalité policière de la part des Innus ne sont pas fondées et qu'il s'agit la plupart du temps de problèmes mineurs (Lamothe, 1973b). En effet, les Innus admettent eux-mêmes généralement ne pas faire de plaintes aux services de police, qu'il s'agisse de brutalité policière ou d'évènements n'impliquant pas de policiers (Lamothe, 1973d). Néanmoins, un Innu va dire que de plus en plus les jeunes cessent de « se laisser faire » et entament des démarches pour porter plainte (ibid). Le représentant de la police de Schefferville reconnaît d'ailleurs qu'une plainte a été reçue pour brutalité policière sur une femme innue (Lamothe, 1973b). Ces évènements ont certainement eu un impact majeur dans l'imaginaire collectif des communautés autochtones et dans la construction de leur opposition à l'État canadien. Cependant, l'arrivée de constables autochtones dans les communautés et plus tard des services de police autochtone aura certes changé les rapports que les communautés entretiennent envers l'institution policière. La prochaine section cherchera à éclairer les rapports entretenus envers les policiers non-autochtones et des policiers autochtones en privilégiant une analyse centrée sur les rapports identitaires.

La trame identitaire des rapports entre autochtones et policiers

Sur la question des rapports entre policiers et autochtones, les premiers travaux criminologiques analysent la situation selon des indices criminologiques classiques : classe sociale défavorisée, sous-culture de l'alcool, facteur ethnique, etc. (Bienvenue et Latif, 1974; Boldt et al., 1980). Ces approches, souvent confinées à des visions étic, restent limitées pour le contexte des autochtones du Canada et seront rapidement remplacées par celle de conflit culturel (Fraser, 1980; LaPrairie, 1989; Torrie, 1989). Cette dernière approche situe les relations entre policiers et autochtones dans le cadre plus large du conflit opposant les autochtones et l'État canadien. Pouvant servir de base à notre réflexion, elle doit néanmoins être dépassée par une approche ayant une plus grande valeur explicative. Bernard Roy, dans un texte portant sur l'alcoolisme chez les

autochtones, nous apporte plusieurs pistes de réflexion intéressantes. Ainsi, je crois qu'on peut situer les relations entre les policiers et les autochtones dans ce que Roy nomme « une trame identitaire dans laquelle se sont inscrits au cours des dernières décennies des symboles lourds pouvant être associés à la résistance des Autochtones à leur exclusion et à leur désir de demeurer inclus dans la contemporanéité » (Roy, 2005: 121). Dans ce contexte, la résistance aux forces policières par les autochtones doit être vue comme « stratégie visant à redonner une sensation de puissance et de pouvoir » (ibid: 92) et l'affirmation d'une identité qui est la « résultante d'une résistance légitime, mais aussi l'expression d'un ethnocentrisme exacerbé par l'exclusion dans laquelle les autochtones sont maintenus (ibid : 122).

Dans un contexte où les autochtones subissent contrôles et arrestations arbitraires (Aubert et Jaccoud, 2009: 106) et vivent des agressions journalières de la part de la police (Roy, 2005: 103), j'émets l'hypothèse qu'ils en viennent à intérioriser leur place dans l'échelle sociale tout comme le propose Didier Fassin dans le cas des jeunes des banlieues françaises (Fassin, 2011: 145). Conscient de cette position à laquelle la société canadienne et son appareil institutionnel les relèguent, « la résistance et la combattivité (des Autochtones) face à l'autorité s'imposent » (Roy, 2005: 104). Dans le cas des Innus de la Côte-Nord, Roy relève plusieurs témoignages où les narrateurs racontent avec fierté leur résistance aux forces de l'ordre à l'époque où les autochtones ne pouvaient légalement consommer de l'alcool (ibid: 103-105). De façon similaire, plusieurs témoignages d'Inuit du Nunavik racontent que dans les années 1950-1960, les Inuit qui se faisaient arrêter en retiraient une certaine fierté et étaient accueillis avec respect par leur communauté suite à leur retour du pénitencier (Rouland, 1983: 309). Héroïsée dans les histoires qu'on se raconte dans les communautés, la résistance aux forces de l'ordre est imbriquée dans un contexte politique plus large mais aussi dans une logique d'affirmation de leur distinction et de leur identité (ibid: 105). Ainsi, la résistance aux forces de l'ordre s'inscrirait dans des dynamiques identitaires: le véritable autochtone serait celui qui résiste au pouvoir coercitif du gouvernement canadien dont les agents de police sont le visage.

Ces dynamiques identitaires sont également à l'œuvre dans les relations avec les policiers autochtones. Ceux-ci sont souvent la cible d'insultes ou de moqueries du fait qu'ils occupent un poste traditionnellement associé au monde des « blancs » et qu'ils représentent le pouvoir coercitif du système juridico-politique canadien (Jayewardene, 1980: 47; Havemann, 1993: 117). Ainsi, chez les Algonquins, un policier arrêtant une personne proche peut se faire traiter de « blanc » pour ne pas avoir respecté les règles de parenté (Bousquet, 2005: 165). Chez les Inuit, beaucoup sont réticents à devenir policiers par qu'ils « pressentent ou éprouvent que l'ordre blanc peut les mettre en conflit avec leur propre système socio-juridique ». (Rouland, 1983: 311). On dit même dans ces communautés qu'il vaut mieux un « blanc » respectueux qu'un Inuk en voie de déculturation (ibid: 311). Cette association au monde des

blancs amène l'individu qui en est la cible dans un non-lieu où il se retrouve doublement marginalisé: en marge de la société canadienne de par son statut d'autochtone et en marge de sa propre communauté par son association au monde des « blancs » (Roy, 2005: 110-111). Il faut ici prendre en compte que dans le discours des Innus (et aussi d'autre nations autochtones), les « blancs » sont associés au colonialisme, à l'exploitation outrancière des territoires et à l'usurpation des droits : bref, le terme « blanc » désigne l'ennemi (Roy et al, 2013 : 243) et que cette association au monde des « blancs » est reçue comme une insulte et une condamnation (ibid : 244). Bref, au final, si l'on regarde au plan des dynamiques identitaires, qu'un policier soit autochtone ou non autochtone ne semble pas changer grand-chose à la symbolique qui se cache derrière l'uniforme.

D'autre part, j'émets l'hypothèse que ces difficultés pour les policiers autochtones de se faire respecter par leur communauté vient du fait qu'il n'y a pas encore d'image du policier autochtone dans ces communautés. Autrement dit, avec l'arrivée récente des forces de police autochtones dans les communautés, aucune façon de faire autochtone d'appliquer le service policier n'a pu avoir le temps de se développer proprement et de s'institutionnaliser dans les communautés. Cette façon de faire est fort probablement en train de se développer ou déjà développée (dépendamment des communautés) mais n'est pas documentée et n'est probablement pas la même d'une communauté à l'autre. De plus, les policiers autochtones arrivant en poste n'ont pas pu se fonder sur un modèle autochtone pour accomplir leur travail, ce qui leur laisse pour seul modèle les policiers « blancs » qui étaient là avant eux. L'image du policier autochtone et son rôle dans la communauté restent donc une image à construire pour plusieurs communautés autochtones.

