“We Have to Get Really Uncomfortable to Get Comfortable”

Critically Assessing Narratives of Colonialism and Reconciliation in Representations of Indigenous Peoples and Geographies in Canada

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“We Have to Get Really Uncomfortable to Get Comfortable”

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Abstract

Recognizing that representations are constructed and not mimetic, this dissertation considers how objects such as postage stamps, pipelines, and beads circulate narratives of Indigenous Peoples and geographies in Canada to both domestic and international audiences. Far from essentializing the experiences of the three main groups of Indigenous Peoples in Canada—First Nations, Metis, and Inuit—three distinct case studies, grounded in human geography, illustrate how specific groups of Indigenous Peoples and their geographies, which constitute unique configurations of people, places, cultures, and environments, have been, currently are, and are striving to be represented, while critically assessing the narratives of colonialism and reconciliation they circulate.

Three types of representation are privileged, notably visual, media, and self-representation. How did a postage stamp issued in the 1950s featuring an Inuk hunter attempt to symbolically assimilate Inuit and their geographies into the Canadian body politic while bolstering Canada's *de facto* sovereignty in the High Arctic? How do Indigenous views for and against fossil fuel extraction, as exemplified by the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project, come to be represented and communicated across media geographies? And how can forms of Indigenous self-representation, such as the practice and wearing of beadwork, both portray one's identity and create strong social and cultural networks in urban areas, which have historically marginalized Indigenous Peoples and geographies?

As the title suggests, answering these questions requires getting uncomfortable to get comfortable. To achieve this, three sets of methodologies are adopted to unsettle and advance these processes, namely the use of archival material, media content analysis, and semi-structured qualitative interviews. Picking up on the work of geographers to actively engage in the decolonization of the discipline, new methodologies and concepts are proposed to develop novel ways of "sensing" geography, through seeing, listening, and feeling different objects, while understanding them as vehicles of representation. Ultimately, by centring the voices of Indigenous Peoples, it is suggested that researchers can further develop anticolonial research frameworks, which meaningfully engage with Indigenous Peoples and geographies.

The main contributions of this dissertation include 1) advancing the term *banal colonialism* to describe how the land-centered narrative of colonialism is circulated to a wide audience through unassuming and banal objects such as postage stamps, 2) the development of a new methodology for analyzing media content relating to the views of Indigenous Peoples, where media representation is cross-referenced with sources coming directly from the actors themselves over a long period of time, and 3) proposing the term "brave space" to characterize the spaces where Indigenous Peoples can access social and cultural networks of learning, exchange, and solidarity, which contribute to the formation of a sense of identity and place. Brought together, these case studies demonstrate how representations construct colonial imaginaries and imaginative geographies, and how present and future forms of representation can unsettle them, while advancing the project of truth, reconciliation, and healing.

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AB	Alberta
APTN	Aboriginal Peoples Television Network
bbl/d	barrels per day
BC	British Columbia
BCE	Bell Canada Enterprises
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CMA	Census Metropolitan Area
CRTC	Canada Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission
CTV	Canadian Television Network
DAPL	Dakota Access Pipeline
DEW	Defense Early Warning
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
IRS	Indian Residential School
MMIWG	Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls
PSG	Postage Stamp Guide
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
TMX	Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

List of Publications

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Introduction

It is a warm, sunny afternoon in late summer as I sit with Mariah Miigwans on the traditional unceded territory of the Algonquin Anishinaabe Peoples. Rising behind us and across the Ottawa River is Parliament Hill, the political center of what is today called Canada. In front of us is the Canadian Museum of History, with its vast collections showcasing a curated summary of the country's history from time immemorial until the present day. Somehow this seems like the ideal place to talk about the challenges and opportunities of being an Indigenous person today and to reflect on the efforts currently being undertaken to heal the wounds caused by the legacies of colonialism in its many forms. Mariah is Algonquin First Nation from the community of Kitigan Zibi, located a two-hour drive north of Ottawa, depending on the season. In addition to being a gifted artist, Mariah is a cultural interpreter and offers workshops designed to educate participants about Indigenous Peoples, cultures, and histories in Canada. Mariah has invited me to join her workshop today to get a sense of what she does and has agreed to talk with me afterwards.

Not knowing what to expect, I end up joining a group of girl scouts from England for a two-hour long sharing of Indigenous knowledge, traditions, and cultural practices. Unsurprisingly, for Mariah, this takes a lot of energy to do, so once the workshop is finished and the girl scouts have left, she sits in the shade with her 2-litre water bottle in hand. While learning about beadwork and her experiences as an Indigenous woman living in Canada's capital city represented the planned topics of our discussion, the summer breeze takes our conversation to unexpected places. Reflecting on the present-day theme of reconciliation, Mariah shares, "we have to get really uncomfortable to get comfortable" (Personal Communication, 2022). To me, this statement sums up the difficult work we as Treaty Peoples (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) need to embrace if we are to truly recognize the colonial underpinnings of the Canadian state, which through discriminatory practices such as the Indian Residential School (IRS) System, has committed acts of cultural genocide towards Indigenous Peoples (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). By doing so, we can ultimately embrace a

process of decolonization, which "may *begin* to work towards disassembling (especially White) settler supremacy (de Leeuw, 2017, 311, emphasis in original).

This dissertation furthers these efforts of getting uncomfortable, by presenting three case studies, which analyze how narratives of colonialism and reconciliation concerning Indigenous Peoples and geographies—including their lands, ways of life, and identities—have been, currently are, and are striving to be represented through three distinct objects: postage stamps, pipelines, and beads. Before considering these three distinct sets of Indigenous geographies situated in the arctic, across mountains, by the sea, and in the heart of the city, a few useful definitions are warranted. In the context of this dissertation, "Indigenous Peoples refers to the three main Indigenous groups in Canada, namely First Nations, Metis, and Inuit.[1] Kahnawà:ke Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred and Cherokee scholar Jeff Ganohalidoh Corntassel succinctly define Indigenous Peoples in a broader sense as being Indigenous to the lands they inhabit and that "Indigenous peoples themselves have long understood their existence as peoples or nations (expressed not in these terms but in their own languages, of course) as formed around axes of land, culture and community" (2005, 608). As Metis scholar Brenda Macdougall (2012) shares, "For indigenous peoples in North America, as it is with all people, the act of naming yourself shapes an ontological system of categorization—as you define yourself, you define others" (430).

Far from grouping Indigenous Peoples into one category, let only into the three main groups in the Canadian context, this dissertation is centred on the premise that Indigenous Peoples have diverse and multifaceted identities, histories, knowledge systems, and worldviews that are intimately intertwined with the places and spaces they

[1] Capitalized "Indigenous Peoples" refers to different groups of people, while the use of "Indigenous people" refers more to the people as individuals rather than to the groups (BC Campus, n.d.). Additionally, an explanation for the spelling of "Metis" is also warranted. Macdougall (2012) states, the common spelling of "Métis" with an acute accent tends to be used uncritically and ahistorically. "Métis" with an acute accent designates those born at Red River (present-day Winnipeg) during the first half of the nineteenth century, who formed a distinct political entity and were mostly of French Canadian and Indigenous descent, and is still used today by their descendants. The term "Métis" at the time, however, did not include those of Scottish or English and Indigenous descent, who were instead referred to as Halfbreeds, in addition to those who did not live in the area of Red River. Since this research addresses a wide range of Metis Peoples, the term "Metis" without an acute accent is adopted throughout the text unless when an Indigenous author explicitly uses "Métis" as a way of self-identifying.

have inhabited since time immemorial. When citing the work of Indigenous authors or sharing stories from specific territories, I therefore refer directly to the nation or community itself when possible.[2]

As geographer Sarah Radcliffe (2018) states, it is crucial to recognize the plurality of Indigenous Peoples and experiences. This means paying attention to the distinct experiences of different Indigenous Peoples and what it means to be Indigenous across different types of geographies. Alfred and Corntassel point to this by stating "*being Indigenous* means thinking and acting with the conscious intent of regenerating one's indigeneity. Each Indigenous nation has its own way of articulating and asserting self-determination and freedom" (2005, 614, emphasis in original). With this in mind, Radcliffe (2018) argues for a realignment of geographic practices that centre Indigeneity and recognize Indigenous self-determination. I would argue the same is needed for understanding Indigenous geographies.

Drawing from geographer Richard Howitt (2020), my use of the term Indigenous geographies refers to specific configurations of Indigenous Peoples, places, cultures and environments over space and time at particular (and multiple) scales, which "should be understood as real collision zones of interaction and co-existence" (199). Howitt states that acknowledging and respecting Indigenous ontologies represents a key starting point for addressing Indigenous geographies. I would also further suggest that acknowledging the importance of what Anishinaabe scholar Deborah McGregor (2021) defines as Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) is equally important. Here Indigenous knowledge refers to traditional knowledge, traditional environmental knowledge, traditional ecological knowledge, and Aboriginal traditional knowledge. As McGregor states, they are an "integral, inseparable feature of Indigenous societal systems" (2021, 2). In line with Alfred and Corntassel's definition of Indigenous Peoples, IKS are manifold and reside in the people, the community, and the land. Here recognition, relationality, and reciprocity come

[2] Seeking to centre the voices of Indigenous Peoples, an effort is made to list how Indigenous authors have self-identified themselves in their work. This practice draws inspiration from Métis-settler geographer Max Liboiron's thoughtful example in *Pollution is Colonialism* (2021) and the BC Campus Indigenization Project (2024). This reflects the distinct place-based ties, worldviews, and relationships which they hold. In addition, some non-Indigenous authors working with Indigenous co-authors have self-identified as "settlers." When this is the case, I include their self-identification as well.

into view. As Michi Saagig Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2017) shares, recognition is a practice that builds resilient and reciprocal relationships. Having developed intimate place-based knowledge systems since time immemorial, Indigenous Peoples have fostered and maintained ties to other-than-human plant and animal nations, which are grounded in relationships of deep reciprocity. As Simpson advances:

> Our bodies exist only in relation to Indigenous complex, nonlinear constructions of time, space, and place that are continually rebirthed through the practice and often coded recognition of obligations and responsibilities within a nest of diversity, freedom, consent, noninterference, and a generated, proportional, emergent reciprocity. Reciprocal recognition is a core Nishnaabeg practice. We greet and speak to medicinal plants before we pick medicines. We recognize animals' spirits before we engage in hunting them … This kind of Indigenous collective self-recognition is a core, place-based practice (2017, 182).

Important to recognize here is that Indigenous Peoples, geographies, and knowledge systems have been systematically targeted and impacted through historical and ongoing processes of both colonialism and settler colonialism. Whereas settler colonialism "is an inclusive land-centered project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies with a view of eliminating Indigenous societies" (Wolfe, 2006, 393), in order to establish new settler societies, colonialism involves the broader "dispossession and occupation of Indigenous lands, the establishment and maintenance of economic and political domination, and the production and promulgation of knowledge and ideas that rationalize uneven, hierarchical, exploitative relations" (Cameron, 2015, 17). The latter does not necessarily involve the initial large-scale displacement caused by the arrival of a settler society. Therefore, just as recognizing the plurality of Indigenous Peoples, geographies, and knowledge systems is important, it is also crucial to pay close attention to the different impacts of (settler) colonialism towards Indigenous Peoples, as will become clear when considering the distinct case studies of this dissertation.

Conversely, the term reconciliation attempts to recognize and reconcile the painful, lasting, and often ongoing legacies of (settler) colonialism. It is connected to processes of decolonization, which Unangax̂ scholar Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2012) state,

"implicates and unsettles everyone" (7). In its Final Report in 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC)[3] defined reconciliation as a framework:

> [I]n which Canada's political and legal systems, educational and religious institutions, the corporate and civic society function in ways that are consistent with the principles set out in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* … Together, Canadians must do more than just *talk* about reconciliation; we must learn how to *practise* reconciliation in our everyday lives—within ourselves and our families, and in our communities, governments, places of worship, schools, and workplaces. To do so constructively, Canadians must remain committed to the ongoing work of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships (2015, 21, emphasis in original).

How then can the principles of reconciliation be applied to research practices? Métis-settler geographer Max Liboiron (2021) suggests that we adopt "anticolonial" practices, which differ from the primarily land-based processes of decolonization, and include "the diversity of work, positionalities and obligations that let us 'stand with' one another as we pursue good land relations broadly defined" (27). More reflective of the work being done in the academy, this once again requires recognizing the multiple and distinct identities, histories, and knowledge systems of Indigenous Peoples, in addition to varied experiences of (settler) colonialism, which can help disciplines such as geography move towards what Howitt (2020) calls a disciplinary politics of respect, co-existence and shared belonging, which moves away from essentializing Indigenous Peoples and geographies. However, before considering how the voices and knowledge systems of Indigenous Peoples may guide research endeavours, it is necessary to recognize that Indigenous Peoples and the academy have had a long, tenuous, and often negative relationship.

Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith states that "research is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (2012, 1). She explains that it often meant the breaking of cultural protocols, disrespect of values, dismissal of elders, and

[3] The mandate of the TRC was to inform all Canadians what happened in the Indian Residential School (IRS) system, which operated for over 125 years in Canada, it "documented the truth of Survivors, their families, communities and anyone personally affected by the residential school experience [including] First Nations, Inuit and Métis former residential school students, their families, communities, the churches, former school employees, government officials and other Canadians" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2024, paragraph 2).

has had devastating impacts in legitimizing state policies that have sought to regulate every aspect of Indigenous lives. In Canada, it has occurred in multifaceted ways and is tied to the intergenerational trauma caused by the IRS system, which was "created for the purpose of separating Aboriginal children from their families, in order to minimize and weaken family ties and cultural linkages, and to indoctrinate children into a new culture" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, v). Kanyen'kehaka historian Cody Groat sheds light on nutritional studies conducted in the 1940s where researchers employed by the federal government used residential schools to test the relationship between malnutrition and the prevalence of disease (Groat, 2018; Mosby, 2013). This is just one example of the deeply embedded layers of imperialism and colonialism present within historical and ongoing Western research practices (Smith, 2012).

Research has often been conducted by parachuting into nations and communities, extracting information, and employing non-Indigenous theories, concepts, and frameworks to analyze data and disseminate results, which have ultimately been shared in primarily non-Indigenous academic settings. This has certainly been the case in the discipline of geography. Settler Canadian geographers Sarah de Leeuw and Emilie Cameron, and Cree scholar Margo Greenwood, state that it is vital to recognize the colonial foundations of geographic knowledge (de Leeuw et al., 2012). Discussions on the decolonization of the discipline and how it can adopt anticolonial research frameworks have been increasing and are leading to the development of new methodologies and research ethics (Coombes et al., 2012).

More recently, there has been a growing shift toward employing decolonial research practices and Indigenous methodologies in the field in response to political, social, cultural, economic, and environmental upheavals in civil society involving Indigenous Peoples and Nations. This has especially been the case in Canada, whose settler-colonial foundations continue to have impacts on Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations.[4] This dissertation responds to calls to address key Indigenous concerns within academic, and specifically, geographic research (Louis, 2007; Kobayashi and de Leeuw, 2010; de Leeuw et al., 2012; Coombes et al., 2012; de Leeuw, 2017; Howitt, 2020; Liboiron 2021). Recognizing that questions of representation are increasingly important

[4] Settler and non-Indigenous are used interchangeably throughout this dissertation.

to geographic knowledge (Adams, 2017), a set of carefully chosen case studies seek to critically assess how representations of Indigenous Peoples and geographies have contributed to circulating narratives of colonialism, and more recently, reconciliation. Three distinct yet interconnected peer-reviewed articles consider how Indigenous Peoples and geographies in Canada are represented through different objects and this over past, present, and future timescales.

As geographer Derek Gregory states, "the process of representation is constructive not mimetic, that results in 'something made', a 'fiction' in the original sense of the word" (1994, 8). These representations actively shape what Gregory calls "our imaginative geographies," which "articulate not simply the differences between this place and that, inscribing different images of here and there, but they also shape the ways in which, from our particular perspectives, we conceive of the connections and separations between them" (1994, 203–204). Acknowledging the diversity of Indigenous Peoples, lands, and experiences, each case study focuses on a different group of Indigenous Peoples, a different place, a different period, and a different form of representation, notably state-sanctioned forms of visual representation (postage stamps), media representation (pipelines), and self-representation (beadwork). How representations, both past and present, construct (settler) colonial imaginaries, and how future forms of representation can unsettle colonialism and ultimately advance the project of truth, reconciliation, and healing are explored.

The three articles, "Place Them on a Stamp: Inuit, Banal Colonialism, and the 'Pioneer Experiment' of the High Arctic Relocations," published in *Political Geography*,[5] "Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares: Media Representation of Indigenous Peoples and the Trans Mountain Expansion Project," published in the *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien*,[6] and "Making Brave Space: Beading, Reconciliation, and Urban Indigenous Geographies," submitted to the *International Journal of Canadian Studies*,[7] address several different

[5] Dumas, Daniel. 2023. "Place Them on a Stamp: Inuit, Banal Colonialism, and the 'Pioneer Experiment' of the High Arctic Relocations." *Political Geography* 105: 102919. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2023.102919.

[6] Dumas, Daniel. 2023. "Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares: Media Representation of Indigenous Peoples and the Trans Mountain Expansion Project." *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien* 43: 32–59.

[7] The manuscript of "Making Brave Space: Beading, Reconciliation, and Urban Indigenous Geographies" was submitted to the International Journal of Canadian Studies. Manuscript ID ijcs-2023-0011.

Indigenous geographies situated in Arctic, alpine, marine, and urban environments, and this over three different periods.

The rationale for the chosen journals merits further explanation. *Place them on a Stamp*[8] features in a leading geographic journal *Political Geography*, while *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* and *Making Brave Space* have been published and submitted to journals of Canadian Studies. Regarding the Canadian Studies journals, each offered a special issue specifically calling for contributions by geographers. *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* was published as part of an issue of the *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien* focusing on "Ecologies, Ethics, and Environments" considering key environmental issues across a variety of Canadian geographies, and *Making Brave Space* was submitted to a special issue of the *International Journal of Canadian Studies* on the theme of "New Geographies." As a result, the three articles contribute to the fields of political, media, social, cultural, and urban geography. They contribute to the decolonization of the discipline by developing new concepts and methodologies that center Indigenous agency and voices, which can be of relevance to other disciplines addressing place-based experiences of Indigeneity such as (yet not limited to) the environmental humanities, environmental history, and social and cultural anthropology.

To accomplish this task, this dissertation offers three main contributions. Namely the coining of the term "banal colonialism," as a means through which the land-centered narrative of colonialism is circulated to a wide audience through unassuming and banal objects such as postage stamps; the development of a new methodology for analyzing media content relating to Indigenous Peoples and issues, where media representation is cross-referenced with sources coming from the actors themselves over a long period of time; and finally the application of the term "brave space" to identify spaces where Indigenous Peoples can access social and cultural networks of learning, exchange, and solidarity, which contribute to the formation of a sense of identity and place. These are detailed at length in the afterword.

This introduction continues by providing a window into the context within which Indigenous-settler relations have unfolded in present-day Canada. It then considers the field of Indigenous geographies and how a greater understanding of these geographies

[8] The titles of the three papers are used for subsequent mentions throughout the introduction and afterword.

and the development of “new ways of sensing” can help further the decolonization of geography. Following this, a detailed overview of the three articles is presented, including a summary of their guiding research questions and the chosen methodologies. Finally, a thorough reflection concerning my positionality as a settler Canadian geographer and my responsibility toward Indigenous interlocutors and sources concludes the chapter, leading into the three articles that form the body of this dissertation.

Indigenous-Settler Relations in Canada

Relations between Indigenous Peoples and settlers in what is today referred to as Canada have transformed over time. Moving from a relationship based on cooperation and alliance-making during the French and early British regimes (early 17th to early 19th centuries), founded on treaties of peace and friendship, the view of Indigenous Peoples taken by late British colonial officials and post-Confederation Canadian officials (from 1867 onwards) moved from seeing Indigenous Peoples as the original peoples of the land with inherent rights to one that considered them as obstacles for development, that should be removed through assimilation into what was considered the dominant and civilized society (Dickason and McNab, 2009). Treaties moved away from consolidating alliances and developing frameworks of co-existence, rather becoming necessary legal instruments designed to secure access to Indigenous lands for settler development (Daschuk, 2013). The Indian Act was introduced as a way of first “recognizing” who was considered Indigenous by the State and then micro-managing nearly every aspect of their lives, making those with recognized “Status”, the most legislated peoples on Earth (Dickason and McNab, 2009). Measures to assimilate Indigenous Peoples included the Indian Residential School (IRS) system, developed in the late nineteenth century and operated until the end of the twentieth century, a system meant to break down Indigenous societies, disconnecting Indigenous children from their families and traditional territories in what has been recognized as a form of cultural genocide (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015; Groat 2018).

Nevertheless, attempts to destabilize, erase, and enfranchise First Nations, Inuit, and Metis Peoples have and continue to be resisted by Indigenous Nations across the country. Indeed, Simpson (2017) has suggested, resistance takes the form of a wave of Indigenous resurgence. Arguably taking its starting point from the release of the White Paper in 1969, which called for the dissolution of the Indian Act and the subsequent nullification of Treaties, an Indigenous movement of resistance was kindled across the country, ignited in large part by Cree leader Harold Cardinal's *The Unjust Society* ([1969], 2013). The issue of land rights came to dominate the national narrative in the ensuing decades, with standoffs and confrontations emerging across the country over government administration and settler development on disputed territories whose Indigenous title had not been relinquished or respected (Wilkes et al., 2010). This became a full-on conflagration with the so-called "Oka Crisis" of 1990, when local developers sought to expand a golf course over a sacred Kanyen'kehà:ka (Mohawk) burial ground referred to as "The Pines" (Obomsawin, 1993; Swain, 2010). This led to a 78-day standoff, that saw tensions rise between Indigenous land defenders and non-Indigenous officials, resulting in injuries and casualties, and tore at the very fabric of the country as Abenaki filmmaker Alanis Obomsawin so aptly captured in her documentary *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance* (1993).

Following this standoff, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was created to comprehensively consider the state of Indigenous Peoples and rights in the country and after five years of consultations and meetings, published its Final Report in 1996 (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). While many of the recommendations of the Final Report were shelved, RCAP made apparent the need to address past discriminatory policies that adversely impacted Indigenous Peoples in order for the country to move forward. The work of RCAP led to a formal apology in 2008 by the federal government for the IRS system and the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) whose work spanned from 2008 to 2015, resulting in a Final Report published in 2015 with 94 Calls to Action (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). This was followed by the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG), which took place from 2016 to 2019, resulting in a Final Report in 2019 with 231 Calls for Justice (National

Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019). These national commissions and inquiries, and more recently, the uncovering of unmarked graves of Indigenous children at former residential school sites using ground penetrating radar (starting in 2021 at the site of the former Kamloops Indian Residential School in British Columbia), have propelled the narrative of truth and reconciliation and the need to address the past wrongs committed to Indigenous Peoples to the forefront of national discussions and policy. This has consequently contributed to critical reflections on the nation's history and continuing role in perpetuating colonial structures. These developments have also encouraged geographers to actively critique and imagine new pathways for how the discipline can contribute to the project of decolonization (Kobayashi and de Leeuw, 2010; de Leeuw, 2017). The next section considers how these pathways are developing in the context of Indigenous geographies and situates this dissertation within this emerging literature.

Indigenous Geographies

As Māori scholar Brad Coombes, Delaware and Cherokee scholar Jay T. Johnson, and Richard Howitt state in their benchmark overview of geography's engagement with Indigenous research, colonial histories of geographic research mark the discipline and inevitably complicate present attempts to engage with Indigenous communities (2012). Moving forward, geographers were urged to recognize the colonial foundations of the discipline, which acted as a partner to European military, commercial, cultural, and religious expansionism (Coombes et al., 2012; de Leeuw et al., 2012), which "sought (and still seeks) to render people and places as governable by (and for the benefit of) the most powerful and wealthy amongst the colonisers" (Howitt, 2020, 201). As Gibson summarizes, both Paulo Freire and Frantz Fanon concluded that colonizing processes are "an experience of spatial confinement of restraint and prohibition" (2012, 54) while Edward Said stated that "the actual geographic possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about" (as cited in Liboiron, 2021, 9–10). Howitt suggests that "in settler and colonial nations, recognition that conquerors, settlers and colonisers have taken far

too much for granted is an urgent message to be drawn from Indigenous geographies" (2020, 207). In the context of the Canadian settler-colonial experience, historical geographer Cole Harris (2004) proposed that a geography of resettlement was enacted, leading to the removal and reorganization of Indigenous lands into settler patterns of occupation, which often relegated and restricted Indigenous Peoples to small, unwanted, and highly administered parcels of remote land through the reserve system. As Radcliffe (2018) suggests, this settler-colonial legacy supported by geographic knowledge and tools continues to impact Indigenous Peoples who, to varying degrees, are situated in geographies of slow violence and the uneven temporalities of colonial durabilities.

This dissertation builds on calls for the decolonization of the discipline (de Leeuw et al., 2012; Coombes et al. 2014; Radcliffe, 2018; Howitt, 2020), and the adoption of what Métis scholar Max Liboiron has termed anticolonial research frameworks, which can let us "'stand with' one another as we pursue good land relations, broadly defined" (2021, 27), amidst what they qualify as the complex and compromised terrain of the academy. This can enable meaningful engagement with Indigenous Peoples, encouraging new avenues of research, which center past, present, and emerging Indigenous agency and geographies, and can lead to what Métis scholar Adam Gaudry and settler scholar Danielle Lorenz have termed "decolonial indigenization," which "envisions the wholesale overhaul of the academy to fundamentally reorient knowledge production based on balanced power relations between Indigenous peoples and Canadians, transforming the academy into something dynamic and new" (2018, 226).

Indeed, as Coombes et al. (2012) state, vital concerns for the discipline such as place dynamics, community mobilization, and human-environment relations have all benefited from engaging with Indigenous Peoples and Knowledges, which are ultimately inviting geography to rethink land as a system of reciprocal relations and obligations (Radcliffe, 2018). Building on this, it is crucial to recognize the plurality of Indigenous Peoples and experiences, which Radcliffe (2018) suggests geographers have increasingly done by demonstrating the multifarious and complex differentiations within and across Indigenous populations. Recognizing ontological pluralism in what Blaser (2009) terms a multinaturalist approach, whereby Indigenous Peoples and colonizing others are actors whose worlds are often different is of central importance, and that they

differ between Indigenous Peoples based on their intimate place-based attachments and relationships to specific environments.

As McGregor (2021) states, Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) are derived from the lands, waters, winds, and the Earth itself, echoing what Yellowknives Dene scholar Glen Coulthard (2017) has termed “grounded normativity,” or the ethical frameworks generated by place-based practices and associated knowledges. As Simpson (2017) suggests, drawing on Coulthard’s concept of grounded normativity, IKS are contained and shrunk in the colonial world and the academy. Potawatomi scientist and botanist Robin Wall Kimmerer (2020), provides a ground-breaking example of how IKS and Western science can flourish together in her book *Braiding Sweetgrass*. Referring to the Three Sisters—corn, beans, and squash—an Indigenous agricultural practice present across much of Turtle Island (present-day North America), where the Three Sisters maintain a reciprocal relationship in a variety of ways including physical support and nutrient transfer, Kimmerer suggests:

> The Three Sisters offer us a new metaphor for an emerging relationship between indigenous knowledge and Western science, both of which are rooted in the earth. I think of the corn as traditional ecological knowledge, the physical and spiritual framework that can guide the curious bean of science, which twines like a double helix. The squash creates the ethical habitat for coexistence and mutual flourishing. I envision a time when the intellectual monoculture of science will be replaced with a polyculture of complementary knowledges. And so all may be fed (2020, 139).

In this spirit, McGregor suggests that “more and more people are realizing, the protection of Indigenous peoples’ rights and the planet’s health go hand in hand (2021, 5). This too involves the respect of IKS and its contributions to solving many facets of the current climate crisis for instance. McGregor affirms that the only way to understand IKS is to establish meaningful relationships with Indigenous Peoples (2021).

Building on this, a key goal of the discipline should be to conduct more socially-just orientations toward Indigenous Peoples (de Leeuw et al., 2012). In fact, for some time now, geographers have stated how important it is to include the voices of Indigenous Peoples in geographic research (Peters, 2000). Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson calls for works that “center Indigeneity in their analysis and offer critiques of state power, force,

and occupation" (2011, 212). To redress past power imbalances between researcher and participant, de Leeuw et al. (2012) suggest that working to decolonize geographic thought and practice requires nurturing forms of relational accountability. They describe how friendship, between interlocutors and researchers, and researchers themselves, can provide an important space to achieve this. Coombes et al. (2014) also echo calls for affective, performative, and emotionally invested research with Indigenous Peoples that befits 'a deeper sense of place' (Johnson, 2013). This requires in turn a new relational ethics, which "unsettles any remaining binaries that survived the qualitative revolution in human geography: ethics becomes method; data becomes life; landscapes become author; participants become family" (Coombes et al., 2014, 850).

While both de Leeuw et al. (2012) and Coombes et al. (2012; 2014) recognize that expecting Indigenous Peoples to simply open their arms to researchers given the colonial underpinnings of the discipline is not to be expected, they point to opportunities for more socially-just, responsible, and collaborative research. By engaging with Indigeneity, geography is refocusing disciplinary practices and developing new forms of research, which result in new ethical challenges (Coombes et al., 2012). Kanaka Hawai'i cartographer and geographer Renee Pualani Louis (2007) has asked whether geography can hear Indigenous voices, which have often been pushed to the margins, suggesting the need for new approaches to methodology, curriculum, administration and disciplinary purpose. As Coombes et al. (2014) suggest, a necessary condition for decolonizing methodologies is for researchers to "adopt new ways of seeing" (847), which is of particular relevance given geography's character as a highly visual discipline (Gregory, 1994). However, I would argue that researchers must not limit themselves to simply "seeing," and suggest that new ways of "sensing" should be adopted. Indeed, Howitt (2020) argues that "transcending the settler-centric narrative requires attending to the diversity and specificity of Indigenous experience—it requires much more listening than speaking from positions of academic privilege" (204), and continues by suggesting that geographers adopt "'listening methodologies', methodologies of respectful engagement; of co-motion, co-becoming, and co-construction; and of being emotionally and ethically available to the task of unsettling" (205), which "takes us outside our comfort zone" (194), relating well to Mariah's statement in the introduction. This can create new geographies

of humble engagement and respectful co-existence, which can further the meaningful and attentive study of Indigenous geographies. In the context of this dissertation, seeing (the stamp), listening to Indigenous voices (through media coverage of the TMX), and feeling (beadwork) engage different senses, attempting to make the narratives they represent more visible, heard, and felt.

Indeed, geographers are paying closer attention to themes of reconciliation, belonging, and responsibility, which increasingly represent key topics in human geography (Coombes et al., 2013). This centring of Indigeneity also brings to light the past injustices committed by settler governments and society, and pushes for truth, reconciliation, and healing. Brugnach and Ingram (2012) suggest that reconciliation is creating new politics and new geographies of identity, belonging, and place. These new geographies contain more enabling spaces and therapeutic landscapes, where Indigenous Peoples are challenging colonialism through a radical resurgence, which Simpson defines as a "set of practices through which the regeneration and reestablishment of Indigenous nations could be achieved" (2017, 16). Coombes et al. (2014) affirm that Indigenous geographies invite and challenge an engagement across boundaries of difference. Returning to the question of representation and how they can shape what Gregory has termed our imaginative geographies, this dissertation contributes to the current literature by considering the ways in which Indigenous Peoples and geographies are being represented and how representations, both past and present, construct colonial imaginaries, in addition to shedding light on future forms of representation and how they can promote self-representation and reconciliation. With this in mind, a consideration of the three specific objects at focus follows.

Objects as Vehicles of Representation

Three main objects serve as the foci for the case studies of this dissertation: postage stamps, pipelines, and beads. One may ask—and rightly so—why choose these objects and what ultimately connects them? Postage stamps, pipelines, and beads each have symbolic and economic value. A stamp provides proof of payment and allows the sending

of letters and parcels through postal networks. Pipelines transport valuable commodities such as oil and natural gas, connecting peripheries of extraction and refinement to global centres of trade. And beads have served as forms of currency between Indigenous Nations, and later with settlers, and have been used as a means of representing political alliances through the creation of wampum belts, which were formed of beads of wampum, the ground and drilled shells of whelks and quahogs (Cronon, 2003). Anishinaabe scholar John Borrows (1997) states that wampum belts represented an instrument of First Nations legal tradition. Referring to the Treaty of Niagara of 1764, which consolidated the relationship between British officials and Indigenous Nations following the dissolution of New France, Borrows explains that "wampum belts were to be exchanged, which would communicate the promises exchanged, and which would form the record of the agreement" (1997, 162–163). They thus acted as the material embodiment of political alliances.

In this latter example, the power of representation is clearly evident. While historically beads have been used as forms of currency and material representations of alliances, they also came to represent the distinct artistic traditions of various Indigenous Nations as suggested by Métis scholars and artists Sheryl Farrell Racette (1991) and Christi Belcourt (2010). This is still true today, and in the context of Indigenous resurgence, they are clear markers of Indigenous identity, prominently featured at Indigenous cultural gatherings and worn on an everyday basis. Pipelines and postage stamps also circulate in myriad ways and constitute powerful forms of representation. Pipelines can be built, expanded, and purchased. However, they can also be resisted, blocked, and destroyed. They can thus represent narratives of progress, economic development, property, and agency, or conversely, narratives of relentless extraction, inequality, and environmental destruction. Meanwhile, postage stamps have the capacity to shape the image of nations, acting as windows into a nation's identity (Raento and Brunn, 2005), and since 1 May 1840 in England with the release of the "Penny Black" featuring a profile of Queen Victoria, have circulated tiny images on little pieces of adhesive paper around the world (Allibone, 1992).

Now that it is established that these objects can act as vehicles of representation, what connects them in the context of this dissertation? One could argue that oil is the

common denominator. It is found in the ink used to print the images on stamps and contributes to their circulation through domestic and global networks of transportation. It is often the substance being shipped through pipelines and is burned to build them. Today it is found in plastic beads that are predominantly used for beadwork. While this forms an important linkage, at interest here is how they have become objects representing Indigenous Peoples and geographies. Each offers a window into past, present, and future representations of Indigeneity. A stamp issued in the 1950s featuring Indigenous Peoples, designed by a settler artist for a settler government is an example of representation without consent. A pipeline actively debated for and against by Indigenous stakeholders and how this is portrayed by national media in the present is a form of mixed representation, especially when considering who is representing Indigenous narratives. And beads act as a form of self-representation, embodying both past traditions and a resurgence toward Indigenous pride and self-determination, embodying future aspirations.

To provide a guiding framework for this dissertation, a general formula is therefore adopted whereby an object (postage stamps, pipelines, or beads) is coupled with a specific group of Indigenous Peoples (Inuit, First Nations, Metis, or urban Indigenous Peoples), in a specific period (past, present, or future), related to a specific place (High Arctic, Western Canada, Ottawa), set in a specific environment (arctic, alpine and marine, or urban), with each combination producing a distinct form of representation (visual-, media-, or self-representation). Brought together, these case studies thus act as examples of how narratives of Indigenous Peoples, cultures, and worldviews have been, currently are, and continue to be constructed and circulated, and for what purposes. They are by no means exhaustive but offer three case studies of distinct and place-based views into Indigenous pasts, presents, and futures.

Postage Stamps

Representing what has been called the “tiniest of government documents” (Wood-Donnelly, 2017), postage stamps have come to be regarded by political geographers as

messengers of the state, which serve as “tiny pieces of visual history” (Brunn, 2023; Wood-Donnelly, 2017; Raento and Brunn, 2005). To fulfill their primary function of providing proof of payment for postal services, there is little reason why these small pieces of perforated paper should feature any imagery at all (Wood-Donnelly, 2017). It is therefore argued that the postage stamp acts as a silent messenger of the state, delivering a message with a politicized narrative, and, as a result, helps “make” and “perform” the nation (Wood-Donnelly, 2017; Raento and Brunn, 2005). Philatelic imagery,[9] which can feature national symbols, important figures, events, or territorial representations, helps reify the nation, informing and educating citizens about where they are, who they are, and what they are all about (Brunn, 2011).

Indeed, paraphernalia of national identity, like postage stamps, banknotes, flags, or street names, represent conscious investments of effort by the state to give regions histories and identities to make them more place-like, and therefore more intelligible to their populations (Cresswell and Merriman, 2015). Scholars have pointed to two key concepts of particular relevance when studying postage stamps. It is suggested that stamps contribute to the creation of an “imagined community”, which brings citizens together and transcends the physical limitations of the nation-state (Anderson, 2016), and secondly, they represent a key example of “banal nationalism,” a mundane method of building a nation’s identity through the unassuming and normalized circulation of banal products (Billig, 1996). Postage stamps also act as travelling-landscape objects, or portable graphic images that act as dynamic vehicles of place through space and time, which della Dora (2009) argues can actively shape geographic imaginations.

Given these traits, it is clear that “stamps can and should be read as texts” (Deans and Dobson, 2005, 3), which contain both “whispers” and “shouts” in terms of their political messaging (Zeigler, 2002). As two of the leading political geographers studying postage stamps Pauliina Raento and Stanley Brunn (2005) argue, stamps represent socio-culturally and temporally constructed political-geographic texts, which merit in-depth studies concerning their messages and the “gatekeepers” or decision-bodies responsible for their issuance (Brunn, 2023; Covington and Brunn, 2006; Penrose, 2011; Raento & Brunn, 2005). It is with this framework for understanding “philatelic geographies” and

[9] Philately refers to the study of postage stamps.

uncovering instances of banal colonialism that this dissertation turns to examine one particular stamp featuring an Inuk hunter known as the "*Eskimo Hunter*." The approach, which can aid the creation of critical Indigenous geographies, allows a deeper understanding of one, apparently innocuous, colonial representation of Indigenous Peoples.

Place Them on a Stamp addresses this by analyzing how the Canadian Post Office Department—and by extension the Canadian state—represented Indigenous Peoples on postage stamps. The article turns its attention to Inuit Nunangat, the Homeland of Inuit in the Arctic focusing on the story of the 10-cent "Eskimo Hunter" stamp issued in 1955. The stamp was one of the first Canadian stamps to feature Indigenous imagery and the first to portray an Indigenous person (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. The "Eskimo Hunter" stamp (Library and Archives Canada, 1955).

The stamp features an Inuk hunter in an Arctic environment with an iceberg in the background and a plane flying overhead. While this could be considered as an attempt to both recognize and celebrate Indigeneity, a closer "reading" of the stamp provides

important context for understanding its deep and layered meanings as a vehicle of visual nationalism (Rose, 2016; Deans and Dobson, 2005; Brunn, 2023). By considering the *Eskimo Hunter*'s date of issuance, the article considers the narrative the Canadian government was seeking to circulate by featuring an Inuk hunter on a stamp, which was widely transported across domestic and international postal networks. Importantly, *Place Them on a Stamp* draws attention to the Canadian state's widespread and multi-faceted intervention into the lives of Inuit in the 1950s, which some have argued was an attempt to redefine Inuit as governable subjects to further the goals of the colonial state while solidifying Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic (Cameron, 2015; Tester and Kulchyski, 1994).

Following a close partnership with the United States government and military during the Second World War to build up Arctic infrastructure to facilitate the movement of troops and gather scientific data, the Canadian government was anxious to regain administrative control of the High Arctic (Lowther, 1990). Amidst the early backdrop of the Cold War, American officials in Washington D.C. openly questioned Canada's claims to the region, especially the Northwest Passage, considering it to be an international waterway, and had a growing interest in the region as a potential frontier open to a possible Soviet invasion (Lowther, 1990; Farish, 2010). While Canada's *de jure* sovereignty in the region was not at risk, its *de facto* sovereignty certainly was.

In the early 1950s, Canadian officials agreed that relocating Inuit families to uninhabited islands in the High Arctic was a promising way to both alleviate the stress caused by the collapse of the fur trade on Inuit, providing hunters with new territories, in addition to conveniently shoring up Canada's sovereignty through bolstering effective occupation (Tester and Kulchyski, 1994). This led to the High Arctic Relocations of 1953 and 1955, which resulted in the relocation of Inuit families from Northern Québec and Baffin Island to Ellesmere and Cornwallis Islands in the High Arctic. With important information being withheld, such as the challenging environmental circumstances, and the apprehension to refuse armed Canadian officials, Inuit were coerced into relocating and were then subject to totalizing police oversight in the years following the High Arctic Relocations, as the government was intent on maintaining a human presence in the region (Tester and Kulchyski, 1994). This represented a clear example of the settler

colonial government's use of biopower to physically relocate and assimilate Inuit into the Canadian body politic, making them into governable subjects (Cameron, 2015; Morgensen, 2011; Foucault, 2020).

Connecting back to the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp, *Place Them on a Stamp* asks whether the issuance of the stamp and the High Arctic Relocations, which occurred at approximately the same time, represented two different yet interconnected strategies to solidify Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic by both physically and symbolically placing Inuit in the region as real and imagined human flag poles, and cementing the Canadian North as a cornerstone of national identity, one that continues to be true today. Building on Billig's concept of banal nationalism, I propose that the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp is an example of what I term "banal colonialism" as it subtly circulates a visual representation of the land-centered project of the Canadian government, which sought to extend its real and imaginary reach over the entirety of the North American Arctic Archipelago (see Map 1).