Que ce soit dans un cadre de résistance aux forces de l'ordre ou dans la perception des policiers autochtones, on voit que la relation des autochtones aux forces de l'ordre est inscrite dans une trame identitaire qui s'inscrit elle-même dans un contexte beaucoup plus englobant: soit le conflit culturel et politique opposant les peuples autochtones du Canada à l'État canadien. Néanmoins, ce ne sont pas tous les autochtones qui s'inscrivent dans un rapport de résistance aux forces de l'ordre: certains vont féliciter les policiers qui auront arrêté une personne en ivresse au volant dans un contexte de lutte contre l'alcool (Bousquet, 2005: 165) et d'autres demandent des peines plus sévères que ce que les magistrats sont prêts à accorder pour les délinquants (Rouland, 1983: 185). Ces situations s'inscrivent également dans les dynamiques qui ont cours dans les communautés et se devraient d'être explorées dans des recherches ultérieures.

La PPPN donne-t-elle plus de pouvoir aux communautés autochtones?

Si les criminologues étaient plutôt réticents à l'idée de la création de services de police autochtones dans les années 1970-1980 (Bienvenue et Latif, 1974; Boldt et al., 1980), cette idée fut explorée par quelques-uns d'entre eux des années 1980 à aujourd'hui (Jayewardene, 1980; Harding, 1990; Havemann, 1993). La littérature plus

récente en criminologie, datant d'après l'adoption de la PPPN (Politique sur la Police des Premières Nations), s'est intéressée à comprendre les relations de pouvoir entre les communautés autochtones et l'État canadien ainsi qu'à évaluer les difficultés auxquelles font face les services de police autochtone. Ainsi, on remarque que la PPPN n'établit aucun lien ni parallèle avec les revendications d'autonomie gouvernementale au sens où elle ignore les revendications et/ou négociations qui ont cours à cet effet (Harding, 1991 : 367), qu'elle est un relais de légitimation du système de contrôle social canadien (Havemann, 1993 : 117; Aubert et Jaccoud, 2009 : 106) et qu'elle ne réussit pas à financer convenablement les communautés afin qu'elles puissent offrir un service à la hauteur de leurs attentes (Aubert et Jaccoud, 2012 : 279). En considérant toutes ces lacunes, peut-on dire que la PPPN donne réellement du pouvoir aux communautés autochtones?

C'est en ces termes que Paul Charest avait analysé le cas de la prise en charge des services administratifs par les communautés autochtones. Dans le cadre des relations entre les communautés autochtones et l'État canadien, la PPPN peut être inscrite dans ce qu'on a appelé la prise en charge : « la prise en charge représente un transfert, une délégation ou une dévolution de responsabilités ou de pouvoirs d'administrer des programmes et des services et de gérer des fonds au profit des bandes et autres organismes indiens » (Charest, 1992 : 56). Pour Charest, afin de savoir si un tel processus est capable de donner plus de pouvoir aux communautés autochtones, il faut mesurer « leur degré d'autonomie ou, inversement, de dépendance par rapport à un pouvoir dont ils veulent se libérer » (ibid : 57). C'est en ces termes que je propose d'analyser la situation pour ce qui est de la PPPN.

Ce que tous les services de police autochtones ont décrié dans l'étude de Aubert et Jaccoud est le manque de financement : ce manque de financement « limite, voire neutralise leurs potentialités à exercer ces responsabilités » envers les communautés (Aubert et Jaccoud, 2012: 279). Or, le financement venant du gouvernement fédéral, on ne peut pas dire que la PPPN autonomise les communautés au plan économique: elles sont toujours dépendantes du gouvernement fédéral pour permettre le fonctionnement de leurs institutions. L'absence de pouvoir économique est ici problématique et comme le note Charest : « le pouvoir économique est une des principales formes de pouvoir comme l'indique Boulding (1989), et l'argent, le principal étalon du pouvoir matériel. Les groupes amérindiens ont aussi besoin de cette base matérielle pour asseoir leur pouvoir » (Charest, 1992 : 71).

Si la PPPN a permis une plus grande autonomie dans la prescription du service policier, jamais elle n'aura remis en question le cadre légal dans lequel elle s'inscrit (Aubert et Jaccoud, 2009 : 116). Sans remise en cause du système juridique canadien, la PPPN est confinée à créer des services de polices autochtones subordonnés à l'ordre juridique émanant de l'État canadien et limités à l'exercice d'un pouvoir de gestion et d'administration. Or, comme le note si bien Paul Charest : le pouvoir de gérer et d'administrer des communautés autochtones « est

un pouvoir délégué, subordonné ou dépendant de celui du ministère des Affaires indiennes et, ultimement, du gouvernement fédéral, qui demeure légalement et constitutionnellement responsable des autochtones » (Charest, 1992 : 70).

En fait, tout comme la prise en charge, la PPPN ne donne pas de pouvoir véritable aux communautés autochtones dans le sens où elle ne permet pas aux communautés de casser leur lien de dépendance envers le gouvernement fédéral. Il manque donc deux éléments fondamentaux aux communautés autochtones pour qu'elles marquent leur indépendance vis-à-vis du pouvoir fédéral : « un cadre législatif approprié et des ressources financières propres » (Charest, 1992 : 70). Mais pour que ces éléments fondamentaux aient leur chance de réussite, ils devraient être accompagnés de « la reconnaissance par l'État canadien des conséquences du colonialisme et sa contribution active au redressement des iniquités flagrantes qu'il a occasionnées » (Aubert et Jaccoud, 2012 : 279).

Conclusion

Les formes traditionnelles de contrôle social chez les autochtones cherchaient avant tout à trouver des moyens pour restaurer l'harmonie sociale dans la communauté. Ces moyens passaient surtout par la médiation et par la consultation du groupe entier ou des groupes impliqués. Dans un contexte d'affaiblissement des formes d'autorité et de leadership traditionnelles, l'arrivée de nouvelles figures d'autorité externes aux communautés fut l'occasion d'un premier glissement vers l'ordre juridique euro-canadien pour la régulation des conflits. C'est dans ce contexte, associé au colonialisme bureaucratique, que l'appel aux forces de l'ordre va se généraliser de plus en plus jusqu'à nos jours. Si les travaux criminologiques des premiers temps s'affairèrent surtout à constater les relations difficiles entre policiers et autochtones, la littérature laissera par la suite plus de place à la critique des programmes gouvernementaux et développera les questions des polices autochtones et des relations tendues entre autochtones et policiers.

L'analyse de rapports gouvernementaux nous permet d'identifier certains problèmes dans le discours des administrateurs gouvernementaux : assimilation des différentes nations autochtones à une réalité unique et partagée, aucune spécification de l'origine des policiers, invisibilisation de la composante coloniale de l'institution policière, absence de critique des politique d'assimilation et de mise sous tutelle du gouvernement et objectivation des autochtones comme un problème à régler. Par la suite, l'analyse des relations entre policiers et autochtones nous permet de situer la résistance aux forces de l'ordre dans une trame identitaire englobée dans le contexte du conflit culturel et politique opposant les autochtones du Canada à l'État canadien. Finalement, l'idée que la PPPN ne donnait pas de pouvoir véritable aux communautés autochtones a été mise de l'avant en partageant l'analyse de Paul Charest sur la prise en charge.

Mais avant tout, s'il y a une chose à retenir, c'est que très peu de littérature scientifique aborde directement les relations entre policiers et autochtones.

Étant pourtant un enjeu ne manquant pas de couverture médiatique (probablement par sensationnalisme de la part des journalistes) il est étonnant que peu de gens se soient tournés vers la question. On peut néanmoins espérer que plus de recherche qualitative et empirique soit faite sur le sujet : elle pourrait éclairer la composante identitaire de la résistance aux forces de l'ordre, colliger les différents points de vue présents dans les communautés mais surtout servir les communautés autochtones pour qu'elles établissent pleinement un ordre juridique qu'il leur est propre. En ce sens, les recherches futures pourraient se baser sur des approches utilisées par différents chercheurs, au Québec et ailleurs, qui ont par exemple suivi des policiers dans le cadre de leur travail (Fassin, 2011) ou encore mené des entrevues avec des policiers venant de minorités dites «visibles» (Jaccoud, 2003). De tels travaux pourrait aborder la réaction de l'entourage de policiers autochtones suite à leur choix de carrière, les niveaux de coopération des communautés face à leur travail et la perception de ce que devrait être leur rôle au sein de leur communauté. Ces dynamiques prendront fort probablement plus d'importance dans les années à venir avec la signature d'ententes. Pensons entre autre au traité découlant de l'Approche commune dont l'échéancier prévoit une signature en 2015, qui prévoit l'application de lois proprement autochtones et où l'emprise juridique du fédéral et du provincial serait effacée ou du moins fortement limitée. La signature de telles ententes permettrait aux communautés autochtones de se doter d'un cadre législatif qui leur serait propre et qui permettrait de casser leur lien de dépendance envers les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux. Même si les services de police sont une introduction exogène chez les autochtones, ceux-ci peuvent en faire des services selon leurs propres manières de faire, leurs propres valeurs et leurs propres modes de fonctionnement. Mais encore faut-il qu'ils aient plus de pouvoir de gouvernance.

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Dietary Structure and Relative Health in Inuit Communities

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Abstract

I wrote this paper for Professor Wenzel's Human Ecology in Geography course. As it is my ambition to practice medicine, I am keenly interested in health, and especially how nutrition influences one's health. Over the past 40-50 years, there has been a considerable shift in the diet of Indigenous communities from one that is highly dependent on hunted and gathered food to one that is more reliant on commercial foods. Notably, there has been an increase in consumption of fats from processed foods, which are high in trans fatty acids, lack key micronutrients found in animals, and contribute to high LDL cholesterol. As a result of the dietary transition there has been an increase in the incidence of obesity and its co-morbidities, and thus an increase in diet-related chronic disease. Additionally, issues with the dietary transition are compounded for individuals of low socioeconomic status. While some interventions have been proposed to alleviate the consequences of the dietary transition, continued work on this issue remains of great importance.

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Dietary intake has several significant impacts on an individual's health. Most widely acknowledged is the relationship between a poor, energy-dense diet and obesity (as well as its many co-morbidities). However, there are also severe health consequences stemming from malnutrition as well as malnourishment. Technological advancements in ways to obtain and transport food sources have drastically altered the composition of diets in many cultures. In particular, westernization in indigenous, arctic communities has resulted in a notable shift in dietary composition over the last 40-50 years. Characterized by a decreased reliance on foods that are hunted and gathered in favor of an increased reliance on commercial foods, this mixed diet has subsequently affected the overall health of Inuit individuals.[1,2,3] In light of this so-called 'dietary transition,' it is of great value to examine how this adjustment to diet construct has impacted adherence to recommended nutrient intakes and how this change in intake has influenced the overall health of Inuit communities in Northern Canada and Greenland. Through investigating what constitutes proper dietary intake, what food types provide these elements, and whether or not these recommendations are being met, this essay explores the health implications and factors that influence the ability to achieve dietary adequacy in Inuit communities.

First and foremost, the makeup of an adequate adult diet must be established in order to determine the level of adherence of northern Inuit communities to recommended intake values. The Nordic Nutrition Recommendations (NNR) of 2004 delineates recommended nutrient intakes for normal individuals (lacking uncommon diseases) within Nordic countries. These recommendations serve as a basis to plan a diet that both satisfies nutritional needs (with respect to physiological requirements for growth and function) and enables good overall health, which subsequently decreases an individual's risk of diet-associated diseases.[4] According to the NNR, the macronutrients in an individual's diet should consist of 15% protein of total energy intake (E%), 55 E% carbohydrates, and 30 E% overall fat.[5] With respect to micronutrients, refined sugars within carbohydrates should not exceed 10 E%, and individuals should consume 25-35 g/d of dietary fiber. Additionally, intake

1 Jeppesen, Charlote and Peter Bjerregaard. 2012. "Consumption of Traditional Food and Adherence to Nutrition Recommendations in Greenland." *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health* 40 (5): 475-481. doi:10.1177/1403494812454467.

2 Johnson-Down, Louise M. and Grace M. Egeland. 2013. "How is Nutrition Transition Affecting Dietary Adequacy in Eeyouch (Cree) Adults of Northern Quebec, Canada?" *Applied Physiology Nutrition and Metabolism-Physiologie Appliquee Nutrition Et Metabolisme* 38 (3): 300-305. doi:10.1139/apnm-2012-0167.

3 Sharma, Sangita, Xia Cao, Cindy Roache, Annie Buchan, Rhonda Reid, and Joel Gittelsohn. 2010. "Assessing Dietary Intake in a Population Undergoing a Rapid Transition in Diet and Lifestyle: The Arctic Inuit in Nunavut, Canada." *British Journal of Nutrition* 103 (5): 749-759. doi:10.1017/S0007114509992224.

4 Becker, W. Lyhne, N. Pedersen, A. N. Aro, A. Fogelholm, M. Þhorsdottir, I. Alexander, J. Anderssen, S. A. Meltzer, H. M. Pedersen, J. I. 2004. "*Nordic Nutrition Recommendations – Integrating Nutrition and Physical Activity 2004*." *Scandinavian Journal of Nutrition* 48 (4): 178.