Map 1. Map of main case study locations. Blue markers relate to Place Them on a Stamp, green markers relate to Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares, and the purple marker relates to Making Brave Spaces (author, 2024; Map data © OpenStreetMap contributors, Microsoft, Facebook, Inc. and its affiliates, Esri Community Maps contributors, Map layer by Esri).

Pipelines

While postage stamps enable the flow of mail, information, and ideas, pipelines, conversely, enable the flow of commodities. Pipelines crisscross the globe and connect places and activities with different types of resources, with perhaps oil being the most well-known and controversial type. As Hein (2021) suggests, pipelines represent key components of the "global petroleumscape," a layered physical and social landscape that comprises the diverse spaces of petroleum facilitating its ubiquity and continued use in everyday life. Pipelines, like refineries and gas stations, are spatial emanations of oil and are constitutive elements of a global network connected by a single resource used in diverse commodities by industrial corporations, which reinforce earlier structures (Hein, 2021). While oil has and continues to dominate the global energy market, its non-renewable extraction, production, circulation, and emission, and subsequent impacts on the global environment, have generated increasing calls across the world for decarbonization, ending fossil fuel investment, extraction, and consumption (Temper et al., 2020). However, oil's predominance is not yet threatened, with infrastructure such as pipelines continuing to be built and expanded (Hein, 2021). Amidst the backdrop of the climate crisis, investing in pipelines has been extremely controversial, with Malm (2021) qualifying pipelines as "high-pressure hoses for dousing fuel on the fire" (7).

In the North American context, this has been the case with examples such as the Keystone XL, Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), the Coastal GasLink, and the Trans Mountain Pipeline. Supported by many industrial and local stakeholders as a means of providing important economic stimulus while facilitating the continued supply of oil and natural gas, these megaprojects are consistently met with criticism and opposition from many segments of civil society, including Indigenous Peoples on whose lands these pipelines often traverse (Temper et al., 2020). As Bosworth (2021) has noted in connection to the DAPL, narratives concerning pipelines often boil down to a question of what's more important, the economy or the environment? In such polarizing terms, it is easy to understand why oil, and by extension, pipelines generate such vociferous debate. Amidst such debates, a government sought to expand rather than build a new pipeline as was the case of the Trans Mountain Pipeline in Western Canada. However, this was only

one feature that set this case apart. The other was Indigenous support for the project. How does the narrative change when certain groups of traditional opponents of such projects, like Indigenous Peoples, come to support a pipeline expansion project due to a variety of factors such as economic growth and agency, and how are these views represented on a national scale? *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* seeks to further explore these questions by focusing on the case of the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project (TMX) and employing an Indigenous media content analysis methodology to uncover Indigenous geographies and identities.

Moving from the High Arctic, the dissertation thus travels west to traditional territories of First Nations and Métis Peoples in present-day Alberta (AB) and British Columbia (BC), where the Trans Mountain Pipeline is currently being expanded to triple the flow of diluted bitumen, a form of crude oil, originating from Alberta's tar sands. The pipeline travels west from Edmonton, AB, 1,150 kilometres to the port of Burnaby, BC, on the Burrard Inlet where tankers transport bitumen to primarily Asian markets (Trans Mountain Corporation, n.d.). However, initial plans to expand the pipeline were met with fierce opposition. This was due to the inadequate consultation process carried out with Indigenous Nations impacted by the project and the potentially devastating environmental impacts tripling the flow of oil could have on alpine and marine environments, namely through potential spills and the exponentially increased tanker traffic in the Burrard Inlet (Federal Court of Appeal, 2018). Faced with the uncertainty this opposition created, then-owners Kinder Morgan backed out of the project prompting the federal government to purchase the pipeline in May 2018, a move that sparked celebration and outrage across the country (Francis, 2018).

Travelling through the territory of 129 Indigenous Nations, the TMX has come to embody the dualistic narrative of economic growth versus environmental protection, as was the case concerning the DAPL (Bosworth, 2021). While Indigenous Peoples in Canada have often staunchly protested the construction of major fossil fuel projects on their territory (for instance with the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline in the 1970s and more recently the Coastal GasLink project), the Trans Mountain Pipeline differs in that it has been in existence since the 1950s and many Indigenous Nations wish not only to see it expanded but are seeking to purchase a stake in the pipeline itself (Pimentel, 2019).

Those leading the charge to purchase the pipeline are primarily Indigenous Nations and business groups based in Alberta where Indigenous Peoples have lived with the impacts of tar sands extraction for several generations.

Many Nations have found a source of well-needed revenue by collaborating with the oil and gas industry, which in turn leads to important financing of infrastructure, health, and educational initiatives (Fort McKay First Nation, 2022; Project Reconciliation, 2022). This could be considered as a case of making the best out of a bad environmental situation or adapting to life on a damaged landscape as suggested by Anna Tsing (2015). Nevertheless, many Indigenous Peoples at the grassroots level and particularly Indigenous Nations in BC have continued to vehemently protest the TMX stating that further investing in fossil fuel infrastructure amidst a climate crisis makes no sense and that the risks associated with the increased flow of oil on both human and other-than-human life far exceed the potential benefits of continued oil-based futures (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2017; Smart, 2019) (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. From left to right, top to bottom: Members of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation protest outside of the Westridge Marine Terminal, Burnaby, BC (Tsleil-Waututh Nation Sacred Trust, 2017), Marine blockade of Ironworkers' Memorial Bridge, Burnaby, BC (Cornwell, 2018), Tiny House Warriors blocking construction sites in Secwepemcul'ecw, unceded territory of the Secwepemc People in the BC Interior (Brake, 2018), and the expansion of the Trans Mountain Pipeline along its 1,150-kilometre route (Government of Alberta, n.d.).

Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares explores how these differing views are represented across the Canadian national media landscape. Drawing from Adams (2017), the article connects to questions of representation, seeking to understand how the media, specifically online news content, can serve as a "metaphysics of encounter," where two or more agents encounter each other and come away altered by the event. Comparing freely accessible online news content from three of Canada's national news providers, the Canadian Television Network (CTV), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and the Aboriginal Peoples' Television Network (APTN), the article considers how Indigenous views of the TMX are being presented and discussed on the national stage, and how these representations differ across the three news outlets. Connecting to the body of literature concerning Indigenous Peoples and media landscapes (Miller, 2008; Wilkes et al., 2010; Karsgaard and MacDonald, 2020; Bosworth, 2021; Budd, 2021, Grote and Johnston, 2021), *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* questions how the representation of key themes and actors can shape both public opinion, policy, and by extension our imaginative geographies. The first critical content analysis of its kind, the article asks which news outlet adequately represents Indigenous views on the ground and how broader national, and even international news coverage can more effectively reflect the views of Indigenous actors concerning projects such as the TMX.

Beads

Postage stamps circulate images and narratives while pipelines can transport oil and ideologies, but how can objects act as important forms of self-representation, which also contribute to forming a sense of identity and place? Present across the globe, the practice of beadwork involves the decoration of surface materials such as hide or felt with intricate patterns of beads (Smetzer, 2007). For Indigenous Peoples, beadwork has come to represent an important form of visual and material culture and constitutes a place-based form of Indigenous knowledge, and as Métis scholar Lois Elizabeth Edge (2011) suggests, contributes to the formation of relationships to social, cultural, and ecological environments.

With key variations according to place and group, beadwork both visually and physically represents patterns of plants, animals, ideas, and worldviews (Racette, 1991; Belcourt, 2010). While beads were traditionally made of stone, wood, or bone, the progression of technologies and methods led to the creation of glass and most recently plastic beads. One can easily purchase any number of colourful plastic beads ranging in different sizes according to the preference of the beader but what occurs when you string and stitch these beads together? What happens when they are featured on jewelry or clothing that one wears on an everyday basis? And how can this impact negotiations of different types of spaces? Beaded products such as earrings, medallions, lanyards, or decorative adornments of other kinds, have come to be considered as visual markers of Indigeneity. Furthermore, beading as a practice brings together Indigenous beaders, encouraging the formation of social and cultural networks. How does accessing these types of spaces influence identity formation and the development of an Indigenous sense of place in the city? *Making Brave Spaces* considers how these new geographies are being made and argues that new methodologies are required to meaningfully engage with them.

To explore these questions, the dissertation heads to Canada's national capital, Ottawa, Ontario, situated on the unceded territory of the Algonquin Anishinaabe Peoples. Ottawa is a city vested with multiple layers of symbolic power. It is the seat of the federal government and the arena where state policies, including those designed to subjugate Indigenous Peoples and lands have been debated and passed into law. It also represents a key site of reconciliation, where efforts to address the past injustices committed towards Indigenous Peoples have been and continue to be discussed. From a demographic perspective, Ottawa is also a major Canadian city, representing the country's fourth largest metropolitan area with a population of approximately 1,5 million people (Statistics Canada, 2022a). In the Canadian context, geographer Evelyn Peters and Métis scholar Chris Andersen (2013) affirm that settler society and laws have historically sought to exclude Indigenous Peoples from bourgeoning cities. Despite these measures, Indigenous Peoples have established themselves in urban areas, with today, close to 50% of self-identified Indigenous people living in cities across Canada (Statistics Canada, 2022b).

Given these trends, and amidst the current backdrop of the national project of reconciliation, how are Indigenous Peoples creating new Indigenous geographies in Canada's cities? While many Indigenous families have been well established in urban areas for several generations, Indigenous Peoples continue to experience high rates of mobility, with many moving from rural communities to urban areas for the first time, or moving between cities (Norris and Clatworthy, 2003; Peters and Andersen, 2013). Increasingly, it is suggested that cities can constitute effective centers of decolonization, where practices of place-making and reterritorialization, as advanced by Anishinaabe scholar Julie Tomiak (2011), can enable Indigenous Peoples to assert symbolic space, reclaim physical space, and carve out political space. But how concretely can Indigenous Peoples achieve these goals?

Making Brave Space seeks to explore these questions by considering how the practice of beadwork and beading circles—where participants gather to bead—contribute to the creation of what one Indigenous interlocutor called *brave space*, which develop spaces where lasting networks of learning, exchange, and solidarity are formed, especially beneficial when moving to (or between) urban areas. Focusing on the case study of Ottawa, the article centers the experiences of 13 young Indigenous people who moved to Ottawa to pursue post-secondary education. Most interlocutors participated in a beading circle organized at the University of Ottawa through the Mashkawazìwogamig Indigenous Resource Center, a space dedicated to Indigenous students (see Figure 3). The article considers how these types of spaces constitute *brave spaces*, and how beadwork, as a form of Indigenous resurgence (Simpson, 2017), is connecting young Indigenous people in the city with each other and traditional cultural practices.

Figure 3. From left to right, top to bottom: examples of beadwork and beading circle supplies (Monkman, 2020), the Mashkawazìwogamig: Indigenous Resource Centre on the University of Ottawa campus (Mashkawazìwogamig: Indigenous Resource Centre, n.d.), the Mashkawazìwogamig: Indigenous Resource Centre logo (Mashkawazìwogamig: Indigenous Resource Centre, 2023), and the interior of the Mashkawazìwogamig: Indigenous Resource Centre (author, 2021).

Furthermore, the role of these spaces and cultural practices, and the ways they can influence how Indigenous Peoples negotiate a sense of place in the city is considered. Drawing on Lefebvre's concept of the "right to the city" (1996), *Making Brave Spaces* asks whether beadwork and the brave spaces it creates can contribute to achieving an Indigenous right to the city. Finally, in line with current narratives of reconciliation, the article draws attention to the role beadwork can play in facilitating meaningful, respectful, and reciprocal learning relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples. How does accessing an Indigenous space enable important cross-cultural conversations, which can ultimately lead to decolonizing thought and furthering the shared project of reconciliation?

“Sensing” Geography: Methodologies

Given the diversity of topics, places, and periods, a wide range of methodological tools are employed across the three articles. It is my view that the use of multiple methodologies represents a key strength of this dissertation as they provide new ways of “sensing” geography through sight, sound, and touch by seeing, listening to, and feeling different Indigenous geographies through mixed methods. Three sets of methodologies are employed to effectively engage with each set of research questions posed by the articles. These are briefly introduced here, namely the use of archival material, media content analysis, and semi-structured qualitative interviews, all of which can contribute in different ways to centering Indigenous voices and further decolonizing research disciplines such as geography.

Reading the Visual and Archival

Place Them on a Stamp engages with both the study of postage stamps and the events of the High Arctic Relocations that took place in the 1950s. As a result, two sets of methodologies are adopted. The first analyzes or “reads” postage stamps while the second privileges the analysis of archival sources to contextualize the High Arctic Relocations and provide evidence as to the connection between the relocations and the issue of securing Canadian sovereignty in the region. To study postage stamps, utilizing the field of semiotics—the study of signs and the messages they contain—proves instrumental. Child (2005) builds on Charles Sanders Peirce’s concept of the Trichotomy of Signs, which proposes that images contain the three elements of index, icon, and symbol. While indexes and symbols point to writing, monetary value, national markers, and the physical nature of the stamp as a small piece of perforated and adhesive paper, it is the selection of icons that a postal service (or government) makes a conscious choice of what message is to be delivered and how (Child, 2005). Coupled with Rose’s (2016) concept of “reading the visual” and Deans and Dobson’s (2005) assertion that “stamps

can and should be read as texts" (3), I adopt Raento and Brunn's (2005) philatelic methodology, which enables a close reading of stamps. Two methodological steps are proposed, namely 1) to identify who and what is in the picture, considering the stamp's date and the purpose of the issue, and 2) to "assess the story" reported and represented by the state, and ask how that depiction matches competing versions of the same history (Raento and Brunn, 2005).

To achieve a close reading of the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp (1955), archival materials serve a fundamental role in "assessing the story." Building on Tester and Kulchyski (1994) and Inuk and High Arctic relocatee and survivor Larry Audlaluk's (2020) autobiography, archival materials connected to the High Arctic Relocations were consulted from the Library and Archives of Canada collection located in Ottawa, Ontario. Important primary source documents included the detachment reports sent by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officials in charge in both the High Arctic communities of Resolute Bay (now called Resolute) and Grise Fiord where the relocatees were established, which were sent annually to RCMP Headquarters in Ottawa. These annual reports (1953 to 1968) provide highly detailed accounts of life in both communities and demonstrate the totalizing oversight of both the RCMP and the government. In addition to these reports, RCMP internal communications and memos circulated within the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, which oversaw Inuit affairs at the time and was responsible for proposing and carrying out the relocations, also serve as key primary sources.

I suggest that by connecting the banal imagery of the stamp and the material accounts of the High Arctic Relocations, the analysis bridges the gap between the symbolic and semiotic nature of the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp and the lived experiences of Inuit survivors who were relocated. While accurately representing what Inuit survivors experienced in the early days of the High Arctic Relocations is largely based on the initial RCMP reports, in the years since, many Inuit have recounted their experiences through forums such as the High Arctic Relocations Special Hearing as part of RCAP in 1992–93 (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994). More recently, the accounts of High Arctic Relocation survivors have been featured in print and on screen. These include survivor Larry Audlaluk's (2020) autobiography *What I Remember, What I Know: The Life of a High Arctic Exile* recounting his experiences relocating to Ellesmere Island as a child

and the challenges survivors and their families continue to face today, and survivor Elisapie Nutuara's account of moving to and living on Ellesmere Island in the Indigenous documentary series "Telling Our Story," produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 2023 (CBC Docs, 2023). This sharing of stories invites readers and viewers to listen directly to the voices of Inuit survivors.

Listening to the Land and Water

Moving to the present, *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* focuses on the current developments of the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project (TMX). The main study period brings together media coverage over four years, ranging from the purchase of the Trans Mountain Pipeline by the federal government on 29 May 2018 until 29 May 2022, which corresponds to the initial submission date of the draft article. To effectively analyze the representation of views of Indigenous Peoples concerning the TMX, the online news stories of three national news outlets serve as the main body of data for the article. The outlets included the Canadian Television Network (CTV), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the Aboriginal Peoples' Television Network (APTN). Each of the three news databases was searched using the keywords "trans mountain pipeline," which yielded nearly 3,000 results, which were then meticulously analyzed to identify all stories that included any mention of Indigenous Peoples in relation to the TMX. Responding to Clark (2014), the article contributes to the study of online news content, rather than newspaper coverage, which has served as the main body of data for previous studies regarding the representation of Indigenous views in the media (Miller, 2008; Wilkes et al., 2010).

While online news content differs in terms of its reach and accessibility and has dramatically changed the nature of news production, the reporting of information largely reflects that of newspaper coverage, heavily relying on content provided by news agencies such as the Canadian Press in the context of this study (Boumans et al., 2018). For these reasons, the methodologies employed by earlier studies of newspaper

coverage of Indigenous Peoples and protests are highly beneficial. Of particular relevance is the framing model developed by Miller (2008), which proposes that the media often frames disputes involving Indigenous Peoples in three ways, namely by portraying Indigenous Peoples as either 1) troublemakers, 2) having legitimate grounds for a dispute, or 3) disputing or quarrelling amongst themselves. This framing model is applied in the context of *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* as a way of analyzing how stories concerning Indigenous Peoples and the TMX are portrayed across three different national news outlets.

In addition to Miller's framing model, the methodology adopted to critically analyze online news content draws from Wilkes et al.'s (2010) study of the representation of Indigenous protests across a 10-year period (1985–1995), which was characterized by extensive standoffs concerning land disputes. Their analysis of how "news value" propels certain stories to the national and international level is instrumental, notably the five factors they identify that influence how stories acquire a high "news value," which include relevance, immediacy, novelty, innovation, and drama. By applying this to the case of the TMX, it was found that all five of these factors were present, which resulted in widespread national news coverage, especially between 2018 and 2020 when the pipeline was purchased, struck down by the Federal Court of Appeal, and subsequently reapproved. Building on Wilkes et al.'s (2010) suggestion that individual stories should be studied over longer periods to consider shifts over time, *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* covers a four-year media span, allowing for fine-grain analysis of how media coverage changed over time across the three national news outlets. While this indeed represents a key contribution of the article as the first comparative study of its kind of these three particular news outlets, the methodology takes it one step further in an attempt to decolonize media geographies by contrasting the online news content with the views of Indigenous stakeholders as articulated in their own words. Online statements and articles directly published by Indigenous opponents and supporters of the project were used as a means of cross-referencing what themes, quotes, and sound bites ultimately were included in the news content and how this differed across the three news outlets. As a result, the article suggests that to effectively listen to Indigenous Peoples' views, it is important to cross-reference news content with their shared statements.

Feeling Plastic, Feeling Place

While *Place Them on a Stamp* utilizes archival material and *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* privileges media coverage, *Making Brave Space* is based on the contributions of interlocutors gathered through semi-structured qualitative interviews. Given that the interlocutors were Indigenous, significant care and attention were given to both methodological and ethical considerations. The idea for writing this article arose from my participation in a beading circle organized at the Mashkawazìwogamig Indigenous Resource Centre at the University of Ottawa during my master's degree between 2015 and 2016. At the time, I did not intend to carry out research concerning the topic of beadwork, however as my master's focused on urban Indigeneity and the social geographies of Metis Peoples in Ottawa (Dumas, 2016), I was invited to join a beading circle organized by students at the University of Ottawa, and observed how beading played an important role in connecting young Indigenous students. Coming from across the country with their own set of experiences and traditions, students created a network of exchange and learning, which facilitated moving to a new city, often far from home. To effectively consider how beading both created extensive urban Indigenous networks and contributed to achieving a *right to the city*, I knew that just like in the context of the beading circle, the stories needed to come directly from the Indigenous students themselves and feature at the centre of any potential study.

As a result, several Indigenous-based and critical decolonial geographic methodologies are employed. Drawing from Smith (2012), an Indigenous research methodology is privileged as one that emphasizes the need to structure assumptions, values, concepts, orientations, and priorities that reflect the needs of Indigenous Peoples and to remain accountable to interlocutors and communities. *Making Brave Space* draws attention to the current success and potential of the place-making practice of beadwork and attempts to bring awareness to the challenges and opportunities experienced by young Indigenous people moving to and living in cities. To achieve this, 13 interlocutors were interviewed between 2019 and 2022. Contact with potential interlocutors was made through the network I had developed while studying at the University of Ottawa and my

participation in the beading circle, building on relations of friendship that enabled honest and open communication (de Leeuw et. al, 2012). In addition, utilizing the snowball sampling method (Woodley and Lockard, 2016; Noy, 2008), I was introduced to several additional Indigenous beaders. To remain accountable to the interlocutors, a detailed explanation of the study was provided and following the interviews, each interlocutor was sent a transcribed copy of the interview and was given the opportunity to redact, change, or add anything to what they had shared. The study responds to de Leeuw's (2017) call for non-Indigenous settler geographers to rethink the ways and forms of producing knowledge, about colonialism and Indigenous geographies through writing practices. Taking this into account, *Making Brave Space* centers the statements of the interlocutors. Acknowledging the importance of giving voice to and standing with Indigenous Peoples in forums such as academic research is of central importance and is further detailed in the penultimate section of this introduction.

Acknowledging My Roots and Responsibilities

As a non-Indigenous settler geographer, I wish to address the question of why I chose to carry out this research. Halfway through my bachelor's degree in geography at the University of Ottawa, I decided to add a second major, that of Indigenous studies. My time in Ottawa had exposed me to the challenges facing Indigenous Peoples across the country due to the legacy of (settler) colonialism and to the important project of reconciliation, especially given that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was taking place (2008 to 2015). However, this was not my first exposure, as I was aware of Indigenous land disputes long before. In 2006, while attending high school in Hamilton, Ontario, the Caledonia standoff ignited over a dispute concerning the development of land that the local Six Nations affirmed was theirs, as guaranteed through the Haldimand Tract in 1784, which had been granted in perpetuity to allied Indigenous Nations of the British Crown following the American Revolutionary War (Barnsley, 2006). Six Nations land defenders blocked an important road to protest the planned development, which led to confrontations with motorists. I distinctly remember watching a news report that showed Indigenous and non-Indigenous protesters in a heated exchange, which made me

question why this was happening in the first place. In the early 2000s, education concerning Indigenous Peoples, cultures, and histories was minimal if non-existent in the Ontario curriculum. Thankfully, this has since changed (CBC News, 2023). It was not until I was in university that I came into extensive and meaningful contact with these issues.

Shortly after I chose to pursue Indigenous studies alongside geography, the *Idle No More* protests swept across Canada. Ignited by the federal government's proposed omnibus budget bill in 2012, which would have allowed companies access to untapped resources by significantly curtailing environmental protection and First Nations land and sovereignty rights (John, 2015), demonstrations were held across the country, including on the University of Ottawa campus. I attended a round dance that was held in the Tabaret Rotunda, the symbolic and administrative center of the university, where participants, Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, faculty, and community members joined together, literally clasping hands, and danced in a circle on the three floors of the rotunda. The energy created by demonstrations such as these and the general *Idle No More* movement was electric and galvanized Indigenous Peoples, forming "constellations of co-resistance," working toward ethical, principled, and radical futures (Simpson et. al, 2018). As a non-Indigenous settler with both French and English Canadian roots, I felt a responsibility to engage in my own decolonizing journey and as one professor suggested, utilize the privileges from which I have benefited, as a white settler male, to stand with and help move forward the project of reconciliation.

To me, coupling geography and Indigenous studies just made sense, as land and attachment to place are integral to Indigenous Peoples, cultures, and worldviews, and is at the center of many of the past and ongoing struggles of Indigenous Peoples to access, secure, and protect their traditional land bases (Simpson, 2017; Liboiron, 2021). As a young academic, I turned to research to try and bring attention to these issues and having primarily grown up in cities all my life, I decided to focus on urban Indigeneity, especially given that many urban Indigenous Peoples face challenges accessing traditional land bases and their rights (Peters and Andersen, 2013). Urban community development and the networks of strength and solidarity, as experienced by the Metis community in Ottawa was the focus of my master's thesis (Dumas, 2016). While continuing to do this type of research in the context of my PhD—outside of Canada—seemed odd at first, I have been

thankful to continue my efforts to both decolonize and contribute to the growing body of decolonial academic research, especially in geography. Coming into contact with many diverse people, ideas, and disciplines at the Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society, I became interested in the representation of Indigenous Peoples and how it has historically influenced national narratives and how it continues to do so today. Namely, I wanted to see how this was carried out through different objects representing different geographies across different periods, which I now briefly summarize.

Summary and Outlook

This dissertation draws attention to how visual representation has played a role in furthering colonial narratives and incorporating Indigenous Peoples into the imagined community of the state (*Place Them on a Stamp*), how media representation shapes public perceptions of Indigenous Peoples, especially regarding issues of environmental protection and economic development (*Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares*), and how self-representation can play a key role in creating new Indigenous geographies and futures, furthering the project of truth, reconciliation, and healing (*Making Brave Space*). I have attempted to work "with" and not "on" Indigenous Peoples (Smith, 2012), but recognize that this is not a simple task, given that I am working in an environment, which benefits and continues to reproduce colonial hierarchies. Nevertheless, as Liboiron (2021) encourages, I adopt anticolonial research frameworks that embody the diversity of work, positionalities, and obligations that let us "stand with" one another as we pursue good land relations.

Given that this dissertation deals with questions regarding representation, I have attempted to keep the voice of Indigenous Peoples and Nations at the core of each of the three articles, to both focus on and highlight Indigenous agency. While this may be more apparent in *Making Brave Space*, which directly centers the contributions of Indigenous interlocutors through semi-structured qualitative interviews, it is also of central importance for the two other articles. For *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares*, online news content was compared with the direct statements of both Indigenous opponents and supporters of the

TMX as presented on their chosen platforms. This formed the basis of identifying, which of the three national news outlets most effectively covered the views of Indigenous Peoples regarding the TMX, with the conclusion that the Aboriginal Peoples' Television Network (APTN) did so, given its mandate to produce Indigenous news content for and by Indigenous Peoples (APTN, 2022).

In the context of *Place Them on a Stamp*, while primarily dealing with a postage stamp designed for and by the state, the voices of Inuit survivors of the High Arctic Relocations are central in bringing to light the lived experiences of those who were relocated, and by extension, represented on the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp. This is done by including the work of Inuit who have shared their experiences, namely through Inuit relocatee survivor Larry Audlaluk's (2020) work and by featuring the resistance and resilience of Inuit in the face of totalizing oversight, by combing through RCMP detachment reports, detailing their acts of micro resistance and counter-conduct (Harris, 2004; Foucault, 2020).

While the three articles differ in terms of periods, places, and environments, they are connected by centring the voices of Indigenous Peoples. They highlight the diversity of histories, views, representations, and future aspirations of Indigenous Peoples. This is why I asked Mariah to feature her statement of *"*we have to get really uncomfortable to get comfortable" (Personal Communication, 2022) as the title of this dissertation. While identifying colonial narratives based on violence and discrimination, which have benefited settlers for generations, may be uncomfortable, it represents a vital step toward truth, reconciliation, and healing. Considering the role that objects—whether they be postage stamps, pipelines, or beads—can play in shaping national narratives and public opinion, and their capacity to give voice to Indigenous Peoples through a variety of representations represents the focus of each of the following three case studies. In addition to representing Indigeneity, each object also contributes to making sense of places, spaces, and landscapes forming distinct Indigenous geographies, and have the capacity to shape our personal and collective imaginative geographies. Keeping this in mind, these case studies are by no means exhaustive. They are intended to introduce readers to several Indigenous experiences of place across diverse Indigenous geographies, in a concise and approachable manner. Together, they point to the importance of decolonization and

anticolonialism, and strive to stimulate further research into questions of representation and reconciliation.

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Place Them on a Stamp:
Inuit, Banal Colonialism, and the "Pioneer Experiment" of the High Arctic Relocations[10]

Abstract

Postage stamps are considered to be silent messengers of the state, capable of transmitting ideas, representations, and often politically-charged messages of what nation states wish to present to both domestic and international audiences. Building on calls for further research into the specific stories of individual stamps and their producers, this article focuses on the "Eskimo Hunter" stamp issued in 1955 by the Canadian Post Office Department. Representing one of the first Indigenous-themed stamps, it is argued that it can be read as an attempt by the federal government to both incorporate Inuit as full citizens of the state, while portraying the Arctic as a key geographic space belonging to the Canadian imagined community. Furthermore, a connection is made between the "Eskimo Hunter" stamp and the High Arctic Relocations, which took place in 1953 and 1955. Primarily initiated due to concerns following the precipitous drop in Arctic fox furs, several Inuit families were relocated from northern Québec and Baffin Island to uninhabited Cornwallis and Ellesmere Islands in the High Arctic, in what the federal government called a "pioneer experiment". The relocations also subtly served as a means of bolstering Canada's de facto sovereignty amid increased American presence in the region during the Cold War. By connecting the High Arctic Relocations with the "Eskimo Hunter" stamp as two nodes of a matrix of Postwar Canadian Arctic policy that sought to administer Inuit lives, bodies, and lands, it is argued that the stamp constitutes a prime example of what I term banal colonialism.

Keywords:

Indigenous Peoples, Inuit, Canada, Imagined community, Banal nationalism, Banal colonialism, Postage stamps, Arctic policy, High Arctic Relocations

[10] The text presented here is reproduced from the original article, which can be found in its original formatting in the Appendix and here: Dumas, Daniel. 2023. "Place Them on a Stamp: Inuit, Banal Colonialism, and the 'Pioneer Experiment' of the High Arctic Relocations." *Political Geography* 105: 102919. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2023.102919. Only the figure numbers have been changed to reflect the overall order of figures in this dissertation.

Introduction

By placing a stamp on an item and dropping it off at your local post office or mailbox, you are not only sending a letter or a parcel, you are sending off an idea. It is the tiniest of government documents, and as a result, remains an often overlooked messenger of the state (Raento, 2009, 2011; Raento & Brunn, 2005; Wood-Donnelly, 2017). As with other forms of state-controlled imagery, such as currency, flags, maps, and street names, stamps represent a visual medium laden with deep and layered meanings and can be considered as vehicles of visual nationalism (Brunn, 2000, 2023; Flusty, Dittmer, Gilbert, & Kuus, 2008; Raento & Brunn, 2005). The study of stamps provides a record of the past, present, and ongoing narratives adopted by nation-states across the world (Covington & Brunn, 2006). Indeed, stamps act as silent messengers of the state, creating a continuous historical and place-based visual body of each stamp-producing nation (Raento, 2009), depicting key figures, events, culture, flora, fauna, economic achievements, and various other elements vital to the creation and maintenance of a sound national identity. Geographer Stanley Brunn (2011) posits that they inform and educate both citizens of the home state and the international community about where they are, who they are, and what they are all about. Given the political and ideological nature of stamps, they contribute to the 'imagined community' of a nation (Anderson, 2016), which seeks to bring its members together to find common identity ground through the use of what Michael Billig (1995) terms 'banal nationalism', a mundane method of building a nation's identity through the unassuming and normalized nature of circulation of banal products such as postage stamps (Raento & Brunn, 2008).

For political geographers, stamps are of particular worth and relevance given their union of political identity and popular iconography (Raento, 2011), with calls for more in-depth studies of stamps, their creators, and the decision bodies or 'gatekeepers' responsible for their issuance (Brunn, 2023; Covington & Brunn, 2006; Penrose, 2011; Raento & Brunn, 2005). Building on the existing literature regarding stamps and their role and impact as silent messengers of the state, this article seeks to answer this call by bringing to light a widely distributed Canadian postage stamp issued in 1955 and considers how it contributed to national identity building (Raento & Brunn, 2005,

2008).The “Eskimo Hunter” stamp[11] released by the Canadian Post Office Department depicts an Inuk hunter seated in a qajaq (kayak) resting on calm Arctic waters with an iceberg in the background and a plane flying overhead (see Figure 4). The 10-cent stamp was printed over 300 million times, a large issue compared to other stamps during this period (Postage Stamp Guide, 2022b). The Eskimo Hunter was only the second Canadian stamp to prominently feature Indigenous Peoples. Employing a methodology that allows a close ‘reading’ and critical content analysis of the stamp (Raento & Brunn, 2005; Rose, 2016; Zeigler, 2002), it is argued that the Eskimo Hunter stamp acted as an auxiliary method and proxy method- ology of the state (Wood-Donnelly, 2017), to both incorporate Inuit and traditional territories into the Canadian national imagined community while also—much more subtly—promoting Canada’s effective occupation of the Arctic.

Figure 4. The **“**Eskimo Hunter” stamp (Library and Archives Canada, 1955).

[11] ‘Esquimax’, ‘Esquimaux’, and ‘Eskimo’ are outdated and widely considered to be derogatory terms that refer to Inuit (Kaplan, n.d.). For the purposes of this paper ‘Inuit’ and ‘Inuk’ (referring to one person), are privileged, and ‘Eskimo’ and ‘Natives’ are used solely when referring to direct mentions in philatelic and governmental documents.

Additionally, it is suggested that the stamp represented but one of many strategies to shore up Canadian interests in the region at this time and was part of a broader matrix of state-sanctioned policies to secure Arctic sovereignty. I advance that the stamp, as an auxiliary method of furthering the Arctic national narrative, was in fact directly connected to the physical method of relocating Inuit families to the High Arctic in the 1950s. Labelled as a "pioneer experiment", the relocation program sought to move struggling hunters and their families from areas of depleted game in northern Québec to new hunting grounds in the High Arctic. While humanitarian causes (and the subsequent reduction of relief costs) were the primary motivations for the relocations (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994), it has been suggested that the move to the uninhabited Ellesmere and Cornwallis Islands also contributed to the Canadianization of the Arctic and the bolstering of Canada's *de facto* sovereignty in the region in the face of increased American activity during and after the Second World War, a view also held by many of the survivors of the relocation (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994; Audlaluk, 2020). The state's role in coercing Inuit to relocate 2000 km north into challenging and isolated environments, which separated them from both extended kinship networks and bodies of traditional Indigenous and ecological knowledge, is a clear manifestation of the Settler colonial state's use of biopower to physically relocate and assimilate Inuit into the Canadian body politic (Foucault, 2020; Morgensen, 2011). It is therefore argued that the relocations and the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp were different—but related—methods employed by the Canadian state to both visually and physically bolster Canada's effective occupation of the High Arctic and contributed to the incorporation of the Canadian North as a cornerstone of national identity (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994).

This article's main objective is to establish the link between *the Eskimo Hunter* and the High Arctic Relocations. The image portrayed on the stamp itself was a semiotic and symbolic relocation of Inuit as it inserted Inuit in what della Dora (2009) calls a travelling-landscape object that utilized their image in order to circulate a narrative both within domestic and international postal networks (Brunn, 2000, 2023; Covington & Brunn, 2006; Raento & Brunn, 2005, 2008). Building on Billig's concept of banal nationalism (1995),

the postage stamp represents a prime example of what I term ‘banal colonialism’ as it subtly circulates a visual representation of the land-centered project of the Canadian Settler state, which rather than erasing Inuit from the imagined Arctic landscape, relocates and redefines them as governable subjects serving specific state interests.

Postage Stamps: Silent Messengers of the State

Philately—the study of postage stamps—has garnered an extensive amount of interest in academic literature across several fields, but most notably within cultural and political geography. Geographer Pauliina Raento (2009) suggests that stamps have been instrumental in providing a positive image of one’s hometown or homeland and thus promote nation-unifying pride. Critical here is the role of the state in nurturing this form of nationalism, as “national elites have invested considerable effort in selecting this imagery ... [as] it has power to ‘guide’ national identity-political ‘fiction’ and reaches both domestic and foreign audiences” (Raento, 2009, p. 125). Stamps can therefore be considered as idealized images representing specific narratives the state wishes to embody, and they therefore both ‘make’ and ‘perform’ the nation in domestic and international postal traffic (Raento & Brunn, 2005). Wood-Donnelly echoes this by stating “Postage stamps are often considered as silent messengers of the state and as such, they deliver a message charged with a politicized narrative” (2017, p. 239). She points out that to fulfill their primary function of providing proof of payment for postal services, there is little reason why stamps should have any imagery at all (Wood-Donnelly, 2017), and thus the use of visuals—albeit tiny ones—reveals their secondary function as messengers of the state (Brunn, 2011; Child, 2005) and their importance as “tiny pieces of visual history” (Brunn, 2023, p. 2).

Two key concepts are of particular use when considering the national-identity building power stamps yield (Covington & Brunn, 2006; Raento, 2009; Raento & Brunn, 2005, 2008) and have been widely employed in analyses of what Brunn (2011) calls the ‘philatelic state’. These include Benedict Anderson’s ‘imagined community’ and Michael

Billig's 'banal nationalism' (Anderson, 2016; Billig, 1995). Anderson's term points to the fostering of common associations that transcend social, political, and economic boundaries in the creation of imagined communities that exceed the physical boundaries of states (2016). Conversely, Billig's banal nationalism constitutes "a whole complex of beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices" (1995, p. 7), that are continuously circulated through the everyday and normalized use of banal mediums such as postage stamps. Raento and Brunn (2008, p. 50) theorize that:

> Stamps serve the construction of an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991[2016]) through 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995) by guaranteeing the visibility of the patria in quotidian landscapes and preventing its citizens from forgetting who they are (or are expected to be) and where they (are expected to) belong.

Covington and Brunn (2006) further touch on this notion of national community building, suggesting that postage stamps are an "important subtle, but visible, way to promote a state's culture, tradition, and heritage" (p.126). For these reasons, postage stamps represent clear vehicles of visual nationalism (Brunn, 2023). Currency, flags, maps, and place/street naming are also other vehicles of visual nationalism (Raento & Brunn, 2005). Using Scottish banknotes as an example, Penrose (2011) suggests that the visual symbolism on official products of "the state" plays an important role in both constructing nations and legitimizing states, something of particular importance in times of political transition or new nation-building (Brunn, 2000, 2011, 2023). As a result, they help reify the imagined national community as images, and by extension certain narratives, become emblematic of the nation-state (Penrose, 2011). Deans and Dobson (2005) contend that "stamps can and should be read as texts, often with expressly political purposes or agendas which are conveyed through the images they depict" (p. 3). Raento and Brunn reiterate this by stating that "their 'reading' as political, socioculturally and territorially specific texts offers valuable insights into the evolution and outlook of the issuing state and the 'imagined community' within its boundaries" (2005, p. 146). Indeed, the postage stamp's utility as a semiotic transmitter of state identity and policy has been highly effective (Wood-Donnelly, 2017). These "idealized images" act as effective communication tools between leaders, masses, allies, and enemies, and can act as visual

representations of territorial claims (Brunn, 2011; Raento, 2009), delivering politically-charged messages whose imageries contain both ‘whispers’ and ‘shouts’, referring to both subtle and overt expressions of visual nationalism, highlighting the difficult line drawn between persuasion and propaganda (Raento & Brunn, 2005; Zeigler, 2002).

The idea that stamps can embody places is a particularly relevant line of study for geographers. Given their widely distributed nature, stamps have the capacity to shape our imagined perception of both places close to home and faraway lands. Cresswell (2015) suggests that paraphernalia of national ideology, such as stamps, help nation-states hold their inhabitants together; they represent conscious investments of effort to give regions histories and identities in order to make them more place-like and therefore more intelligible to their designated populations. The power of stamps to embody geographical imaginations about places to which we are entirely disconnected makes postage stamps an ideal example of what della Dora defines as travelling landscape-objects. These objects are portable graphic images that act as dynamic vehicles for the circulation of places through space and time (della Dora, 2009). Complimenting the existing literature, della Dora’s concept also points to the capacity of travelling landscape-objects to yield ideological implications and to actively shape geographical imaginations (2009). Building on this, the next section focuses on one stamp-producing nation, Canada, whose long issuing history dating back to 1851 provides ample designs and topics from which to discern what was celebrated, commemorated, honored, and considered worthy (Covington & Brunn, 2006), and considers how its postage stamps actively shaped the geographical imagination of both Canadian citizens and the international community.

Canadian Philately

The postal service is a cornerstone of every newly founded nation and as Deans and Dobson suggest, “is perceived to be a mark of modernity and of sovereignty” (2005, p. 3). Every stamp-producing nation has its particular history and role within the establishment of a national narrative. Brunn (2011) argues that the design on both stamps and currency, and the language of a new constitution, are among the most important early

symbolic decisions at the state level. It is therefore not surprising that the Canadian Post Office Department's first stamp issue on April 23, 1851, the three-penny beaver, became the emblem of the then colony, one that is still largely present today (Mika & Mika, 1967). With Confederation in 1867, the Post Office Department was directed to assist Canada's social and economic development, by extending the postal network across the country and connecting all Canadians (Adie, 1990). The promise of improved mail service was one of the driving factors for enticing new provinces (such as British Columbia and Prince Edward Island) to join Confederation and helped justify massive infrastructural projects such as the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway completed in 1885 (Adie, 1990). These efforts were not simply an impetus for improving the postal service, but as Winder (2012, pp. 1830–1910) notes, constituted a project of territorial expansion across North America that emulated European imperialism.