5 Ibid.

of fat should be broken down into the following portions of fat subclasses: 10 E% saturated and trans fatty acids, 10-15 E% cis-monounsaturated fatty acids, and 5-10 E% polyunsaturated fatty acids. Moreover, intake of vitamins and minerals should consist of: 700-900 mg Vitamin A, 7.5-10 µg Vitamin D, 8-10 mg Vitamin E, 1.0-1.5 mg Thiamin, 1.2-1.7 mg Riboflavin, 13-20 mg Niacin, 1.2-1.6 mg Vitamin B-6, 300-400 µg Folate, 2.0 µg Vitamin B-12, 75 mg Vitamin C, 800-900 mg Calcium, 600-700 mg Phosphorous, 3.1-3.5 g Potassium, 280-350 mg Magnesium, 9-15 mg Iron, 7-12 mg Zinc, 0.9 mg Copper, 150 µg Iodine, and 40-50 µg Selenium.[6,7] Ranges of vitamin and mineral values account for the variation in needed intakes due to sex and age. Finally, the recommended daily caloric intake for Inuit is 9.6-11.7 MJ/day, with the range again accounting for variety in age and sex.[8]

Through a review of a variety of literature sources spanning several Inuit populations, it appears that the current, typical Inuit diet is composed of a mix of traditional foods and consumer goods. The most frequently reported traditional foods include caribou, fish (particularly arctic char and trout), seal, and muktuk[9,10,11,12] while the most frequently reported market food items include coffee and coffee whitener, breads, sugars and honeys, sweetened drinks and sodas, butter and margarine, and chips and sweets.[13,14] It was found that store-bought foods are typically consumed more frequently than traditional foods.[15,16,17] This is problematic because these purchased foods are energy dense (i.e. highly caloric) and non-nutrient dense foods, meaning they have reduced nutritional

6 Ibid.

7 Keene, A. S. 1985. "Nutrition and Economy: Models for the Study of Prehistoric Diet." In *The Analysis of Prehistoric Diets*, edited by R. I. Gilbert and J. H. Mielke, 155-190. Orlando, Florida: Academic Press, Inc.

8 Ibid.

9 Hopping, B. N., E. Mead, E. Erber, C. Sheehy, C. Roache, and S. Sharma. 2010. "Dietary Adequacy of Inuit in the Canadian Arctic." *Journal of Human Nutrition and Dietetics* 23: 27-34. doi:10.1111/j.1365-277X.2010.01099.x.

10 Jeppesen, Charlote and Peter Bjerregaard. "*Consumption of traditional food and adherence to nutrition recommendations in Greenland",* 475-481.

11 Sharma et al., "*Assessing dietary intake in a population undergoing a rapid transition in diet and lifestyle"*, 749-759.

12 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. 2013. "Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition: Portion Sizes of Traditional and Non-Traditional Foods and Beverages Consumed by Inuit Adults in Nunavut, Canada." *Nutrition Journal* 12: 70. doi:10.1186/1475-2891-12-70.

13 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.

14 Sharma et al., "*Assessing dietary intake in a population undergoing a rapid transition in diet and lifestyle"*, 749-759.

15 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.

16 Spiegelaar, N. F. and L. J. S. Tsuji. 2013. "Impact of Euro-Canadian Agrarian Practices: In Search of Sustainable Import-Substitution Strategies to Enhance Food Security in Subarctic Ontario, Canada." *Rural and Remote Health* 13 (2): 2211.

17 Zotor, Francis, Tony Sheehy, Madalina Lupu, Fariba Kolahdooz, Andre Corriveau, and Sangita Sharma. 2012. "Frequency of Consumption of Foods and Beverages by Inuvialuit Adults in Northwest Territories, Arctic Canada." *International Journal of Food Sciences and Nutrition* 63 (7): 782-789. doi:10.3109/09637486.2012.676029.

value.[18,19,20,21,22,23,24]

To continue, in general, the modern Inuit diet includes an intake of approximately 8-10 MJ of energy, 21 E% protein, 48 E% carbohydrates, and 32 E% total fat[25,26,27] as opposed to the NNR recommended 15 E% protein, 55 E% carbohydrates, and 30 E% fat.[28] More specifically, the breakdown of total fat consists of 11 E% saturated, 12 E% monounsaturated, 5 E% polyunsaturated, and 3 E% n-3 fatty acid. Approximately 40-50% of protein in the current Inuit diet comes from traditional foods.[29,30] The largest intake of energy and fat comes from non-nutrient dense store bought foods such as breads and sweetened beverages,[31] contributing to 22% of total fat intake, 42-50% of carbohydrate intake, and 73-80% of sugar intake.[32,33] This makes sweetened beverages the largest form of sugar intake.[34,35] Overall, primary energy intake comes predominately from juice, caribou and game, and bread, providing 25% of daily energy to individuals.[36] In addition to macronutrient contributors, micronutrients are mostly acquired through traditional foods. Traditional food contributes to approximately 41% of fiber intake as well as 49% of Iron intake.[37,38] They are also the primary source of Vitamin A and Vitamin

18 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.

19 Huet, Catherine, Renata Rosol, and Grace M. Egeland. 2012. "The Prevalence of Food Insecurity is High and the Diet Quality Poor in Inuit Communities." *Journal of Nutrition* 142 (3): 541-547. doi:10.3945/jn.111.149278.

20 Jeppesen, Charlote and Peter Bjerregaard. "*Consumption of traditional food and adherence to nutrition recommendations in Greenland",* 475-481.

21 Johnson-Down, Louise M. and Grace M. Egeland. "*How is nutrition transition affecting dietary adequacy in eeyouch (cree) adults of northern quebec, canada?",* 300-305.

22 Sharma et al., "*Assessing dietary intake in a population undergoing a rapid transition in diet and lifestyle"*, 749-759.

23 Sharma, S., B. N. Hopping, C. Roache, and T. Sheehy. 2013. "Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada." *Journal of Human Nutrition and Dietetics* 26 (6): 578-586. doi:10.1111/jhn.12091.

24 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*

25 Jeppesen, Charlote and Peter Bjerregaard. "*Consumption of traditional food and adherence to nutrition recommendations in Greenland",* 475-481.

26 Sharma et al., "*Assessing dietary intake in a population undergoing a rapid transition in diet and lifestyle"*, 749-759.

27 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, MajorFood Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.

28 Becker et al., "*Nordic Nutrition Recommendations",* 178.

29 Sharma et al., "*Assessing dietary intake in a population undergoing a rapid transition in diet and lifestyle"*, 749-759.

30 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.

31 Sharma et al., "*Assessing dietary intake in a population undergoing a rapid transition in diet and lifestyle"*, 749-759.

32 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.

33 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.

34 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.

35 Sharma et al., "*Assessing dietary intake in a population undergoing a rapid transition in diet and lifestyle"*, 749-759.

36 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.

37 Sharma et al., "*Assessing dietary intake in a population undergoing a rapid transition in diet and lifestyle"*, 749-759.

38 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.

B-12.[39]

Despite the adequate proportions of macronutrients intake within the present Inuit diet, there is a clear consensus among the literature that there is a lack of several micronutrients. Micronutrients are important in many regards; they contribute to several bodily functions including the breakdown of macronutrients and more specifically, for example, the maintenance of growth and vision function from vitamin A.[40] As such, it is problematic that certain macronutrient components are being obtained in ill-advised ways. For example, sugars should contribute to a mere 10% of carbohydrate intake, however, as described above, they contribute to 42-50% (4-5 times more than they should). Furthermore, though saturated fat intake is only moderately higher than the recommended intake within total fat construct, it is more desirable to minimize the proportion of saturated fat relative to unsaturated fats.[41] With respect to micronutrients, fiber, folate, calcium, vitamin A, vitamin B-12, vitamin B-6, vitamin D, and vitamin E levels are all consistently lower than recommended intake values in Inuit populations.[42,43,44] Most notably, although fruits and vegetables contribute to 27% of total fiber intake, it is widely reported that there is a severe deficiency in the intake of fruits and vegetables.[45,46,47,48,49,50,51,52]