Geographer Cole Harris (2004) suggests that imperialism is ideologically driven from the center while colonialism is a set of activities on the periphery that are revealed as practice. In order to open up new territories for Canadian settlers, the project of settler colonialism required what Kanien'kehá:ka anthropologist Audra Simpson has qualified as a "territorial possession by some and, thus, a dispossession of others" (2011, p. 205). Harris suggests that a geography of resettlement was vital to achieving this goal, with the postal network playing a key role in the creation of a new human geography imbricated with survey lines, property boundaries, roads, highways, farms, industrial camps, and towns (Harris, 2004). The Canadian postal service was therefore a vital component of the Settler Canadian government's geography of resettlement. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were approximately 10,000 post offices operating across the country (Campbell, 2002). This transcontinental network progressively expanded with the advent of new technologies, with mail being delivered by horseback, steamboat, rail, and finally by air, resulting not only in the compression of physical distances between places, but also strengthening ties within the nation. During a structural review of Canada Post (the Crown Corporation created in 1980 to assume the responsibilities of the Canadian Post Office Department), the parliamentary review panel stated that "because Canada Post is present in virtually every community across the country, this corporation—probably more

than any other institution—is the day-to-day face of the Government of Canada" (Campbell, 2002, p. 303).

Canadian postage stamps have contributed to shaping the national imagined community and are a prime example of Billig's banal nationalism (1995). As with many other stamp-producing nations, Canadian stamps feature prominent figures, emblematic flora and fauna, culture and art, industrial achievements, and commemorate important anniversaries, amongst many other themes. Given Canada's unique history and geography, especially as a Settler nation, Indigenous Peoples and cultures have also come to feature extensively on stamp designs. Although this could be interpreted as celebrating the country's Indigenous roots, considering the role stamps play as silent messengers of the state it can be argued that stamps were used as a means of what Patrick Wolfe (2006) defines as 'recuperating Indigeneity'. He states that this is a process through which Settler states, such as Canada, propagate the idea that they are in essence 'Indigenous Nations', with a distinct history and culture, thus furthering them from their former identities as European colonial outposts (Wolfe, 2006). Mona Domosh (2006) exemplifies this process of using Indigeneity to brand the nation by pointing to the use of Indigenous symbols on American household products as they were useful nationalistic reminders of the United States' distinct yet remote past.

Read in another light, prominently featuring Indigenous Peoples as national iconography could also be considered as a "Settler move to innocence", on behalf of the Settler nation. Tuck and Yang (2012) qualify these actions as attempts to "relieve the settler of feelings of guilt and responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all" (p. 10). Given Canada's early history of actively trying to extinguish, enfranchise, and assimilate Indigenous Peoples into Settler society, its choice to portray Indigenous Peoples and cultures on stamps can be read as both a Settler state move to innocence and a prime example of recuperating Indigeneity for nation-building purposes. These processes have occurred in a myriad of different ways such as featuring Indigenous art on banknotes and 'Indigenizing' large international events such as the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games (Perry & Kang, 2012).

Relating back to Anderson and Billig's concepts of imagined community and banal nationalism, I suggest that Indigenous-themed stamps directly contributed to the

construction of a national identity that sought to recuperate Indigeneity in order to incorporate Indigenous Peoples into the Canadian body politic for a variety of political purposes such as extending its real and imaginary geographic boundaries. As such, I contend that the use of Indigenous iconography on Canadian stamps can be read as a form of *banal colonialism*. This article now turns to the study of one particular stamp, the *Eskimo Hunter*, considering how it incorporated Inuit and High Arctic territories into the Canadian imagined community. In order to effectively understand how this stamp represents a form of banal colonialism, a methodological tool-kit is provided in the following section.

Methodology

The original idea for this project stemmed from my graduate studies at the University of Ottawa where I also worked as a research assistant for the Institute of Indigenous Research and Studies. In the context of an Indigenous research seminar, I thought to study the use of Indigenous iconography on Canadian postage stamps in large part thanks to inspiration from an initial article I read in *Political Geography* by Pauliina Raento (2009). Having previously done archival work in the context of my research assistant role, I decided to consult the online catalogue of Library and Archives Canada (LAC), as they include the Canada Post archives, using the key search words 'Indigenous', 'First Nations', 'Metis', 'Inuit' in combination with 'stamp.' A variety of issues across several decades were retrieved; however, the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp, issued in 1955 immediately stood out to me as it was the first Canadian stamp to prominently feature an Indigenous person, instead of cultural markers such as the *Pacific coast Indian house* issued two years before in 1953 (Library and Archives Canada, 1953). I cross-referenced the information regarding the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp from LAC with information found on the Postage Stamp Guide (PSG), a catalogue of all Canadian stamps issued since the founding of the Canadian Post Office Department in 1851 (Postage Stamp Guide, 2022a). According to the PSG, the *Eskimo Hunter*, originally issued in 1955 was printed approximately 300 million times, making it one of the most widely distributed stamps of

the period, only rivalled in production by stamp issues of members of the Royal Family, including the then newly crowned Queen Elizabeth II (Postage Stamp Guide, 2022c).

After returning to the stamp some years later, and having familiarized myself with more of the existing literature on postage stamps as forms of visual nationalism, I wished to 'read' the *Eskimo Hunter* following certain criteria. Many stamp analyses draw upon American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce's three-part typology of semiotics—the study of signs and the messages they contain. Peirce's typology, "The Trichotomy of Signs" classifies a sign as either index, icon or symbol. Whereas an index points to something (such as country of origin or monetary value in the case of stamps), an icon is a pictorial representation, and a symbol, a conventional sign that stands for something else (Child, 2005). Of particular interest to this study is the icon, which as Child explains, "it is in the selection of the icon that a government makes a conscious choice of what message is to be delivered and how" (Child, 2005, p. 114). Raento and Brunn (2005) develop a detailed methodology for the critical content analysis of postage stamps in the context of their work on Finnish stamps in the twentieth century. Drawing on Rose's notion of 'reading the visual' (2016) and Zeigler's work related to the use of understated spatial imagery in order to deliver political messages through 'whispers' and 'shouts' (2002), Raento and Brunn suggest that a close 'reading' of postage stamps reveals layers of embedded meaning (2005). Their methodology suggests 1) identifying who and what is in the picture, while also examining the stamp's date and purpose of issue, and 2) proceeding to 'assess the story' reported and represented by the state, "and to ask how that depiction matches competing versions of the same history" (Raento & Brunn, 2005, p. 149).

Building on this, Wood-Donnelly's study of Arctic-themed stamps issued by Canada, the United States, and Russia proves instrumental given her compilation of a database of all stamps featuring Arctic motifs from these three countries, which as of 2010 totaled 212 postage stamps—with 77 originating from Canada (2017). She asserts that stamps serve as an auxiliary method of demonstrating effective occupation of each country's Arctic territories. As such, they represent what Wood-Donnelly refers to as a proxy methodology that 'performs' policy, thus contributing toward relative sovereignty becoming a reality (Wood-Donnelly, 2017, 2019). They were therefore a useful form of

domestic propaganda that reinforced a national identity and agenda based on the idea that large portions of the Arctic were under their jurisdiction, ideas that were also circulated to an international audience through postal traffic, resulting in wider impact (Brunn, 2000, 2023; Covington & Brunn, 2006; Deans & Dobson, 2005; Raento & Brunn, 2005, 2008; Wood-Donnelly, 2017).

The database provided by Wood-Donnelly (2017) was coded according to five key iconographic themes including: 1) Nature; 2) Exploration; 3) Maps, Flags, and Territory; 4) Occupancy; and 5) Indigenous Inhabitants and Culture. These were then connected to key policy objectives found in contemporary Arctic governmental documents, including sovereignty, security, economic development, and environmental protection. Interestingly, Wood-Donnelly points out that "for all states, production of stamps depicting images of the Arctic increases during the Cold War, correlating with insecurity fears in the region" (2017, p. 244). This is precisely the period during which the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp was released. Child echoes this, stating that stamps have been linked to inter-state strains, usually over border and sovereignty issues (Child, 2005).

While Wood-Donnelly provides an overview of all Arctic stamps and connects them with the issue of Arctic sovereignty, this article focuses on the story and role of the *Eskimo Hunter*, one of the stamps included in her database. Therefore, building on Wood-Donnelly's study and classification system in addition to employing strategies on how best to 'read' stamps as both texts (Deans & Dobson, 2005; Raento & Brunn, 2005; Rose, 2016), and instances of visual nationalism (Brunn, 2023), the next section details how the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp came to be and more importantly, considers its role within Canada's Arctic policy at the time. This follows the methodology outlined by Raento and Brunn (2005) in order to critically analyze the stamp's content and treat it as a socio-culturally and temporally constructed political-geographic text.

Specifically, I propose that the issuance of this particular stamp served a key role in Canada's attempt to amalgamate both Inuit and the Arctic into its national 'imagined community'. This was done at the same time the federal government was asserting greater administrative control over the region. Following an analysis of the stamp, a summary of the High Arctic Relocations utilizing key primary and secondary resources is provided. Most notably, archival records of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)

from 1953 to 1968 were consulted, as it was RCMP officials who were largely responsible for the administration of the relocated Inuit communities on Cornwallis and Ellesmere Islands. By connecting the banal and physical actions of the state, this analysis bridges the gap between the symbolic and semiotic nature of the stamp with the lived experiences of Inuit survivors who were relocated to the High Arctic. Ultimately, the *Eskimo Hunter* served as a prime example of what Wood-Donnelly refers to as a proxy methodology to both demonstrate and symbolically bolster its effective occupation of the Arctic to domestic and international audiences, making it not only a form of banal nationalism, but an instance of what I term banal colonialism.

The Eskimo Hunter Stamp

Canadian stamps featuring Indigenous Peoples did not appear until the 1950s, a period that coincided with the ushering in of new policies towards Indigenous Peoples, notably amendments to the Indian Act in 1951, which removed several—but certainly not all—of the discriminatory policies it enforced (Dickason & McNab, 2009). Additionally, the idea of the 'Welfare State' was widely supported within policy circles, with the goal of extending social citizenship and its rights and responsibilities to all citizens. The objective was to create a 'Just Society', where all—Indigenous Peoples included—had access to a reasonable standard of living (Loo, 2019). Achieving the Just Society became a cornerstone of Liberal government policy, which also sought to embrace multiculturalism while treating all citizens on equal terms. This of course neglected the special relationship that the Government, and by extension, the Crown shared with Indigenous Peoples. Hence, when Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau suggested repealing the Indian Act in his government's 1969 White Paper, thereby ending the status of First Nations Treaty signatories, an uproar ignited within Indigenous Nations, leading some Indigenous leaders to qualify Canada as an 'Unjust Society' (Cardinal, 2013). Nevertheless, this shift in national identity, looking to broaden its horizons and include Canadians coming from multiple cultural backgrounds had reverberations throughout government policy, including stamp designs.

In line with calls for further research regarding the decision bodies (or 'gatekeepers') responsible for stamp designs and issues (Covington & Brunn, 2006; Penrose, 2011; Raento & Brunn, 2005), it is important to take a closer look at the culture and politics of stamp design at the time of the *Eskimo Hunter*'s issue date. Starting in the 1950s, the Canadian Post Office Department introduced significant changes to its design and selection process. A new selective committee was created in 1951, to commission a series of stamps designed by Canadian artists to capture the character of Canada and Canadian art in recognition of the 100th anniversary of the Post Office Department (Canadian Philatelic Society, 1951). Chaired by future Governor General Vincent Massey, the committee was tasked with selecting designs according to five main categories including "(a) Secondary industries of Canada; (b) well-known wildflowers of Canada; (c) The larger animals of Canada; (d) portraits of Canadian Indians or Esquimax [sic], or designs based on native life; (e) Outdoor activities and scenes" (Canadian Philatelic Society, 1951, p. 4). The Canadian Philatelic Review summarized the campaign by stating, "if such a plan is successfully worked out, it will not only be a boon to our Canadian artists, but should also provide Canada with new stamps in the future which will keep our nation well to the fore-front of the world's stamp designing countries" (Canadian Philatelic Society, 1951, p. 4).

Four years after the creation of this selective committee, on February 21, 1955, the Canadian Post Office Department issued the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp (Figure 4). The *Eskimo Hunter* was the first Canadian philatelic representation of Inuit and one of the first to portray Indigenous Peoples. The 10-cent stamp, designed by Canadian artist Thomas Harold Beament, features an Inuk in a *qajaq* (kayak) resting on calm waters with an iceberg looming in the background. Given the presence of the iceberg and the attire of the Inuk, it is clear that the scene represents an Arctic or Subarctic environment. Interestingly, as can be seen in the upper left portion of the stamp, a plane is flying in the direction of the iceberg and the hunter. Referring back to Wood-Donnelly's classification system of Arctic stamps, the *Eskimo Hunter* touches upon several of the iconographic themes she defined including *Nature*, *Occupancy*, and *Indigenous Inhabitants and Cultures* (2017). Also, according to Peirce's typology, the stamp includes various signs with the Inuk hunter, iceberg, and plane serving as the prime icons. At first glance, the

stamp seems like a relatively harmless representation of Inuit life, and as one of the first stamps to feature Indigenous Peoples, it could be suggested as a turning point in cultural representation in line with the idea of the Just Society and Welfare State.

However, connecting back to the arguments of the previously outlined stamp literature, it is clear that the *Eskimo Hunter* serves national identity purposes contributing to an imagined community that highlights Canada's efforts to both incorporate Inuit into Canadian society while subtly portraying its effective occupation of the North. Furthermore, given its extremely high issue volume, over 300 million copies were made (Postage Stamp Guide, 2022b), and its lower value, which maximized circulation (Raento & Brunn, 2005), the *Eskimo Hunter* represents an excellent example of banal nationalism and as I've suggested, more specifically of banal colonialism. As Emilie Cameron (2015) suggests colonialism involves "the dispossession and occupation of Indigenous lands, the establishment and maintenance of economic and political domination, and the production and promulgation of knowledge and ideas that rationalize uneven, hierarchical, exploitative relations" (p. 17). 'Reading' the stamp with this in mind, one can see specific elements of this colonial project at play as an attempt to portray the Arctic as a Canadian territory—take for instance the placement of the large capital letters C-A-N-A-D-A at the top of the stamp.

Another reading of the stamp implies a popular narrative of progress at the time. The presence of both a traditional hunter and an airplane soaring above brings together what might be conceived as a distant past and a bright future. As Domosh (2006) details, this narrative of progress featuring an Indigenous figure watching the approach of modernity is a reoccurring one in many advertisements. This is representative of a western scale of civilization in which the Indigenous onlooker represents the past, and is looking towards the future embodied by technologies of progress (Domosh, 2006; McClintock, 1995; Winder, 2009). As Winder (2009) suggests, the position of the Indigenous 'other' is perilous in the face of technologies that are "destined to sweep aside entire ways of life" (p. 336). Settler nations have normalized the 'grand march of civilization', a linear progression from primitive (or 'savage') cultures to 'civilized' forms of modern life and society. Thus when policies of extermination were abandoned by Settler nations, assimilating Indigenous Peoples into what was considered civilization, became

the primary strategy—embodied by the harmful practices such as residential and day schools (Domosh, 2006; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). Referring to the experiences of Inuit, who came into contact relatively late with the settler colonial nation, they were expected to agreeably comply with federal plans for their 'advancement' and 'modernization' (Cameron, 2015). In the context of the Welfare State in the postwar era, Cameron advances that there was a will to improve the conditions of Inuit and fully incorporate them into Canadian society, and that "government laws and services were implemented with the intention of helping, improving, and transforming Inuit into better citizens" (2015, p. 123). However, Cameron continues by suggesting that this increased intervention in the lives of Inuit was a means of "shaping governable subjects, in remaking the relations between Inuit and their lands, homes, and bodies, so as to create a wholly new North and a wholly new Indigenous subject" (2015, p. 138). As a result, Inuit and their lands could be governed, administered, and ordered in a 'modernized' way the government best saw fit.

Taking this context into consideration, the *Eskimo Hunter* therefore can be 'read' as a call for Inuit (represented by the hunter) to be integrated as full members of Canadian society, embracing the exciting new benefits of modernity (as represented by the plane), a policy actively in place at the time. Read in another light however, the *Eskimo Hunter* is depicted as an occupant of the North, leaving no room for the questioning of Canada's effective occupation of the region, with a plane patrolling the nation's territories for good measure. Considering the *Eskimo Hunter*'s date of issuance, I suggest that the rationale for producing a stamp featuring Inuit and Arctic icons, used understated spatial and cultural imagery to deliver politically-charged messages (Raento & Brunn, 2005; Zeigler, 2002). As Wood-Donnelly (2017) confirms, most Arctic-themed stamps were released during the Cold War, primarily due to fears of insecurity in the region. Furthermore, she shares that rather than highlighting the region's imperial origins (jurisdiction over the Canadian Arctic was transferred from Great Britain in 1880), the Canadian government recalibrated its emphasis towards sovereignty based on Inuit occupancy "since time immemorial" (Wood-Donnelly, 2017, p. 251). The *Eskimo Hunter* began circulation in the mid-1950s in the early stages of the Cold War and at a time when there was concern over Canada's *de facto* sovereignty in the High Arctic given increased activity and interest from

the United States in the region (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994; Lowther,1990; Farish,2010).

Since the incorporation of Alaska into the Union, the US had a vested interest and foothold in the Arctic. Often, officials questioned the legitimacy of Canadian claims to the High Arctic and suggested that the Northwest Passage, a crucial northern route of transportation, should be considered as an international waterway (Wood-Donnelly, 2017). Despite these tensions, during the Second World War, both Canada and the US collaborated on developing Arctic infrastructure in order to facilitate the transport of troops and to bolster the potential defense of the region should an invasion be attempted (Lowther, 1990). This included most notably the construction of several airfields and weather stations across the region. However, the presence of the US Army in the region led some to suggest that the Canadian Arctic was indeed under American control, prompting the Canadian government to purchase all American-built air bases and weather stations in an attempt to Canadianize the North (Lowther, 1990). Following the Second World War, however, increased American interest in the High Arctic was garnered due to the risk of a possible attack of the Soviet Union on the US via the Canadian Arctic, a region considered to be “wide open at the top” (Farish, 2010, p. 174). Monitoring the Arctic was therefore seen as being vital to continental defense and prompted further projects such as the Defense Early Warning (DEW) Line, which created a network of radomes (radar domes) stretching from Alaska to Iceland to raise the alarm should an airborne invasion be launched (Farish, 2010). Given the increased and continued fixation of US policy-makers on the Arctic, Canadian officials were not only preoccupied with control over the region’s infrastructure but wished to have more people on the ground. Canada’s *de jure* sovereignty was not under threat but rather its *de facto* sovereignty could potentially be weakened if the US were effectively administering the region (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994). As the “Administrator of the Arctic” Ben Sivertz stated, “The Canadian Government is anxious to have Canadians occupying as much of the north as possible and it [appears] that in many cases the Eskimo [are] the only people capable of doing this” (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 117). Prime Minister Louis S. St. Laurent was perhaps more direct in his view of the matter when in December 1953, he stated before the House of Commons that Canadians, “must

leave no doubt about active occupation and exercise of our sovereignty in these northern lands right up to the pole" (Lowther, 1990, p. 119).

The idea to relocate Inuit families to the High Arctic due to rising relief costs associated with the downturn of the fur trade had been in existence and practice, although it had not been deemed successful up until that point (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). While the relocations represented primarily humanitarian efforts, it has been proven that relocating Inuit further north to the High Arctic had the benefit of bolstering Canada's *de facto* sovereignty over the region (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994). These were the types of policies and plans being undertaken by the federal government at the time of the issuance of the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp. While it can be argued that the stamp served as an auxiliary method of asserting Canadian Arctic sovereignty, other, more drastic measures also served as a means of bolstering Canada's presence in the region, namely the High Arctic Relocations of Inuit families to Ellesmere and Cornwallis Islands starting in 1953. Referring back to Wood-Donnelly's criteria, the *Eskimo Hunter* can be read as directly attached to the key policy adjective of *sovereignty*. I suggest taking this one step further by connecting the *Eskimo Hunter* to the High Arctic Relocations, as being two interrelated elements of Canadian Arctic policy. The stamp, widely circulated to domestic and international audiences, played into the narrative of the Arctic as being inhabited and patrolled by Inuit, in tandem with the relocation of Inuit to the northernmost areas of the High Arctic, leaving no room for doubt of Canada's effective occupation of the region. While these represent two vastly different methods—one symbolic, the other physical—I contend that they were connected and that framing the events of the High Arctic Relocations with the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp is an important pursuit in bringing to life the lived experiences of those represented on the stamp.

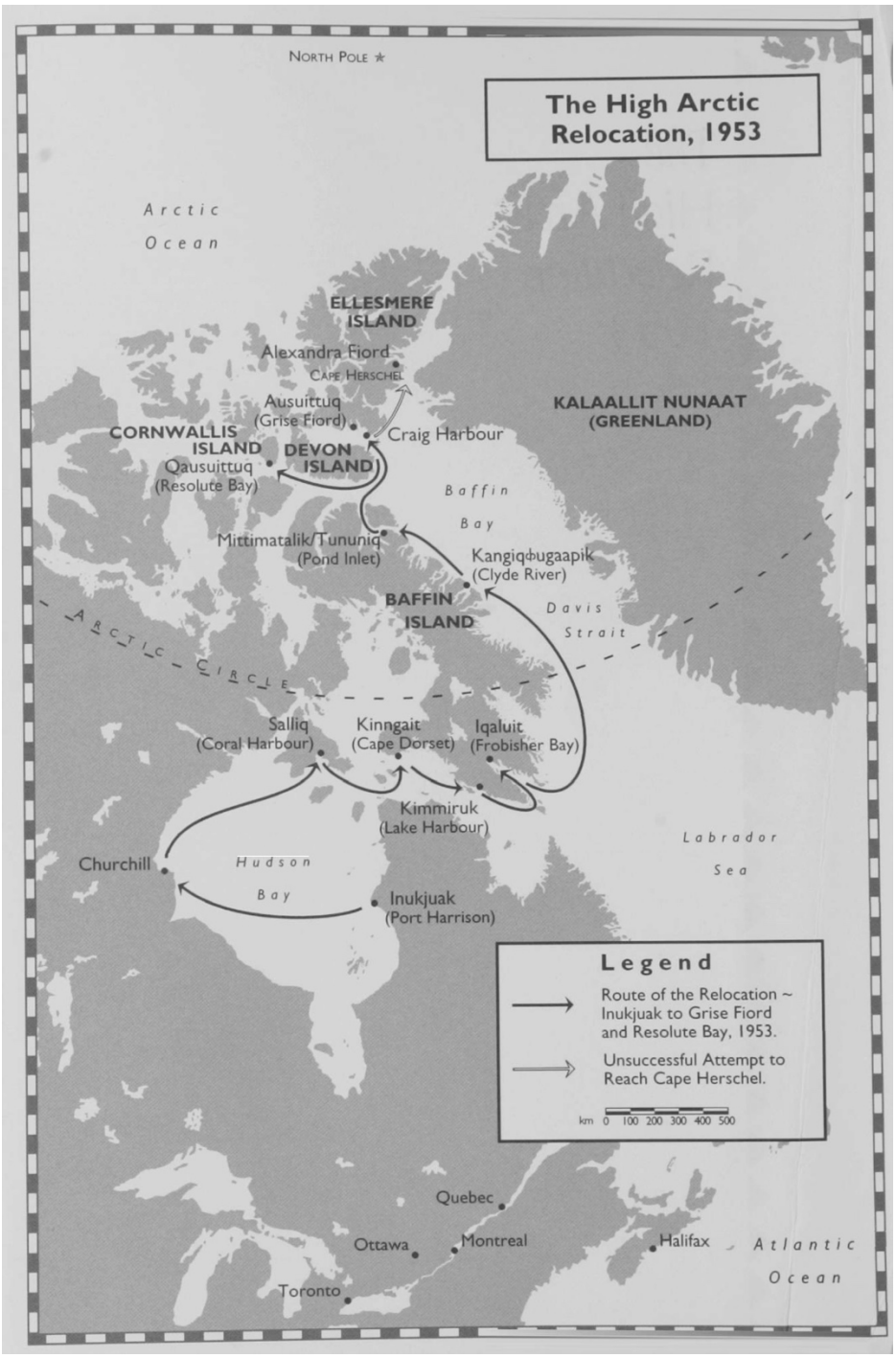
The "Pioneer Experiment" of the High Arctic Relocations

The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, responsible for Inuit Affairs at the time, proposed the idea of relocating Inuit to the High Arctic in the early 1950s. Against the backdrop of increased government intervention into the lives of Inuit and the will to improve their circumstances in the context of the Welfare State as suggested by

Cameron (2015), it was proposed that several Inuit families from the “overcrowded” settlement of Inukjuak located on the eastern shore of Hudson’s Bay (formerly known as Port Harrison) be relocated. Inuit hunters had been struggling due to the precipitous drop in the prices of Arctic fox furs following the Second World War and had been dependent on the state for support for a number of years (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994; Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). As historian Tina Loo (2019) points out, “Not only would forced relocation prevent welfare dependency, but, in the view of Ottawa’s bureaucrats, it would preserve Inuit culture, and in the case of the High Arctic Relocations, maintain Canadian sovereignty” (p. 19). Department records clearly reflect this view with statements such as those by key relocation architect Alex Stevenson who stated, “Why not give the natives [sic] a chance to cover this country and also if it is considered necessary improve the position regarding sovereignty rights” (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 121). In their seminal work on the High Arctic Relocations, Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski detail the government’s various relocation programs throughout the Eastern Arctic, most notably the relocation of Inuit families to Ellesmere and Cornwallis Islands. They state that families in Inukjuak were approached by RCMP constable Ross Gibson who read them a telegram strongly encouraging them to move to uninhabited lands with plentiful game to the north and that they could return two years later if they were not satisfied (Audlaluk, 2020). It is important to note, that at the time, RCMP officials and other *Qallunaaq* (non-Inuit) were often feared and Inuit felt obliged to comply with their directives (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994).

As a result, on July 28, 1953, the self-proclaimed “pioneer experiment” of the High Arctic Relocations was initiated when seven Inuit families from Inukjuak, and shortly after three families from Pond Inlet on Baffin Island, were brought aboard the Canadian Coast Guard ship, the *C.D. Howe*, and transported two thousand kilometers north to the furthest reaches of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994) (see Map 2). Shortly after leaving, it was announced that the families would be split into two groups (previously unbeknownst to them), with one group travelling to Resolute Bay on Cornwallis Island where a military air base was located, and another to Lindstrom Peninsula on Ellesmere Island, which would later become the community of Grise Fiord. Despite bringing three families from Pond Inlet who were accustomed to the High Arctic

conditions, the first years at the settlements proved extremely difficult for the relocated families. As relocation survivor Larry Audlaluk (2020) describes in his memoir *What I Remember, What I Know: The Life of a High Arctic Exile*, detailing his and his family's experience relocating to Grise Fiord, the first two years were the hardest due in large part to the extended dark season from November to February and the high winds that prevented the accumulation of snow necessary for the construction of igloos. Speaking specifically about the darkness, Audlaluk shares that "The dark season was a total surprise to my relatives. This neglect had a lasting psychological effect on the adults. I have no doubt it was one of the contributing factors in shortening my father's and mother's lives" (Audlaluk, 2020, p. 23). The families at Ellesmere Island initially slept in tents while those at Resolute Bay assembled make-shift housing, often using discarded materials from the nearby air base (see Figure 5). This in addition to missing supplies, poor rifles for hunting, few lamps, and inadequate clothing, highlighted the haphazard and rushed nature of the relocations, which Constable Ross even acknowledged saying "more time and thought could have been applied" (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 183).



Map 2. Map of High Arctic Relocations including route of Canadian Coast Guard ship C.D. Howe in 1953. Source: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, The High Arctic Relocation: A Report on the 1953–55 Relocation, 1994.

Oversight of Inuit in these initial years was what Tester and Kulchyski have termed as totalizing, with the state deciding where they lived and with continuous RCMP surveillance over their daily lives (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). Furthermore it represents a real example of Michel Foucault's concept of biopower in practice, where the state employs disciplinary technologies to both regulate and control bodies (Foucault, 2020). This disciplinary technology and will to control Inuit was embodied by the RCMP. Despite pleas from relocatees to return, they were rejected or told that they would need to pay for their own passage, and as Audlaluk summarizes, "It is clear that we were prisoners in our country, and Ellesmere Island was our Prison Island" (Audlaluk, 2020, p. 40). Important to note here is that the Inuit experience of settler colonialism was vastly different to that of First Nations and Metis Peoples in the South. It was not until after the Second World War, that the Canadian state swiftly and comprehensively interfered into the lives of Inuit, largely influenced by the Supreme Court of Canada's ruling in 1939 that Inuit affairs were in fact the responsibility of the federal government under Section 91 (24) of the British North America Act of 1867 (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). As Kulchyski and Tester (2007) summarize, "in less than a decade, policy makers went from the assumption that Inuit should be left on their own to fend for themselves to a policy of massive interference" (p. 6). The Canadian state's 'modernization' efforts, largely based on the introduction of wage employment, permanent housing, and settlement housing, were seen as means of undermining the traditional Inuit hunting regime and absorbing Inuit into the dominant norms of Canadian society (Kulchyski & Tester, 2007). In order to achieve this program of 'modernization', Inuit were subjected to a series of state interventions, of which the High Arctic Relocations were a part, including colonial policies such as compulsory residential and day schooling (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015), the Canadian state's regulation of Inuit hunting practices (Kulchyski & Tester, 2007), and the promotion of extractive industries, starting with the opening of the North Rankin Nickel Mine in 1957 (Bernauer, 2019). As stated, the federal government was intent on transforming Inuit into governable subjects, which represented a key component of a larger attempt to remake Inuit lands, homes, and bodies, with Inuit "expected to happily consent to their modernization" (Cameron, 2015, p. 178).

Figure 5. Initial Inuit housing at Resolute Bay. Gary Lunne/National Film Board of Canada. Photothèque/Library and Archives Canada/PA-19142, 1956.

Figure 6. Kyak family aboard the C.D. Howe on one of the ship's annual visits to Grise Fiord. Source: Health Canada/Library and Archives Canada /e002216381, 1958.

In the context of this paper's attempt to link the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp and the High Arctic Relocations, 'assessing the story' (Raento & Brunn, 2005) is of particular importance. Given the government's heightened interest in the success of the relocations, detailed records of Inuit activity and life in both settlements were kept following the relocations. Each year, the constables in charge of the RCMP detachments at Resolute Bay, Craig Harbour, and later Grise Fiord, would send detailed reports to headquarters in Ottawa on how the relocated Inuit were faring. Analyzing these records, available from 1953 to 1968, provides a clear picture of the totalizing force used by the RCMP and how this impacted the lived experiences of Inuit in these communities. These reports often detailed the RCMP's attempts to control the behavior of Inuit, restricting their movements—i.e. discouraging them from moving from one community to another, how they should spend

their money, and how many animals they could hunt (RCMP, 1953, 1960, 1966). The isolation of the communities, especially in the case of Grise Fiord, presented various challenges, specifically relating to medical emergencies. With no physician present in the community, Inuit only had access to once-a-year check-ups aboard the *C.D. Howe* (RCMP, 1968) (see Figure 6). When serious cases of illness occurred, such as tuberculosis, Inuit were forced to travel south thousands of kilometers away—referred to as "outside"—for treatment (RCMP, 1957). While many complied, some, especially elders, refused such as Philapushee and Maggie who suffered from a heart condition and debilitating arthritis (RCMP, 1963). These can be considered as clear examples of a micropolitics of resistance (Harris, 2004) or 'counter-conduct' (Foucault, 2009), any mode of conducting oneself that is outside the scope of acceptable conduct, which at the time was considered to be the following of government and RCMP orders. This 'resistance' as Cameron (2015) puts forward was employed as a tactic by people aiming to recuperate a degree of control over their lives, which came at a high cost given their geographic and social circumstances. Due to the extreme isolation and lack of adequate care on the ground, many residents, especially elders, were subjected to unnecessary suffering, and were labelled as reoccurring 'problems' by the RCMP constables (RCMP, 1963).

Despite these clear challenges and hardships, the annual RCMP detachment reports claimed that things on the ground were going extremely well. A year after the relocations, Corporal Sargent wrote "they all looked happier and healthier, having visibly put on weight ... It would be difficult to find a group of Eskimos anywhere in the North that could claim to be as well off as the Grise Fiord camp" (RCMP, 1954a, p. 4), and suggested that the area represented their "Garden of Eden" (RCMP, 1954b, p. 4). These glowing, paternalistic reports continued to arrive in Ottawa, with statements such as Constable Currie's that "the morale of our people is at an all time high" (RCMP, 1963, p. 3), and that "in summary I think it can be safely said that our Eskimos are of a very high caliber, being hard workers, industrious and most energetic" (RCMP, 1963, p. 6). As a result, the relocations were initially viewed as a monumental success, which RCMP "G" (or Arctic) Division head C. B. Macdonnell wanted to maintain, stating "We have received very favourable publicity over our management of Eskimo welfare at both Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, and I do not want our members making moves to lessen our responsibilities

at those points" (RCMP, 1964, p. 2). Interestingly, it took 15 years before a more objective account of the situation was provided by Corporal Vitt, who stated in 1968, "isolation, once-a-month plane service and the resulting lack of communication are trying at times, especially during the winter" (RCMP, 1968, p.8).

These conditions are what likely led to the high turnover rate among RCMP constables and other workers in the communities such as school teachers and mechanics. Inuit themselves often expressed a desire to leave and go back to their home communities of Inukjuak or Pond Inlet, but they were often coerced into remaining, thus rendering the government's initial promise that they could return a lie (Audlaluk, 2020). In 1994, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples published a Special Report on the High Arctic Relocations based on the testimony of survivors, experts, and policy-makers. The report's findings confirmed that while the primary goal of the relocations had been humanitarian in nature, it was established that sovereignty was a factor in the minds of the administrators who designed the "pioneer experiment" of the relocation program (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994). Relocated Inuit contributed to the Canadianization of the Arctic and supported Canada's *de facto* sovereignty over the region, with the Special Report concluding that "The weight of the evidence points to sovereignty as a material consideration in the relocation decision", and that the continued presence of the communities contributed to the maintenance of Canadian sovereignty (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994, p. 132). While the degree to which sovereignty represented a main motivation for the relocations remains unclear, what is certain is that the relocations adversely impacted the Inuit relocatees, especially in the initial years of the two newly-established communities. Thirty-five years after the relocations, the federal government finally acknowledged the harm the relocations caused, and offered to return Inuit back to their home communities, an offer taken up by 35 Inuit (Audlaluk, 2020; Lowther, 1990). Despite these initial reparations, it was not until 2010 that the federal government officially apologized for the High Arctic Relocations (Government of Canada, 2010).

Conclusion: Placing Indigeneity on Stamps

By connecting the High Arctic Relocations with the issuance of the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp by the Canadian Post Office Department in 1955, this article has sought to detail two distinct yet interrelated aspects of Canada's Arctic policy at the time. While primarily a humanitarian effort undertaken for economic reasons in order to reduce government relief costs and provide Inuit hunters from northern Québec with new hunting grounds in the High Arctic, the relocations also conveniently bolstered Canada's *de facto* sovereignty over the region by relocating Inuit to uninhabited Canadian islands. I therefore argue that the High Arctic Relocations and the Eskimo Hunter stamp were two interrelated, albeit vastly different, measures of an Arctic policy that sought to incorporate Inuit as full citizens of the Canadian Welfare State and national (imagined) community, which also subtly reinforced Canada's physical and visual effective occupation of the region.

Responding to calls for further research for the fine-grain analysis of individual instances of visual nationalism (Brunn, 2023; Covington & Brunn, 2006; Penrose, 2011; Raento & Brunn, 2005), this article focuses on one such example. Employing methodologies that seek to critically analyze and 'read' the content of postage stamps, the argument is made that the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp is a socio-culturally and temporally constructed political-geographic text embedded with multiple layers of meaning. It contains both 'whispers' and 'shouts' of state-sanctioned messages which contributed to national identity-building and an 'imagined community' through its banal everyday circulation and use (Anderson, 2016; Billig, 1995; Brunn, 2011, 2023; Covington & Brunn, 2006; Raento, 2009; Raento & Brunn, 2005, 2008; Rose, 2016; Zeigler, 2002). Postage stamps indeed continue to act as silent—and semiotic—messengers of the state (Wood-Donnelly, 2017), embodying and promoting ideas to both domestic and international audiences as vehicles of visual nationalism (Brunn, 2023). Building on Michael Billig's concept of banal nationalism, the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp represents a prime example of what I term banal colonialism as it visually embodied the land-centered project of colonialism (Cameron, 2015), promoting the idea that the Arctic was a vital part of the Canadian imagined community, physically inhabited—and patrolled—by Inuit, and by extension, Canadian citizens. The appearance of the stamp during the 1950s

corresponded to a time of heightened anxiety of Arctic nations vis-à-vis their territories amidst the backdrop of the Cold War. As Wood-Donnelly (2017) suggests, this resulted in the use of stamps as proxy methodologies of the state in the demonstration of their sovereignty. By both placing Inuit on a stamp and in the High Arctic, the government physically and symbolically relocated Inuit to the final contested frontier of the Settler nation as the real and imaginary occupants of arguably the most geopolitically important region at the time. Though appearing as a relatively harmless—and banal—object, layers of coercion, biopower, disciplinary technologies, and state interests form the basis of the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp. By connecting it to other aspects of Canada's Arctic policy at the time, such as the High Arctic Relocations, which can be argued were a form of penal colonialism, it is hoped that the legacy and trauma endured by Inuit and caused by the Canadian government can be better understood. Perhaps another layer of meaning that can be added to the *Eskimo Hunter* is the resistance or counter-conduct (Cameron, 2015; Foucault, 2009; Harris, 2004), carried out by Inuit in the face of the increased and arguably totalizing intervention of the federal government and RCMP (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). These actions included the refusal to be relocated again or sent 'outside' for extended stays away from family and community. These stories too deserve greater attention.

The *Eskimo Hunter* stamp is but one example of banal colonialism. Other studies considering Canadian (or other Settler nations') postage stamps and their use of Indigenous imagery for the benefit of the state merit further study. Examples could include the 1953 *Pacific coast Indian house* stamp released shortly after the ban on the Pot-latch was lifted (Library and Archives, 1953), and the 1970 *Louis Riel* stamp, which commemorated the 100th anniversary of the Province of Manitoba by labelling one of the most important Metis historical figures, Louis Riel, as both 'Hero' and 'Madman' (Library and Archives Canada, 1970). Today, Indigenous Peoples and the works of Indigenous artists have increasingly been portrayed on postage stamps and other vehicles of visual nationalism, such as banknotes and street names. While this is being celebrated, it is crucial that these do not merely serve as a means of recuperating Indigeneity and acting as settler moves to innocence, alleviating settler guilt while doing nothing to remedy the wrongs caused by the cultural genocide inflicted upon Indigenous Peoples (Truth and

Reconciliation Commission, 2015). Postage stamps have the power, however banal it may be, to initiate meaningful discussions in the most intimate of citizen spaces (Raento, 2011), encouraging us to engage with and celebrate Indigeneity while unsettling the political myths of Canada's colonial past and present, representing vital components of the ongoing project of reconciliation.

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Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares:
Media Representation of Indigenous Peoples and the Trans Mountain Expansion Project[12]

Abstract

Since the federal government's landmark purchase of the Trans Mountain Pipeline for $4.5 billion in May 2018, a heated debate has generated over our continued dependence on fossil fuels. A key stakeholder in the expansion project that seeks to triple the flow of diluted bitumen from Alberta to British Columbia's Pacific coast are Indigenous Peoples. Nations in the heart of Alberta's "Oil patch" have had a long and difficult relationship with the impacts of tar sands extraction, however, many have now sided with the oil industry as it has played an important role in both developing a secure economic base for Nations while providing communities with a new-found sense of agency. Conversely, many Indigenous peoples along the 1,150-kilometer pipeline oppose the expansion project, clearly expressing their concern for the associated risks, namely oil spills. This article represents identifies the ways in which Indigenous views have been portrayed through a review of 368 news articles published by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Canadian Television Network, and the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network from 2018 to the present day. The only clear conclusion is that as there is no homogenous or contiguous body of Indigenous peoples, there is no shared Indigenous consensus on the future of oil on and beneath their homelands.

[12] The text presented here is reproduced from the original article, which can be found in its original formatting in the Appendix and here: Dumas, Daniel. 2023. "Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares: Media Representation of Indigenous Peoples and the Trans Mountain Expansion Project." *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien* 43: 32–59. Only the figure numbers have been changed to reflect the overall order of figures in this dissertation.

Introduction: To Build or Not to Build?

The Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project (TMX) is one of the most controversial energy-infrastructure endeavours in modern Canadian history. The 1,150-kilometre pipeline transports diluted bitumen—a dense form of petroleum— from Edmonton, Alberta in the east to its western terminus in Burnaby, British Columbia on the Pacific Ocean. Since its initial construction in 1953, the pipeline has enabled the export of Canadian oil to foreign markets other than the US, which currently receives 99% of Canada's oil exports at a discounted price, resulting in a suggested loss of $15 billion annually (APTN National News 2018a). In 2012, then owners Kinder Morgan Canada proposed tripling the capacity of the pipeline to approximately 890,000 barrels per day (bbl/d) in order to increase foreign exports (Trans Mountain Corporation n.d.). After initial government approval in 2016, large-scale protests opposing the project took place across the country and when the Government of British Columbia threatened to restrict the flow of oil through the pipeline on its territory, Kinder Morgan Canada halted investment in the project, leading to the landmark $4.5 billion purchase of the pipeline by the federal government on 29 May 2018 (Francis 2018). Suddenly, Canadian taxpayers became the unlikely owners of a major pipeline expansion project. This led to a veritable explosion of voices opposing and supporting the project, notably from the 129 Indigenous Nations living along the proposed pipeline expansion route (House 2018). While many decried the TMX, citing the danger of potential spills due to increased oil flow and the harm exponential tanker traffic at the pipeline terminus would cause, others considered it to be an opportunity, namely to generate considerable revenue for their communities. When the government announced that it was looking to sell the pipeline shortly after its purchase, several Indigenous-led groups stepped forward to propose purchasing the TMX, a first in Canadian history (Pimentel 2019).

As many other major non-renewable energy projects, the TMX has been anything but smooth. Over the past four years, the project has been quashed due to insufficient consultations with impacted Indigenous Nations along the route and an inadequate marine environmental impact assessment, reapproved, halted due to extreme weather events, and has been the topic of fierce debate during the last two federal elections (2019

and 2021), featuring prominently across local, national, and international news outlets. I suggest that the TMX is a flashpoint issue due to the fact that it represents a paradox in current environmental policy making. While the adverse impacts of the fossil fuel industry are well known and transitioning towards renewable forms of energy have been prioritized, the Canadian government has invested billions of dollars into the expansion of an existing piece of infrastructure part of what Carola Hein (2021) has termed the global petroleumscape, a layered physical and social landscape that comprises the diverse spaces of petroleum facilitating its ubiquity and continued use in everyday life. The key argument being made by the federal government is that the TMX is a project of national interest that will fund Canada's ongoing green transition—i.e. depend on oil exports now in order to wean off of them later (Trudeau 2019). Opponents have fiercely criticized this plan and have pointed to the hypocrisy of a government that has touted its plans to tackle the climate emergency by further perpetuating the extraction and distribution of fossil fuels.

These differing views have been at the forefront of media coverage, especially since the federal government's purchase of the pipeline in May 2018. Given the important role Indigenous Peoples have played thus far in both supporting and opposing the project, this paper presents and analyzes how Indigenous views of the TMX have been and continue to be discussed on the Canadian national stage. In order to do so, news articles from three national news outlets, the Canadian Television Network (CTV), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) are analyzed over a four-year span, dating from the initial pipeline purchase until this paper's initial submission (May 2022), representing the first comparative study of these three national broadcasters concerning this topic, all of which were chosen due to their freely accessible online content available to both Canadian and international audiences. The main questions at hand are how this widely distributed online content differs across these three national news providers and how the representation of key themes and actors can shape both public opinion and policy (Miller 2008; Skea 1993; Ramos 2006), serving what Adams (2017) has called a "metaphysics of encounter" between the mainstream public and stories and peoples on the ground.

The study is two-pronged in its approach as it first gathers, compares, and contrasts news data concerning the TMX and Indigenous Peoples, and secondly breaks down three prominent themes that arise, namely the clear geographic divide of opinions between British Columbia and Alberta, the tension between fostering economic development and ensuring environmental protection, and the difficult task of upholding the free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous Peoples. This analysis is supplemented by the direct views of the various Indigenous actors as stated by themselves. By doing so, the paper seeks to identify which news outlet most effectively engages with content related to Indigenous views of the TMX and subsequently how coverage can better reflect the portrayal of Indigenous views. Drawing on previous work concerning Indigenous Peoples and media coverage (Wilkes et al. 2010; Miller 2008; Budd 2021; Karsgaard/MacDonald 2020), this paper builds on the existing literature and provides a valuable contribution by 1) providing a new framework for studying online news content, which could be useful for future studies involving Indigenous views or involvement in major projects, and by 2) engaging with the TMX, a case study that provides ample inspiration, motivation, and illustration (Siggelkow 2007) to better understand the precarious pursuit of furthering fossil fuel projects in order to finance a green transition, and how resistance toward and support for such projects is represented across the media landscape.

Literature Review

As with all components of settler society, Indigenous Peoples and the media have had a long and often tenuous relationship. Given the broad spectrum of both news providers and mediums (from newspaper to online content and social media), the representation of Indigenous views of key events, projects, or issues is presented in diverse ways from a variety of angles. Due to the prominence of Indigenous issues in settler societies such as Canada, Indigenous Peoples and issues feature prominently across the media landscape. As Miller (2008) suggests in his study of the Ipperwash standoff in 1995, news coverage is a key factor in both public perception and government action (see also Skea

1993; Ramos 2006). As many ‘clashes’ or standoffs take place in remote areas, media coverage provides the general public with the only exposure to the issues at hand, and thus carries significant importance on how issues and actors can be framed. While reporters have the responsibility of serving as independent verifiers of facts, the media has often promoted racist ideologies in maintaining narratives of white dominance or victimization (Miller 2008). Thus Indigenous Peoples have often been framed as a threat to national interests throughout various standoffs in Canadian history, almost exclusively involving land disputes such as the Oka crisis of 1990, the Gustafsen Lake and Ipperwash standoffs in 1995, the Grand River land dispute in 2006, the Wet’suwe’ten dispute over the Coastal GasLink pipeline starting in 2019, and now also in relation to protests to the TMX. Miller therefore formulates a framing model that can help us better understand how Indigenous views or positions are presented in the media. He identifies three categories within this model: 1) Indigenous Peoples being portrayed as troublemakers or disruptors; 2) Indigenous Peoples portrayed as having legitimate grounds for a dispute; and 3) Indigenous Peoples portrayed as disputing or quarrelling amongst themselves (Miller 2008). He concludes that stories relating to category 1 (and to a lesser extent category 3) are the most picked up, while those in category 2 are not. While his research focuses primarily on the Ipperwash standoff of 1995, the framing model does provide a suitable framework for analyzing other disputes between Indigenous Peoples and the settler state.

Wilkes et al. (2010) also make an important contribution to the topic of Indigenous representation in Canadian media. Their study considered newspaper coverage of Indigenous standoffs and protests between 1985 and 1995, a period of major mobilization by Indigenous Peoples in Canada, characterized by standoffs over land disputes that garnered extensive media coverage (Ramos 2006). They point to the importance that significant media attention provides in elevating a story to the national level and that ongoing coverage of an event or issue signals its importance and increases the likelihood that a broader audience will gain an understanding about the event (Wilkes et al. 2010). Moreover, as they suggest, the media seeks to present stories that are dramatic and sensational, providing high “news value,” that is if the story is of relevance, immediacy, novelty, innovation, or is dramatic (Wilkes et al. 2010). The TMX contains all of these criteria and therefore makes it a particularly valuable case study of a major project

involving Indigenous Peoples and the country as a whole. While Wilkes et al. cover a range of events over a ten-year period, they focus on precise events such as the Oka, Ipperwash, and Gustafsen Lake crises, which were relatively short in their duration, thus variations of longer events were ignored and do not speak to shifts in coverage over time, something that this study attempts to do by focusing on one event over a four-year period. Furthermore as is the case with Miller (2008), focus is placed on newspaper coverage rather than online news content. Wilkes et al. recognize this, and state that online news media has dramatically changed the nature of news production, which represents an important new avenue of research, especially in terms of how Indigenous views are represented across the media landscape. As Clark suggests, "Canadian research on media representations of minorities has focused more on newspaper coverage than television, despite legislation calling on broadcasters to reflect the country's 'multicultural and multiracial nature' on the air waves" (2014, paragraph 1). Relating to human geography, Adams (2017) suggests that questions of representation are increasingly central to geographic scholarship. Communication (such as news media) is not merely the transmission of ideas and information between places and agents, it is also in event in which two or more agents encounter each other and come away altered by the event, forming the basis of what he suggests is an emerging "metaphysics of encounter" (Adams 2017). Human geographies, he continues, are dynamic processes of becoming rather than static patterns, giving priority to flows—of information, oil, and capital in the case of this study. This new metaphysics of encounter encourages "people [to] engage with a wide range of different media and simultaneously encounter other people and things, near and far, still or mobile, perpetually redefining 'here' and 'there'" (Adams 2017, 371). I suggest that online news coverage plays a vital role in this metaphysics of encounter as it brings issues of national interest occurring in potentially remote locales (such as most of the TMX) into contact with both national and international audiences.

Given the importance of the TMX to national interest, there have been several studies that have touched upon its relevance and representation through various mediums. Two studies of particular relevance are Budd (2021) and Kaarsgard and MacDonald (2020). The former reviews newspaper coverage, specifically relating to the Federal Court of Appeal's decision to quash TMX approval in 2018, while the latter

focuses on discussions occurring over social media (specifically on Instagram) leading up to the purchase of the pipeline in 2018. As Kaarsgard and MacDonald suggest, a wide range of narratives emerge when considering social media content related to the TMX, including pro-pipeline discourses but also competing anti-pipeline ideals of Indigenous sovereignty, critiques of the settler state, mainstream environmentalism, and local pride and protectionism (2020). This paper builds upon these studies by focusing on the comparison of online news stories from three different national outlets, but differs significantly in that it addresses a later period of the project, namely from the TMX's landmark purchase by the federal government in May 2018 to May 2022, covering a four-year period that say a wide range of court challenges, protests, and construction milestones of the pipeline. The following section provides a detailed overview of the TMX and briefly situates the events that have taken place and garnered significant media coverage, specifically in relation to Indigenous Peoples.

Overview of the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project

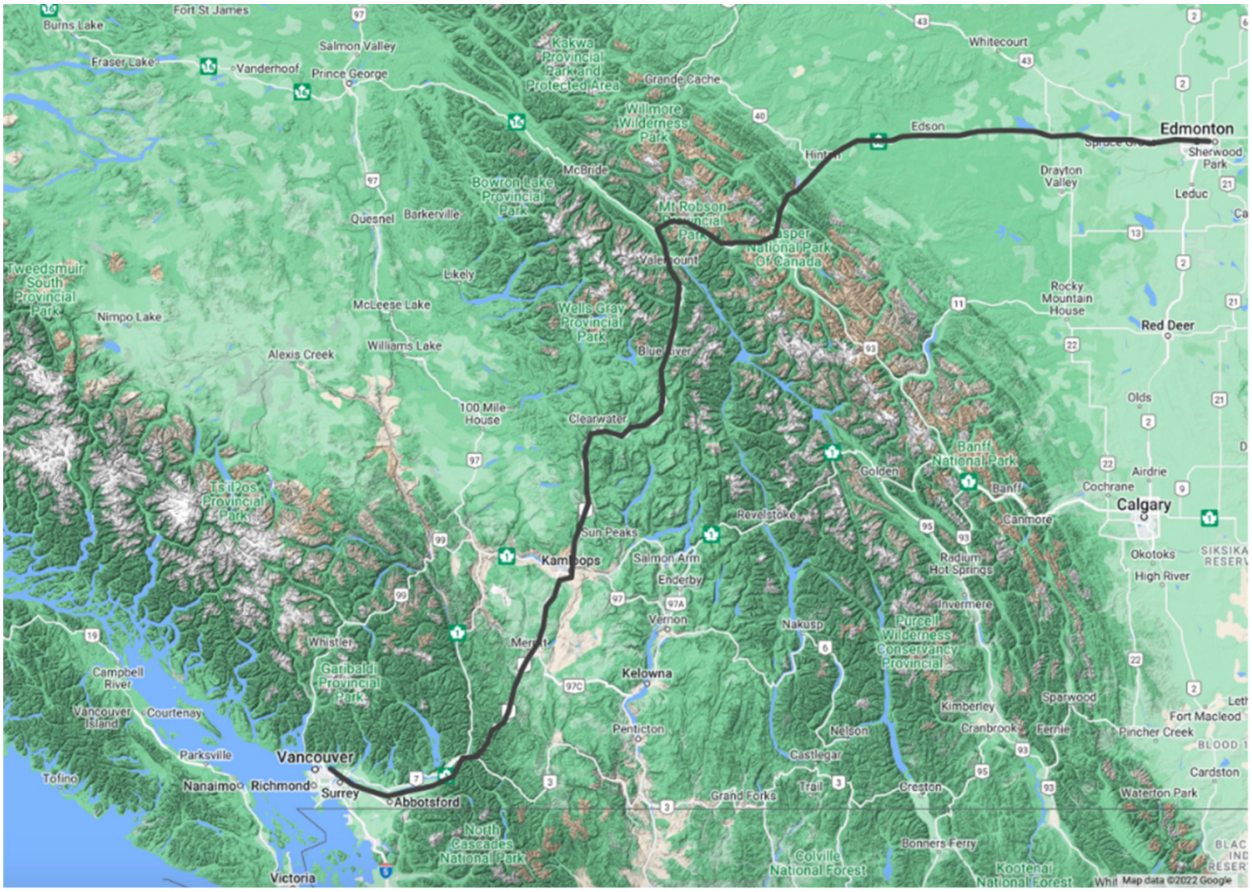
The TMX like previous major pipeline proposals such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and Enbridge's Northern Gateway pipeline in Canada and the Keystone XL and Dakota Access Pipelines (DAPL) in the United States, has become a topic of fierce debate within Canadian society. While the former pipelines were ultimately cancelled due in large part to the efforts of Indigenous activists, the TMX differs significantly in two regards. First, it is a project that seeks to expand an existing pipeline—the original Trans Mountain pipeline built in 1953—and second, it has received a great deal of support from most of the Indigenous Nations located along the pipeline route. Here, Carola Hein's concept of the petroleumscape is of particular relevance. The petroleumscape embodies the diverse spatial emanations of oil, including refineries, storage sites, pipelines, office buildings, gas stations, and all oil-related infrastructure, which together form the constitutive elements of a global network connected through their relation to this single commodity and its group of industrial players (Hein 2021). Hein further suggests that "[t]he physical structures and spaces of oil require extensive investment, and once funding has been

sunk into the soil or the seafloor, economic and governance systems tend to reinforce earlier investments" (2021, 7). This statement relates well to the Trans Mountain Pipeline, which has been transporting diluted bitumen from Alberta's tar sands for nearly 60 years. Despite the fact that tripling the flow of oil from 300,000 to 890,000 bbl/d represents a massive undertaking, the pipeline's existing presence has seemingly made it easier to argue for its continued use, especially as a means of tripling Canadian exports to countries other than the United States.

Nevertheless, the project is extremely controversial given that it further encourages the extraction and consumption of fossil fuels, and places greater environmental risks on the natural environments and communities located along the route who would be severely impacted by a potential spill. Many of those impacted by tar sands extraction and the TMX have been Indigenous Peoples as both are located in the heart of traditional First Nations and Metis territories who have been historically displaced by the Canadian settler state. As Simpson asserts, "settler colonialism is predicated on a territorial possession by some, and thus, a dispossession of others" (2011, 205). Willow has termed the tar sands as a form of 'extractive imperialism' that "reproduces the colonialism of old, with symbolic and material benefits continuing to flow into already empowered (and usually distant) hands and local peoples continuing to bear disproportionate environmental and social burdens" (2016, 4). However, while the adverse impacts of the tar sands have generated fierce opposition and criticism by many Indigenous leaders and environmental groups worldwide (Preston 2017; Huseman/Short 2012), they have come to represent a key economic driver for many Indigenous Nations, serving as an important source of revenue for education, housing, and infrastructure projects for communities that have longed faced inadequate support from the federal government. As Tsing questions, "What emerges in damaged landscapes, beyond the call of industrial promise and ruin?" (2015, 18) She suggests that people living in damaged landscapes, such as the tar sands, often develop a form of 'contaminated diversity' that "implicates survivors in histories of greed, violence, and environmental destruction" (Tsing 2015, 33). As a result, in the face of large-scale environmental change and extractivism, oil has come to symbolize a means of achieving a better future for many Indigenous Nations after 150 years of colonial rule. It is therefore unsurprising that projects such as the TMX, which seek to expand the export capacity of

bitumen and increase revenues that will contribute to both community development and Indigenous agency, are supported by leaders making what could be interpreted as the best out of a bad environmental situation (Romero 2019). This is precisely why the tar sands debate and, by extension, the debate over the TMX, is fraught with differing stakes and views within Indigenous Nations. It is important to recognize here that the ongoing project of settler colonialism has indeed facilitated the spread of the global petroleumscape.

The Trans Mountain Pipeline was first built in 1953 to transport diluted bitumen from the tar sands to the Pacific coast, with an initial capacity of was 150,000 bbl/d. In order to increase the flow and generated revenues, the pipeline was upgraded in the early 2000s as a means of doubling its capacity to its current level of 300,000 bbl/d (The Canadian Press 2018). The owner of the pipeline at the time, Kinder Morgan Canada, a subsidiary of the US-based Kinder Morgan located in Texas, pressed for further expansion in 2012, this time pushing for a much more ambitious upgrade that would nearly triple the pipeline's capacity to a flow of 890,000 bbl/d (The Canadian Press 2018). Following a detailed review process, Canada's National Energy Board (NEB—now known as the Canada Energy Regulator) recommended approval of the project, which was in turn granted by the newly-elected Liberal federal government in November 2016 (The Canadian Press 2018). This came as a considerable surprise as Prime Minister Justin Trudeau had billed that his government as one that would address both the threat of climate change and push for reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples, two areas of policy that had been arguably neglected during the previous ten years of conservative rule under Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Linnitt 2015).



Map 3. The 1,150-kilometer Trans Mountain Pipeline. The expansion project seeks to twin the existing line shown here (map heading—North). Source: Author; pipeline route specifications (Natural Resources Canada 2020).

Meanwhile, the following year, a new provincial government was formed in British Columbia through a coalition of the New Democratic and Green parties, which staunchly opposed the TMX, creating uncertainty for the project amongst Kinder Morgan shareholders (The Canadian Press 2018). The provincial government suggested passing legislation that would restrict the flow of oil on its territory, launching a bitter feud between Alberta and British Columbia, including a short-lived ban of B.C. wine and the passing of 'turn off the taps' legislation that enabled Alberta to stop its flow of oil altogether to B.C. (APTN National News 2018b). This uncertainty led to Kinder Morgan suspending non-essential spending on the project in April 2018. It was at this point that the federal government stepped in, announcing on 29 May 2018 that it would purchase the pipeline and expansion project using $4.5 billion of taxpayer money (APTN National News 2018a). Overnight, Canadians became the owners of a major fossil fuel investment project, which

was celebrated by some and lauded by others, resulting in a new wave of national protests. Opponents were quickly appeased when the Federal Court of Appeal quashed the initial project approval, citing two main concerns: the lack of meaningful consultation with the 129 Indigenous Nations along the pipeline route and the inadequate environmental impact assessment that had been conducted in relation to the potential impacts of exponential tanker traffic (up to ten times the current amount) in the Burrard Inlet, which is home to a vulnerable community of Southern resident killer whales (Federal Court of Appeal 2018). This led to a renewed round of consultations in late 2018 and early 2019, which then Natural Resources Minister Seamus O'Regan called "the most comprehensive consultation ever undertaken for a major project in Canada's history" (APTN National News 2020a, paragraph 20), and the drafting of a robust marine protection plan in the event of a potential spill. While the government considered other possible alternatives to the TMX, the NEB made it clear that existing pipelines were running at maximum capacity and that the only way to realistically get more oil to market was to build more of them (Blackburn 2019).

In June 2019, despite continued opposition from many levels, including several B.C. First Nations such as the Tsleil-Waututh Nation located at the pipeline terminus, which is arguably the highest-risk point of the pipeline (Hamelin 2019), the federal government approved the TMX for a second time, with construction beginning again in December. Further legal challenges ensued, but finally, in July 2020, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the government had corrected the deficiencies outlined by the Federal Court of Appeal in 2018, thus making way for the project's construction (Pashagumskum 2020). Despite a number of delays and a ballooning cost (now estimated at $21.4 billion), the TMX is slated for completion in the third quarter of 2023 (Stephenson 2022). Using the case of the TMX, this paper now considers how the views of Indigenous Peoples concerning the project are represented across three national news outlets in Canada. The next section provides a detailed methodology of the study and the reasoning behind the choice of the three national news outlets, which represents the first comparative study of its kind.

Methodology

To effectively capture the main media discourse related to Indigenous views of the TMX, news stories from three major Canadian national news outlets were collected, namely from the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and the Canadian Television Network (CTV). The body of data this paper considers relates specifically to the news articles published online through each of the three television and media outlets' 'News' sections. The main rationale for this decision is that online content from these outlets is freely accessible to all Canadians, and as a result has a significant reach across both television and online platforms.

Selected News Outlets

The choice of media news outlets requires further explanation. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was selected as it is Canada's publicly owned (and funded) news and information service. The news outlet was founded in 1941 and as their mission statement shares: "We are rooted in every region of the country and report on Canada and the world to provide a Canadian perspective on news and current affairs." (CBC News 2021, paragraph 1) Important to note is that the federal broadcast regulator, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) requires broadcasters to uphold cultural diversity and enhance opportunities for 'marginalized' groups such as women, visible minorities, Indigenous Peoples, and people with disabilities (Clark 2014). In line with the CRTC's mandate, CBC News states that it "is committed to accurately reflecting the range of experiences and points of view of all citizens. All Canadians, of whatever origins, perspectives and beliefs, should feel that our news and current affairs coverage is relevant to them and lives up to our principles" (2021, paragraph 6), and continues to state that "[w]e have a special responsibility to reflect regional and cultural diversity, as well as fostering respect and understanding across regions" (2021, paragraph 7). While CBC is recognized as among the most neutral news providers, striving to provide unbiased news coverage, it has often been the target of

public scrutiny, especially from the Conservative Party of Canada, who have argued for the defunding of CBC, which they suggest caters to a center-left audience (Platt 2020; Barber 2008).

The second Canadian national news outlet selected for this study is the Canadian Television Network (CTV), which unlike CBC, is Canada's largest privately owned television network, founded in 1961 and acquired by Bell Canada Enterprises (BCE Inc.) in 2000, the country's largest communications company. Also operating in regions across the country, Bell Media, a subsidiary of BCE Inc., states that "CTV News is Canada's most-watched news organization both locally and nationally, and has a network of national, international, and local news operations" (Bell Media 2022, paragraph 1). While CBC is portrayed as center-left leaning, CTV is often considered as catering to a more center-right audience (Barber 2008). CTV's mission statement shares that "CTV News is committed to producing journalism that is accurate, fair and complete," and that their "journalists act with honesty, transparency, and independence, including from conflicts of interest" (CTV News 2022, paragraph 1). In its diversity statement, CTV News differs from CBC by specifically mentioning certain groups, stating, "[a]s part of Bell Media, it is a core principle of CTV News to represent ethnocultural groups, Indigenous people and persons with disabilities in a balanced and accurate manner" (CTV News 2022, paragraph 2). They continue by stating that "Our commitment to diversity is also reflected in the types of stories we report" (CTV News 2022, paragraph 3), while also providing examples of news stories covering diversity, namely the recent Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls Inquiry.

The third and final news outlet considered in this study is the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN). Compared to CBC and CTV, APTN is a significantly smaller news provider, which like CBC is publicly funded. Launched on 1 September 1999, APTN was the result of many years of various pilot projects that sought to produce Indigenous-related content for and by Indigenous Peoples in Canada. In 1998, a CRTC report stated that a national Indigenous channel should be "widely available throughout Canada in order to serve the diverse needs of the various Indigenous communities, as well as other Canadians" (APTN 2022, paragraph 20). The CRTC Committee on Extension of Service to Northern and Remote Communities concluded that "Canada needed to step up and

provide Indigenous Peoples with opportunities to preserve their language and culture through broadcasting and other communications." (APTN 2022, paragraph 31) As APTN states, this was seen as a major catalyst of change for Indigenous broadcasting and led to the creation of a TV newscast dedicated to sharing stories of Indigenous Peoples by Indigenous Peoples (APTN National News 2019). Since 2002, APTN National News has been running Monday-Friday newscasts, covering stories from an Indigenous perspective and reaches over 10 million households in Canada (APTN 2022). As suggested by its mission statement, it is committed to producing content for and by Indigenous Peoples, and I would also advance that it serves as an important source of education and awareness for non-Indigenous Canadians, acting as a means of engaging with Indigenous content and worldviews. Despite the fact that it publishes significantly fewer news articles when compared to CBC and CTV News, given that this study focuses on the representation of Indigenous views of the TMX, APTN News' inclusion as one of the main sources of news articles is crucial, as will become clear in the following presentation of results.

Search Criteria

Using the online news databases of APTN, CBC, and CTV News, keyword searches were performed, using the entry 'trans mountain pipeline.' Additional searches with 'tmx' and 'pipeline' were also performed, however the sheer amount of results related to the 'trans mountain pipeline' entry produced a total of approximately 3,000 news articles. The period selected for this study comprises all news stories relating to the TMX from 29 May 2018 to 29 May 2022. The start date of the study period relates to the date the federal government announced its purchase of the TMX, thus propelling the issue to new heights in the Canadian media landscape given that Canadian taxpayers were now directly tied to the project. The end date of the study period relates to just before this paper was submitted, completing a four-year block.

Results

According to the search criteria, filtering news articles relating to the TMX from the period of 29 May 2018 to 29 May 2022, a total of 2,848 articles were retrieved across the three national news outlets included in this study. CTV News published the largest number of articles (1,496), with CBC News publishing slightly fewer (1,284) and APTN News publishing a fraction compared to the two larger news outlets (73), due in part to its smaller size and operating capacity. An important consideration to note is that while APTN and CTV News articles appeared in reverse chronological order upon keyword searches facilitating a clear cut-off point of 29 May 2018, CBC News articles were sorted using another algorithm, potentially related to degree of accuracy, which necessitated sifting through 2,954 articles related to the 'trans mountain pipeline' entry published on the website database.

Following this initial search, all articles within the study period were consulted and those relating to Indigenous Peoples, Nations, and groups were identified, significantly diminishing the gap of coverage between all three national news outlets. Given these criteria, CBC News produced the largest number of articles (167), followed by CTV News (157), and finally APTN News (44). When compared to the entire body of articles relating to the TMX, this reveals an interesting trend.

As APTN News offers the highest percentage of articles relating to both the TMX and Indigenous Peoples (60%), followed by CBC News (13%), and CTV News (10%). these numbers confirm APTN News' commitment to providing news coverage from an Indigenous perspective, while also highlighting both CBC and CTV News' commitment to feature content reflecting diversity, albeit at a much lower rate.

Figure 7 provides a breakdown of the number of articles relating to Indigenous Peoples and the TMX that have appeared per year within the study period of 2018 to 2022. Evidently, 2018 and 2019 account for the largest number of articles due to the initial pipeline purchase and the subsequent legal challenges. Following the Supreme Court's decision in July 2020 that the government had sufficiently carried out meaningful engagements with Indigenous Peoples, the number of articles drastically reduces as the project was then able to proceed unhindered by legal action. In addition, with the onset

of the COVID-19 pandemic, public focus on the TMX decreased, so much so that the Alberta Energy Minister, Sonya Savage suggested that “Now is a great time to be building a pipeline because you can’t have protests of more than 15 people” (Weber 2020, paragraph 4), referring to the wave of protests that had occurred at different worksites and cities prior to the pandemic.

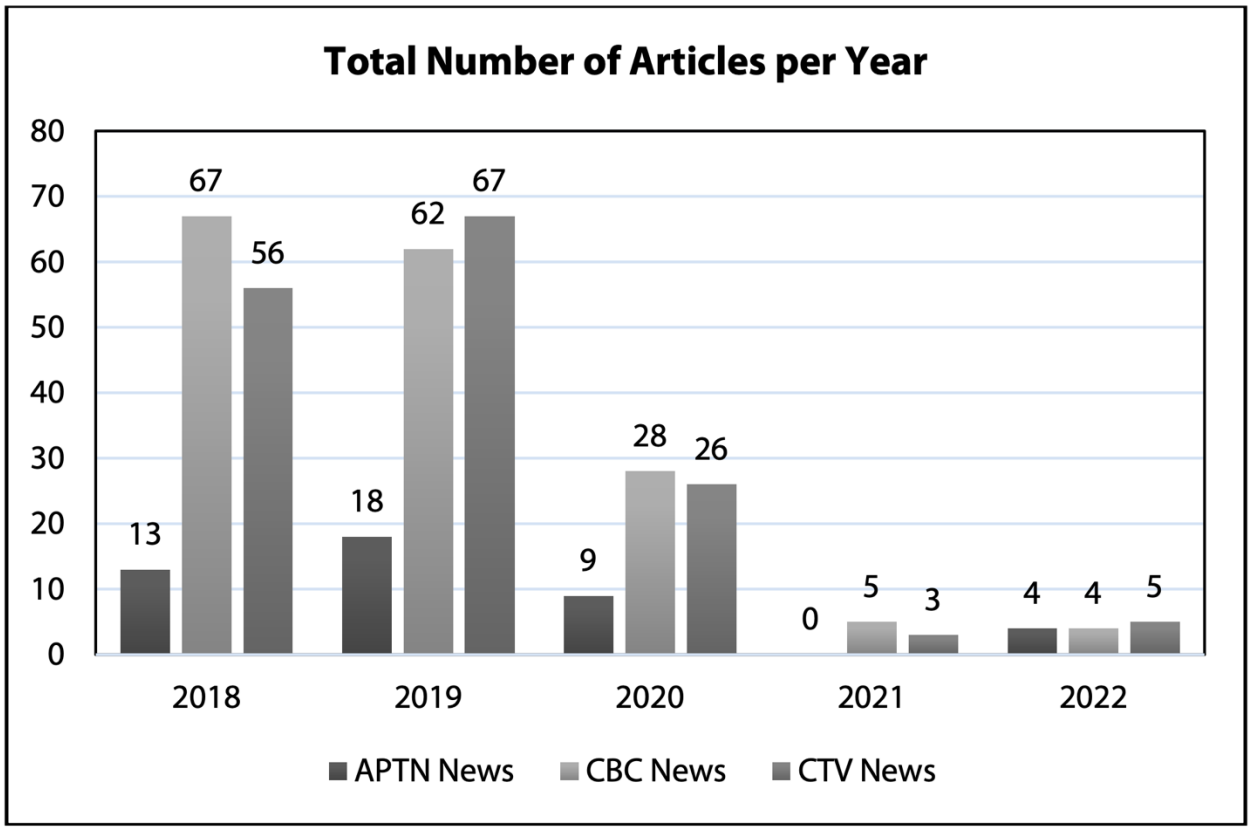


Figure 7. Total number of articles per year (2018–2022). Source: Author.

Returning back to the content of the articles, once those relating to the TMX and Indigenous Peoples were identified, they were coded according to four main categories: 1) Supporters, 2) Opponents, 3) Both, and 4) General Information. The purpose of these categories is to identify which groups are the subject of the news articles, namely interested parties who support the project, those that oppose it, articles whose main focus considered both groups, and finally articles relaying general information regarding the TMX, including information detailing its construction and cost updates, technical problems, and background information about impact assessments and approval

processes. These thematic codes are featured in *Table 1* according to total number and total percentage regarding the representation of interested parties in the news articles. As can be seen across all three national news outlets, there are a greater number of articles that focus on opponents of the TMX. Kaarsgard and MacDonald (2020) have suggested in their study of Instagram posts relating to the TMX from July 2011 to July 2018 that this is likely related to the pipeline's existing approval, with public discussion focused more so on movements of resistance (despite the ten-month period between August 2018 and June 2019, when the TMX's fate was uncertain due to the Federal Court of Appeal's temporary quashing of the project's approval).

Of particular interest in *Table 1*, is the total number of articles relating to supporters of the TMX by CTV News (45) and the total number of articles representing both predominant views by CBC News (14). The former perhaps reflects CTV News' slight center-right political leaning with a focus on the economy, with many articles centering on the various Indigenous business ventures seeking to purchase the TMX. Conversely, CBC News published far more articles that considered both sides of the issue for a total of 14 (compared to 5 by CTV News and 1 by APTN), perhaps reflecting CBC's attempt to maintain politically unbiased reporting (Barber 2008).

	Codes				
	Supporters	Opponents	Both	General Information	**Total**
Number of stories					
APTN News	13	27	1	3	**44**
CBC News	35	71	14	46	**167**
CTV News	45	72	5	35	**157**
Percentage of stories					
APTN News	30%	61%	2%	7%	**100%**
CBC News	21%	43%	8%	28%	**100%**
CTV News	29%	46%	3%	22%	**100%**

Table 1. Representation of thematic codes as total number and total percentage of stories. Source: Author.

When considering the percentage of stories related to the different interested parties, it is clear that APTN News articles focus more on coverage of supporters and opponents of the project, accounting for 30% and 61% respectively. When reviewing the individual articles, it becomes clear that APTN News carries out many in-depth and one-on-one interviews with different actors connected to the TMX. Both CBC and CTV News also included in-depth analysis of different actors' perspectives, but a greater share of reporting was given towards articles detailing general information of the TMX.

Table 2 provides a breakdown of the geographic representation of the articles by total number and percentage. Three main regions were identified and coded: British Columbia, Alberta, and Canada as a whole. As the TMX is located within British Columbia and Alberta, articles relating specifically to these two provinces accounted for the majority of articles across all three national news outlets (APTN—57%, CBC— 64%, and CTV—66%). A greater number of articles reflected views from Indigenous Peoples in British Columbia as opposed to those in Alberta, and as is demonstrated, there is a clear geographic distinction between views of Indigenous Peoples located in these two provinces. Articles coded to the Canada category related to multiple Canadian geographies, namely articles concerning the general consultation process across the country and opinions of political leaders outside of British Columbia and Alberta.

	Geographic Regions			
	British Columbia	Alberta	Canada	**Total**
Number of Stories				
APTN News	19	8	17	**44**
CBC News	74	32	60	**167**
CTV News	68	36	53	**157**
Percentage of Stories				
APTN News	43%	18%	39%	**100%**
CBC News	45%	19%	36%	**100%**
CTV News	43%	23%	34%	**100%**

Table 2. Geographic representation of articles by total number and total percentage of stories.
Source: Author.

Finally, *table 3* presents the results specifically related to British Columbia and Alberta. The data clearly demonstrates that articles concerning Indigenous views of the TMX coming out of British Columbia reflect the views of opponents to the project (accounting for 92% of the total number of articles), while Indigenous views from Alberta reflect supporters of the TMX (accounting for 97% of the articles). This clearly suggests a geographic divide between Indigenous views of the TMX.

	Provinces		
	British Columbia	Alberta	**Total**
Number of Stories			
Supporters	12	74	**86**
Opponents	145	2	**147**
Percentage of Stories			
Supporters	3%	97%	**100%**
Opponents	92%	8%	**100%**

Table 3. Geographic representation of supporter and opponents by province through total number and total percentage of stories. Source: Author.

Analysis

The narratives of these various actors, both for and against the TMX, have been represented more or less consistently across the three national news outlets, with a greater representation of opponents over supporters, likely due to the pipeline's official sanctioning thus giving a larger voice to those resisting the project (Kaarsgard/MacDonald 2020). However, a closer reading of the wording of the titles does provide some notable differences between APTN, CTV, and CBC News. For instance, CTV News articles concerning protest actions appear to be more sensational as suggested by titles such as

“Confrontation erupts outside AFN convention” (CTV News 2018c) or “Indigenous group calls pipeline activist’s arrest a ‘declaration of war’” (CTV News 2018b). Drawing on Miller’s framing model of Indigenous news coverage (2008), it therefore becomes apparent that these stories fall within Frame 1, where Indigenous Peoples are considered troublemakers. One particular story concerning the occupation of a provincial park in British Columbia by the Tiny House Warriors (a grassroots organization opposing the pipeline) shows the contrast between CTV and CBC News headlines with the former publishing an article titled “Indigenous pipeline protesters take over BC Park, displace campers”(CTV News 2018a) labeling the group as pipeline protesters and emphasizing the negative impact of displacing visitors to the park while the CBC title was worded as “Secwepemc First Nation’s ‘Tiny House Warriors’ occupy provincial park in Trans Mountain Protest” (Dimoff 2018), identifying the First Nation with which the group is associated and not mentioning the displacement of campers.

Another clear difference between CTV and both CBC and APTN is the use of terminology. Several CTV News articles refer to Indigenous Nations as First Nations groups or simply as protesters as suggested by the titles “First Nations groups drop out of appeal against Trans Mountain Pipeline expansion” (Villani 2019), “Lawyer says Indigenous groups didn’t approach pipeline consultation in good faith” (Smart 2019), and “Pipeline protester interrupts Trudeau fundraising speech in Vancouver” (Kane 2019). More reflective use of language does seem to occur later on as with this example of a 2020 article titled “Indigenous land defenders shut down major intersection and port access in Vancouver” (Miljure 2020), which does not label opponents as simply protesters, but the often preferred title of land and/or water defenders and protectors. CBC and APTN News articles were more consistently reflective of naming practices throughout the four-year study period, often identifying specific Nations and titles such as “Stó:lō First Nation eyes claim over Lightning Rock site in path of Trans Mountain” (Barrera 2020) or “‘Coldwater Chief Lee Spahan addresses PM about water concerns with Trans Mountain pipeline (CBC News 2018), and “B.C. Water Protector hopes Trudeau has a change of heart” (Hamelin 2019). These news stories demonstrate a greater attention to the fact that Indigenous Peoples do have concerns regarding the

TMX, thus falling within Frame 2 of Miller's model, where Indigenous Peoples are framed as having a legitimate dispute (2008).

When reporting on supporters of the project, CTV News also reported differently than CBC and APTN News, using for instance direct quotations of supporters within the article titles such as this example "'We need it': Indigenous group holds pro-pipeline rally in Northern Alberta" (Romero 2019), emphasizing the supporters' view that the pipeline is a necessity, whereas the CBC reported the story as "Indigenous- led truck convoy rolls through Northern Alberta to support pro-pipeline movement" (Riebe 2019). The CBC also used many direct quotations in headlines such as "'I wanna own this thing': Meet the Indigenous groups trying to buy the Trans Mountain Pipeline" (Purdon and Palleja 2019), but also placed more emphasis on direct quotations from opponents such as these articles titled "Trans Mountain Pipeline expansion 'a real stinker,' Indigenous leaders say" (Lindsay 2018) and "'We'll continue to win': How Indigenous leaders reached new heights in 2018" (Sterritt 2018), referring to the Federal Court of Appeal's quashing of the government's TMX approval earlier that year.

While APTN News published significantly fewer articles than CTV and CBC News, their content often differed from the former two national news outlets in that it provided more in-depth and one-on-one features of various supporters and opponents of the project. Examples include interviews with Water Protector Will George from the Tsleil-Waututh Nation opposed to the pipeline, "'If it has to get ugly, it will get ugly': opponents of the Trans Mountain get set to continue fight against pipeline" (APTN National News 2020b), and a "Nation-to-Nation" feature interview with Metis leader David Chartrand "Trans Mountain pipeline 'important for this country' says Metis leader" (Ward 2020). This reflects both APTN's mission statement of producing content for and by Indigenous Peoples in Canada, and affirms Clark's suggestion that reporters originating from the communities being reported, "bring their experiences, viewpoints and contacts in their communities to bear on the news content" (2014, 8). Several of the news articles also included video clips from the APTN National News broadcasts, which featured opponents walking along the Burrard Inlet or Indigenous entrepreneurs in offices, depicting the news outlet's ability and desire to meet directly with Indigenous stakeholders in their own environments. While these views have been featured across the various national news

outlets, their portrayal has differed in terms of terminology and the choosing of quotations or actors featured.

The following discussion outlines three key themes that arise in the media coverage: the clear distinction of views between British Columbia and Alberta, the tension between fostering economic growth and ensuring the protection of the environment, and the challenge of respecting free, prior, and informed consent. By consulting the available positions of the various Indigenous stakeholders involved in the TMX, the discussion suggests, which news providers most accurately present the views of Indigenous Peoples.

Discussion

Following the review of the articles across APTN, CBC, and CTV News, it is clear that the TMX is a deeply divisive issue that touches upon several key debates surrounding fossil fuel extraction, climate change, economic development, environmental protection, and Indigenous rights and sovereignty. This discussion engages with three prominent themes in the media regarding Indigenous Peoples and the TMX. Additionally, it contrasts the depiction of Indigenous actors in the dispute, with their own supplemented online materials, in order to identify which news outlet most effectively represents their views. Relating to the first theme, *table 3* depicts a clear geographic divide between views coming out of Alberta and British Columbia. This is likely due to the heavy involvement and investment of Indigenous Nations and businesses in the oil and gas sector in Alberta that live in the “Oil Patch” as opposed to the Indigenous Nations in British Columbia that are located far from the sites of extraction and who would be severely impacted should an oil spill occur. However, over the course of the last four years, an increasing amount of First Nations, including most in British Columbia have signed benefit agreements with Trans Mountain Corporation, signaling support from the leadership level.