In contrast to the current Inuit diet, pre-historic diet consisted of far greater proportions of intake than traditional foods. Resources primarily included caribou, ringed seal, and fish, but were supplemented by muskox, polar bear, bearded seal, birds, hare, wolf, lemming, squirrel, fox, and some berries.[53,54] Primary resources were most sought after because they provided more optimal returns in terms of hunting time and energy investments to obtain such resources.[55] In addition

39 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.
40 Keene, A. S. "*Nutrition and Economy"*, 155-190.
41 Becker et al., "*Nordic Nutrition",* 178.
42 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.
43 Sharma et al., "*Assessing dietary intake in a population undergoing a rapid transition in diet and lifestyle"*, 749-759.
44 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.
45 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.
46 Huet, Catherine, Renata Rosol, and Grace M. Egeland. "*The Prevalence of Food Insecurity is High and the Diet Quality Poor in Inuit Communities"*, 541-547.
47 Johnson-Down, Louise M. and Grace M. Egeland. "*How is nutrition transition affecting dietary adequacy in eeyouch (cree) adults of northern quebec, canada?",* 300-305.
48 Sharma et al., "*Assessing dietary intake in a population undergoing a rapid transition in diet and lifestyle"*, 749-759.
49 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.
50 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*
51 Spiegelaar, N. F. and L. J. S. Tsuji. "*Impact of Euro-Canadian Agrarian Practices"*, 2211.
52 Zotor et al., "*Frequency of Consumption of Foods and Beverages by Inuvialuit Adults in Northwest Territories, Arctic Canada"*, 782-789.
53 Keene, A. S. 1979. "Economic Optomization Models and the Study of Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence Settlement Systems." In *Transformations: Mathematical Approaches to Culture Change*, edited by C. Renfrew and K. L. Cooke, 369-404. New York, New York: Academic Press Inc.
54 Sinclair, HM. 1953. "The Diet of Canadian Indians and Eskimos." Proceedings of the Nutrition Society 12 (1): 69-82. doi:10.1079/PNS19530016.
55 Keene, A. S. "*Economic Optomization Mod-*

to food provision from hunter-gatherer activity, some food, including bread, flour, barley, peas, sugar, and coffee, was also acquired through imports from Europe.[56]

The typical prehistoric diet provided approximately 11 MJ total energy, of which the macronutrient content consisted of 60 E% protein, 11 E% carbohydrate, and 29 E% fat.[57] This constitutes a dramatically high protein diet as compared to the NNR. However, this issue has been examined and there is seemingly no conclusive evidence that high levels of protein contribute to the incidence of diet-related disease in Inuit.[58] Overall, the literature is in agreement that the previous Inuit diet, which relied on traditional foods, fulfilled the recommendations for daily nutrient intake and surpassed such recommendations with respect to the majority of macro- and micronutrients (energy, protein, fat, calcium, vitamins A, D, and E, riboflavin, thiamine, and iron).[59,60,61,62] Calcium, though nutritionally satisfied, was the limiting element amongst all nutrients.[63,64] Furthermore, in addition to the required intake of 9.6 MJ of energy per day, hunting activity yielded a surplus of 5.4 MJ/day.[65,66]

Overall, a considerable change in diet construct has been observed in Inuit communities. Where diet was once almost entirely reliant on traditional (country) foods, it now consists of a distinguishable mix of traditional and commercial foods with a high reliance on non-traditional foods.[67] In light of this shift to a mixed diet, there has been a consequential increase in the amount of sugary, processed foods.[68,69,70,71,72] In particular, fats are decreasingly acquired from game animals in exchange for fats that are acquired from processed, store-bought foods, which have notoriously higher amounts of trans fatty acids.[73] Moreover, these processed sources of fat often lack nutrients such as vitamins A and D that accompany traditional

els and the Study of Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence Settlement Systems", 369-404.
56 Sinclair, HM. "*The Diet of Canadian Indians and Eskimos"*, 69-82.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
59 Keene, A. S. "*Economic Optomization Models and the Study of Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence Settlement Systems"*, 369-404.
60 Keene, A. S. "*Nutrition and Economy"*, 155-190
61 Kuhnein, H. V., V. Barthet, A. Farren, E. Falahi, D. Leggee, O. Receveur, and P. Berti. 2006. "Vitamins A, D, and E in Canadian Arctic Traditional Food and Adult Diets." *Journal of Food Composition and Analysis* 19 (6-7): 495-506. doi:10.1016/j.jfca.2005.02.007.
62 Sinclair, HM. "*The Diet of Canadian Indians and Eskimos*", 69-82.
63 Keene, A. S. "*Economic Optomization Models and the Study of Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence Settlement Systems*, 369-404.
64 Keene, A. S. "*Nutrition and Economy"*, 155-190
65 Keene, A. S. "*Economic Optomization Models and the Study of Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence Settlement Systems"*, 369-404.
66 Keene, A. S. "*Nutrition and Economy"*, 155-190
67 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.
68 Ibid.
69 Jeppesen, Charlote and Peter Bjerregaard. "*Consumption of traditional food and adherence to nutrition recommendations in Greenland",* 475-481.
70 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.
71 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*
72 Zotor et al., "*Frequency of Consumption of Foods and Beverages by Inuvialuit Adults in Northwest Territories, Arctic Canada"*, 782-789.
73 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.

sources of fat.[74,75] Such intake of fats is further inadvisable given that both saturated and trans fats have a causative role in increasing serum LDL-cholesterol concentration.[76,77] High LDL cholesterol levels are harmful because, as the name implies, they are of low density, which allows more particles to occupy a smaller amount of space. This then contributes to the build up of plaque and formation of blockages in the arteries, ultimately increasing an individual's risk of heart attack and stroke.[78,79] In addition to the health complications associated with poorly obtained macronutrients, the lack of micronutrients (fiber, calcium, folate, and vitamins A, C, D, and E) that now exists in Inuit diet puts individuals at greater risk of developing chronic diseases such as cancer and other infectious diseases due to compromised immune function.[80,81,82,83] The relationship between micronutrients and disease is further highlighted by the fact that there was a relative lack of chronic disease experienced under the prehistoric diet regime in which all micronutrient needs were satisfied.[84,85]

Additional complications within the contemporary Inuit diet also stem from increasing portion size. Portion size is a major contributing factor to the obesity epidemic and has in fact increased in all foods over the last few decades in Inuit communities.[86] Most notably, the portion sizes of sweetened beverages are particularly large; they are twice the standard serving size.[87] While an increase in portion size is unhealthy, an increase in market food purchases (as is the case with these beverages) is particularly damaging since gross consumption in turn contributes to an increased portion of energy intake in the overall diet.[88] This consumption is worrisome because it combines the worst aspects of the present Inuit diet.

In fact, the effects of such overconsumption of energy dense, nutrient poor foods have begun to emerge. The dangerous combination of increased portion size and decreased nutritional value of foods has contributed to an overall increase in the incidence of obesity in Inuit

74 Ibid.
75 Kuhnein et al., "*Vitamins A, D, and E in Canadian Arctic Traditional Food and Adult Diets"*, 495-506.
76 Becker et al., "*Nordic Nutrition Recommendations",* 178.
77 Freeman, M. W. and C. Junge. 2005. "CHAPTER 1: Understanding Cholesterol: The Good, the Bad, and the Necessary." In *The Harvard Medical School Guide to Lowering Your Cholesterol*, edited by President and Fellows of Harvard College: McGraw-Hill.
78 American Heart Association. "**Good Vs. Bad Cholesterol**.", accessed April 9, 2014, http://www.heart.org/HEARTORG/Conditions/Cholesterol/AboutCholesterol/Good-vs-Bad-Cholesterol_UCM_305561_Article.jsp.
79 Freeman, M. W. and C. Junge. "*Undrstanding Cholesterol"*.
80 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.
81 Kuhnein et al., "*Vitamins A, D, and E in Canadian Arctic Traditional Food and Adult Diets"*, 495-506.
82 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.
83 Zadworny, D. 2014. *Animal Science 400 Lectures on Cancer*, edited by S. Ostrager. McGill University MacDonald Campus:.
84 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.
85 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.
86 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*
87 Ibid.
88 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.

communities.[89,90] In recent years, an increase in the incidence of obesity from 23% in 1992 to 37% in 2004 has been recorded in Inuit populations.[91,92] Should this trend in diet continue, it is likely we will see an even greater increase in the incidence of obesity than that which already exists.

The effects of obesity are significant as obesity is a precursor to further health complications including cancer, cardiovascular disease, stroke, hypertension, dyslipidemia, Type 2 Diabetes Mellitus, joint disease, and several other conditions and opportunistic infections.[93,94] This is problematic because the increased incidence of these chronic diseases will undoubtedly increase the cost of health care. The outcome of such increased prevalence of obesity is a change in the demographic of diseases affecting Inuit populations as well as a change in the leading causes of death. Inuit populations were previously protected from atherosclerotic diseases and diabetes by their genetic isolation. However, this protection has been disappearing as a result of lifestyle changes such as this observed shift towards a less favorable diet.[95] For instance, in the Northwest Territories, between 2005 and 2007, the leading causes of death were cancer (including colorectal, breast, prostate, and lung), followed by cardiovascular disease, and then respiratory disease.[96]

In addition to the strain on the body system that extra weight provides, increased body weight is also associated with increased incidence of cancer due to the presence of Type II Diabetes.[97] Diabetes causes insulin resistance, which results in higher blood insulin concentration as well as failed removal of glucose from the blood. This is detrimental to the cells because insulin is a mitogen, meaning it stimulates mitosis (i.e. cell division). Further, tumor cells require a high level of glucose as an energy source. Thus, in conjunction with insulin there is increased proliferation and subsequent opportunity for cell transformation to occur.[98] This systemic pathway is further supported by the increased incidence of diabetes seen since the 1980s in Inuit communities as well as a shift in the type of cancers occurring in these communities.[99] "Traditional" Inuit cancers (including nasopharynx and esophageal cancers) have been declining while "modern" cancers such as breast, colon, and cervical cancers that are common to industrialized societies are rising.[100,101] From this

89 Ibid.

90 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*

91 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.

92 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*

93 Ibid.

94 Zadworny, D. *Animal Science 400 Lectures on Cancer*.

95 Bjerregaard, P., TK Young, E. Dewailly, and SOE Ebbesson. 2004. "Indigenous Health in the Arctic: An Overview of the Circumpolar Inuit Population." *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health* 32 (5): 390-395. doi:10.1080/14034940410028398.

96 Zotor et al., "*Frequency of Consumption of Foods and Beverages by Inuvialuit Adults in Northwest Territories, Arctic Canada"*, 782-789.

97 Zadworny, D. *Animal Science 400 Lectures on Cancer*.

98 Ibid.

99 Bjerregaard et al., "*Indigenous Health in the Arctic"*, 390-395.

100 Ibid.

101 Friborg, Jeppe T. and Mads Melbye. 2008. "Cancer Patterns in Inuit Populations." *Lancet Oncology* 9 (9): 892-900. doi:10.1016/S1470-

information, one might conclude that shifting diet towards consumer foods that are more typical of industrialized societies could be to blame for the change in increased suffering from these emerging conditions as well as the incidence of disease.

Though the obesity epidemic plagues many populations around the world, disease in Inuit communities is especially taxing because the geographic remoteness of these communities makes the cost of treating these diseases particularly high.[102,103] Of additional concern is the observation that the altered dietary composition is more prominent among younger generations, which will have serious implications on future directions of diet quality and respective health.[104] It therefore becomes ever more imperative to shift trends in Inuit diet towards a more positive direction.

Beyond the increased incidence of diet-related chronic disease markers in Inuit communities, socioeconomic status within Inuit communities also plays a significant role in influencing the nutritional adequacy of an individual's diet. Inuit experience the highest reported incidence of food insecurity for indigenous peoples in North America.[105] Food insecurity, which is directly related to poverty,[106,107] is associated with disrupted eating patterns and decreased dietary quality with respect to nutrient composition.[108] This thereby predisposes the impoverished to compromised health and diet-related chronic diseases.[109] The effects of poverty are further compounded by the progression towards a less healthy, market-reliant diet and the fact that market goods are particularly expensive in the Canadian Arctic.[110] Specifically, the preservation of and transport of fresh fruits and vegetables (among other items) is quite difficult and expensive. Consequently, the quality of fruits and vegetables available is substandard (often frozen rather than fresh) and the extra expenses in providing them are translated into increased prices.[111] As such, consumption of these imported foods such as fruits and vegetables is highest among the wealthy.[112] Households of lower socioeconomic status on the other hand, consume fewer vegetables and greater amounts of cheaper, high sugar foods.[113]

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102 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.

103 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*

104 Jeppesen, Charlote and Peter Bjerregaard. "*Consumption of traditional food and adherence to nutrition recommendations in Greenland",* 475-481.

105 Egeland, Grace M., Louise Johnson-Down, Zhirong R. Cao, Nelofar Sheikh, and Hope Weiler. 2011. "Food Insecurity and Nutrition Transition Combine to Affect Nutrient Intakes in Canadian Arctic Communities." *Journal of Nutrition* 141 (9): 1746-1753. doi:10.3945/jn.111.139006.

106 Ibid.

107 Huet, Catherine, Renata Rosol, and Grace M. Egeland. "*The Prevalence of Food Insecurity is High and the Diet Quality Poor in Inuit Communities"*, 541-547.

108 Egeland et al., "*Food Insecurity and Nutrition Transition Combine to Affect Nutrient Intakes in Canadian Arctic Communities"*, 1746-1753.

109 Ibid.

110 Ibid.

111 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*

112 Jeppesen, Charlote and Peter Bjerregaard. "*Consumption of Traditional Food and Adherence to Nutrition Recommendations in Greenland"*, 475-481.