As demonstrated in *table 2*, representation of this geographic divide focuses more on the stories coming out of British Columbia (APTN—43%, CBC News—45%, and CTV News 45%), publishing twice as many articles originating from there as opposed to

Alberta (APTN—18%, CBC News—19%, and CTV News—23%). This further reiterates Kaarsgard and MacDonald's (2020) argument that opponents of the TMX are more prominently featured, as is the case across the three national news outlets considered in this study (APTN—61%, CBC News—43%, and CTV News—46%), which is nearly twice as much as the coverage of the project's supporters (APTN—30%, CBC News—21%, and CTV News—29%). As Wilkes et al. (2010) point out in their study of newspaper coverage of Indigenous protests, most tend to occur in British Columbia where Indigenous land title was never comprehensively extinguished, thus resulting in a myriad of legal fights when it comes to project development such as the TMX. As a result, the majority of actors lobbying against the project are located in British Columbia.

The most prominently featured Indigenous opponents of the TMX are the Tsleil-Waututh-Nation, the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, and several active land and water protectors, such as Kanahaus Manuel and Will George. Over the course of the past four years of media coverage, the Tsleil-Waututh Nation has challenged the TMX every step of the way. This is no surprise, as the Nation's traditional territory is located directly on the Burrard Inlet and at the TMX's western terminus where diluted bitumen is loaded onto tankers for marine shipping across the Pacific Ocean. As a result, the Nation is most at risk if a spill should occur, having potentially catastrophic effects on the marine environment. As stated by the Tsleil-Waututh Nation Sacred Trust Initiative, which was created in 2012 to stop the TMX by any lawful means necessary, "[c]onstruction of the Trans Mountain pipeline will irreparably harm TWN [Tsleil-Waututh Nation] environmental and cultural values [...] TWN has a sacred, legal obligation to protect, defend, and steward the water, land, air, and resources in their territory." (Tsleil-Waututh Nation Sacred Trust Initiative n.d., paragraphs 2–3). Following the government's reapproval of the TMX, the Tsleil-Waututh Nation, along with three other BC First Nations—the Squamish Nation, Coldwater Indian Band, and the Ts'elxwéyeqw Tribes—submitted a case before the Federal Court of Appeal once again, however this time, the Court sided with the government, stating in its February 2020 ruling that the federal government had meaningfully engaged with Indigenous Peoples and had remedied the flaws in its initial consultation process (Federal Court of Appeal 2020). The First Nations then brought this to the Supreme Court of Canada, which refused to hear the case, thus exhausting all

possible legal recourses to halt the TMX. Despite the rulings, the Tsleil-Waututh Nation continues to vehemently oppose the project.

Another key actor fighting against the project and based in British Columbia is the Union of BC Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), an important representative body of First Nations Peoples in British Columbia. UBCIC Grand Chief Stewart Phillip has repeatedly called on the federal government to stop the project, which according to the UBCIC represents an "unacceptable and egregious risk to the clean and healthy ecosystems many Indigenous Peoples and British Columbians' livelihoods depend upon" (Union of BC Indian Chiefs 2017, paragraph 4). Grand Chief Stewart has been a central figure in the fight against the TMX, having been arrested at protests and has suggested that "The Trudeau government's fanatical determination to build this disastrous pipeline and tanker project is boorish and disheartening" (Union of BC Indian Chiefs 2018, paragraph 2).

Aside from direct opposition from First Nations governance authorities, several land and water protectors feature prominently across all three news outlets. Two key figures are Secwepemc activist Kanahaus Manuel and Will George of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation. Manuel is the founder of the 'Tiny House Warriors' grassroots organization that has built ten tiny houses along the 518-kilometre stretch of the pipeline that crosses through Secwepemcul'ecw, the traditional unceded territory of the Secwepemc in the BC Interior in order to disrupt the pipeline expansion (Tiny House Warriors 2020). Arrested several times, Manuel is in fact directly mentioned in many of the articles including "Indigenous group calls pipeline activist's arrest a 'declaration of war'" (CTV News 2018b). While Manuel has focused on the protection of land and inland waterways, Will George of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation has focused more so on protecting the coastal waters of the Burrard Inlet at the heart of his Nation. Member of the 'Protect the Inlet' grassroots organization, George has confronted the prime minister at town halls and has participated in various protests in and around Vancouver including the blockade of the Ironworkers Bridge alongside Greenpeace activists in 2018, which temporarily stopped tanker traffic in the Burrard Inlet (CTV News Vancouver 2019; APTN National News 2018c). George was recently arrested and given a 28-day jail sentence for not respecting a court injunction prohibiting protests at the TMX terminus in May 2022. In response, Tsleil-Waututh Nation Sacred Trust Initiative spokesperson Reuben George stated that "Tsleil-Waututh law tells

us we have an obligation to protect and defend our land, water, and territory so that future generations of Tsleil-Waututh people can thrive. Will George is a protector, not a protester" (Tsleil-Waututh Nation Sacred Trust Initiative 2022, paragraph 7). Both George and Manuel demonstrate that Indigenous Peoples are aware of the media's need for dramatic and newsworthy events, which the protests such as the tiny house- and bridge blockades accomplished (Wilkes et al. 2010). As mentioned in the results section, the way the Nations and individual activists are portrayed has differed across the media landscape, with some instances of their being called disrupters and others as land and water protectors, which also fits well into Miller's proposed framing model where the media often frames Indigenous Peoples as either troublemakers or interested parties with a legitimate dispute (2008). It was found that APTN's coverage provided the most direct one-on-one representation of the TMX opponents, with full features on both Manuel and George (Brake 2018; Hamelin 2019), confirming Grote and Johnson's assertion that Indigenous-led media provides a multi-dimensional and more holistic understanding of the Indigenous experience as suggested in their study of Indigenous resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline (2021).

Conversely, while coverage of Indigenous supporters was at times less than half of that of Indigenous opponents, several features were carried out on the Indigenous-led groups vying to purchase the pipeline, representing a potential major shift in the relationship between Indigenous Nations and the oil and gas sector. This touches upon the second prominent theme across news coverage, the tension between fostering economic growth and environmental protection. As Bosworth found in his consideration of the DAPL, "mainstream media in the early 2010s largely fitted this struggle not into the survivance of Native Nations and US settler colonialism, but rather into a traditional narrative of US environmental politics: the economy versus the environment" (2021, 672; see also Kojola 2017 concerning the Keystone XL pipeline in media coverage). This becomes clear when reviewing the stories concerning the TMX. While activists and political organizations in BC are portrayed as focusing on the protection of the environment, their Indigenous counterparts in Alberta are portrayed as supporters of economic development. With official endorsements from provincial Indigenous governance bodies such as the Métis Nation of Alberta (Métis Nation of Alberta 2021),

the unique history of oil and gas development in Alberta and its role within Indigenous Nations and communities becomes apparent. After nearly 60 years of tar sands extraction on the traditional territories of First Nations and Metis Peoples in Northern Alberta, Nations have come to live with the industry, which has provided jobs and capital for communities. Despite active opposition to tar sands extraction in the province from the grassroots level (Preston 2017), many Nations have embraced the oil and gas sector. Referring back to Tsing (2015), this could be interpreted as the adaptive art of living on a damaged planet, where faced with seemingly unhindered resource extraction, Indigenous Nations have made the best out of a bad environmental situation, such as the Fort McKay First Nation located in the heart of the tar sands extraction zone, which prides itself as "among Canada's leading First Nations when it comes to working collaboratively with industry. The Nation has a successful and long-established record of relationship building with the various oil sands mining companies that operate in our traditional territory" (Fort McKay First Nation 2022).

As alluded to above, the potential role of Indigenous support and capital make the case of the TMX particularly unique. Following the announcement that the federal government would seek a new buyer for the pipeline, Indigenous-led investment groups stepped forward to bid on the project, first signaling their willingness to purchase an equity stake followed by a proposition to acquire the entire pipeline. These include Project Reconciliation, the Western Indigenous Pipeline Group (now known as Chinook Pathways), the Iron Coalition (which has since dropped out) and recently Nesika Services, a not-for-profit venture. Based in Calgary, Alberta, the Canadian oil and gas sector's main administrative centre, Project Reconciliation has been at the forefront of media coverage, and identifies itself as being a "100% Indigenous-owned initiative to acquire 100% of Trans Mountain Corporation including the Trans Mountain Pipeline and Expansion Project," which it argues "moves Canada's Indigenous peoples from managing poverty, to being firmly and genuinely 'at the table' as material equity partners with Corporate Canada" (Project Reconciliation 2022, paragraph 1). With many Indigenous Nations having already invested capital into various components of the petroleumscape, such as storage tank farms and shorter pipelines (Government of Alberta 2017), Indigenous ownership of the Trans Mountain Pipeline would represent the most

significant investment to date of Indigenous capital into oil-based futures. Evidently, this tension has manifested itself in various ways across the country but especially within Indigenous Nations. Given the clear tension between economic development and environmental protection, and the prevailing debate around appropriate policy to mitigate the increasing impacts of climate change, especially in British Columbia, which has recently experienced both catastrophic flooding and heat waves, the idea of investing into fossil fuels and the petroleumscape is not one taken lightly. While groups such as Project Reconciliation have maintained that they are “ready, willing and able” to purchase the pipeline (Stewart 2022, paragraph 9), they also argue that the pipeline can be used as a right of way for future energy use, once fossil fuels are no longer extracted. This appears to be a precarious line of logic when considering post-oil futures.

This tension between environmental protection and economic development connect to the third major theme under study here, that of the free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous Peoples. MacGregor (2021) has suggested that the protection of Indigenous rights and the planet’s health go hand in hand, while Whyte (2020) states that the climate crisis is in fact related to an astonishing failure to attend to just relationships with Indigenous Peoples. The vast spatial transformations and associated pollution caused by the extraction of the tar sands and its subsequent shipment through pipelines such as the Trans Mountain Pipeline have required that Indigenous Nations such as the Fort McKay First Nation to adapt to life in a damaged landscape. Does this necessarily mean that all Indigenous Peoples along the pipeline route must do the same?

Free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) is enshrined under Article 19 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which as of 21 June 2021, has been adopted into Canadian law under the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act (Government of Canada 2022). Hughes (2018) posits that the respect of free, prior, and informed consent is a pathway to autonomy and full recognition of the human rights of Indigenous Peoples. “Free” denotes the absence of pressure or coercion to decide, “prior” ensures that enough time is given to make a decision, and “informed” corresponds to an adequate knowledge of both the risks and implications of a potential project or decision (Hughes 2018). As Budd suggests in his review of newspaper coverage related specifically to the Federal Court of Appeal’s

decision to quash the approval of the TMX approval in 2018, the pipeline “represents a significant test of the Canadian government’s willingness to extend the paradigm of reconciliation to include a respect for Indigenous People’s right to free, prior, and informed consent” (2021, 129). Opponents of the project have cited the disrespect of this right as a major reason why the project should not move forward. As previously mentioned, the Tiny House Warriors sought to block construction crews as a means of asserting Secwepemc law and jurisdiction, emphasizing that “We have never provided and will never provide our free, prior and informed consent—the minimal international standard—to the Trans Mountain Pipeline Project” (Tiny House Warriors 2020, paragraph 4). The Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, also directly reference this, emphasizing the lack of free, prior, and informed consent of all Nations along the route and the expansion of fossil fuel infrastructure (Union of BC Indian Chiefs 2017, paragraph 4). By ignoring these legitimate concerns, the Canadian government could very well perpetuate what Youdelis (2016) has termed the antipolitics of Indigenous consultation that produces mechanisms which deny Indigenous Peoples’ voice and political agency.

This raises an important challenge, whose voice should be heard? Does approval from recognized (and legislated) Indigenous governance bodies such as Band Councils of individual First Nations sufficient? Or must entire communities provide consent? Certain experts suggest that free, prior, and informed consent should not be considered as a “veto power” to projects but rather that establishing consent should be the objective of consultations (Hughes 2018). That said, it is considered necessary that all parties strive to reach a consensus in good faith, something the government accused the Tsleil-Waututh Nation of not doing in its renewed round of consultations in December 2019, while the latter suggested the government had withheld information regarding TMX plans, and as a result infringed on its right to free, prior, and informed consent (Smart 2019). The question remains, does one Nation’s refusal out of 129 First Nations represent grounds to veto a project? Given the pipeline expansion’s near completion, it would appear not to be the case.

Conclusion: Listening to Stories from the Land and Water

Indigenous Peoples and issues are widely featured and represented across Canada's media landscape. However, as Miller (2008) has suggested the way they are framed through differing news coverage can either depict Indigenous Peoples as troublemakers, as fighting amongst themselves, or as Peoples and Nations with a genuine dispute when it comes to contentious events or projects. The aim of this study was to build on the available research concerning representation of Indigenous views in the media by focusing on the case study of the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project (TMX), a multi-billion-dollar state-owned endeavour that seeks to triple the flow of diluted bitumen originating from Alberta's tar sands to the Pacific coast, opening up exports to markets other than the US. In order to effectively capture how Indigenous views concerning the TMX were represented across the Canadian media landscape, the online content of three national news outlets, the Canadian Television Network (CTV), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) was consulted and analyzed. By doing so, the paper responds to Clark (2014), in focusing on the representation of Indigenous Peoples from Canada's leading television broadcasters rather than primarily focusing on newspaper coverage as has largely been the case. This study therefore represents the first of its kind to compare and contrast the views coming from these three specific national news providers.

The main research questions related to how Indigenous views differed across the three news outlets, what main themes arose the coverage over time, how closely the coverage actually represented the views of Indigenous Peoples, and as a result, which news outlet most effectively represented these views. A total of 2,853 news articles over the past four years (May 2018 to May 2022) were consulted from the news databases of CTV, CBC, and APTN, representing the period from when the TMX was initially purchased, causing an exponential rise in its media coverage, up until the initial submission of this paper. This longer period of study thus accounts for variations of coverage over time, a challenge in previous research as suggested by Wilkes et al. (2010). Specifically, 368 articles concerning the TMX, were identified as relating directly to Indigenous Peoples, which served as the primary data set under review.

Three key themes arose, namely the geographic divide between Alberta and British Columbia (with stories focusing more so on supporters in the former and on opponents in the latter), the tension between economic development and environmental protection, and finally the issue of respecting the free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous Peoples and Nations. While greater coverage of Indigenous views, both supporting and opposing the project was reported through CTV and CBC News, APTN News' coverage of Indigenous views of the TMX was found to provide in-depth, one-on-one insights into opponents such as land defenders and water protectors, while also effectively representing the supporters of the project such as the Indigenous-led groups vying to purchase the pipeline. Touching upon Adams' (2017) notion of metaphysics of encounter, peoples—and in this case a mainstream national audience—come into contact with different actors and issues, such as those connected to the TMX. It is therefore suggested that if we are to truly understand the views of Indigenous Peoples, it is worthwhile to listen to what they say directly from the land or the water's edge (in this case), something APTN does an effective job of doing, as suggested by its guiding mission statement of sharing stories of Indigenous Peoples by Indigenous Peoples (APTN National News 2019). As Grote and Johnson (2021) suggest, Indigenous-led media offer a multi-dimensional and more holistic understanding of the Indigenous experience. Given that the APTN provides freely accessible content (both visual and written), it is suggested that if mainstream Canadian society (or international audiences for that matter) wish to engage with Indigenous issues in the media, they should privilege Indigenous media outlets in addition to consulting the published materials of the actors themselves. As this study centers exclusively on national news coverage of the TMX, further research comparing local and regional news coverage, in addition to broader international coverage represents a promising pursuit. Nevertheless, this paper serves as a blueprint for future studies and its use of news coverage from three prominent Canadian news outlets provides a model to compare centre-right, centre-left, and Indigenous media, which can be of particular relevance to further research regarding the tensions between economic development, environmental protection, and the respect of Indigenous rights.

Relating back to the case study of the TMX and Indigenous views of the project, since the federal government's purchase of the pipeline in 2018, the TMX is a project that

connects all Canadians in a way, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, and makes them part and parcel to what Hein (2021) has termed the global petroleumscape. Given the increasing value of Western Canadian Select, the diluted bitumen shipped from the tar sands (Alberta Energy Regulator 2021), and the rising need for energy, it appears that the demand for Canadian oil is likely to grow. While some Indigenous Nations become more heavily involved in the industry, others continue to fight for more rigorous environmental protection and clean-energy alternatives. With the TMX slated for completion by 2023, its impacts both negative and positive are unclear. Will the dreams of Indigenous investors to purchase the pipeline and become the owners of this megaproject come true or will the nightmares of land and water defenders and protectors come to pass? This remains to be seen.

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Making Brave Space:
Beading, Reconciliation, and Urban Indigenous Geographies[13]

Abstract

While cities have historically sought to displace and exclude Indigenous peoples through a multitude of state-sanctioned discriminatory policies such as the Indian Act, today, Indigenous peoples and cultures are flourishing across Canada's urban landscape and are creating new urban Indigenous geographies. Young Indigenous peoples are part and parcel of the vibrancy of urban Indigenous communities, especially given their involvement in promoting Indigenous cultures to wider audiences through social media. This project focuses on the spaces of solidarity and cultural exchange created by beadwork. This traditional art form and practice represents an important marker of Indigenous identity and a true form of cultural resurgence. While beadwork can represent a clear expression of one's identity in the city, it also provides opportunities for social gathering and exchange. One such example are beading circles where participants gather to bead and social- ize. Focusing on the city of Ottawa, Canada's national capital, the study brings together the experiences of 13 post-secondary Indigenous students and artists, considering the role of beading circles on university campuses and how they can serve as what one interlocutor termed "brave spaces" and as sites of cultural and social exchange between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. It is argued that these networks of learning, exchange, and solidarity enable the formation of an urban sense of place while contributing to an Indigenous right to the city and to difference, ultimately furthering the process of Indigenous urbanism and the national project of truth, reconciliation, and healing.

Keywords:

Indigenous peoples, beadwork, urban Indigeneity, Indigenous urbanism, Canadian cities, decolonization, anticolonialism, reconciliation

[13] The text presented here is reproduced from the original article, which can be found in its original formatting in the Appendix and here: Dumas, Daniel. 2024. "Making Brave Space: Beading, Reconciliation, and Urban Indigenous Geographies." *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 62:39–64. https://doi.org/10.3138/ijcs-2023-0011.

Introduction

Canada is currently in an era of reconciliation. It has been a long time in the making. Over the past 10 years, the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) Final Report and its 94 Calls to Action, the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG), and the recent uncovering of unmarked graves of Indigenous children at former residential school sites, have all contributed to propelling the project and dialogue of reconciliation to the center of Canada's national narrative. This is radically realigning the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada and has brought about a greater awareness of the settler colonial legacy of the Canadian state embodied by the former residential school system and discriminatory legislation such as the Indian Act.

While Indigenous peoples and cultures were actively pushed to the margins of both real and imagined Canadian society since well before Confederation in 1867, there is now a growing consciousness of both the past wrongs committed to and the important contributions of Indigenous peoples to the creation and maintenance of "Canada" as we now know it. This is perhaps most apparent in urban centres today. Decidedly, Indigenous peoples are becoming increasingly urbanized. According to the most recent Canadian census, of the more than 1.8 million self-identified Indigenous people in Canada, over 800,000 are now residing in urban areas, representing a 12.5 percent increase between 2016 and 2021 (Statistics Canada 2022b). A growing urban Indigenous population in Canada's cities coupled with the rising awareness of and support for reconciliation profoundly impacts the country's urban landscapes. It is suggested that these trends are contributing to the creation of new Indigenous geographies within Canada's cities where long-established and newly arriving Indigenous citizens are claiming and producing space, forming a new urban sense of place, all of which further the process of Indigenous urbanism, whereby urban Indigeneity and space are co-produced (Nejad et al. 2019; Dorries 2022a). This article considers how these new Indigenous geographies are being developed, by focusing on one case study, that of Canada's capital city, Ottawa. Specifically, the experiences of young urban Indigenous migrants pursuing higher education in the city are considered with a special emphasis on the role of beading circles

and how they can facilitate the formation of lasting networks of learning, exchange, and solidarity for Indigenous peoples moving to the city. There exists a considerable body of literature demonstrating how beadwork constitutes a place-based form of Indigenous knowledge integral to identity formation and the fashioning of relationships to social, cultural, and ecological environments (Edge 2011; Smetzer 2007; Belcourt 2010; Racette 1991; Harjo et al. 2018), representing a true form of Indigenous cultural resurgence in the face of the settler colonial state (Ray 2023; Ansloos et al. 2022; Dorries 2022b). Drawing from these sources, this study seeks to connect both the growing literature on urban Indigeneity and the role of beading in contributing to urban placemaking practices, which foster a sense of place within the urban environment and contribute to processes of Indigenous urbanism.

Adopting an Indigenous research agenda (Smith 2012), the knowledge and experiences of 13 young Indigenous urbanites living and working in Ottawa details the influence and impact beading in the city has had on them, both as a personal and professional pursuit. It is argued that beading circles, specifically those held on university campuses, create what one interlocutor termed *brave spaces* that facilitate moving to a new city, connecting Indigenous students, enabling them to share and discuss common challenges, while often introducing them to this significant cultural practice for the first time. Drawing upon Julie Tomiak's (2011) assertion that cities can constitute effective centres of decolonization where Indigenous peoples engage in processes of placemaking and reterritorialization through the assertion of symbolic space, reclaiming physical space, and carving out political space, it is suggested that beading circles represent a prime example of such processes, which help secure both a right to the city and a right to difference, which in turn encourage urban Indigenous spatial production (Nejad et al. 2019). In addition to establishing new Indigenous geographies in the city, beading circles also have the potential to create awareness by connecting Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, thus significantly furthering the ongoing project of truth, reconciliation, and healing. These key sites of learning and exchange have tremendous transformative power to not only reshape the micro geographies of university campuses but of cities themselves.

Literature Review

Urban Indigeneity

Historically, settler colonial cities have neither welcomed nor acknowledged the presence of Indigenous peoples (Kermoal and Lévesque 2010; Tomiak 2017; Dorries et al. 2019). While all Canadian cities have Indigenous roots and many Indigenous people lived within burgeoning urban areas both permanently and seasonally, the urban came to symbolize a way of life that replaced so-called savagery and wilderness with progress and civilization (Peters and Andersen 2013; Dorries et al. 2019). A broad range of policies were implemented to distance Indigenous peoples from urban areas according to a fundamentally paternalistic logic, which argued that to preserve Indigenous ways of life, they needed to be protected from the vices of White society (Dickason and McNab 2009). Policies included the implementation of a private property regime, the removal of reserves close to urban areas through legislation such as the Oliver Act, the illegal surrender of reserve lands, the implementation of a pass system to restrict the movement of Indigenous peoples, and general hostility toward Indigenous peoples in urban areas (Peters and Andersen 2013; Kermoal and Lévesque 2010; Dickason and McNab 2009). These measures enabled the proliferation of settler colonial urbanism, whereby Indigenous peoples were dispossessed of their lands, subjected to assimilatory practices, most notably through residential and day schools, and displaced far from the center of urban life (Dorries et al. 2019). Indeed, as Dorries (2023) argues, the production of urban space is central to settler colonialism, “as it not only disrupts and destroys Indigenous relations to territory, reimagining Indigenous territories as *terra nullius*, but it positions Indigenous territories as empty resources available for urban development” (216). Consequently, by excluding Indigenous peoples from cities, Indigeneity and urban life came to be regarded as being mutually exclusive (Peters and Anderson 2013; Dorries 2022a). This rendered urban space into what Coulthard (2014) has termed *urbs nullius*, empty land available for urban development. This also contributed to the mythic separation of “city” and “reserve” (or any other rural or remote Indigenous community), masking the violence upon which the settler city was founded, suggesting that

dispossession is non-urban and “something that happened *back then* and *out there*” (Dorries et al. 2019, 3, emphasis in original). Peters and Andersen (2013) touch upon the impacts of this mythic separation, stating that “the conceptual and physical removal of Indigenous people from urban spaces that accompanied colonial urbanization reinforced perceptions about the incompatibility of urban and Indigenous identities” (2013, 5). As Peters (1996) suggests, the experiences of urban Indigenous peoples have often been reduced to two broad categories, that of the successfully assimilated Indigenous person who has entered the labour force, adapting to Euro-Canadian ways, and that of the failed urban Indigenous person who is relegated to the margins of society and plagued by substance abuse and reliance on the state.

In its final report published in 1996, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) highlighted the tension between opportunity and loss that Indigenous peoples faced in urban areas (Peters and Newhouse 2003). Importantly, it moved away from solely focusing on the negative stereotypes largely associated with urban Indigenous peoples, suggesting that cities represent spaces of resilience and cultural innovation (RCAP 1996; Peters and Andersen 2013). To foster strong urban Indigenous communities, RCAP affirmed that Indigenous peoples must be supported by mechanisms of self-governance and representation through access to communal land bases (RCAP 1996). While many of the recommendations of RCAP were ultimately shelved (only now being seriously considered), urban Indigenous populations continued to grow and diversify. Important push and pull factors such as seeking employment and higher education opportunities largely contributed to the movement of Indigenous peoples towards urban areas. Also significant was a growing sense of pride in Indigenous identities, which translated into an increased willingness to self-identify as being Indigenous on Canadian censuses (Norris and Clatworthy 2003).

This process has resulted in a shift whereby urban areas are increasingly home to what Andersen (2009) calls a “density” of Indigenous cultures. The increase in urban Indigenous populations speaks directly to the resilience of Indigenous peoples and the fact that Indigeneity survives, adapts, and innovates in modern cities (Peters and Andersen 2013). Indeed, as Dorries et al. (2019) explore, urban Indigeneity is not a fixed category, but is rather fluid and dynamic and is defined by relationships to kin and place.

Picking up on Gerald Vizenor's (2008) concept of "survivance," whereby contemporary Indigenous presence is itself a manifestation of Indigenous survival, resistance, and resurgence, urban Indigeneity speaks to the fact that in spite of centuries of settler colonial violence, Indigenous communities endure (Dorries et al. 2019). Here resurgence is understood as movements and embodied practices focusing on rebuilding nation-specific Indigenous ways of being and acknowledging self-determination, while resistance is understood as movements and embodied practices focused on addressing and fighting against settler colonial state violence (Dorries et al. 2019).

To encourage both resistance and resurgence in urban environments, Tomiak (2011; 2017) asserts that we must first recognize and understand the colonial foundations of cities to determine how they can be decolonized, working toward unsettling "settler colonial common sense" and state power. This sheds light on the city's role as both a linchpin of colonialism and a crucial site of decolonization (Tomiak 2011). Importantly, Tomiak charts out how cities can become effective centres of decolonization (and of anticolonialism) by defining three courses of action. Cities must become areas where Indigenous peoples can (1) assert symbolic space, (2) reclaim physical space, and (3) carve out political space (Tomiak 2011). Tomiak also provides examples of strategies that can destabilize the status quo of the settler city through processes of reterritorialization and placemaking. Reterritorialization involves strengthening existing and creating new physical spaces within the city that embody Indigeneity (i.e., reclaiming physical space), while placemaking enables Indigenous peoples to see the city as a place where they belong and can identify as themselves (i.e., asserting symbolic space) (Tomiak 2011). Both are considerably strengthened by the third of Tomiak's pathways, namely, the carving out of political space, which, for example, could be in the form of independent jurisdictional bodies, such as Indigenous advisory boards, which have the power to plan and help implement initiatives important to Indigenous communities parallel to City Hall's existing power (Nejad et al. 2019; Walker et al. 2017).

By achieving these three pathways, Indigeneity can be firmly entrenched, recognized, and celebrated within the urban landscape, granting urban Indigenous peoples and communities what Lefebvre (1996) has termed the "right to the city," which "cannot be conceived of as a simple visiting right or as a return to traditional cities. It can

only be formulated as a transformed and renewed right to urban life" (158). Nejad et al. (2019) suggest that in order to achieve an Indigenous right to the city, it must be renegotiated to include the "right to difference," which embraces a shift toward Indigenous cultures, politics, and spatial production (Newhouse 2011). They suggest that the right to the city and the right to difference are complementary, and that without the latter, the former becomes deradicalized and reduced to an institutionalized principle of human rights (Nejad et al. 2019; Butler 2012). By doing so, it negates the distinct relationship Indigenous peoples occupy as urban citizens in cities across Turtle Island. The language of migration is fraught given that Indigenous peoples are not migrating to cities but are often moving within their traditional Indigenous territories, maintaining links to the city, reserve, and territory (Peters 2004; Dorries et al. 2019). In response to settler colonial urbanism, which has attacked both an Indigenous right to the city and the right to difference, Dorries (2022a) suggests that Indigenous urbanism is a process through which "Indigeneity is mobilized and transformed by urban processes as well as the ways in which Indigeneity transforms what constitutes 'the urban'" (114). It serves as an analytic that seeks to transform urban space through a renegotiation and reconfiguration, which contests the violence caused by the settler colonial production of space (Dorries 2022a; Nejad et al. 2019). Just as urban Indigeneity is fluid and dynamic, not constituting a fixed colonial category, so too is Indigenous urbanism, which is transformative rather than an additive project that can be simply applied to existing settler colonial planning practices (Dorries 2022a). Instead, it engages both the production and practice of Indigeneity as well as the production of urban space, positing that Indigeneity and urbanity are co-produced and should be understood as a key analytic and basis for a liberatory research agenda (Dorries 2022a). As such, Indigenous urbanism can contribute to both the right to the city and the right to difference by making way for the participation of Indigenous peoples in spatial production and the appropriation of space, which can create community spaces that are "reflective of a contemporary imprinting of Indigenous urban materialities ... and [are] reflective of people's determination to create healthy and productive spaces for themselves" (Nejad et al. 2019, 418).

Embracing Indigenous urbanism can also, in turn, make way for what Iris Marion Young has called the "unoppressive city," where social justice "requires not the melting

away of differences, but institutions that promote reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression" (1990, 46). Here a politics of difference founded upon the concept of "unassimilated otherness" is foundational, where diverse groups' identities and rights are entrenched and respected, creating a "being-together" of urban citizens, a space where people can live and interact free from oppression (Young 1986). By making the conditions possible for the flourishing of Indigenous urbanism, a renewed and renegotiated Indigenous right to the (unoppressive) city comes into view. It can also contribute to efforts toward reconciliation and collaboration, whereby recognizing the original occupancy of Indigenous peoples on the sites of current cities is paramount, and where Indigenous governance is supported, resulting in opportunities for collective deliberation and decision-making in urban environments (Dorries 2023). A pathway for promoting Indigenous urbanism can also be achieved by enhancing bottom-up resurgent practices of placemaking and spatial programming, which promote the role of cities as loci for Indigenous resistance and reclamation of land (Nejad et al. 2019; Dorries et al. 2019). Indeed, as Dorries et al. (2019) suggest, Indigenous peoples can reclaim urban space through both formal political channels and informal modes of organizing urban relationships. This article now turns to a specific example of an Indigenous bottom-up placemaking practice, which connects Indigenous peoples with each other and their surrounding urban environment, producing new ways and forms of achieving both a right to the city and a right to difference.

Beadwork

Including a wide range of objects crafted from hide, fur, and/or commercially made wood and cotton, and embellished with beads in identifiable patterns, almost all Indigenous peoples practice beadwork in one form or another with different nations producing distinct forms and items, often directly incorporating elements from their surrounding environment, thus representing an important form of Indigenous visual and material culture (Belcourt 2010; Racette 1991; Troupe and Dorion-Paquin 2002; Smetzer 2007). Garneau (2018) suggests that beading reflects a broader worldview that understands the relation of people to the environment as being-with rather than mastery over. It is therefore

an embodied activity, which activates connections to kin, place, and more-than-human-relations (Harjo et al. 2018; Dorries 2022b).

As with most other aspects of Indigenous life, beading was also the target of settler colonial policies, which sought to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their territories and assimilate them into settler society. Specifically, the practice of beading was impacted by the outlawing of the potlatch (1884) and all other forms of ceremony (1885) by the Canadian federal government, given that Indigenous peoples adorned beaded regalia for these ceremonies, and those found to participate in these ceremonies were subject to punishment by imprisonment, which impacted the practice and status of beading (Prete 2019; Dorries 2022b). In the current era of reconciliation, beadwork has therefore come to represent a key form of Indigenous cultural resurgence (Ray 2023; Ansloos et al. 2022), which Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2017) defines "as a set of practices through which the regeneration and reestablishment of Indigenous nations can be achieved" (16). As Eliza- beth Edge states, such practices "remain integral to our development, ways of knowing, teaching, learning and being, as Indigenous, and in the formation of pedagogical and ontological relationships to social, cultural, physical and spiritual environments" (2011, 16). It also contributes to a form of "decolonial aesthetics," which foster artistic and cultural production that creates and imagines futures beyond colonialism (Dorries 2022b; Martineau and Ritskes 2014). Indeed, as Cree artist Ruth Cuthand reflects, beading is "an activity of survival. It is a means of remembering tradition and feeling well" (2015, 83, as cited in Dorries 2022b, 314).

Beading is commonly done in a group in what is often called a beading circle. As Ansloos et al. state, "The holistic healing offered through beading is made more tangible by the profound act of gathering in a shared space ... and in the relationships that develop and are nourished in this space" (2022, 2). Here, it is important to note the gendered aspect of this space, as beading represents a primarily female pursuit. Relating to her experience organizing a beading circle in Edmonton, Alberta, Edge shares that "gathering together as Indigenous women in the form of a beading circle served as a place and space to come together as Indigenous women and share experiences in a supportive and nurturing environment" (2011, 122). This can be especially significant within urban

environments where many Indigenous peoples may be removed from their homelands and traditional teachings. Edge suggests,

> Foremost, is the challenge to learn about Indigenous cultures and traditions in a context where many moved from their home regions to urban centres, where access to First Nations or Metis Elders is limited or constrained, at a time when there are fewer and fewer Elders with direct and lived experienced from whom to learn. Noteworthy, is that it is at university where Aboriginal students may for the first time in their lives be learning about Indigenous histories, philosophies, and life ways (2011, 123).

The importance of beading circles in providing urban Indigenous peoples, and especially students, space to both gather and ground themselves in the urban environment is precisely within the scope of this study. Indeed, Dorries (2022a) suggests that Indigenous peoples employ artistic practices to articulate urban Indigenous identity, intervening in colonial space not only by asserting Indigenous presence but also by shaping new understandings of urban space and time. Building on this, it is suggested that in an urban setting, attending beading circles provides participants with the opportunity to create a sense of place in the city. Here, sense of place refers to the subjective and emotional attachment people create, formed of meanings both personal and shared that are associated with a particular locale (Cresswell 2015). Beading circles provide Indigenous peoples with a locale where social relations take place and where the practice of beading gathers and grounds participants, giving them the space to teach, learn, and foster a sense of place and belonging within the urban environment.

As suggested above, for young Indigenous students moving to the city for post-secondary studies, oftentimes, it is here where they will encounter beading or learning about different aspects of their culture for the first time (Edge 2011). Dorries (2022b) suggests, “Beading persists as an important practice that not only resurrects cultural traditions but also confronts ecological and colonial violence” (314). Moreover, she advances that beadwork connects people to place and is a practice of resistance and regeneration (Dorries 2022b). For this reason, beading circles serve as an important form of “brave space,” where the primary purpose of interaction is the search for truth (Palfrey 2017). Brave spaces allow participants to share personal and common challenges,

enabling each other to work through them and find possible solutions. In the university context, cultural programming, such as beading circles, are often organized by Indigenous resource centres that provide services for Indigenous students on campuses and often represent the first point of contact at the university for newly arrived Indigenous students, and as such can act as important community institutions within the urban environment. Reflecting on the broader role of urban Indigenous institutions such as Friendship Centres, David Newhouse states, “The experience of urban Aboriginal life is mediated through community institutions. Participation in them gives a sense of community, a sense of history and a sense of shared values” (2003, 252). As will now be demonstrated by the case study of a group of young Indigenous beaders in Ottawa, beadwork is one example of a placemaking process that brings participants together, enabling the formation of relationships to social, cultural, and ecological environments, which in turn activate connections to kin and place, essential in the context of urban Indigeneity.

Methodology

Robert Innes suggests that “American Indian Studies must be an undertaking held to the highest of ethical standards” (2004, 131). I believe this extends to all disciplines, such as geography, the environmental humanities, and Canadian studies when it relates to Indigenous peoples, worldviews, cultures, and histories. In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) emphasizes the need to adopt research methodologies that structure assump- tions, values, concepts, orientations, and priorities that reflect the needs of Indigenous peoples. By adopting an Indigenous research agenda, researchers can center respect and reciprocity and remain accountable to Indigenous inter- locutors and communities. This in turn leads to research being done *with* and not *on* Indigenous peoples, where “reporting back” and “sharing knowledge” are central pillars of the research agenda (Smith 2012).

When engaging with Indigenous interlocutors and communities, establish- ing relationships of trust is fundamental and does not represent a one-size-fits- all or a one-time transaction. Kathryn Besio (2010) argues that a researcher’s expression of

positionality is an important step in contextualizing research findings and remaining accountable to interlocutors and that as researchers, we must strive to "destabilize the binaries of colonialism while remaining attentive to colonialism's violence and violent legacies, and to write and work against their perpetuation in the colonial present" (2010, 564–65). Sarah de Leeuw (2017) specifically suggests that non-Indigenous settler geographers must "rethink the ways (and importantly the *forms*) by which we produce knowledge, especially about colonialism and Indigenous geographies and especially in and through our writing practices" (de Leeuw 2017, 309). Max Liboiron (2021) illustrates how research and change-making, scientific or otherwise, are always caught up in the contradictions, injustices, and structures that are rooted in colonial violence, which therefore requires manoeuvring within complex and compromised terrain. Liboiron, therefore, encourages adopting anticolonial research frameworks, which embody "the diversity of work, positionalities, and obligations that let us 'stand with' one another as we pursue good land relations, broadly defined" (2021, 27).

This study therefore adopts a critical anticolonial geographic lens, where I as a white settler male and ally engage with an Indigenous research agenda grounded in anticolonial thinking and practices. As the TRC made clear, we must recognize that "reconciliation is not an Aboriginal problem; it is a Canadian one" (TRC 2015, vi), and that as treaty peoples, we must seek to establish and maintain mutually respectful relationships. In the context of this study, I sought to engage with and learn from young urban Indigenous residents living in Ottawa over the course of several years. Between October 2019 and August 2022, a total of 13 semi-structured qualitative interviews were carried out. The majority (10 out of 13) were held in person, while two interviews were held via Zoom, and one was carried out over written correspondence. I also participated in a beading circle at the (now-named) Mashkawazìwogamig: Indigenous Resource Center of the University of Ottawa from 2015 to 2016. To connect with interlocutors, I utilized the "snowball" method where I initially met with participants from the beading circle who then put me in touch with friends and colleagues who also bead. In line with other studies that carried out qualitative interviews with urban Indigenous people (Laliberte 2013; Dumas 2016), interlocutors were offered an honorarium as a means of respectfully acknowledging their contribution of both taking the time to meet and talk with me and for

sharing their knowledge and experiences. Interlocutors were sent a transcript of their interview and given the opportunity to comment, redact, or change what they shared. As suggested by Edge (2011), direct quotes are included at length in the analysis and discussion as a demonstration of respect and as a way to honour the integrity of the interlocutors' chosen words. They were also given the opportunity to review the selected direct quotes after the initial writing of the paper and to state whether they wanted to be named or given a pseudonym, with the majority choosing to use their first name.

It is also important to recognize that the results of this study do not strive to speak on behalf of all urban Indigenous people who bead, nor do they necessarily reflect the views of all the interlocutors. As a non-Indigenous male settler who was invited into a predominantly female Indigenous space, I recognize the precarity involved in addressing this topic. I attempt to do so from a place grounded in respect, where consent, intent, accountability, and open communication were maintained to foster a sense of reciprocity throughout the study.

Results

To date, the existing urban Indigenous literature in Canada has primarily focused on the experiences of Indigenous peoples living in Western Canadian cities, given the region's significant urban Indigenous populations (Peters and Andersen 2013). As is illustrated in Figure 1, while Ottawa does not have as high of an urban Indigenous population as Winnipeg, Edmonton, or Vancouver, it does currently have the highest of any city in Central or Eastern Canada with a self-identified Indigenous population of 46,545 (Statistics Canada 2022b). This is especially significant given that the Ottawa-Gatineau census metropolitan area (CMA) is considerably less populated than the Toronto or Montréal CMAs, with an overall population of approximately 1.5 million compared to 6.2 and 4.3 million in the latter two (Statistics Canada 2022a).