113 Huet, Catherine, Renata Rosol, and Grace M. Egeland. "*The Prevalence of Food Insecurity is High and the Diet Quality Poor in Inuit Com-*

Because market foods are expensive and nutritionally inadequate, one might wonder how Inuit diet could have ever evolved to incorporate less traditional foods and more market foods. This is the case because it has become increasingly costly to obtain traditional foods. The development of a wage economy has left households without hunters and without time to devote to hunting activities. Further, the cost of hunting equipment is also exceptionally high.[114,115,116] In fact, one strategy that has emerged to offset the high cost of hunting is to sell some of the country foods acquired in the practice.[117] In addition to the logistics of hunting, Inuit have also experienced a reduction in animal population and a change in migration patterns as a result of climate change.[118,119] The challenge of such scarcity of game in conjunction with the increased cost of hunting has been met with a decline in communal food sharing networks that were once present in Inuit communities,[120,121] The presence of a male head of household as well as access to an income increase the proportion of traditional foods found in the diet,[122] thereby decreasing the prevalence of food insecurity and poor nutrition. In fact, it was reported that the chance of having a high vegetable intake is doubled by the presence of at least one employed adult in a household.[123,124] Overall, it is the combination of reliance on expensive market foods, the purchase of relatively less expensive but less nutritionally valuable items within markets, and increased costs of hunting that has left individuals of low socioeconomic status at a great disadvantage when it comes to achieving the recommended nutrient intakes.

There are several factors that contribute to the relative nutritional status of Inuit. The largest influencing factor is the shift from an entirely country food diet to a mixed diet that entails a heavy reliance on high energy, non-nutrient dense foods. However, within the present diet, socioeconomic status has a large influence on ingested nutrients because it determines what resources an individual will be able to access. In addition to restrictions

munities", 541-547.

114 Beaumier, Maude C. and James D. Ford. 2010. "Food Insecurity among Inuit Women Exacerbated by Socio-Economic Stresses and Climate Change." *Canadian Journal of Public Health-Revue Canadienne De Sante Publique* 101 (3): 196-201.

115 Huet, Catherine, Renata Rosol, and Grace M. Egeland. "*The Prevalence of Food Insecurity is High and the Diet Quality Poor in Inuit Communities"*, 541-547.

116 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*

117 Beaumier, Maude C. and James D. Ford. "*ood Insecurity among Inuit Women Exacerbated by Socio-Economic Stresses and Climate Change"*, 196-201.

118 Ibid.

119 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*

120 Beaumier, Maude C. and James D. Ford. "*Food Insecurity among Inuit Women Exacerbated by Socio-Economic Stresses and Climate Change"*, 196-201.

121 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*

122 Duhaime, G., M. Chabot, and M. Gaudreault. 2002. "Food Consumption Patterns and Socioeconomic Factors among the Inuit of Nunavik." *Ecology of Food and Nutrition* 41 (2): 91-118. doi:10.1080/03670240214491.

123 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.

124 Jeppesen, Charlote and Peter Bjerregaard. "*Consumption of Traditional Food and Adherence to Nutrition Recommendations in Greenland"*, 475-481.

on hunting (due to its high cost and the need to participate in the wage economy) and purchasing country foods, those of lower socioeconomic status are also subject to purchasing expensive foods from markets. Consequently, in an attempt to budget, low socioeconomic status individuals will purchase the relatively cheaper foods in markets, which tend to be of poor nutritional value.

Given the industrial development that is spreading across the globe, it seems likely that markets will retain their presence in Inuit communities. As such, governments should target the provision of better quality foods such as fiber-rich foods like fruits and vegetables to these stores.[125][126] While there has been some acknowledgement of this conundrum at the level of the government in the form of attempted subsidy programs to provide essential goods, these programs have been found to be ineffective.[127] Intake of fruits and vegetables, for example, remains an uncommon part of diet in these Inuit communities.[128] As a result, there has been work dedicated to the overhaul of programs such as the Food Mail Program.[129] This work is important because the increased provision of fiber (in the form of fruits and vegetables) can help protect against obesity and colon cancer because it reduces constipation.[130]

Similar to recommendations for the remainder of Canada as well as the USA and other countries, it is recommended that the intake of sugar-sweetened beverages be reduced as they are instrumental in weight gain and provide little nutritional value.[131,132] Furthermore, individuals can reduce their intake of saturated fats in exchange for mono- and poly-unsaturated fatty acids by replacing butter and margarine, which are frequently used in sauces, with vegetable oils.[133] One interesting suggestion found in the literature to improve diet quality exploits the popularity of soups and recommends consuming soup as a pre-load before meals to reduce total energy intake. This is expected to be instrumental because soup has a high satiety value and has low energy density (i.e. few calories). Therefore, it is a useful tool to reduce portion size.[134] Finally, further nutritional education should also be provided to Inuit communities (possibly in the form of leaflets) to help them make informed, wiser decisions about their consumption.[135]

One limitation of Inuit nutrition studies includes the means by which food intakes are acquired. Researchers often rely on the use of food-frequency questionnaires (or other equivalent interview techniques

125 Ibid.
126 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*
127 Spiegelaar, N. F. and L. J. S. Tsuji. "*Impact of Euro-Canadian Agrarian Practices"*, 2211.
128 Ibid.
129 Ibid.
130 Becker et al., "*Nordic Nutrition Recommendations",* 178.
131 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*
132 Zotor et al., "*Frequency of Consumption of Foods and Beverages by Inuvialuit Adults in Northwest Territories, Arctic Canada"*, 782-789.
133 Jeppesen, Charlote and Peter Bjerregaard. "*Consumption of Traditional Food and Adherence to Nutrition Recommendations in Greenland"*, 475-481.
134 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*
135 Zotor et al., "*Frequency of Consumption of Foods and Beverages by Inuvialuit Adults in Northwest Territories, Arctic Canada"*, 782-789.

with different names) to determine intakes, which is dependent on proper recall and comprehension by surveyed ividuals.[136,137,138,139,140,141,142,143,144,145,146,147] One study specifically mentioned under-reporting of intakes by individuals as a complication.[148] Another limitation encountered was poor clarity in studies comparing prehistoric and contemporary diets. Several studies investigated contemporary diets and then qualitatively discussed changes in portion size or the prevalence of market foods consumed but neglected to specifically quantify those changes. Some studies also qualified the benefits of consuming traditional foods by comparing the adequacies of different diets from different individuals in the same generation rather than comparing the overall diet of the current generation to that of the past.[149,150,151,152,153] Quantitative analysis of changes in diet with respect to energy and nutrient intake will provide further support to the trends experienced and could prove to be an interesting investigation for future research.

Further research in this area could also be conducted to address changes in physical activity. The World Health Organization cites physical inactivity as the "fourth leading risk factor for global mortality."[154] It also addresses the fact that physical inactivity is globally on the rise and that such inactivity has "major implications for

136 Duhaime, G., M. Chabot, and M. Gaudreault. "*Food Consumption Patterns and Socioeconomic Factors among the Inuit of Nunavik"*, 91-118.

137 Egeland et al., "*Food Insecurity and Nutrition Transition Combine to Affect Nutrient Intakes in Canadian Arctic Communities"*, 1746-1753.

138 Friborg, Jeppe T. and Mads Melbye. "*Cancer Patterns in Inuit Populations"*, 892-900.

139 Hopping et al., "*Dietary adequacy of inuit in the canadian arctic"*, 27-34.

140 Huet, Catherine, Renata Rosol, and Grace M. Egeland. "*The Prevalence of Food Insecurity is High and the Diet Quality Poor in Inuit Communities"*, 541-547.