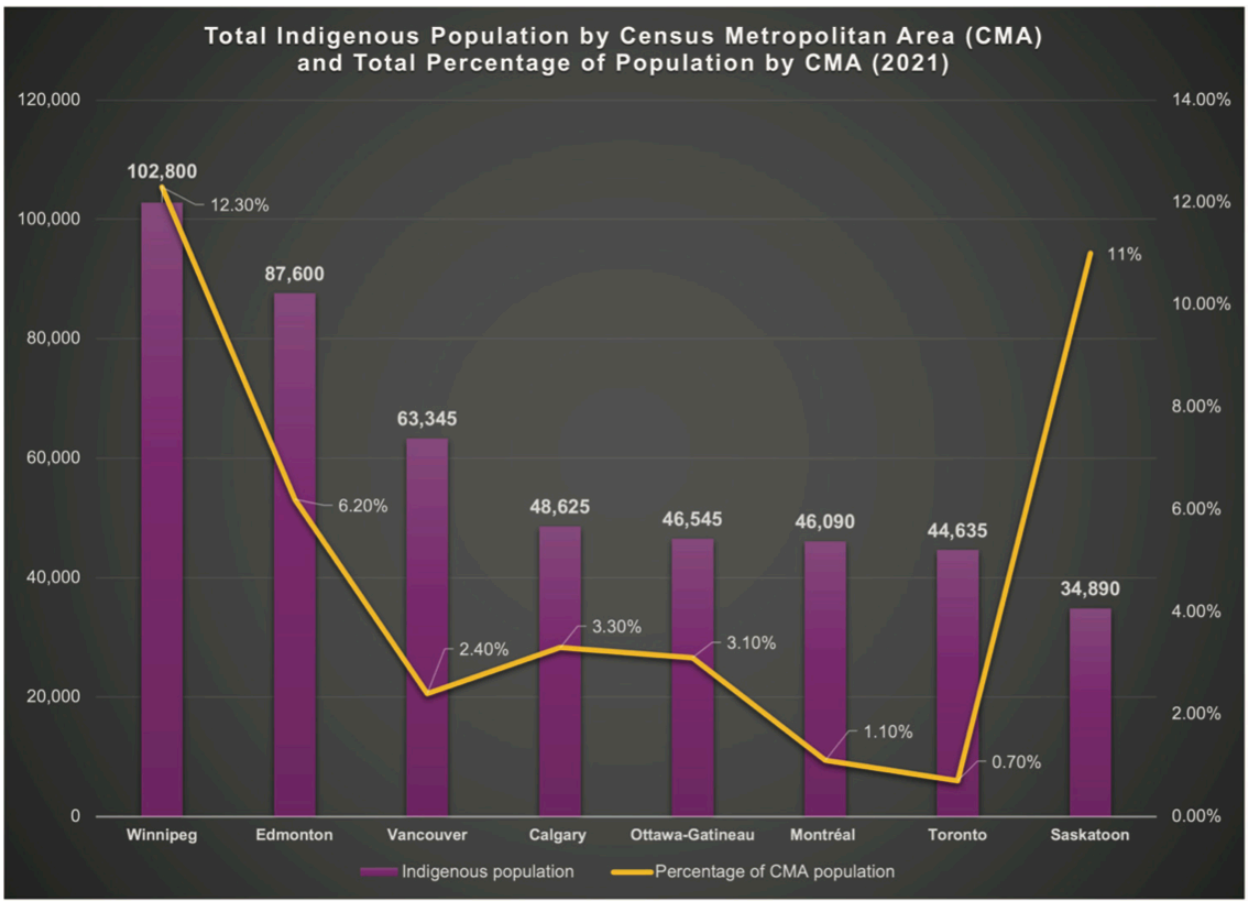

Figure 8. Total Indigenous population by Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) and Total Percentage of Population by CMA (2021).
Source: Author's treatment, 2024, with data from Statistics Canada, 2022a; 2022b.

Ottawa itself represents a unique urban case study given that it is the national capital and is a hub of opportunity for people across the country (Dumas 2016). Many Indigenous people move to the city due to pull factors such as employment opportunities with the federal government or to pursue post-secondary education; with several post-secondary institutions offering tailored Indigenous programs in law, medicine, Indigenous studies, and governance. Ottawa is also home to the head offices of the five major national Indigenous representative bodies, the Assembly of First Nations, the Métis National Council, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, and the Native Women's Association of Canada. As Tomiak suggests, given Ottawa's status as the national capital, events there are "often conceptualized as a stand-in for national interest and federal politics" (2016, 10). Coupled with the fact that Ottawa represents the primary location of Indigenous/ non-Indigenous political brokering, acting as a key linchpin of the

Canadian settler state (Tomiak 2011) and a symbolic centre of the current move toward truth, reconciliation, and healing, the city is vested with important power and symbolism.

In the context of this study, 13 young Indigenous beaders were interviewed, 11 of whom had frequented the Mashkawazìwogamig Indigenous Resource Center and beading circle program offered there in one form or another over the past ten years. Two additional beadwork artists connected to the circle were also interviewed. Considering demographics, 9 women and 4 men were interviewed, ranging from their mid-20s to mid-30s in age. None of the interlocutors were originally from Ottawa, all initially coming to the city to pursue post-secondary education. In terms of geographic origin, interlocutors came from what are today referred to as Northern Ontario (6), Southern Ontario (3), Québec (2), and Alberta (2); nine of whom still lived in Ottawa, while the remaining four moved to other Canadian cities or returned to their home communities. Finally, in terms of cultural background, interlocutors self-identified as First Nations (Anishinaabe, Cree) and Metis. Interviews varied in length, with an average of approximately one hour. Based on previous urban Indigenous studies (Seraphim 2012; Laliberte 2013; Dumas 2016), an interview guide was prepared addressing five main themes including background, identity and culture, urban life, environment, and future plans. Interview transcripts were analyzed using MaxQDA Plus 2022 software. Transcripts were coded according to five categories including: (1) beading as a cultural practice, (2) social networking and urban life, (3) power, (4) education, and (5) connection to Land. The main findings of the five groupings form the basis of the following analysis and discussion.

Analysis and Discussion

Following the analysis of the coded interviews, three main themes arose, including (1) the space of the beading circle and the benefits of beadwork, (2) life and agency in the city as an Indigenous person, and (3) reflections regarding truth, reconciliation, healing, and the way forward. Each of these themes incorporates various coded segments from the five previously listed categories and relates specifically to the experiences of the

interlocutors and ultimately illustrates how beading provided an opportunity for gathering, learning, the formation of identity and friendships, and the creation of a sense of place within the urban environment.

The beading circle took place at the Mashkawazìwogamig: Indigenous Resource Center at the University of Ottawa, its name meaning “Place of Strength” in Anishnaabemowin (uOttawa n.d.). The circle was organized each week and was open to all students regardless of skill or background. Dara shares that “When I went to the beading circle I finally got to meet a bunch of people who had similar interests, who had similar stories to tell, we always got along and created a safe little community, safe little space within the Indigenous Resource Center and really formed a lot of relationships there” (Personal Communication 2019). Danielle echoes this by stating that “having the circles made it so much easier to connect with other students” (Personal Communication 2021). Darren stated that when he joined the circle, he called it “beading, eating or reading circles because I didn’t bead but I would often do readings or have my lunch and it was just that desire to be with other Indigenous people at the university ... I don’t think that you have to bead, it’s more of a community thing, just people coming together” (Personal Communication 2019). Many of the interlocutors shared how attending the beading circle helped with their transition to urban life, especially arriving from rural communities. Jayde, who initially moved from a First Nation community in Northern Ontario, shared that “a weekly circle where you can show up and hang out and be yourself, that’s really important to students that might be fresh out of the rez [reserve] and might not have that place to go back to and feel so out of place” (Personal Communication 2021). Connor, who also moved to the city for the first time, spoke about the initial challenges of urban life and integrating into a university environment that typically encourages a lot of social drinking. Speaking of the beading circle, he shares,

> I’d say it was a really important role to just help build some community and have a stable place to launch into other supports…It was very grounding there, and for me, it gave me something to do, quite frankly. I had a really hard time with urban life, because pretty much all I did in the city in the first few years was drink, like I didn’t know what else to do much, so the beading circle was kind of my entry point into urban community engagement (Personal Communication, 2021).

For many, joining the university beading circle was the first time they had learned to bead and, in some instances, the first time they learned about their culture. As Maggie shares,

> I grew up in a non-Indigenous family, so for me, it was like opening the door to this whole different world, and it was definitely welcoming, and that was kind of when everything took off and I was able to reconnect and learn a lot more about myself and where I'm from…I reconnected with family who live in my community still. It's kind of weird, such a small thing opened up a huge world (Personal Communication, 2019).

Danielle also spoke of the power of beading and how it represented a pathway to learning about her culture. She shares that at first, "I didn't do any [beading], I was intimidated, I had just stepped back into reclaiming culture, and I just sat and watched and asked questions because Maggie was more experienced" (Personal Communication 2021). Once she learned how to bead, Danielle stated, "It's so much better to do it with other people than to do it by yourself. I mean it's good too, but you're already so isolated as a student ... having circles made it so much more easier to connect with other students" (Personal Communication 2021). As Edge (2011) points out, the experience of learning, but also teaching, is intrinsic to beadwork. To be able to share teachings embodies an empowering practice, which can also in turn help one adapt to the challenges of urban life. Dara points to this, stating,

> Growing up in a big family and being close to my family, I was really isolated, so then once the beading circle started, that was kind of my first way into helping people, bring what I have, what I experienced growing up on the reserve and in the bush, I could bring that into the city and share it with people who didn't have access to that (Personal Communication, 2019).

Relating to university life, the beading circle provided an open, safe, and what one interlocutor termed, brave space, especially for young Indigenous students. After learning how to bead, Warren shared that:

> I immediately got hooked, I loved it, particularly it was great for my studies because being in academia, it's so easy to get caught up in their world, that you forget about your own. So, what I love about beadwork, is it sort of brings you down, reminds

> you who you are, where you came from, it sort of recalibrates you a bit…it works really good for my mental health (Personal Communication, 2019).

Belcourt (2010), Cuthand (2015), Ray (2016), and Ansloos et. al (2022) have all pointed to the healing nature of beading, which not only connects you with your hands but also with community, representing a means of remembering tradition and feeling well. Crystal shares, “Beadwork is one of those easy entry points with folks sometimes in our community, the connection is great, but also the actual act of beadwork itself is good for the soul ...you see the fruits of your labour, and it’s repetitive, and it’s structured in a lot of ways, and you’re using your hands ... it’s a good self-care” (Personal Communication 2019).

As has been shown, beading in the city represents a grounding experi- ence for many reasons. Connecting with culture, forming social networks, and building resiliency and solidarity in the city all represent key outcomes for those who participated in the beading circle. But what happens when one leaves the intimate space of the beading circle and how can beadwork contrib- ute to securing a right to the city? The simple act of wearing beadwork in the city can lead to many different experiences, given that it is often considered to be a clear representation of one’s Indigenous identity. While her view has since changed, Dara reflected,

> For a while, I was actually really scared to wear beadwork, any type of earrings, anything saying ‘Hey look, I’m Indigenous,’ because if I dress the right way, I can probably pass as non-Indigenous…especially because that was the time when the discourse around Missing and Murdered Indigenous women was happening, so I just kind of felt when I wore these things, it would put a target on my back (Personal Communication, 2019).

This speaks to the violence upon which settler colonial cities are founded, whereby Indigenous peoples have faced long-standing and ongoing brutality (Dorries et al. 2019). Relating to her experience in Ottawa, Crystal also felt that you need to brace yourself for all types of possible interactions when wearing beadwork in public. She explains,

> What’s also interesting, and specifically I would say in Ottawa I find interesting, the conversations that open up. So, it’s either like ‘Oh, I’m native too, my great-grandmother is native, therefore blah, blah, blah,’ right ok, or because they think

> that I'm non-Indigenous, they can get away with saying racist crap to me, so like yea, basically when I go out the door, I kind of have to be prepared for those conversations (Personal Communication, 2019).

That said, for many, including Crystal, wearing beadwork in the city and, especially in the national capital, is an important form of representation, she states, "I think it's important to show up at government meetings or conferences and things like that wearing your culture to represent and show who you are and where you come from" (Personal Communication 2019). Darren echoes this, stating, "I don't fit that Hollywood archetype for an Indigenous person ... so when I wear beadwork it's saying I'm part of that too, I don't experience it the same way but I don't want to exempt myself from that either, I think it kind of stands to say, you know, watch your mouth around me" (Personal Communication 2019). Kara shares that "it is honestly a visual representation of again who I am as a person, an extension of my culture, my community" (Personal Communication 2019). Considering how beading was historically impacted by state-sanctioned policies such as the banning of Indigenous ceremonies (Prete 2019), today beadwork represents a visual embodiment of cultural resistance, resurgence, and resilience, acting as a form of decolonial aesthetics (Martineau and Ritskes 2014). Maggie clearly illustrates this by stating, "I'm proud to wear beadwork as a way to feel good about myself and represent who I am. And my Mom and my grandparents were in residential school and they couldn't express themselves the way they wanted to, and I can" (Personal Communication 2019).

While confidently wearing beadwork represents a clear example of one's ability to exercise what Young (1990) calls unassimilated otherness given that it is representative of Indigenous identity and cultures, the practice of selling beadwork also represents a viable way of supporting Indigenous artists, providing economic agency, especially for Indigenous women (Smetzer 2007; Ansloos et al. 2022). Dara states, "This is how a lot of our women support themselves, support their family ... I think it's really important, it's like reclamation ... It's pretty symbolic and it makes me proud to wear it" (Personal Communication 2019). Crystal shares that it is "something that was very much within sort of the women's sphere and our power, and like moving forward also, how we still kind of use that to demonstrate our power" (Personal Communication 2019).

Some of the participants now sell their beadwork, carrying out custom orders, but also showcasing their work at local Indigenous-run businesses and via social media, for instance on Instagram. Selling beadwork, especially when advertising it via social media, can however be fraught with tension, for instance when orders are unrightfully cancelled or designs are copied without permission (Ansloos et al. 2022). As Stephanie states, “I am mindful to ask permission to the artist of a certain template I want to use, if they decline, I respect that. Artist etiquette 101” (Personal Communication 2022). Mariah, who also sells her beadwork, explains, “I’m also in a tricky space where everybody’s beading ... they’re first-time beaders and they’re selling their stuff for like $100 ... well, you’re taking away from artists who actually do this for a living” (Personal Communication 2022). It was suggested taking the time to properly research where and from whom you buy beadwork is important. As Ashley shares,

> I buy from specific people too. I mean of course, if I’m about to buy from a person I never bought from before, I’ll look up their profiles and if they’re always writing statuses that are always negative, I’ll try and stay away from them. If they’re like a single mom, a young mom or something, that’s usually what it is, or an older grandma, I don’t mind helping them out. (Personal Communication 2019)

While beading continues to represent a predominantly female pursuit, an interesting outcome of the university beading circle was that it was open to all students, and some male Indigenous students took part. Connor jokes that it got him brownie points with his now-wife’s grandmother, who was “brag- ging to her beading circle ...that her granddaughter’s boyfriend knew how to bead” (Personal Communication 2021). Humour aside, Connor appreciated being able to access the space and teachings of the beading circle, recogniz- ing that “I don’t ever want to be taking up space for any kind of traditional female-dominated thing” (Personal Communication 2021). Now a trained teacher, he discussed that wearing and talking about beadwork in the class- room was a good way of creating an inclusive space for his students, “I think it’s good to normalize men doing this type of thing. I know that it’s a thing in the back of some people’s minds, but I find nobody talks about it” (Personal Communication 2021).

While typically beading occurs in informal and personal spaces such as someone’s kitchen or home, organized beading circles like the one held at Mashkawazìwogamig

assert symbolic space, reclaim physical space, and are a form of placemaking as suggested by Julie Tomiak (2011). Creating more Indigenous spaces in the city has taken time, something observed by some interlocutors who have now lived in Ottawa for over 10 years. As Brad shares,

> I can see how at first, when I moved here, I thought wow there's not really a big Indigenous community, it's almost like you need to find it first and then it's like wow, there's tons of Indigenous people here…maybe it's an urban centre thing where we're not as present, or there's not as much culture, but no, it's here, it's just harder to find (Personal Communication, 2022).

Brad also stated that he has noticed many changes in the urban landscape, with more Indigenous spaces being created in the city, such as Madahoki Farms, an Indigenous-owned space that hosts events for the urban Indigenous com- munity. He also shares, "But I feel that it's coming, I think the more Indig- enous spaces there are, the more things like that will start to develop. With Madahoki, with a couple of the other spaces that are starting to be developed in Ottawa that are specifically Indigenous space" (Personal Communication 2022). Jayde is actively contributing to Indigenous spatial production in the city. In 2021, along with her mother, she opened Beandigen Café in Down- town Ottawa. Far from just being a coffee shop, Jayde hosts multiple com- munity events and features work from local Indigenous artists for sale. As she explained shortly before the café opened,

> I'm hoping to do regular beading circles at the café that we're getting started. That's one of the main things that we want to include in the café space, time set aside for workshops, for language courses, for community groups to come in, that sort of stuff, so being able to have an actual space that is an Indigenous space that you can sit and bead at is like one of the only things I've ever wanted living in Downtown Ottawa (Personal Communication, 2021).

These are exactly the types of spaces that promote resurgent practices of placemaking and spatial programming, imprinting the built environment with Indigenous materialities, which in turn help cement an Indigenous right to the city and right to difference (Nejad et al. 2019). They are spaces that are both easily accessible and visible for all urban citizens

can serve as both gathering places for Indigenous peoples and build awareness for non-Indigenous urbanites thus contributing to processes of Indigenous urbanism.

The emergence of new Indigenous geographies is also happening in tandem with a broader shift in Canadian society concerning the acknowledgment of the country's history and treatment of Indigenous peoples. Interestingly, this shift was observed throughout the interview process between 2019 and 2022. Following the uncovering of unmarked graves of Indigenous children at former residential school sites starting in 2021, there was a cataclysmic shift in the mainstream Canadian consciousness concerning the past harm caused to Indigenous peoples. While this has been well-known for generations amongst Indigenous peoples, having these stories, supported by undeniable physical evidence, deeply unsettled the entire country. Initiatives such as the annual Orange Shirt Day held alongside the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation on 30 September to honour the victims and survivors of residential schools quickly became widespread. These events have also had a significant impact on the beading circle. As Darren, who is now the Indigenous Community Engagement Officer at the University of Ottawa explained, the facilitator of the beading circle organized a multi-session project to bead little orange shirt pins to raise awareness about the impacts and intergenerational trauma caused by residential schools. He also pointed to another beading workshop to create little red dresses to bring awareness to missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQUIA (Two-Spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, and asexual) people, which also speaks to beading's capacity to educate, raise awareness, and help process the trauma of past and ongoing discrimination.

Figure 9. Poster promoting beading drop-in group at Beandigen Café.
Source: Jayde Micah and jayde micah designs, 2023.

Speaking more generally to the current shift in Canadian society, Crystal shares, "Since the TRC, it's like this great awakening, non-Indigenous people are like 'Oh my God, look at the state of this,' it's like yea, you did this, what are you going to do about this?" (Personal Communication, 2019). Mariah shares that this will require "A lot of unsettling. I mean, we have to get really uncomfortable to get comfortable" (Personal Communication, 2022). Many pointed to education as being the way forward, to foster

true understanding and reconciliation. Ashley states, “Education, that’s one thing that I just want to see, like education is massive, massive” (Personal Communication, 2019). As many of the later interviews suggested, this change is unprecedented, with settler Canadians finally “waking up” as Crystal previously put it. Many interlocutors believed that beadwork plays an important role in promoting education, representation, and reconciliation. Returning to the topic of wearing beadwork, Jayde mentions, “one of the baristas here today had previously complimented my beadwork and I showed her my page, and gave her the reference to who made these ones [motioning to her earrings], and even that small nudge might be the one thing that brings her into this entire community of learning, that’s exactly what it’s all about” (Personal Communication, 2021). Stephanie who also runs beading workshops takes the opportunity to educate her participants, especially in terms of appreciation versus appropriation. She explains, “At first, I felt uneasy but this subject is always important for non-Indigenous people, to have a better understanding of the differences and hope some unlearn what they know now and re-learn new knowledge and move forward with that and share with others” (Personal Communication, 2022).

Figure 10. Beaded orange shirt for National Truth and Reconciliation Day.
Source: Jayde Micah Naponse, 2024.

Referring back to the beading circle, Darren sums up how the space itself represents an important site of reconciliation:

> It's a good inclusive space but it's also a space where people can talk…like someone might talk about a story, you know, a family history or story, or maybe just like a trip back to the rez. But all of these, for the non-Indigenous people that come, I think it provides an opportunity to learn the day-to-day, there's a lot of older stereotypes that we're just trying to break down and it's a good way to realize holy crap these people are just like us (Personal Communication, 2019).

In a university context, where students are learning and often shaping worldviews that will guide them throughout their lives (or seeking new knowledge in the case of older students), accessing these types of spaces and networks can foster positive relationships

between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Furthermore, the open, inclusive, and brave space, which encourages the seeking of truth (Palfrey 2017), enables students to build lasting social and cultural networks, which promote solidarity, resistance, and resurgence (Dorries et al. 2019; Dorries 2022a). While recognizing that beading circles represent traditional female Indigenous spaces, opening them to all students who wish to learn represents an empowering pursuit that can be replicated in other educational and urban contexts. Given the current dynamics of post-TRC Canadian society and the emergence of a new cultural environment, new urban Indigenous geographies are actively being created, with spaces such as beading circles enhancing bottom-up resurgent practices of placemaking (Nejad et al. 2019), which create key sites of exchange, learning, and opportunity that contribute to Indigenous urbanism.

Conclusion

Picking up on the call of Peters and Andersen (2013) for conducting further studies into the distinct and varied ways urban Indigenous peoples adapt and thrive in urban environments, this study addresses the current gap in the literature concerning Indigenous peoples living in Central and Eastern Canadian cities. Focusing on the case study of Ottawa, Canada's national capital, the article contributes to the existing literature by demonstrating the clear link between beading and the formation of an urban Indigenous sense of place. Working within an Indigenous research agenda (Smith 2012), 13 young Indigenous urbanites were interviewed regarding their lived experiences moving to and living in the city as mediated through beadwork, an Indigenous art form and practice rooted in place-based knowledge, representing a key form of decolonial aesthetics, which encourages cultural healing, resistance, resurgence, and resiliency (Edge 2011; Martineau and Ritskes 2014; Curthand 2015; Dorries 2022b; Ray 2023; Ansloos et al. 2022).

The interlocutors highlighted three key themes: the positive benefits of beading and the space of the beading circle, the challenges and opportunities of being Indigenous and portraying one's identity in the city, and the impact of current discussions and policies

surrounding the national project of truth, reconciliation, and healing. One interlocutor suggested that the beading circle represents a form of brave space, which enables the seeking of truth and allows for the sharing of challenges and solutions (Palfrey 2017). Drawing from Julie Tomiak (2011), it is argued that beading circles contribute to processes of placemaking and reterritorialization that enable urban Indigenous peoples to assert symbolic space, reclaim physical space, and carve out political space within urban environments. By supporting these spaces, whether they be on university campuses, in local Indigenous-run businesses, or in community centres, securing both a right to the city and a right to difference becomes viable (Nejad et al. 2019). Research into other forms of urban brave spaces, both ephemeral and fixed, such as powwows or spaces like Beadingen Café and Madahoki Farms, and the ways they are shaping new urban Indigenous geographies in different Canadian cities by imprinting Indigenous materialities through resurgent placemaking and spatial programming (Nejad et al. 2019) merits more attention.

On an everyday scale, the act of simply wearing beadwork can embody what Iris Marion Young (1990) has termed unassimilated otherness, or the capacity to maintain and portray one's distinct identity and traditions free of oppression, embodying true social justice and a "being-together" of urban citizens. This shift connects to broader social and spatial transformations in cities across the country that are creating new Indigenous (and Canadian) urban geographies, which recognize the past exclusionary and discriminatory treatment toward Indigenous peoples bringing into view the role of the city as a locus for Indigenous resistance and reclamation of land (Dorries et al. 2019). This is not to say that certain aspects of urban life are no longer oppressive toward Indigenous peoples. Racism, cultural appropriation, and general ignorance are still present and are actively being contested across urban (and rural) Canada (Dorries et al. 2019). What is encouraging to hear, as observed by the interlocutors, is the shift in narrative that has occurred over the past decade due in large part to the efforts of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, and the uncovering of unmarked graves of Indigenous children at former residential school sites. They have pushed Canadians to acknowledge their complicity in Canada's settler colonial reality. As two interlocutors put it, Canadians

are finally waking up to the legacies of colonialism, and in order to move forward, they have to get really uncomfortable to get comfortable.

In the context of the city, this means upsetting “settler colonial common sense” (Tomiak 2016) and encouraging urban Indigenous spatial production by supporting Indigenous governance and opportunities for collective deliberation and decision-making (Dorries 2023). As Dorries et al. (2019) suggest, reclaiming urban space can be done through both formal political channels and informal modes of organizing urban relationships, such as those created through beading. These placemaking practices, in turn, contribute to processes of Indigenous urbanism, co-producing urban Indigeneity and space (Dorries 2022a). Young Indigenous people have a key role to play in producing urban Indigenous space and fostering this positive shift toward anticolonialism, which promotes both resistance and resurgence. Further research into the career pathways of young Indigenous graduates who participated in programming such as the beading circles held at the Mashkawazìwogamig Indigenous Resource Center at the University of Ottawa represents a promising pursuit, in addition to the role beading circles can play in facilitating meaningful discussions and exchanges between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Just as beading requires a great deal of patience, practice, and care, so too does the project of truth, reconciliation, and healing, which is not a finished product to be obtained, but rather an ongoing relationship that requires compassion, commitment, and courage.

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Afterword

The purpose of *"We Have to Get Really Uncomfortable to Get Comfortable": Critically Assessing Representations of Indigenous Peoples and Geographies in Canada* is to consider how Indigenous Peoples and geographies have been, currently are, and are striving to be represented across different places and periods in Canada. Focusing on three distinct objects—stamps, pipelines, and beads—this project, as a whole, provides three different dimensions of geographic contributions, through three different forms of representation, and scholar and Indigenous engagement with them. Adopting a similar framework of study across the three articles, the dissertation seeks to further the decolonization of human geography by developing new methodologies that can help researchers critically engage and "sense" questions of representation, Indigeneity, and place through sight, hearing, and touch. The purpose of this afterword is to briefly recap the contributions of the three articles, provide direction for areas of further research, and highlight what the papers achieve together.

Contributions

While the case studies highlight vastly different topics, they are interconnected and adopt a similar research framework. My approach has been to take an object and consider how it has represented a specific group of Indigenous Peoples according to a specific time, place, and environment, which in turn form distinct Indigenous geographies. As a result, a rough formula for each article could be: object + Indigenous group + period + environment = distinct representation of place-based Indigeneity. Connecting this with the three articles, *Place Them on a Stamp* considers the visual representation of the "Eskimo Hunter" stamp, Inuit, the 1950s, and the High Arctic environment; *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* refers to the media representation of the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project (TMX), First Nations and Metis in Alberta and British Columbia, situated in the present within alpine and marine environments; and *Making Brave Space* relates to self-

representation as articulated through beadwork, concerning urban Indigenous Peoples, with an emphasis on futures within urban environments. Providing either new conceptual or methodological toolkits for considering representation and Indigeneity, the dissertation explores the past by disrupting colonial narratives highlighting the state's use of banal colonialism, the present through Indigenous (re)framing of pipelines, and the future through the creation of brave (urban) spaces and belonging and how they contribute to achieving a right to the city. Each offers key insights for further studies and ultimately contributes to further decolonizing the discipline of geography.

Banal Colonialism

In line with Raento and Brunn's (2005) assertion that postage stamps are socioculturally and temporally constructed political-geographic texts embedded with multiple layers of meaning, *Place Them on a Stamp* advances that the "Eskimo Hunter" stamp, released in 1955, and the High Arctic Relocations that relocated Inuit families to Cornwallis and Ellesmere Islands between 1953 and 1955, were two interconnected—albeit vastly different—measures of Canadian Cold War Arctic policy. Both measures sought to incorporate Inuit as full citizens of the Canadian Welfare State and national (imagined) community, while also subtly reinforcing Canada's *de facto* sovereignty, by bolstering its visual and physical effective occupation of the region. Drawing from Michael Billig's concept of banal nationalism, or the mundane methods of building a nation's identity through the unassuming and normalized nature of the circulation of banal products such as postage stamps, I advance the concept of *banal colonialism* as a means of understanding the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp. I suggest that like banal nationalism, *banal colonialism* subtly circulates visual representations of the land-centered project of colonialism, which as Cameron (2015) summarizes involves "the dispossession and occupation of Indigenous lands, the establishment and maintenance of economic and political domination, and the production and promulgation of knowledge and ideas that rationalize uneven, hierarchical, exploitative relations" (17).

I argue that the *Eskimo Hunter* represents a prime example of banal colonialism as it promotes the idea that the Arctic was a vital part of the Canadian imagined community, physically inhabited—and patrolled—by Inuit, and by extension Canadian citizens. Considering the stamp was printed over 300 million times, representing the second-largest issue of stamps at the time (Postage Stamp Guide, 2023), this was a narrative the Canadian state wished to circulate in both domestic and international postage networks, shaping a distinct imaginative geography which promoted Canada as a northern nation. This was done at a time of heightened tensions amidst the backdrop of the Cold War, which saw an increase in the production of Arctic-themed stamps from countries such as Canada, the United States, and the Soviet Union, correlating with insecurity fears in the region (Wood-Donnelly, 2017).

Interpreted in a different light, banal colonialism also represents a form of what Wolfe (2006) has termed *recuperating Indigeneity*, which propagates the idea that a country is an Indigenous Nation, with a distinct history and culture, intending to further itself from its former colonial identity. This also relates to what Wood-Donnelly (2017) observes, stating “Canada has diminished its emphasis on the imperial origins [of] Arctic sovereignty, recalibrating this emphasis towards sovereignty based on Inuit occupancy ‘since time immemorial’” (251). This shift also leads to banal colonialism possibly representing a form of what Tuck and Yang (2012) have termed a settler move to innocence, which “relieves settler feelings of guilt and responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all” (10). So, while prominently featuring Inuit on one of the largest philatelic issues ever could represent a celebration of Inuit, it has the added effect of bringing Inuit (including their bodies and their lands) into the national imagined community of Canada.

As I highlight in *Place Them on a Stamp*, Inuit were not the only group of Indigenous Peoples subject to instances of banal colonialism. First Nations and Metis Peoples have also been represented on a variety of Canadian stamp issues. Stamps such as the “Pacific coast Indian House” issued in 1953, and “Louis Riel” issued in 1970 also merit further study. These two stamps also tell the stories of Indigenous Peoples and geographies, with the *Pacific coast Indian House* representing First Nations cultures of the Pacific Northwest and the *Louis Riel* stamp, the leader of the Metis of Red River

(present-day Winnipeg). They are both tied to complex narratives of settler colonialism but also of Indigenous resistance and resilience (see Figure 9).

Figure 11. From left to right: “Pacific coast Indian House” (Postage Stamp Guide, 1953) and “Louis Riel” (Postage Stamp Guide, 1970) postage stamps.

In the post-TRC era, Canada Post (which replaced the Canadian Post Office Department in 1981), has recently developed a wide-ranging Indigenous and Northern reconciliation strategy, which touches upon questions of representation, but also aims to improve postal services to Indigenous communities, enact more proactive Indigenous hiring and procurement practices, and to support the wellness and safety of Indigenous communities (Canada Post, n.d.). Their recent stamp issues strive to actively engage with Indigenous Peoples and artists to recognize the achievements of Indigenous Peoples.

Indeed, in the past five years alone, Canada Post has issued a variety of Indigenous-themed stamps. In 2019, the Red River Resistance stamp featuring Louis Riel and the provisional government that led the fight for recognition of Metis Rights was issued. In 2022 and 2023, Canada Post released six stamps to honour Indigenous leaders and eight stamps to bring awareness to the impacts of the Indian Residential School (IRS) system, and the project of truth, reconciliation, and healing as part of the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation celebrated annually on September 30th, starting in 2021 (Government of Canada, 2023).

Figure 12. From left to right, top to bottom: “Red River Resistance 1869–2019” (Postage Stamp Guide, 2019), “George Manuel” (Postage Stamp Guide, 2023), “Thelma Chalifoux” (Postage Stamp Guide, 2023), “Beaded Flowers” (Postage Stamp Guide, 2022), and “Kamloops Residential School” (Postage Stamp Guide, 2023) postage stamps.

Interestingly, and relating to the content of the two other papers that form this dissertation, the “George Manuel” (2023) stamp features the grandfather of land defender Kanaus Manuel, a vocal opponent of the TMX, and several stamps in both the Indigenous Leaders and Truth and Reconciliation series, including the “Thelma Chalifoux” (2023) and “Beaded Flowers” (2022) reconciliation series stamps prominently feature beadwork (see Figure 10). While I’ve argued that the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp represented a form of banal colonialism, the more recent stamp issues of Canada Post could indeed represent a form of what I would call *banal reconciliation* as they serve to circulate narratives of reconciliation, drawing awareness to the national project of truth, reconciliation, and healing.

Indigenous Media Content Analysis

Tying directly into geographies of resource extraction and the flow of oil through the alpine and marine environments of the Rocky and Cascade Mountains, and the Pacific Ocean, *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* focuses on the case study of the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project (TMX) and how Indigenous views of the project are being represented by three national news outlets, which provide freely accessible online news content. The study was the first of its kind to compare these three major Canadian news outlets’ media representations of Indigenous views of a fossil fuel megaproject. Compiling data from approximately 3,000 articles over a four-year period from May 2018 to May 2022, online news stories from the Canadian Television Network (CTV), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and the Aboriginal Peoples’ Television Network (APTN) are analyzed to better understand how Indigenous views of the TMX are represented and to establish which news provider most effectively represented Indigenous stakeholder opinions.

Given that the TMX represents somewhat of a unique project in that it is 1) an expansion of an existing pipeline, and 2) has garnered interest from several Indigenous-led groups to purchase the pipeline, it represents a highly relevant case study considering the continuing investment in what Hein (2021) has termed the global petroleumscape. Opponents of the project, including many First Nations organizations and advocates in

British Columbia have cited the high risks involved in tripling the flow of crude oil over 1,150 kilometers of pipeline through remote alpine terrain and to sensitive marine environments. Notably, these include the risk of potential oil spills and the impacts of exponential tanker traffic needed to export the oil upon its arrival at the ocean port of Burnaby, BC. These impacts could be potentially catastrophic for Indigenous Nations along the pipeline route and marine wildlife such as pods of Southern Resident killer whales located in the waters surrounding the pipeline's terminus (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2017). Nevertheless, Indigenous Nations in Alberta, whose territories lie in the heart of the "Oil Patch" where bitumen, a dense form of crude oil, is being extracted from Alberta's tar sands, are heavily invested in the industry. Following years of settler colonial administration, many Nations, who have partnered with the oil industry, have access to significant financial resources, which enable them to fund a variety of important projects and services for their members. It is for these reasons, that many Indigenous-led business groups such as Project Reconciliation, Western Indigenous Pipeline Group, and the Pembina Pipeline Corp have all signalled their interest in buying a stake in the pipeline, which is expected to be sold by the federal government following the TMX's completion (Pimentel, 2019; Duhatschek, 2024).

Utilizing Miller's (2008) framing model, *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* addresses this case study and advances a new method of reframing the pipeline debate, by analyzing the online news content of CTV, CBC, and APTN and contrasting this content with the published statements of the actors involved. Three main themes across stories concerning Indigenous views of the TMX arose, including the clear geographic divide between Indigenous views coming from Alberta and British Columbia, the tension between environmental protection and economic development, and the challenges of respecting free, prior, and informed consent. Ultimately, it was found that APTN was the most effective news outlet in terms of representing the variety of Indigenous views on the project. Given its clear mandate of providing Indigenous news content created by and for Indigenous Peoples, APTN provided in-depth, one-on-one insights with project opponents such as land and water defenders and protectors, and supporters of the project.

As the conclusion of *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* makes clear if the views of Indigenous Peoples are to be effectively represented and understood, it is vital to listen to what they say directly from the land or the water's edge. By contrasting the online news content with the published statements of the actors involved, studies can provide more effective Indigenous media content analysis. This represents a key methodological contribution of *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares* and provides a framework for further studies concerning energy megaprojects, their environmental impacts and economic potential, and the views and stakes Indigenous Peoples may have of and in them.

While at the time of the article's publication, the TMX was expected to be completed by the end of 2023 at a price tag of $21.4 billion (Stephenson, 2023), it is now slated for completion in 2024 at a revised cost of $30.9 billion, with the flow of oil to the Pacific expected to reach triple its current capacity by the end of the year (Somasekhar and Mccartney, 2024). Following the completion of the TMX, the federal government still intends to sell ownership of the pipeline, with Indigenous business groups still interested in purchasing a stake in the project (Duhatschek, 2024). Continuing to follow how this project will conclude and if the federal government decides to sell a stake of the pipeline to Indigenous buyers, and the associated impacts this may have for Indigenous communities represent promising areas of further research. As I stated in 2023, whether the TMX will create pipeline dreams or nightmares remains to be seen.

Brave Space

Emerging Indigenous geographies in Canada's cities are creating *brave spaces* in urban areas across the country. As *Making Brave Space* suggests, these spaces represent key sites of exchange, learning, and opportunity for urban Indigenous Peoples. Focusing on the case study of beading circles, it is argued that the act of gathering to bead creates strong and lasting networks of friendship, which is especially important when moving to a new city and provides beaders with opportunities to develop both a sense of identity and a sense of place. Representing a form of what Simpson (2017) calls Indigenous resurgence, a set of practices through which Indigenous Nations and identities can be

lived and achieved, beading also encourages the formation of pedagogical and ontological relationships to social, cultural, physical, and spiritual environments (Edge, 2011). As Edge found in her study in Edmonton, Alberta, beading circles served as a place and space to come together, where participants can share experiences in a supportive and nurturing environment (2011). This too was the case of the beading circle at the Mashkawazíwogamig Indigenous Resource Center at the University of Ottawa, which was the case study at focus in *Making Brave Space*. Drawing from Tomiak (2011), it was found that the beading circle asserts symbolic space and reclaims physical space, both on the university campus and within Canada's national capital, a city vested with layered meanings and symbolic power, especially between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples. Furthermore, it is argued that the beading circle represents a key example of place-making, which contributes to Indigenous students seeing the city as a place where they belong and can identify as themselves. Coupled with processes of reterritorialization, which strengthen existing and create new physical spaces in the city that embody Indigeneity, cities can actively engage in processes of decolonization (Tomiak, 2011).

It was shared that accessing brave spaces such as the beading circle, helped young Indigenous students with their transition to both university and urban life and connected them with networks of friendship and care. This in turn leads to developing confidence and taking the strength and teachings acquired in the brave space of the beading circle to the rest of the city. For instance, the simple act of wearing beadwork, which one interlocutor stated, "show[s] who you are and where you come from" (personal communication, 2019), represents a form of cultural resurgence and resilience. As a result, it is suggested that the creation and practicing of brave spaces can contribute to cementing what Lefebvre (1996) has termed the right to the city, where Indigenous Peoples feel confident and at home in the urban environment. Achieving this right is not only important for Indigenous Peoples but also for non-Indigenous peoples who can learn and meaningfully engage in discussions with their Indigenous neighbours, something the beading circle also promoted when non-Indigenous students participated. This can in turn contribute to advancing what Young (1990) has termed the unoppressive city, where different groups of urban citizens can live free of oppression through unassimilated

otherness and a being-together, representing a true form of social justice (Young, 1986). Instead of feeling as if beading puts a target on one's back as another interlocutor shared, Indigenous Peoples can represent themselves as they are, by wearing their beadwork in the city. Brave spaces contribute to these processes of urban decolonization by promoting education, awareness, representation, and reconciliation.

Another important contribution of *Making Brave Space* is to highlight the experiences of Indigenous Peoples living in cities outside of Western Canada (Peters and Andersen, 2013). The Indigenous populations of cities like Ottawa, Toronto, and Montreal continue to grow (Statistics Canada, 2022). Additional studies considering other forms of brave spaces across Canada, and other settler colonial contexts such as the United States, Australia, and New Zealand would prove worthwhile. For instance, in the context of this study, two key Indigenous spaces were brought up by the interlocutors that could also be considered as brave spaces. These included the Indigenous-run coffee shop *Beandigen Café* and *Madahoki Farms*, which serve as physical places where Indigenous Peoples can gather, network, and learn from each other. They represent key examples of urban Indigenous reterritorialization. While many public Indigenous cultural institutions exist across cities in Canada, such as Friendship and Health centres (like the Odawa Native Friendship Centre or the Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health in Ottawa), the establishment of more Indigenous businesses in the city like Beandigen and Madahoki not only provides urban Indigenous people with more spaces and services but also represent visual identifiers of a greater Indigenous presence in the city. Additionally, other forms of urban Indigenous representation such as city murals could be categorized as visual representations of brave space and merit further study.

Relating back to the beading circle and the idea of *banal reconciliation*, it would also be worthwhile to consider beaded orange shirts and red dresses that are worn to raise awareness of the impacts of residential schools and missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQUIA people.[14] How these beaded objects and

[14] 2SLGBTQQUIA includes Two-Spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex and asexual people. The term "Two-Spirit" is translated from the Anishinaabemowin term "niizh manidoowag" ("two spirits"), which "refers to a person who identifies as having both a masculine and a feminine spirit and is used by some Indigenous people to describe their sexual, gender and /or spiritual identity" (Ross, 2024, paragraph 1). Simpson (2017) states that "Indigenous bodies, particularly the bodies of 2SQ [Two-Spirit and queer] people, children, and women represented the lived alternative to heteronormative constructions

symbols contribute to circulating narratives of reconciliation and raise awareness concerning the discriminatory and violent project of settler colonialism—especially in urban environments—further articulates an Indigenous right to the city and facilitates uncomfortable yet meaningful dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples.

Representing Indigeneity in the Era of Reconciliation

In addition to adopting a similar research framework by coupling representations of Indigenous Peoples and geographies across different periods, the three articles that form this dissertation offer two key sets of contributions. The first involves refuting the idea of the grand march of civilization, and the second involves creating a new set of methodological and conceptual toolkits, which contribute to the decolonization of human geography—and can be useful for other disciplines. They invite further studies of different objects that center Indigenous agency and to reflect on how Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors and scholars can co-work to produce results across Nations and communities.

Picking up on the first insight, all three articles contribute to reframing Indigenous-settler relations and how they have been represented across different periods and places. Taking into consideration the three sets of environments that are at focus in the articles, namely arctic, alpine and marine, and urban environments, in the Canadian context, all of them have been subject to colonial narratives of progress that have adversely impacted Indigenous Peoples. These colonial re-imaginings and their subsequent administration on the ground have attempted to manage and exploit these environments for specific state purposes, feeding into a popular narrative of progress, or a Western scale of civilization, where the Indigenous 'other' is perilous in the face of technologies that are

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of gender, political systems, and rules of descent" (41), and have been naturalized as objects for exploitation under settler colonialism, thus leading to targeted sexual and gender violence. As outlined in "Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls," it is important to include 2SLGBTQQIA and gender-diverse people "because they have always been part of the Indigenous circles" (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019, 40).

“destined to sweep aside entire ways of life” (Winder, 2009, 336). For instance, this narrative fed into the idea that the Arctic needed to be properly administered by the federal government to ensure its sovereignty was upheld and to transform Inuit into governable subjects. It upheld a nineteenth-century logic that Indigenous territories were not being properly exploited leading to continued logics of resource extraction such as have been deployed in the tar sands. It manifested itself through the expulsion of Indigenous Peoples and cultures from cities, as the latter were considered to be the vanguards of modern civilization and progress and therefore had no place for what were considered primitive (or more aptly other) ways of life (Domosh, 2006; Winder, 2009).

Indigenous Peoples were meant to be swept aside or assimilated, but that is not what happened. They have resisted, remade, and resurged in manifold ways, as is reflected in each of the three articles. The *Eskimo Hunter* stamp visually embodied the idea of an Indigenous onlooker gazing towards the future (represented by the airplane) destined to be managed and administered by a colonial government, yet over the 70 years since, Inuit have upended this colonial narrative and through lobbying and advocacy are now the largest Indigenous landholders of the world, in large part due to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (1994), which led to the creation of the territory of Nunavut (1999). This will further be strengthened by the most recent Devolution Agreement signed on 18 January 2024, which transfers control of most Crown lands to Nunavummiut (Inuit of Nunavut), which will provide the territory with vastly increased resource revenues in the future (Beers, 2024; Government of Canada, 2024). Instead of being passive and governable subjects, Inuit have fought for their rights while preserving their traditional ways of life. These changes have also been featured on stamps, being reflected in the newer stamp issues representing Inuit ways of life and leaders that have contributed to achieving these dreams (perhaps acting as yet another form of banal reconciliation).

In the context of the TMX, Indigenous Peoples are responding in new ways to classic forms of settler colonialism. While Indigenous Nations buying into the oil industry may seem like a form of assimilation, it could rather be considered as a form of Indigenous agency, where Indigenous leaders are seeking to secure the future of their Nations on their own terms and deciding what matters to them. Instead of letting others manage what

was traditionally theirs since time immemorial, they now have an active stake in how the industry is moving forward. Conversely, Indigenous Nations and grassroots Indigenous groups opposed to the TMX are utilizing strategies to make their voices heard notably using social media and novel ways of protest (as shown for instance by the Tiny House Warriors or the Ironworkers Bridge blockade). These differing strategies and views speak to the heterogeneity of Indigenous Peoples and experiences, and places them front and centre in debates on how society should move forward further refuting a Western scale of civilization, which pushes Indigeneity to both the physical and imagined margins of settler society.

Finally, in the case of urban Indigeneity, by securing a renewed right to urban life, Indigenous Peoples are pushing a radical reconsideration of the settler sense of order, tipping the narrative of remoteness to one of proximity and centrality (Coombes et al., 2014). While historically cities and Indigeneity have been portrayed and managed as being mutually exclusive, today there is decidedly an Indigenous cultural resurgence and flourishing across and within urban environments in Canada. Urban settlements, which were a manifestation of colonization and a hegemonic constituent of white nation-building (Anderson, 2003), now have the potential to be active sites of decolonization (Tomiak, 2011). This is not to say that Indigenous Peoples no longer face discrimination or hostility in urban spaces, rather it is encouraging that processes of place-making and reterritorialization are leading Indigenous Peoples to assert more symbolic space, reclaim physical space, and carve out political space (Tomiak, 2011). Cities are now spaces where Indigeneity thrives, and where *brave spaces* such as beading circles, cafés, and cultural centres are cementing an Indigenous right to the city, further upending the grand march of civilization, which called for assimilation and cultural conformity.

Brought together, *Making Brave Space*, *Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares*, and *Place Them on Stamp* all contribute to illustrating how Indigenous Peoples have resisted settler colonial narratives of progress, which sought to represent and place them in specific locations and roles. Indigenous Peoples are not human flag poles, they are not passive bystanders to resource extraction, and they are not relegated to the fringes of urban life. Discussions concerning Indigenous agency are centred in each of the three articles and ultimately contribute to the further decolonization of human geography by

reframing these stories and processes, and by offering new methodological and conceptual ways of approaching Indigenous research.

This dissertation fits into a body of geographic literature, which is working to decolonize the discipline by featuring the heterogeneity of Indigenous Peoples and experiences (Radcliffe, 2018), and contributes to a greater understanding of Indigenous geographies as specific configurations of Indigenous Peoples, places, cultures and environments over space and time at particular (and multiple) scales (Howitt, 2020). Furthering the study of key topics of human geography such as reconciliation, belonging, and representation (Coombes et al., 2014; de Leeuw, 2017; Adams, 2017), this project speaks to emerging politics of identity, belonging, and place (Coombes et al., 2014) and considers how objects such as postage stamps, pipelines, and beads can actively shape our imaginative geographies and how we conceive and come to understand different places and people through forms of representation, which are situated, embodied, and partial (Gregory, 1994). Its main contribution is to develop new methodologies and concepts that ultimately center Indigeneity, placing an emphasis on Indigenous voices and agency (Simpson, 2011; McGregor, 2021; Peters, 2000; de Leeuw et al. 2012). These studies develop new methodological and conceptual tools, which can enable researchers to access new ways of “seeing” (Coombes et al., 2014), but also, more broadly I suggest, new ways of “sensing” through engaging with sight, hearing, and touch. To explore these new ways of sensing Indigenous geographies, I advance three main contributions, including a new Indigenous media content analysis methodology and the concepts of banal colonialism and brave space, which can contribute to developing further anticolonial research frameworks. While this dissertation focuses on the experiences of Indigenous Peoples in what is today called Canada, it is suggested in each of the articles that these methodologies and concepts can be applied to different objects across settler colonial contexts to help bring to light further stories of resistance, resilience, and resurgence.

Building on the work of Indigenous and non-Indigenous geographers and scholars working to advance reconciliation, this dissertation is meant to act as a blueprint for further engaging with Indigenous research. Importantly, it considers the role of the researcher, especially non-Indigenous researchers and how they can better align themselves with the

objectives of the truth, reconciliation, and healing process, which is not an objective to be achieved but rather an ongoing relationship that requires continued time, effort, and care. As the TRC so clearly put it, “Reconciliation is not an Aboriginal problem; it is a Canadian one” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, vi). This does not imply that non-Indigenous researchers should speak on behalf of communities, replicating a legacy of research that has worked “on” and not “with” Indigenous Peoples (Smith, 2012), but that centring Indigenous voices and working with Indigenous communities should be paramount in the research process.

As a non-Indigenous settler geographer, I have attempted to meaningfully engage with Indigenous Peoples in each of the three articles, by adopting Indigenous research methodologies and placing Indigenous voices at the centre of each study, utilizing archival, media, and qualitative interview data. I suggest that this can lead to a reframing of narratives, and importantly contribute to including more Indigenous voices in geography and beyond, thus furthering the decolonization of the discipline. This dissertation brought to the fore three distinct objects, stamps, pipelines, and beads, and sought to detail the impacts they have had, are having, and continue to have on the representation of Indigenous Peoples. Each article invites further research into other examples of these particular objects and of others as well, such as banknotes featuring Indigenous Peoples and geographies, Indigenous street names and signs in cities, or drawing from the pipeline example, more infrastructural objects such as ice roads, which connect remote Indigenous Nations and communities with larger physical and cultural networks yet depend on consistently cold conditions in an increasingly warming world.

In all cases, further research that meaningfully engages with and centers Indigenous views, voices, and representations, can enable a greater understanding of the past, present, and future of Indigenous Peoples, geographies, and place-based experiences, and contribute to upsetting and unsettling the legacies and logics of (settler) colonialism. While unsettling means “really getting uncomfortable to get comfortable” as Mariah Miigwans so aptly put (Personal Communication, 2022), it represents a necessary and promising step on the path toward truth, reconciliation, and healing.

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Appendix

Place Them On a Stamp: Inuit, Banal Colonialism, and the "Pioneer Experiment of the High Arctic Relocations"

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Place them on a stamp: Inuit, banal colonialism, and the "pioneer experiment" of the High Arctic Relocations

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ABSTRACT

Postage stamps are considered to be silent messengers of the state, capable of transmitting ideas, representations, and often politically-charged messages of what nation states wish to present to both domestic and international audiences. Building on calls for further research into the specific stories of individual stamps and their producers, this article focuses on the "Eskimo Hunter" stamp issued in 1955 by the Canadian Post Office Department. Representing one of the first Indigenous-themed stamps, it is argued that it can be read as an attempt by the federal government to both incorporate Inuit as full citizens of the state, while portraying the Arctic as a key geographic space belonging to the Canadian imagined community. Furthermore, a connection is made between the "Eskimo Hunter" stamp and the High Arctic Relocations, which took place in 1953 and 1955. Primarily initiated due to concerns following the precipitous drop in Arctic fox furs, several Inuit families were relocated from northern Québec and Baffin Island to uninhabited Cornwallis and Ellesmere Islands in the High Arctic, in what the federal government called a "pioneer experiment". The relocations also subtly served as a means of bolstering Canada's *de facto* sovereignty amid increased American presence in the region during the Cold War. By connecting the High Arctic Relocations with the "Eskimo Hunter" stamp as two nodes of a matrix of Postwar Canadian Arctic policy that sought to administer Inuit lives, bodies, and lands, it is argued that the stamp constitutes a prime example of what I term banal colonialism.

1. Introduction

By placing a stamp on an item and dropping it off at your local post office or mailbox, you are not only sending a letter or a parcel, you are sending off an idea. It is the tiniest of government documents, and as a result, remains an often overlooked messenger of the state (Raento, 2009, 2011; Raento & Brunn, 2005; Wood-Donnelly, 2017). As with other forms of state-controlled imagery, such as currency, flags, maps, and street names, stamps represent a visual medium laden with deep and layered meanings and can be considered as vehicles of visual nationalism (Brunn, 2000, 2023; Flusty, Dittmer, Gilbert, & Kuus, 2008; Raento & Brunn, 2005). The study of stamps provides a record of the past, present, and ongoing narratives adopted by nation-states across the world (Covington & Brunn, 2006). Indeed, stamps act as silent messengers of the state, creating a continuous historical and place-based visual body of each stamp-producing nation (Raento, 2009), depicting key figures, events, culture, flora, fauna, economic achievements, and various other elements vital to the creation and maintenance of a sound national identity. Geographer Stanley Brunn (2011) posits that they inform and educate both citizens of the home state and the international community about where they are, who they are, and what they are all about. Given the political and ideological nature of stamps, they contribute to the 'imagined community' of a nation (Anderson, 2016), which seeks to bring its members together to find common identity ground through the use of what Michael Billig (1995) terms 'banal nationalism', a mundane method of building a nation's identity through the unassuming and normalized nature of circulation of banal products such as postage stamps (Raento & Brunn, 2008).

For political geographers, stamps are of particular worth and relevance given their union of political identity and popular iconography (Raento, 2011), with calls for more in-depth studies of stamps, their creators, and the decision bodies or 'gatekeepers' responsible for their issuance (Brunn, 2023; Covington & Brunn, 2006; Penrose, 2011; Raento & Brunn, 2005). Building on the existing literature regarding stamps and their role and impact as silent messengers of the state, this article seeks to answer this call by bringing to light a widely distributed Canadian postage stamp issued in 1955 and considers how it contributed to national identity building (Raento & Brunn, 2005, 2008). The "*Eskimo*

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Hunter" stamp[1] released by the Canadian Post Office Department depicts an Inuk hunter seated in a *qajaq* (kayak) resting on calm Arctic waters with an iceberg in the background and a plane flying overhead (See Fig. 1). The 10-cent stamp was printed over 300 million times, a large issue compared to other stamps during this period (Postage Stamp Guide, 2022b). The *Eskimo Hunter* was only the second Canadian stamp to prominently feature Indigenous Peoples. Employing a methodology that allows a close 'reading' and critical content analysis of the stamp (Raento & Brunn, 2005; Rose, 2016; Zeigler, 2002), it is argued that the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp acted as an auxiliary method and proxy methodology of the state (Wood-Donnelly, 2017), to both incorporate Inuit and traditional territories into the Canadian national imagined community while also—much more subtly—promoting Canada's effective occupation of the Arctic.

Additionally, it is suggested that the stamp represented but one of many strategies to shore up Canadian interests in the region at this time and was part of a broader matrix of state-sanctioned policies to secure Arctic sovereignty. I advance that the stamp, as an auxiliary method of furthering the Arctic national narrative, was in fact directly connected to the physical method of relocating Inuit families to the High Arctic in the 1950s. Labelled as a "pioneer experiment", the relocation program sought to move struggling hunters and their families from areas of depleted game in northern Québec to new hunting grounds in the High Arctic. While humanitarian causes (and the subsequent reduction of relief costs) were the primary motivations for the relocations (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994), it has been suggested that the move to the uninhabited Ellesmere and Cornwallis Islands also contributed to the Canadianization of the Arctic and the bolstering of Canada's *de facto* sovereignty in the region in the face of increased American activity during and after the Second World War, a view also held by many of the survivors of the relocation (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994; Audlaluk, 2020). The state's role in coercing Inuit to relocate 2000 km north into challenging and isolated environments, which separated them from both extended kinship networks and bodies of traditional Indigenous and ecological knowledge, is a clear manifestation of the Settler colonial state's use of biopower to physically relocate and assimilate Inuit into the Canadian body politic (Foucault, 2020; Morgensen, 2011). It is therefore argued that the relocations and the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp were different—but related—methods employed by the Canadian state to both visually and physically bolster Canada's effective occupation of the High Arctic and contributed to the incorporation of the Canadian North as a cornerstone of national identity (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994).

Fig. 1. *Eskimo Hunter* stamp.
Source: Library and Archives Canada. Copyright: Canada Post Corporation. 1955.

This article's main objective is to establish the link between *the Eskimo Hunter* and the High Arctic Relocations. The image portrayed on the stamp itself was a semiotic and symbolic relocation of Inuit as it inserted Inuit in what della Dora (2009) calls a travelling-landscape object that utilized their image in order to circulate a narrative both within domestic and international postal networks (Brunn, 2000, 2023; Covington & Brunn, 2006; Raento & Brunn, 2005, 2008). Building on Billig's concept of banal nationalism (1995), the postage stamp represents a prime example of what I term 'banal colonialism' as it subtly circulates a visual representation of the land-centered project of the Canadian Settler state, which rather than erasing Inuit from the imagined Arctic landscape, relocates and redefines them as governable subjects serving specific state interests.

2. Postage stamps: silent messengers of the state

Philately—the study of postage stamps—has garnered an extensive amount of interest in academic literature across several fields, but most notably within cultural and political geography. Geographer Pauliina Raento (2009) suggests that stamps have been instrumental in providing a positive image of one's hometown or homeland and thus promote nation-unifying pride. Critical here is the role of the state in nurturing this form of nationalism, as "national elites have invested considerable effort in selecting this imagery … [as] it has power to 'guide' national identity-political 'fiction' and reaches both domestic and foreign audiences" (Raento, 2009, p. 125). Stamps can therefore be considered as idealized images representing specific narratives the state wishes to embody, and they therefore both 'make' and 'perform' the nation in domestic and international postal traffic (Raento & Brunn, 2005). Wood-Donnelly echoes this by stating "Postage stamps are often considered as silent messengers of the state and as such, they deliver a message charged with a politicized narrative" (2017, p. 239). She points out that to fulfill their primary function of providing proof of payment for postal services, there is little reason why stamps should have any imagery at all (Wood-Donnelly, 2017), and thus the use of visuals—albeit tiny ones—reveals their secondary function as messengers of the state (Brunn, 2011; Child, 2005) and their importance as "tiny pieces of visual history" (Brunn, 2023, p. 2).

Two key concepts are of particular use when considering the national-identity building power stamps yield (Covington & Brunn, 2006; Raento, 2009; Raento & Brunn, 2005, 2008) and have been widely employed in analyses of what Brunn (2011) calls the 'philatelic state'. These include Benedict Anderson's 'imagined community' and Michael Billig's 'banal nationalism' (Anderson, 2016; Billig, 1995). Anderson's term points to the fostering of common associations that transcend social, political, and economic boundaries in the creation of imagined communities that exceed the physical boundaries of states (2016). Conversely, Billig's banal nationalism constitutes "a whole complex of beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices" (1995, p. 7), that are continuously circulated through the everyday and normalized use of banal mediums such as postage stamps. Raento and Brunn (2008, p. 50) theorize that:

> Stamps serve the construction of an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991[2016]) through 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995) by guaranteeing the visibility of the patria in quotidian landscapes and preventing its citizens from forgetting who they are (or are expected to be) and where they (are expected to) belong.

Covington and Brunn (2006) further touch on this notion of national community building, suggesting that postage stamps are an "important

[1] 'Esquimax', 'Esquimaux', and 'Eskimo' are outdated and widely considered to be derogatory terms that refer to Inuit (Kaplan, n.d.). For the purposes of this paper 'Inuit' and 'Inuk' (referring to one person), are privileged, and 'Eskimo' and 'Natives' are used solely when referring to direct mentions in philatelic and governmental documents.

subtle, but visible, way to promote a state's culture, tradition, and heritage" (p.126). For these reasons, postage stamps represent clear vehicles of visual nationalism (Brunn, 2023). Currency, flags, maps, and place/street naming are also other vehicles of visual nationalism (Raento & Brunn, 2005). Using Scottish banknotes as an example, Penrose (2011) suggests that the visual symbolism on official products of "the state" plays an important role in both constructing nations and legitimizing states, something of particular importance in times of political transition or new nation-building (Brunn, 2000, 2011, 2023). As a result, they help reify the imagined national community as images, and by extension certain narratives, become emblematic of the nation-state (Penrose, 2011). Deans and Dobson (2005) contend that "stamps can and should be read as texts, often with expressly political purposes or agendas which are conveyed through the images they depict" (p. 3). Raento and Brunn reiterate this by stating that "their 'reading' as political, socioculturally and territorially specific texts offers valuable insights into the evolution and outlook of the issuing state and the 'imagined community' within its boundaries" (2005, p. 146). Indeed, the postage stamp's utility as a semiotic transmitter of state identity and policy has been highly effective (Wood-Donnelly, 2017). These "idealized images" act as effective communication tools between leaders, masses, allies, and enemies, and can act as visual representations of territorial claims (Brunn, 2011; Raento, 2009), delivering politically-charged messages whose imageries contain both 'whispers' and 'shouts', referring to both subtle and overt expressions of visual nationalism, highlighting the difficult line drawn between persuasion and propaganda (Raento & Brunn, 2005; Zeigler, 2002).

The idea that stamps can embody places is a particularly relevant line of study for geographers. Given their widely distributed nature, stamps have the capacity to shape our imagined perception of both places close to home and faraway lands. Cresswell (2015) suggests that paraphernalia of national ideology, such as stamps, help nation-states hold their inhabitants together; they represent conscious investments of effort to give regions histories and identities in order to make them more place-like and therefore more intelligible to their designated populations. The power of stamps to embody geographical imaginations about places to which we are entirely disconnected makes postage stamps an ideal example of what della Dora defines as travelling landscape-objects. These objects are portable graphic images that act as dynamic vehicles for the circulation of places through space and time (della Dora, 2009). Complimenting the existing literature, della Dora's concept also points to the capacity of travelling landscape-objects to yield ideological implications and to actively shape geographical imaginations (2009). Building on this, the next section focuses on one stamp-producing nation, Canada, whose long issuing history dating back to 1851 provides ample designs and topics from which to discern what was celebrated, commemorated, honored, and considered worthy (Covington & Brunn, 2006), and considers how its postage stamps actively shaped the geographical imagination of both Canadian citizens and the international community.

2.1. Canadian philately

The postal service is a cornerstone of every newly founded nation and as Deans and Dobson suggest, "is perceived to be a mark of modernity and of sovereignty" (2005, p. 3). Every stamp-producing nation has its particular history and role within the establishment of a national narrative. Brunn (2011) argues that the design on both stamps and currency, and the language of a new constitution, are among the most important early symbolic decisions at the state level. It is therefore not surprising that the Canadian Post Office Department's first stamp issue on April 23, 1851, the three-penny beaver, became the emblem of the then colony, one that is still largely present today (Mika & Mika, 1967). With Confederation in 1867, the Post Office Department was directed to assist Canada's social and economic development, by extending the postal network across the country and connecting all Canadians (Adie, 1990). The promise of improved mail service was one of the driving factors for enticing new provinces (such as British Columbia and Prince Edward Island) to join Confederation and helped justify massive infrastructural projects such as the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway completed in 1885 (Adie, 1990). These efforts were not simply an impetus for improving the postal service, but as Winder (2012, pp. 1830–1910) notes, constituted a project of territorial expansion across North America that emulated European imperialism.

Geographer Cole Harris (2004) suggests that imperialism is ideologically driven from the center while colonialism is a set of activities on the periphery that are revealed as practice. In order to open up new territories for Canadian settlers, the project of settler colonialism required what Kanien'kehá:ka anthropologist Audra Simpson has qualified as a "territorial possession by some and, thus, a dispossession of others" (2011, p. 205). Harris suggests that a geography of resettlement was vital to achieving this goal, with the postal network playing a key role in the creation of a new human geography imbricated with survey lines, property boundaries, roads, highways, farms, industrial camps, and towns (Harris, 2004). The Canadian postal service was therefore a vital component of the Settler Canadian government's geography of resettlement. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were approximately 10,000 post offices operating across the country (Campbell, 2002). This transcontinental network progressively expanded with the advent of new technologies, with mail being delivered by horseback, steamboat, rail, and finally by air, resulting not only in the compression of physical distances between places, but also strengthening ties within the nation. During a structural review of Canada Post (the Crown Corporation created in 1980 to assume the responsibilities of the Canadian Post Office Department), the parliamentary review panel stated that "because Canada Post is present in virtually every community across the country, this corporation—probably more than any other institution—is the day-to-day face of the Government of Canada" (Campbell, 2002, p. 303).

Canadian postage stamps have contributed to shaping the national imagined community and are a prime example of Billig's banal nationalism (1995). As with many other stamp-producing nations, Canadian stamps feature prominent figures, emblematic flora and fauna, culture and art, industrial achievements, and commemorate important anniversaries, amongst many other themes. Given Canada's unique history and geography, especially as a Settler nation, Indigenous Peoples and cultures have also come to feature extensively on stamp designs. Although this could be interpreted as celebrating the country's Indigenous roots, considering the role stamps play as silent messengers of the state it can be argued that stamps were used as a means of what Patrick Wolfe (2006) defines as 'recuperating Indigeneity'. He states that this is a process through which Settler states, such as Canada, propagate the idea that they are in essence 'Indigenous Nations', with a distinct history and culture, thus furthering them from their former identities as European colonial outposts (Wolfe, 2006). Mona Domosh (2006) exemplifies this process of using Indigeneity to brand the nation by pointing to the use of Indigenous symbols on American household products as they were useful nationalistic reminders of the United States' distinct yet remote past.

Read in another light, prominently featuring Indigenous Peoples as national iconography could also be considered as a "Settler move to innocence", on behalf of the Settler nation. Tuck and Yang (2012) qualify these actions as attempts to "relieve the settler of feelings of guilt and responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all" (p. 10). Given Canada's early history of actively trying to extinguish, enfranchise, and assimilate Indigenous Peoples into Settler society, its choice to portray Indigenous Peoples and cultures on stamps can be read as both a Settler state move to innocence and a prime example of recuperating Indigeneity for nation-building purposes. These processes have occurred in a myriad of different ways such as featuring Indigenous art on banknotes and 'Indigenizing' large international events such as the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games

(Perry & Kang, 2012). Relating back to Anderson and Billig's concepts of imagined community and banal nationalism, I suggest that Indigenous-themed stamps directly contributed to the construction of a national identity that sought to recuperate Indigeneity in order to incorporate Indigenous Peoples into the Canadian body politic for a variety of political purposes such as extending its real and imaginary geographic boundaries. As such, I contend that the use of Indigenous iconography on Canadian stamps can be read as a form of *banal colonialism*. This article now turns to the study of one particular stamp, the *Eskimo Hunter*, considering how it incorporated Inuit and High Arctic territories into the Canadian imagined community. In order to effectively understand how this stamp represents a form of banal colonialism, a methodological tool-kit is provided in the following section.

3. Methodology

The original idea for this project stemmed from my graduate studies at the University of Ottawa where I also worked as a research assistant for the Institute of Indigenous Research and Studies. In the context of an Indigenous research seminar, I thought to study the use of Indigenous iconography on Canadian postage stamps in large part thanks to inspiration from an initial article I read in *Political Geography* by Pauliina Raento (2009). Having previously done archival work in the context of my research assistant role, I decided to consult the online catalogue of Library and Archives Canada (LAC), as they include the Canada Post archives, using the key search words 'Indigenous', 'First Nations', 'Metis', 'Inuit' in combination with 'stamp.' A variety of issues across several decades were retrieved; however, the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp, issued in 1955 immediately stood out to me as it was the first Canadian stamp to prominently feature an Indigenous person, instead of cultural markers such as the *Pacific coast Indian house* issued two years before in 1953 (Library and Archives Canada, 1953). I cross-referenced the information regarding the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp from LAC with information found on the Postage Stamp Guide (PSG), a catalogue of all Canadian stamps issued since the founding of the Canadian Post Office Department in 1851 (Postage Stamp Guide, 2022a). According to the PSG, the *Eskimo Hunter*, originally issued in 1955 was printed approximately 300 million times, making it one of the most widely distributed stamps of the period, only rivalled in production by stamp issues of members of the Royal Family, including the then newly crowned Queen Elizabeth II (Postage Stamp Guide, 2022c).

After returning to the stamp some years later, and having familiarized myself with more of the existing literature on postage stamps as forms of visual nationalism, I wished to 'read' the *Eskimo Hunter* following certain criteria. Many stamp analyses draw upon American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce's three-part typology of semiotics—the study of signs and the messages they contain. Peirce's typology, "The Trichotomy of Signs" classifies a sign as either index, icon or symbol. Whereas an index points to something (such as country of origin or monetary value in the case of stamps), an icon is a pictorial representation, and a symbol, a conventional sign that stands for something else (Child, 2005). Of particular interest to this study is the icon, which as Child explains, "it is in the selection of the icon that a government makes a conscious choice of what message is to be delivered and how" (Child, 2005, p. 114). Raento and Brunn (2005) develop a detailed methodology for the critical content analysis of postage stamps in the context of their work on Finnish stamps in the twentieth century. Drawing on Rose's notion of 'reading the visual' (2016) and Zeigler's work related to the use of understated spatial imagery in order to deliver political messages through 'whispers' and 'shouts' (2002), Raento and Brunn suggest that a close 'reading' of postage stamps reveals layers of embedded meaning (2005). Their methodology suggests 1) identifying who and what is in the picture, while also examining the stamp's date and purpose of issue, and 2) proceeding to 'assess the story' reported and represented by the state, "and to ask how that depiction matches competing versions of the same history" (Raento & Brunn, 2005, p. 149). Building on this, Wood-Donnelly's study of Arctic-themed stamps issued by Canada, the United States, and Russia proves instrumental given her compilation of a database of all stamps featuring Arctic motifs from these three countries, which as of 2010 totaled 212 postage stamps—with 77 originating from Canada (2017). She asserts that stamps serve as an auxiliary method of demonstrating effective occupation of each country's Arctic territories. As such, they represent what Wood-Donnelly refers to as a proxy methodology that 'performs' policy, thus contributing toward relative sovereignty becoming a reality (Wood-Donnelly, 2017, 2019). They were therefore a useful form of domestic propaganda that reinforced a national identity and agenda based on the idea that large portions of the Arctic were under their jurisdiction, ideas that were also circulated to an international audience through postal traffic, resulting in wider impact (Brunn, 2000, 2023; Covington & Brunn, 2006; Deans & Dobson, 2005; Raento & Brunn, 2005, 2008; Wood-Donnelly, 2017).

The database provided by Wood-Donnelly (2017) was coded according to five key iconographic themes including: 1) Nature; 2) Exploration; 3) Maps, Flags, and Territory; 4) Occupancy; and 5) Indigenous Inhabitants and Culture. These were then connected to key policy objectives found in contemporary Arctic governmental documents, including sovereignty, security, economic development, and environmental protection. Interestingly, Wood-Donnelly points out that "for all states, production of stamps depicting images of the Arctic increases during the Cold War, correlating with insecurity fears in the region" (2017, p. 244). This is precisely the period during which the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp was released. Child echoes this, stating that stamps have been linked to inter-state strains, usually over border and sovereignty issues (Child, 2005).

While Wood-Donnelly provides an overview of all Arctic stamps and connects them with the issue of Arctic sovereignty, this article focuses on the story and role of the *Eskimo Hunter*, one of the stamps included in her database. Therefore, building on Wood-Donnelly's study and classification system in addition to employing strategies on how best to 'read' stamps as both texts (Deans & Dobson, 2005; Raento & Brunn, 2005; Rose, 2016), and instances of visual nationalism (Brunn, 2023), the next section details how the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp came to be and more importantly, considers its role within Canada's Arctic policy at the time. This follows the methodology outlined by Raento and Brunn (2005) in order to critically analyze the stamp's content and treat it as a socio-culturally and temporally constructed political-geographic text.

Specifically, I propose that the issuance of this particular stamp served a key role in Canada's attempt to amalgamate both Inuit and the Arctic into its national 'imagined community'. This was done at the same time the federal government was asserting greater administrative control over the region. Following an analysis of the stamp, a summary of the High Arctic Relocations utilizing key primary and secondary resources is provided. Most notably, archival records of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) from 1953 to 1968 were consulted, as it was RCMP officials who were largely responsible for the administration of the relocated Inuit communities on Cornwallis and Ellesmere Islands. By connecting the banal and physical actions of the state, this analysis bridges the gap between the symbolic and semiotic nature of the stamp with the lived experiences of Inuit survivors who were relocated to the High Arctic. Ultimately, the *Eskimo Hunter* served as a prime example of what Wood-Donnelly refers to as a proxy methodology to both demonstrate and symbolically bolster its effective occupation of the Arctic to domestic and international audiences, making it not only a form of banal nationalism, but an instance of what I term banal colonialism.

3.1. The Eskimo Hunter stamp

Canadian stamps featuring Indigenous Peoples did not appear until the 1950s, a period that coincided with the ushering in of new policies towards Indigenous Peoples, notably amendments to the Indian Act in 1951, which removed several—but certainly not all—of the

discriminatory policies it enforced (Dickason & McNab, 2009). Additionally, the idea of the 'Welfare State' was widely supported within policy circles, with the goal of extending social citizenship and its rights and responsibilities to all citizens. The objective was to create a 'Just Society', where all—Indigenous Peoples included—had access to a reasonable standard of living (Loo, 2019). Achieving the Just Society became a cornerstone of Liberal government policy, which also sought to embrace multiculturalism while treating all citizens on equal terms. This of course neglected the special relationship that the Government, and by extension, the Crown shared with Indigenous Peoples. Hence, when Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau suggested repealing the Indian Act in his government's 1969 White Paper, thereby ending the status of First Nations Treaty signatories, an uproar ignited within Indigenous Nations, leading some Indigenous leaders to qualify Canada as an 'Unjust Society' (Cardinal, 2013). Nevertheless, this shift in national identity, looking to broaden its horizons and include Canadians coming from multiple cultural backgrounds had reverberations throughout government policy, including stamp designs.

In line with calls for further research regarding the decision bodies (or 'gatekeepers') responsible for stamp designs and issues (Covington & Brunn, 2006; Penrose, 2011; Raento & Brunn, 2005), it is important to take a closer look at the culture and politics of stamp design at the time of the *Eskimo Hunter*'s issue date. Starting in the 1950s, the Canadian Post Office Department introduced significant changes to its design and selection process. A new selective committee was created in 1951, to commission a series of stamps designed by Canadian artists to capture the character of Canada and Canadian art in recognition of the 100th anniversary of the Post Office Department (Canadian Philatelic Society, 1951). Chaired by future Governor General Vincent Massey, the committee was tasked with selecting designs according to five main categories including "(a) Secondary industries of Canada; (b) well-known wildflowers of Canada; (c) The larger animals of Canada; (d) portraits of Canadian Indians or Esquimax [sic], or designs based on native life; (e) Outdoor activities and scenes" (Canadian Philatelic Society, 1951, p. 4). The Canadian Philatelic Review summarized the campaign by stating, "if such a plan is successfully worked out, it will not only be a boon to our Canadian artists, but should also provide Canada with new stamps in the future which will keep our nation well to the fore-front of the world's stamp designing countries" (Canadian Philatelic Society, 1951, p. 4).

Four years after the creation of this selective committee, on February 21, 1955, the Canadian Post Office Department issued the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp (Fig. 1). The *Eskimo Hunter* was the first Canadian philatelic representation of Inuit and one of the first to portray Indigenous Peoples. The 10-cent stamp, designed by Canadian artist Thomas Harold Beament, features an Inuk in a *qajaq* (kayak) resting on calm waters with an iceberg looming in the background. Given the presence of the iceberg and the attire of the Inuk, it is clear that the scene represents an Arctic or Subarctic environment. Interestingly, as can be seen in the upper left portion of the stamp, a plane is flying in the direction of the iceberg and the hunter. Referring back to Wood-Donnelly's classification system of Arctic stamps, the *Eskimo Hunter* touches upon several of the iconographic themes she defined including *Nature*, *Occupancy*, and *Indigenous Inhabitants and Cultures* (2017). Also, according to Peirce's typology, the stamp includes various signs with the Inuk hunter, iceberg, and plane serving as the prime icons. At first glance, the stamp seems like a relatively harmless representation of Inuit life, and as one of the first stamps to feature Indigenous Peoples, it could be suggested as a turning point in cultural representation in line with the idea of the Just Society and Welfare State.

However, connecting back to the arguments of the previously outlined stamp literature, it is clear that the *Eskimo Hunter* serves national identity purposes contributing to an imagined community that highlights Canada's efforts to both incorporate Inuit into Canadian society while subtly portraying its effective occupation of the North. Furthermore, given its extremely high issue volume, over 300 million copies were made (Postage Stamp Guide, 2022b), and its lower value, which maximized circulation (Raento & Brunn, 2005), the *Eskimo Hunter* represents an excellent example of banal nationalism and as I've suggested, more specifically of banal colonialism. As Emilie Cameron (2015) suggests colonialism involves "the dispossession and occupation of Indigenous lands, the establishment and maintenance of economic and political domination, and the production and promulgation of knowledge and ideas that rationalize uneven, hierarchical, exploitative relations" (p. 17). 'Reading' the stamp with this in mind, one can see specific elements of this colonial project at play as an attempt to portray the Arctic as a Canadian territory—take for instance the placement of the large capital letters C-A-N-A-D-A at the top of the stamp.

Another reading of the stamp implies a popular narrative of progress at the time. The presence of both a traditional hunter and an airplane soaring above brings together what might be conceived as a distant past and a bright future. As Domosh (2006) details, this narrative of progress featuring an Indigenous figure watching the approach of modernity is a reoccurring one in many advertisements. This is representative of a western scale of civilization in which the Indigenous onlooker represents the past, and is looking towards the future embodied by technologies of progress (Domosh, 2006; McClintock, 1995; Winder, 2009). As Winder (2009) suggests, the position of the Indigenous 'other' is perilous in the face of technologies that are "destined to sweep aside entire ways of life" (p. 336). Settler nations have normalized the 'grand march of civilization', a linear progression from primitive (or 'savage') cultures to 'civilized' forms of modern life and society. Thus when policies of extermination were abandoned by Settler nations, assimilating Indigenous Peoples into what was considered civilization, became the primary strategy—embodied by the harmful practices such as residential and day schools (Domosh, 2006; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). Referring to the experiences of Inuit, who came into contact relatively late with the settler colonial nation, they were expected to agreeably comply with federal plans for their 'advancement' and 'modernization' (Cameron, 2015). In the context of the Welfare State in the postwar era, Cameron advances that there was a will to improve the conditions of Inuit and fully incorporate them into Canadian society, and that "government laws and services were implemented with the intention of helping, improving, and transforming Inuit into better citizens" (2015, p. 123). However, Cameron continues by suggesting that this increased intervention in the lives of Inuit was a means of "shaping governable subjects, in remaking the relations between Inuit and their lands, homes, and bodies, so as to create a wholly new North and a wholly new Indigenous subject" (2015, p. 138). As a result, Inuit and their lands could be governed, administered, and ordered in a 'modernized' way the government best saw fit.

Taking this context into consideration, the *Eskimo Hunter* therefore can be 'read' as a call for Inuit (represented by the hunter) to be integrated as full members of Canadian society, embracing the exciting new benefits of modernity (as represented by the plane), a policy actively in place at the time. Read in another light however, the *Eskimo Hunter* is depicted as an occupant of the North, leaving no room for the questioning of Canada's effective occupation of the region, with a plane patrolling the nation's territories for good measure. Considering the *Eskimo Hunter*'s date of issuance, I suggest that the rationale for producing a stamp featuring Inuit and Arctic icons, used understated spatial and cultural imagery to deliver politically-charged messages (Raento & Brunn, 2005; Zeigler, 2002). As Wood-Donnelly (2017) confirms, most Arctic-themed stamps were released during the Cold War, primarily due to fears of insecurity in the region. Furthermore, she shares that rather than highlighting the region's imperial origins (jurisdiction over the Canadian Arctic was transferred from Great Britain in 1880), the Canadian government recalibrated its emphasis towards sovereignty based on Inuit occupancy "since time immemorial" (Wood-Donnelly, 2017, p. 251). The *Eskimo Hunter* began circulation in the mid-1950s in the early stages of the Cold War and at a time when there was concern over Canada's *de facto* sovereignty in the High Arctic given increased activity and interest from the United States in the region (Royal Commission on

Aboriginal Peoples, 1994; Lowther, 1990; Farish, 2010).

Since the incorporation of Alaska into the Union, the US had a vested interest and foothold in the Arctic. Often, officials questioned the legitimacy of Canadian claims to the High Arctic and suggested that the Northwest Passage, a crucial northern route of transportation, should be considered as an international waterway (Wood-Donnelly, 2017). Despite these tensions, during the Second World War, both Canada and the US collaborated on developing Arctic infrastructure in order to facilitate the transport of troops and to bolster the potential defense of the region should an invasion be attempted (Lowther, 1990). This included most notably the construction of several airfields and weather stations across the region. However, the presence of the US Army in the region led some to suggest that the Canadian Arctic was indeed under American control, prompting the Canadian government to purchase all American-built air bases and weather stations in an attempt to Canadianize the North (Lowther, 1990). Following the Second World War, however, increased American interest in the High Arctic was garnered due to the risk of a possible attack of the Soviet Union on the US via the Canadian Arctic, a region considered to be "wide open at the top" (Farish, 2010, p. 174). Monitoring the Arctic was therefore seen as being vital to continental defense and prompted further projects such as the Defense Early Warning (DEW) Line, which created a network of radomes (radar domes) stretching from Alaska to Iceland to raise the alarm should an airborne invasion be launched (Farish, 2010). Given the increased and continued fixation of US policy-makers on the Arctic, Canadian officials were not only preoccupied with control over the region's infrastructure but wished to have more people on the ground. Canada's *de jure* sovereignty was not under threat but rather its *de facto* sovereignty could potentially be weakened if the US were effectively administering the region (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994). As the "Administrator of the Arctic" Ben Sivertz stated, "The Canadian Government is anxious to have Canadians occupying as much of the north as possible and it [appears] that in many cases the Eskimo [are] the only people capable of doing this" (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 117). Prime Minister Louis S. St. Laurent was perhaps more direct in his view of the matter when in December 1953, he stated before the House of Commons that Canadians, "must leave no doubt about active occupation and exercise of our sovereignty in these northern lands right up to the pole" (Lowther, 1990, p. 119).