141 Jeppesen, Charlote and Peter Bjerregaard. "*Consumption of Traditional Food and Adherence to Nutrition Recommendations in Greenland"*, 475-481.

142 Johnson-Down, Louise M. and Grace M. Egeland. "*How is Nutrition Transition Affecting Dietary Adequacy in Eeyouch (Cree) Adults of Northern Quebec, Canada?"*, 300-305.

143 Kuhnein et al., "*Vitamins A, D, and E in Canadian Arctic Traditional Food and Adult Diets"*, 495-506.

144 Sharma et al., "*Assessing dietary intake in a population undergoing a rapid transition in diet and lifestyle"*, 749-759.

145 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.

146 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*

147Zotor et al., "*Frequency of Consumption of Foods and Beverages by Inuvialuit Adults in Northwest Territories, Arctic Canada"*, 782-789.

148 Johnson-Down, Louise M. and Grace M. Egeland. "*How is Nutrition Transition Affecting Dietary Adequacy in Eeyouch (Cree) Adults of Northern Quebec, Canada?"*, 300-305.

149 Hopping et al., "*Dietary Adequacy of Inuit in the Canadian Arctic"*, 27-34.

150 Jeppesen, Charlote and Peter Bjerregaar. "*Consumption of Traditional Food and Adherence to Nutrition Recommendations in Greenland"*, 475-481.

151 Sharma et al., "*Nutrient Intakes, Major Food Sources and Dietary Inadequacies of Inuit Adults Living in Three Remote Communities in Nunavut, Canada"*, 578-586.

152 Sheehy, Tony, Cindy Roache, and Sangita Sharma. "*Eating Habits of a Population Undergoing a Rapid Dietary Transition", 70.*

153 Zotor et al., "*Frequency of Consumption of Foods and Beverages by Inuvialuit Adults in Northwest Territories, Arctic Canada"*, 782-789.

154 World Health Organization. "Global Recommendations on Physical Activity for Health." WHO Press, accessed April 9, 2014, http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2010/9789241599979_eng.pdf?ua=1.

the prevalence of non-communicable diseases" including those discussed in this review.[155] In light of the decreased hunting activity discussed, change in physical activity could be assessed in terms of its implications on Inuit health. It would be interesting to assess whether the recommendations for energy and nutrient intakes change as a result of changed physical activity levels. If this is the case, it would also be important to reassess the quality of current intakes. Finally, additional studies could also be developed to investigate the implementation and effectiveness of education and nutritional intake programs. Specifically, programs that test the merit of various diet plans will need to address compliance to the diets themselves.

Ultimately, there is great need in Inuit communities for a new dietary transition geared towards consumption of less energy dense and more nutrient rich foods. Current trends in the Inuit diet parallel an increase in obesity and diet-related chronic diseases that are significantly different than traditional diseases. While socioeconomic dynamics remain a challenge, it is imperative to continue work to tackle the dietary transition and its associated health complications.

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20

I am From (2014)

Robbie Madsen | Toronto, ON

I am from two people
Whose names I might never know
I am from Alberta
And later from Ontario
I am from a school system
Hell bent on changing me
I'm from those who go by what they hear
And not by what they see

I am from Catholic damage
Though you don't always see my scars
I'm from those who pollute the air I breathe
With trains, planes, and cars
I'm from people who don't know
Thinking and reacting are not the same
I am from a Government
That tells me to block the pain

I am from the monstrosity
Of poaching animals and people
I am from a society
That drinks poison like it's normal
I am from a mass mind
That thinks it's better than our Creator
I'm from the wrong side of the tracks
And I need to get out of here!

Partners

Quebec Public Interest Research Group (QPIRG)

The Quebec Public Interest Research Group at McGill is a nonprofit, 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.

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QPIRG McGill regrets that their space is not wheelchair accessible.
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Arts Undergraduate Society (AUS) of McGill

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.

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Student Society of McGill University (SSMU)

The SSMU stands for the Students' Society of McGill University. They are one of the McGill student unions. Every undergraduate at McGill is a member of 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.

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FIRST PEOPLES' HOUSE
LA MAISON DES PEUPLES AUTOCHTONES

First Peoples' House (FPH)

Mission: 'A Home Away from Home'

First Peoples' House is an innovative and unique partnership between McGill University and the Aboriginal communities. Playing many roles, including those of residence, gathering place and resource centre, it is first and foremost a community. Our aim is to provide Aboriginal students attending McGill with a "home away from home," where they can find support and encouragement to succeed in their studies and remain connected to their culture.

- 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.
- Collaborate and engage with McGill, local and national Aboriginal communities to support Native student issues.

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McGill Aboriginal Outreach

An innovative program designed to encourage First Nations, Inuit and Métis youth to pursue studies at McGill that is now in full swing. Also a partnership with First Nations communities that has been essential for the realization of this initiative, which works on:

- Outreach and Engagement with the Aboriginal Community
- Access, Recruitment and Admissions
- Student Support and Recognition

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

McGill Institute for the Study of Canada (MISC)

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

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Indigenous Students Alliance (ISA)

The ISA is a student-led group, which strives to seek out the wants and needs that exist within the Indigenous populations on campus, and to provide integrative support to and connect Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples throughout McGill University and Montreal. Our vision is to respectfully represent Indigenous Peoples on campus and foster creativity, growth, innovation, development, and education in all of our endeavors, and to offer a platform for Indigenous voices.

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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 Office of Sustainability 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.

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Aboriginal Law Students' Association (ALSA) / L'association étudiante pour les droit des peuples autochtones

L'association étudiante pour les droits des peuples autochtones est un groupe d'étudiants en droit à l'université McGill qui s'engage à sensibiliser le public sur les enjeux juridiques touchant les peuples autochtones au Canada. Aboriginal Law Students Association members also seek to expose students in the faculty to the legal traditions of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. ALSA is a non-hierarchical club open to everyone.

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Aboriginal Health Interest Group of McGill

We are a group based in the Faculty of Medicine at McGill, but we 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; there is a lack of sustainable health care workers for northern communities; there is a lack of interest among medical students in pursuing a northern career; there is a need to inform health care workers of traditional healing and cultural practices; of the 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 groups.google.com/group/aboriginalhealth

Indigenous Access McGill

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

What they offer:

- A dedicated support team of advisors who will offer mentoring and tutoring in all aspects of your studies
- A direct link to all the to all the resources available to students at McGill from counseling to study skills, from writing skills to library research and much more
- The use of a resource centre in the School of Social Work where you can consult documentation, do online research, discuss with other students, talk to the tutors
- An opportunity to get together with other First Nations and Inuit students and to support each other
- 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. The orientation includes mini-courses, field placement visits, and an introduction to McGill support services

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Social Equity and Diversity Education (SEDE):

Through innovative practices, strategic partnerships and capacity building, we promote the development of inclusive, sustainable, and equitable environments within our communities. By connecting with local and regional organizations, SEDE also provides McGill's students and staff with community-based learning experiences that foster leadership, encourage civic engagement, and promote a deeper understanding of diversity. At the same time, via outreach initiatives, SEDE seek s to further McGill's stated objective of increasing and improving access for underrepresented groups.

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McGill Social Work Student Society (SWSA)

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

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