The idea to relocate Inuit families to the High Arctic due to rising relief costs associated with the downturn of the fur trade had been in existence and practice, although it had not been deemed successful up until that point (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). While the relocations represented primarily humanitarian efforts, it has been proven that relocating Inuit further north to the High Arctic had the benefit of bolstering Canada's *de facto* sovereignty over the region (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994). These were the types of policies and plans being undertaken by the federal government at the time of the issuance of the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp. While it can be argued that the stamp served as an auxiliary method of asserting Canadian Arctic sovereignty, other, more drastic measures also served as a means of bolstering Canada's presence in the region, namely the High Arctic Relocations of Inuit families to Ellesmere and Cornwallis Islands starting in 1953. Referring back to Wood-Donnelly's criteria, the *Eskimo Hunter* can be read as directly attached to the key policy adjective of *sovereignty*. I suggest taking this one step further by connecting the *Eskimo Hunter* to the High Arctic Relocations, as being two interrelated elements of Canadian Arctic policy. The stamp, widely circulated to domestic and international audiences, played into the narrative of the Arctic as being inhabited and patrolled by Inuit, in tandem with the relocation of Inuit to the northernmost areas of the High Arctic, leaving no room for doubt of Canada's effective occupation of the region. While these represent two vastly different methods—one symbolic, the other physical—I contend that they were connected and that framing the events of the High Arctic Relocations with the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp is an important pursuit in bringing to life the lived experiences of those represented on the stamp.

4. The "pioneer experiment" of the High Arctic Relocations

The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, responsible for Inuit Affairs at the time, proposed the idea of relocating Inuit to the High Arctic in the early 1950s. Against the backdrop of increased government intervention into the lives of Inuit and the will to improve their circumstances in the context of the Welfare State as suggested by Cameron (2015), it was proposed that several Inuit families from the "overcrowded" settlement of Inukjuak located on the eastern shore of Hudson's Bay (formerly known as Port Harrison) be relocated. Inuit hunters had been struggling due to the precipitous drop in the prices of Arctic fox furs following the Second World War and had been dependent on the state for support for a number of years (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994; Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). As historian Tina Loo (2019) points out, "Not only would forced relocation prevent welfare dependency, but, in the view of Ottawa's bureaucrats, it would preserve Inuit culture, and in the case of the High Arctic Relocations, maintain Canadian sovereignty" (p. 19). Department records clearly reflect this view with statements such as those by key relocation architect Alex Stevenson who stated, "Why not give the natives [sic] a chance to cover this country and also if it is considered necessary improve the position regarding sovereignty rights" (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 121). In their seminal work on the High Arctic Relocations, Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski detail the government's various relocation programs throughout the Eastern Arctic, most notably the relocation of Inuit families to Ellesmere and Cornwallis Islands. They state that families in Inukjuak were approached by RCMP constable Ross Gibson who read them a telegram strongly encouraging them to move to uninhabited lands with plentiful game to the north and that they could return two years later if they were not satisfied (Audlaluk, 2020). It is important to note, that at the time, RCMP officials and other *Qallunaaq* (non-Inuit) were often feared and Inuit felt obliged to comply with their directives (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994).

As a result, on July 28, 1953, the self-proclaimed "pioneer experiment" of the High Arctic Relocations was initiated when seven Inuit families from Inukjuak, and shortly after three families from Pond Inlet on Baffin Island, were brought aboard the Canadian Coast Guard ship, the *C.D. Howe*, and transported two thousand kilometers north to the furthest reaches of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994) (see Fig. 2). Shortly after leaving, it was announced that the families would be split into two groups (previously unbeknownst to them), with one group travelling to Resolute Bay on Cornwallis Island where a military air base was located, and another to Lindstrom Peninsula on Ellesmere Island, which would later become the community of Grise Fiord. Despite bringing three families from Pond Inlet who were accustomed to the High Arctic conditions, the first years at the settlements proved extremely difficult for the relocated families. As relocation survivor Larry Audlaluk (2020) describes in his memoir *What I Remember, What I Know: The Life of a High Arctic Exile*, detailing his and his family's experience relocating to Grise Fiord, the first two years were the hardest due in large part to the extended dark season from November to February and the high winds that prevented the accumulation of snow necessary for the construction of igloos. Speaking specifically about the darkness, Audlaluk shares that "The dark season was a total surprise to my relatives. This neglect had a lasting psychological effect on the adults. I have no doubt it was one of the contributing factors in shortening my father's and mother's lives" (Audlaluk, 2020, p. 23). The families at Ellesmere Island initially slept in tents while those at Resolute Bay assembled make-shift housing, often using discarded materials from the nearby air base (see Fig. 3). This in addition to missing supplies, poor rifles for hunting, few lamps, and inadequate clothing, highlighted the haphazard and rushed nature of the relocations, which Constable Ross even acknowledged saying "more time and thought could have been applied" (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 183).

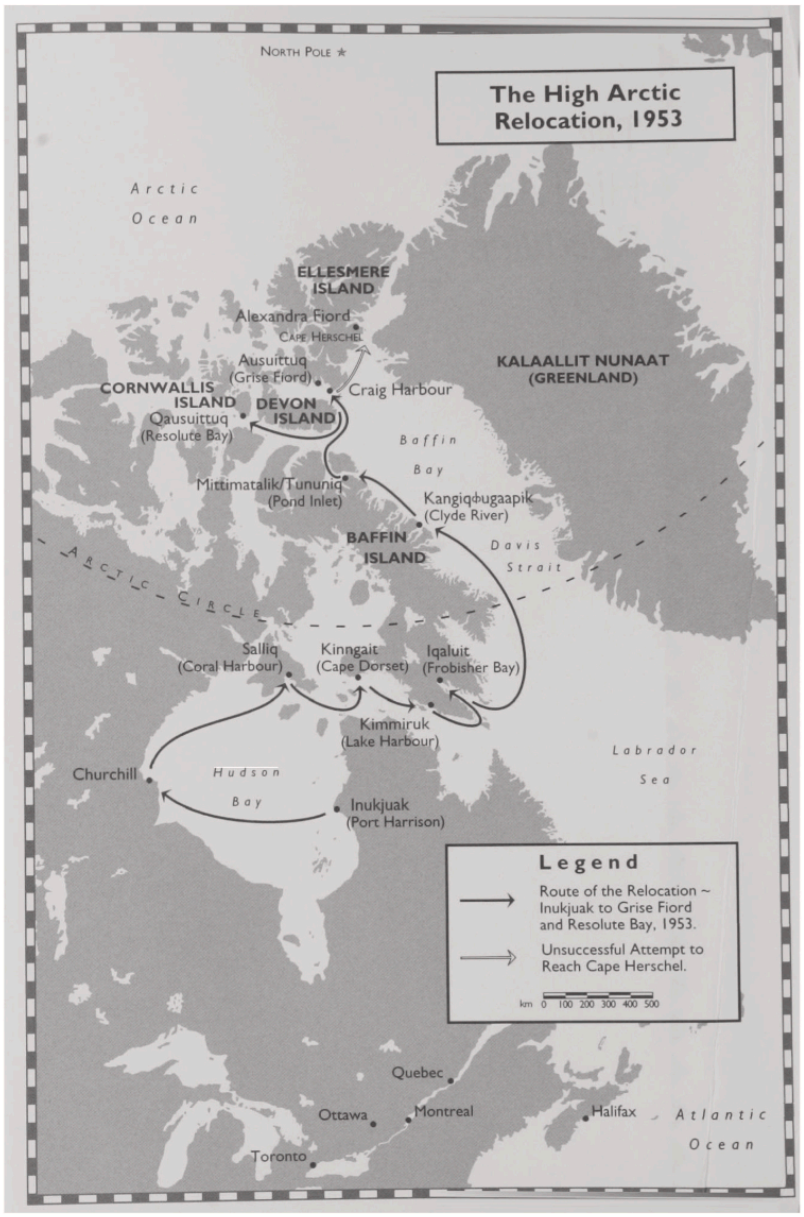

Fig. 2. Map of High Arctic Relocations including route of Canadian Coast Guard ship C.D. Howe in 1953.
Source: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *The High Arctic Relocation: A Report on the 1953–55 Relocation, 1994*.

Oversight of Inuit in these initial years was what Tester and Kulchyski have termed as totalizing, with the state deciding where they lived and with continuous RCMP surveillance over their daily lives (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). Furthermore it represents a real example of Michel Foucault's concept of biopower in practice, where the state employs disciplinary technologies to both regulate and control bodies (Foucault, 2020). This disciplinary technology and will to control Inuit was embodied by the RCMP. Despite pleas from relocatees to return, they were rejected or told that they would need to pay for their own passage, and as Audlaluk summarizes, "It is clear that we were prisoners in our country, and Ellesmere Island was our Prison Island" (Audlaluk, 2020, p. 40). Important to note here is that the Inuit experience of settler colonialism was vastly different to that of First Nations and Metis Peoples in the South. It was not until after the Second World War, that the Canadian state swiftly and comprehensively interfered into the lives of Inuit, largely influenced by the Supreme Court of Canada's ruling in 1939 that Inuit affairs were in fact the responsibility of the federal government under Section 91 (24) of the British North America Act of 1867 (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). As Kulchyski and Tester (2007) summarize, "in less than a decade, policy makers went from the assumption that Inuit should be left on their own to fend for themselves to a policy of massive interference" (p. 6). The Canadian state's 'modernization' efforts, largely based on the introduction of wage employment, permanent housing, and settlement housing, were seen as means of undermining

Fig. 3. Initial Inuit housing at Resolute Bay. Gary Lunne/National Film Board of Canada. Photothèque/Library and Archives Canada/PA-19142, 1956.

the traditional Inuit hunting regime and absorbing Inuit into the dominant norms of Canadian society (Kulchyski & Tester, 2007). In order to achieve this program of 'modernization', Inuit were subjected to a series of state interventions, of which the High Arctic Relocations were a part, including colonial policies such as compulsory residential and day schooling (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015), the Canadian state's regulation of Inuit hunting practices (Kulchyski & Tester, 2007), and the promotion of extractive industries, starting with the opening of the North Rankin Nickel Mine in 1957 (Bernauer, 2019). As stated, the federal government was intent on transforming Inuit into governable subjects, which represented a key component of a larger attempt to remake Inuit lands, homes, and bodies, with Inuit "expected to happily consent to their modernization" (Cameron, 2015, p. 178).

In the context of this paper's attempt to link the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp and the High Arctic Relocations, 'assessing the story' (Raento & Brunn, 2005) is of particular importance. Given the government's heightened interest in the success of the relocations, detailed records of Inuit activity and life in both settlements were kept following the relocations. Each year, the constables in charge of the RCMP detachments at Resolute Bay, Craig Harbour, and later Grise Fiord, would send detailed reports to headquarters in Ottawa on how the relocated Inuit were faring. Analyzing these records, available from 1953 to 1968, provides a clear picture of the totalizing force used by the RCMP and how this impacted the lived experiences of Inuit in these communities.

These reports often detailed the RCMP's attempts to control the behavior of Inuit, restricting their movements—i.e. discouraging them from moving from one community to another, how they should spend their money, and how many animals they could hunt (RCMP, 1953, 1960, 1966). The isolation of the communities, especially in the case of Grise Fiord, presented various challenges, specifically relating to medical emergencies. With no physician present in the community, Inuit only had access to once-a-year check-ups aboard the *C.D. Howe* (RCMP, 1968) (see Fig. 4). When serious cases of illness occurred, such as tuberculosis, Inuit were forced to travel south thousands of kilometers away—referred to as "outside"— for treatment (RCMP, 1957). While many complied, some, especially elders, refused such as Philapushee and Maggie who suffered from a heart condition and debilitating arthritis (RCMP, 1963). These can be considered as clear examples of a

Fig. 4. Kyak family aboard the C.D. Howe on one of the ship's annual visits to Grise Fiord.
Source: Health Canada/Library and Archives Canada /e002216381, 1958.

micropolitics of resistance (Harris, 2004) or 'counter-conduct' (Foucault, 2009), any mode of conducting oneself that is outside the scope of acceptable conduct, which at the time was considered to be the following of government and RCMP orders. This 'resistance' as Cameron (2015) puts forward was employed as a tactic by people aiming to recuperate a degree of control over their lives, which came at a high cost given their geographic and social circumstances. Due to the extreme isolation and lack of adequate care on the ground, many residents, especially elders, were subjected to unnecessary suffering, and were labelled as reoccurring 'problems' by the RCMP constables (RCMP, 1963).

Despite these clear challenges and hardships, the annual RCMP detachment reports claimed that things on the ground were going extremely well. A year after the relocations, Corporal Sargent wrote "they all looked happier and healthier, having visibly put on weight … It would be difficult to find a group of Eskimos anywhere in the North that could claim to be as well off as the Grise Fiord camp" (RCMP, 1954a, p. 4), and suggested that the area represented their "Garden of Eden" (RCMP, 1954b, p. 4). These glowing, paternalistic reports continued to arrive in Ottawa, with statements such as Constable Currie's that "the morale of our people is at an all time high" (RCMP, 1963, p. 3), and that "in summary I think it can be safely said that our Eskimos are of a very high caliber, being hard workers, industrious and most energetic" (RCMP, 1963, p. 6). As a result, the relocations were initially viewed as a monumental success, which RCMP "G" (or Arctic) Division head C. B. Macdonnell wanted to maintain, stating "We have received very favourable publicity over our management of Eskimo welfare at both Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, and I do not want our members making moves to lessen our responsibilities at those points" (RCMP, 1964, p. 2). Interestingly, it took 15 years before a more objective account of the situation was provided by Corporal Vitt, who stated in 1968, "isolation, once-a-month plane service and the resulting lack of communication are trying at times, especially during the winter" (RCMP, 1968, p.8).

These conditions are what likely led to the high turnover rate among RCMP constables and other workers in the communities such as school teachers and mechanics. Inuit themselves often expressed a desire to leave and go back to their home communities of Inukjuak or Pond Inlet, but they were often coerced into remaining, thus rendering the government's initial promise that they could return a lie (Audlaluk, 2020). In 1994, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples published a Special Report on the High Arctic Relocations based on the testimony of survivors, experts, and policy-makers. The report's findings confirmed that while the primary goal of the relocations had been humanitarian in nature, it was established that sovereignty was a factor in the minds of the administrators who designed the "pioneer experiment" of the

relocation program (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994). Relocated Inuit contributed to the Canadianization of the Arctic and supported Canada's *de facto* sovereignty over the region, with the Special Report concluding that "The weight of the evidence points to sovereignty as a material consideration in the relocation decision", and that the continued presence of the communities contributed to the maintenance of Canadian sovereignty (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994, p. 132). While the degree to which sovereignty represented a main motivation for the relocations remains unclear, what is certain is that the relocations adversely impacted the Inuit relocatees, especially in the initial years of the two newly-established communities. Thirty-five years after the relocations, the federal government finally acknowledged the harm the relocations caused, and offered to return Inuit back to their home communities, an offer taken up by 35 Inuit (Audlaluk, 2020; Lowther, 1990). Despite these initial reparations, it was not until 2010 that the federal government officially apologized for the High Arctic Relocations (Government of Canada, 2010).

5. Conclusion: Placing Indigeneity on stamps

By connecting the High Arctic Relocations with the issuance of the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp by the Canadian Post Office Department in 1955, this article has sought to detail two distinct yet interrelated aspects of Canada's Arctic policy at the time. While primarily a humanitarian effort undertaken for economic reasons in order to reduce government relief costs and provide Inuit hunters from northern Québec with new hunting grounds in the High Arctic, the relocations also conveniently bolstered Canada's *de facto* sovereignty over the region by relocating Inuit to uninhabited Canadian islands. I therefore argue that the High Arctic Relocations and the Eskimo Hunter stamp were two interrelated, albeit vastly different, measures of an Arctic policy that sought to incorporate Inuit as full citizens of the Canadian Welfare State and national (imagined) community, which also subtly reinforced Canada's physical and visual effective occupation of the region.

Responding to calls for further research for the fine-grain analysis of individual instances of visual nationalism (Brunn, 2023; Covington & Brunn, 2006; Penrose, 2011; Raento & Brunn, 2005), this article focuses on one such example. Employing methodologies that seek to critically analyze and 'read' the content of postage stamps, the argument is made that the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp is a socioculturally and temporally constructed political-geographic text embedded with multiple layers of meaning. It contains both 'whispers' and 'shouts' of state-sanctioned messages which contributed to national identity-building and an 'imagined community' through its banal everyday circulation and use (Anderson, 2016; Billig, 1995; Brunn, 2011, 2023; Covington & Brunn, 2006; Raento, 2009; Raento & Brunn, 2005, 2008; Rose, 2016; Zeigler, 2002). Postage stamps indeed continue to act as silent—and semiotic—messengers of the state (Wood-Donnelly, 2017), embodying and promoting ideas to both domestic and international audiences as vehicles of visual nationalism (Brunn, 2023). Building on Michael Billig's concept of banal nationalism, the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp represents a prime example of what I term banal colonialism as it visually embodied the land-centered project of colonialism (Cameron, 2015), promoting the idea that the Arctic was a vital part of the Canadian imagined community, physically inhabited—and patrolled—by Inuit, and by extension, Canadian citizens. The appearance of the stamp during the 1950s corresponded to a time of heightened anxiety of Arctic nations vis-à-vis their territories amidst the backdrop of the Cold War. As Wood-Donnelly (2017) suggests, this resulted in the use of stamps as proxy methodologies of the state in the demonstration of their sovereignty. By both placing Inuit on a stamp and in the High Arctic, the government physically and symbolically relocated Inuit to the final contested frontier of the Settler nation as the real and imaginary occupants of arguably the most geopolitically important region at the time. Though appearing as a relatively harmless—and banal—object, layers of coercion, biopower, disciplinary technologies, and state interests form the basis of the *Eskimo Hunter* stamp. By connecting it to other aspects of Canada's Arctic policy at the time, such as the High Arctic Relocations, which can be argued were a form of penal colonialism, it is hoped that the legacy and trauma endured by Inuit and caused by the Canadian government can be better understood. Perhaps another layer of meaning that can be added to the *Eskimo Hunter* is the resistance or counter-conduct (Cameron, 2015; Foucault, 2009; Harris, 2004), carried out by Inuit in the face of the increased and arguably totalizing intervention of the federal government and RCMP (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). These actions included the refusal to be relocated again or sent 'outside' for extended stays away from family and community. These stories too deserve greater attention.

The *Eskimo Hunter* stamp is but one example of banal colonialism. Other studies considering Canadian (or other Settler nations') postage stamps and their use of Indigenous imagery for the benefit of the state merit further study. Examples could include the 1953 *Pacific coast Indian house* stamp released shortly after the ban on the Pot-latch was lifted (Library and Archives, 1953), and the 1970 *Louis Riel* stamp, which commemorated the 100th anniversary of the Province of Manitoba by labelling one of the most important Metis historical figures, Louis Riel, as both 'Hero' and 'Madman' (Library and Archives Canada, 1970). Today, Indigenous Peoples and the works of Indigenous artists have increasingly been portrayed on postage stamps and other vehicles of visual nationalism, such as banknotes and street names. While this is being celebrated, it is crucial that these do not merely serve as a means of recuperating Indigeneity and acting as settler moves to innocence, alleviating settler guilt while doing nothing to remedy the wrongs caused by the cultural genocide inflicted upon Indigenous Peoples (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). Postage stamps have the power, however banal it may be, to initiate meaningful discussions in the most intimate of citizen spaces (Raento, 2011), encouraging us to engage with and celebrate Indigeneity while unsettling the political myths of Canada's colonial past and present, representing vital components of the ongoing project of reconciliation.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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DANIEL DUMAS

Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares: Media Representation of Indigenous Peoples and the Trans Mountain Expansion Project

Résumé

Depuis l'achat de l'oléoduc de Trans Mountain par le gouvernement fédéral canadien en mai 2018, un débat animé a été généré sur notre dépendance continue aux combustibles fossiles. Les peuples autochtones constituent une partie prenante clé dans ce projet d'expansion qui vise à tripler le montant de bitume dilué transporter de l'Alberta vers la côte pacifique de la Colombie-Britannique. Les nations au coeur de la zone pétrolière de l'Alberta ont eu une relation longue et difficile avec les impacts de l'extraction des sables bitumineux, cependant, beaucoup se sont maintenant rangés du côté de l'industrie pétrolière, car elle a joué un rôle important dans le développement d'une base économique sûre pour les nations. À l'inverse, de nombreux peuples autochtones vivant le long des 1 150 kilomètres de l'oléoduc s'opposent au projet d'expansion, exprimant clairement leur inquiétude quant aux risques associés, notamment les déversements de pétrole. Cet article cherche à explorer les façons dont les points de vue autochtones ont été dépeints à travers un examen de 368 articles publiés par Radio Canada, le Canadian Television Network et l'Aboriginal Peoples Television Network de 2018 à aujourd'hui. La seule conclusion claire est que, comme il n'existe pas de corps homogène ou contigu de peuples autochtones, il n'y a pas de consensus autochtone partagé sur l'avenir du pétrole sur et sous leurs terres.

Abstract

Since the federal government's landmark purchase of the Trans Mountain Pipeline for $4.5 billion in May 2018, a heated debate has generated over our continued dependence on fossil fuels. A key stakeholder in the expansion project that seeks to triple the flow of diluted bitumen from Alberta to British Columbia's Pacific coast are Indigenous Peoples. Nations in the heart of Alberta's "Oil patch" have had a long and difficult relationship with the impacts of tar sands extraction, however, many have now sided with the oil industry as it has played an important role in both developing a secure economic base for Nations while providing communities with a new-found sense of agency. Conversely, many Indigenous peoples along the 1,150-kilometer pipeline oppose the expansion project, clearly expressing their concern for the associated risks, namely oil spills. This article

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represents identifies the ways in which Indigenous views have been portrayed through a review of 368 news articles published by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Canadian Television Network, and the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network from 2018 to the present day. The only clear conclusion is that as there is no homogenous or contiguous body of Indigenous peoples, there is no shared Indigenous consensus on the future of oil on and beneath their homelands.

Introduction: To Build or Not to Build?

The Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project (TMX) is one of the most controversial energy-infrastructure endeavours in modern Canadian history. The 1,150-kilometre pipeline transports diluted bitumen—a dense form of petroleum—from Edmonton, Alberta in the east to its western terminus in Burnaby, British Columbia on the Pacific Ocean. Since its initial construction in 1953, the pipeline has enabled the export of Canadian oil to foreign markets other than the US, which currently receives 99% of Canada's oil exports at a discounted price, resulting in a suggested loss of $15 billion annually (APTN National News 2018a). In 2012, then owners Kinder Morgan Canada proposed tripling the capacity of the pipeline to approximately 890,000 barrels per day (bbl/d) in order to increase foreign exports (Trans Mountain Corporation n.d.). After initial government approval in 2016, large-scale protests opposing the project took place across the country and when the Government of British Columbia threatened to restrict the flow of oil through the pipeline on its territory, Kinder Morgan Canada halted investment in the project, leading to the landmark $4.5 billion purchase of the pipeline by the federal government on 29 May 2018 (Francis 2018). Suddenly, Canadian taxpayers became the unlikely owners of a major pipeline expansion project. This led to a veritable explosion of voices opposing and supporting the project, notably from the 129 Indigenous Nations living along the proposed pipeline expansion route (House 2018). While many decried the TMX, citing the danger of potential spills due to increased oil flow and the harm exponential tanker traffic at the pipeline terminus would cause, others considered it to be an opportunity, namely to generate considerable revenue for their communities. When the government announced that it was looking to sell the pipeline shortly after its purchase, several Indigenous-led groups stepped forward to propose purchasing the TMX, a first in Canadian history (Pimentel 2019).

As many other major non-renewable energy projects, the TMX has been anything but smooth. Over the past four years, the project has been quashed due to insufficient consultations with impacted Indigenous Nations along the route and an inadequate marine environmental impact assessment, reapproved, halted due to extreme weather events, and has been the topic of fierce debate during the last two

federal elections (2019 and 2021), featuring prominently across local, national, and international news outlets. I suggest that the TMX is a flashpoint issue due to the fact that it represents a paradox in current environmental policy making. While the adverse impacts of the fossil fuel industry are well known and transitioning towards renewable forms of energy have been prioritized, the Canadian government has invested billions of dollars into the expansion of an existing piece of infrastructure part of what Carola Hein (2021) has termed the global petroleumscape, a layered physical and social landscape that comprises the diverse spaces of petroleum facilitating its ubiquity and continued use in everyday life. The key argument being made by the federal government is that the TMX is a project of national interest that will fund Canada's ongoing green transition—i.e. depend on oil exports now in order to wean off of them later (Trudeau 2019). Opponents have fiercely criticized this plan and have pointed to the hypocrisy of a government that has touted its plans to tackle the climate emergency by further perpetuating the extraction and distribution of fossil fuels.

These differing views have been at the forefront of media coverage, especially since the federal government's purchase of the pipeline in May 2018. Given the important role Indigenous Peoples have played thus far in both supporting and opposing the project, this paper presents and analyzes how Indigenous views of the TMX have been and continue to be discussed on the Canadian national stage. In order to do so, news articles from three national news outlets, the Canadian Television Network (CTV), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) are analyzed over a four-year span, dating from the initial pipeline purchase until this paper's initial submission (May 2022), representing the first comparative study of these three national broadcasters concerning this topic, all of which were chosen due to their freely accessible online content available to both Canadian and international audiences. The main questions at hand are how this widely distributed online content differs across these three national news providers and how the representation of key themes and actors can shape both public opinion and policy (Miller 2008; Skea 1993; Ramos 2006), serving what Adams (2017) has called a "metaphysics of encounter" between the mainstream public and stories and peoples on the ground.

The study is two-pronged in its approach as it first gathers, compares, and contrasts news data concerning the TMX and Indigenous Peoples, and secondly breaks down three prominent themes that arise, namely the clear geographic divide of opinions between British Columbia and Alberta, the tension between fostering economic development and ensuring environmental protection, and the difficult task of upholding the free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous Peoples. This analysis is supplemented by the direct views of the various Indigenous actors as stated by themselves. By doing so, the paper seeks to identify which news outlet most effectively engages with content related to Indigenous views of the TMX and subsequently how coverage can better reflect the portrayal of Indigenous views.

Drawing on previous work concerning Indigenous Peoples and media coverage (Wilkes et al. 2010; Miller 2008; Budd 2021; Karsgaard/MacDonald 2020), this paper builds on the existing literature and provides a valuable contribution by 1) providing a new framework for studying online news content, which could be useful for future studies involving Indigenous views or involvement in major projects, and by 2) engaging with the TMX, a case study that provides ample inspiration, motivation, and illustration (Siggelkow 2007) to better understand the precarious pursuit of furthering fossil fuel projects in order to finance a green transition, and how resistance toward and support for such projects is represented across the media landscape.

Literature Review

As with all components of settler society, Indigenous Peoples and the media have had a long and often tenuous relationship. Given the broad spectrum of both news providers and mediums (from newspaper to online content and social media), the representation of Indigenous views of key events, projects, or issues is presented in diverse ways from a variety of angles. Due to the prominence of Indigenous issues in settler societies such as Canada, Indigenous Peoples and issues feature prominently across the media landscape. As Miller (2008) suggests in his study of the Ipperwash standoff in 1995, news coverage is a key factor in both public perception and government action (see also Skea 1993; Ramos 2006). As many 'clashes' or standoffs take place in remote areas, media coverage provides the general public with the only exposure to the issues at hand, and thus carries significant importance on how issues and actors can be framed. While reporters have the responsibility of serving as independent verifiers of facts, the media has often promoted racist ideologies in maintaining narratives of white dominance or victimization (Miller 2008). Thus Indigenous Peoples have often been framed as a threat to national interests throughout various standoffs in Canadian history, almost exclusively involving land disputes such as the Oka crisis of 1990, the Gustafsen Lake and Ipperwash standoffs in 1995, the Grand River land dispute in 2006, the Wet'suwe'ten dispute over the Coastal GasLink pipeline starting in 2019, and now also in relation to protests to the TMX. Miller therefore formulates a framing model that can help us better understand how Indigenous views or positions are presented in the media. He identifies three categories within this model: 1) Indigenous Peoples being portrayed as trouble-makers or disruptors; 2) Indigenous Peoples portrayed as having legitimate grounds for a dispute; and 3) Indigenous Peoples portrayed as disputing or quarrelling amongst themselves (Miller 2008). He concludes that stories relating to category 1 (and to a lesser extent category 3) are the most picked up, while those in category 2 are not. While his research focuses primarily on the Ipperwash standoff of 1995, the framing model does provide a suitable framework for analyzing other disputes between Indigenous Peoples and the settler state.

Wilkes et al. (2010) also make an important contribution to the topic of Indigenous representation in Canadian media. Their study considered newspaper coverage of Indigenous standoffs and protests between 1985 and 1995, a period of major mobilization by Indigenous Peoples in Canada, characterized by standoffs over land disputes that garnered extensive media coverage (Ramos 2006). They point to the importance that significant media attention provides in elevating a story to the national level and that ongoing coverage of an event or issue signals its importance and increases the likelihood that a broader audience will gain an understanding about the event (Wilkes et al. 2010). Moreover, as they suggest, the media seeks to present stories that are dramatic and sensational, providing high "news value," that is if the story is of relevance, immediacy, novelty, innovation, or is dramatic (Wilkes et al. 2010). The TMX contains all of these criteria and therefore makes it a particularly valuable case study of a major project involving Indigenous Peoples and the country as a whole. While Wilkes et al. cover a range of events over a ten-year period, they focus on precise events such as the Oka, Ipperwash, and Gustafsen Lake crises, which were relatively short in their duration, thus variations of longer events were ignored and do not speak to shifts in coverage over time, something that this study attempts to do by focusing on one event over a four-year period. Furthermore as is the case with Miller (2008), focus is placed on newspaper coverage rather than online news content. Wilkes et al. recognize this, and state that online news media has dramatically changed the nature of news production, which represents an important new avenue of research, especially in terms of how Indigenous views are represented across the media landscape. As Clark suggests, "Canadian research on media representations of minorities has focused more on newspaper coverage than television, despite legislation calling on broadcasters to reflect the country's 'multicultural and multiracial nature' on the air waves" (2014, paragraph 1). Relating to human geography, Adams (2017) suggests that questions of representation are increasingly central to geographic scholarship. Communication (such as news media) is not merely the transmission of ideas and information between places and agents, it is also in event in which two or more agents encounter each other and come away altered by the event, forming the basis of what he suggests is an emerging "metaphysics of encounter" (Adams 2017). Human geographies, he continues, are dynamic processes of becoming rather than static patterns, giving priority to flows—of information, oil, and capital in the case of this study. This new metaphysics of encounter encourages "people [to] engage with a wide range of different media and simultaneously encounter other people and things, near and far, still or mobile, perpetually redefining 'here' and 'there'" (Adams 2017, 371). I suggest that online news coverage plays a vital role in this metaphysics of encounter as it brings issues of national interest occurring in potentially remote locales (such as most of the TMX) into contact with both national and international audiences.

Given the importance of the TMX to national interest, there have been several studies that have touched upon its relevance and representation through various

mediums. Two studies of particular relevance are Budd (2021) and Kaarsgard and MacDonald (2020). The former reviews newspaper coverage, specifically relating to the Federal Court of Appeal's decision to quash TMX approval in 2018, while the latter focuses on discussions occurring over social media (specifically on Instagram) leading up to the purchase of the pipeline in 2018. As Kaarsgard and MacDonald suggest, a wide range of narratives emerge when considering social media content related to the TMX, including pro-pipeline discourses but also competing anti-pipeline ideals of Indigenous sovereignty, critiques of the settler state, mainstream environmentalism, and local pride and protectionism (2020). This paper builds upon these studies by focusing on the comparison of online news stories from three different national outlets, but differs significantly in that it addresses a later period of the project, namely from the TMX's landmark purchase by the federal government in May 2018 to May 2022, covering a four-year period that say a wide range of court challenges, protests, and construction milestones of the pipeline. The following section provides a detailed overview of the TMX and briefly situates the events that have taken place and garnered significant media coverage, specifically in relation to Indigenous Peoples.

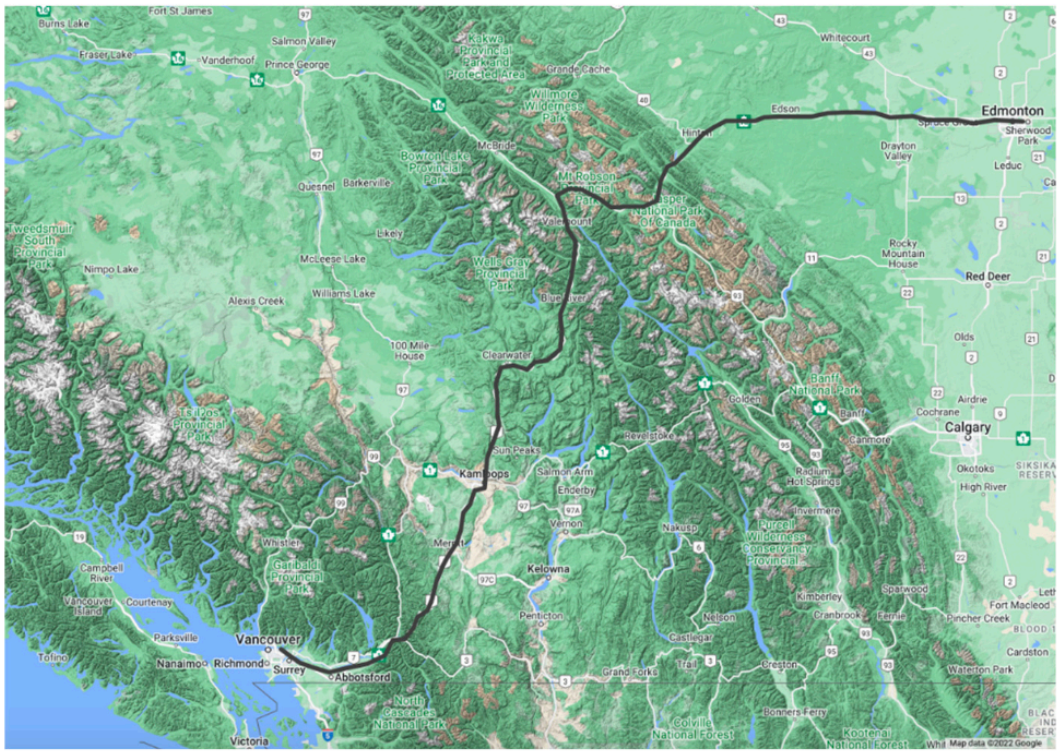
Overview of the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project

The TMX like previous major pipeline proposals such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and Enbridge's Northern Gateway pipeline in Canada and the Keystone XL and Dakota Access Pipelines (DAPL) in the United States, has become a topic of fierce debate within Canadian society. While the former pipelines were ultimately cancelled due in large part to the efforts of Indigenous activists, the TMX differs significantly in two regards. First, it is a project that seeks to expand an existing pipeline—the original Trans Mountain pipeline built in 1953—and second, it has received a great deal of support from most of the Indigenous Nations located along the pipeline route. Here, Carola Hein's concept of the petroleumscape is of particular relevance. The petroleumscape embodies the diverse spatial emanations of oil, including refineries, storage sites, pipelines, office buildings, gas stations, and all oil-related infrastructure, which together form the constitutive elements of a global network connected through their relation to this single commodity and its group of industrial players (Hein 2021). Hein further suggests that "[t]he physical structures and spaces of oil require extensive investment, and once funding has been sunk into the soil or the seafloor, economic and governance systems tend to reinforce earlier investments" (2021, 7). This statement relates well to the Trans Mountain Pipeline, which has been transporting diluted bitumen from Alberta's tar sands for nearly 60 years. Despite the fact that tripling the flow of oil from 300,000 to 890,000 bbl/d represents a massive undertaking, the pipeline's existing presence has seemingly made it easier to argue for its continued use, especially as a means of tripling Canadian exports to countries other than the United States.

Nevertheless, the project is extremely controversial given that it further encourages the extraction and consumption of fossil fuels, and places greater environmental risks on the natural environments and communities located along the route who would be severely impacted by a potential spill. Many of those impacted by tar sands extraction and the TMX have been Indigenous Peoples as both are located in the heart of traditional First Nations and Metis territories who have been historically displaced by the Canadian settler state. As Simpson asserts, "settler colonialism is predicated on a territorial possession by some, and thus, a dispossession of others" (2011, 205). Willow has termed the tar sands as a form of 'extractive imperialism' that "reproduces the colonialism of old, with symbolic and material benefits continuing to flow into already empowered (and usually distant) hands and local peoples continuing to bear disproportionate environmental and social burdens" (2016, 4). However, while the adverse impacts of the tar sands have generated fierce opposition and criticism by many Indigenous leaders and environmental groups worldwide (Preston 2017; Huseman/Short 2012), they have come to represent a key economic driver for many Indigenous Nations, serving as an important source of revenue for education, housing, and infrastructure projects for communities that have longed faced inadequate support from the federal government. As Tsing questions, "What emerges in damaged landscapes, beyond the call of industrial promise and ruin?" (2015, 18) She suggests that people living in damaged landscapes, such as the tar sands, often develop a form of 'contaminated diversity' that "implicates survivors in histories of greed, violence, and environmental destruction" (Tsing 2015, 33). As a result, in the face of large-scale environmental change and extractivism, oil has come to symbolize a means of achieving a better future for many Indigenous Nations after 150 years of colonial rule. It is therefore unsurprising that projects such as the TMX, which seek to expand the export capacity of bitumen and increase revenues that will contribute to both community development and Indigenous agency, are supported by leaders making what could be interpreted as the best out of a bad environmental situation (Romero 2019). This is precisely why the tar sands debate and, by extension, the debate over the TMX, is fraught with differing stakes and views within Indigenous Nations. It is important to recognize here that the ongoing project of settler colonialism has indeed facilitated the spread of the global petroleumscape.

The Trans Mountain Pipeline was first built in 1953 to transport diluted bitumen from the tar sands to the Pacific coast, with an initial capacity of was 150,000 bbl/d. In order to increase the flow and generated revenues, the pipeline was upgraded in the early 2000s as a means of doubling its capacity to its current level of 300,000 bbl/d (The Canadian Press 2018). The owner of the pipeline at the time, Kinder Morgan Canada, a subsidiary of the US-based Kinder Morgan located in Texas, pressed for further expansion in 2012, this time pushing for a much more ambitious upgrade that would nearly triple the pipeline's capacity to a flow of 890,000 bbl/d (The Canadian Press 2018). Following a detailed review process, Canada's National Energy Board

(NEB—now known as the Canada Energy Regulator) recommended approval of the project, which was in turn granted by the newly-elected Liberal federal government in November 2016 (The Canadian Press 2018). This came as a considerable surprise as Prime Minister Justin Trudeau had billed that his government as one that would address both the threat of climate change and push for reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples, two areas of policy that had been arguably neglected during the previous ten years of conservative rule under Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Linnitt 2015).



Map 1: The 1,150-kilometer Trans Mountain Pipeline. The expansion project seeks to twin the existing line shown here (map heading—North). Source: Author; pipeline route specifications (Natural Resources Canada 2020).

Meanwhile, the following year, a new provincial government was formed in British Columbia through a coalition of the New Democratic and Green parties, which staunchly opposed the TMX, creating uncertainty for the project amongst Kinder Morgan shareholders (The Canadian Press 2018). The provincial government suggested passing legislation that would restrict the flow of oil on its territory, launching a bitter feud between Alberta and British Columbia, including a short-lived ban of B.C. wine and the passing of 'turn off the taps' legislation that enabled Alberta to stop its flow of oil altogether to B.C. (APTN National News 2018b). This uncertainty led to Kinder Morgan suspending non-essential spending on the project in April 2018. It was at this point that the federal government stepped in, announcing on 29

May 2018 that it would purchase the pipeline and expansion project using $4.5 billion of taxpayer money (APTN National News 2018a). Overnight, Canadians became the owners of a major fossil fuel investment project, which was celebrated by some and lauded by others, resulting in a new wave of national protests. Opponents were quickly appeased when the Federal Court of Appeal quashed the initial project approval, citing two main concerns: the lack of meaningful consultation with the 129 Indigenous Nations along the pipeline route and the inadequate environmental impact assessment that had been conducted in relation to the potential impacts of exponential tanker traffic (up to ten times the current amount) in the Burrard Inlet, which is home to a vulnerable community of Southern resident killer whales (Federal Court of Appeal 2018). This led to a renewed round of consultations in late 2018 and early 2019, which then Natural Resources Minister Seamus O'Regan called "the most comprehensive consultation ever undertaken for a major project in Canada's history" (APTN National News 2020a, paragraph 20), and the drafting of a robust marine protection plan in the event of a potential spill. While the government considered other possible alternatives to the TMX, the NEB made it clear that existing pipelines were running at maximum capacity and that the only way to realistically get more oil to market was to build more of them (Blackburn 2019).

In June 2019, despite continued opposition from many levels, including several B.C. First Nations such as the Tsleil-Waututh Nation located at the pipeline terminus, which is arguably the highest-risk point of the pipeline (Hamelin 2019), the federal government approved the TMX for a second time, with construction beginning again in December. Further legal challenges ensued, but finally, in July 2020, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the government had corrected the deficiencies outlined by the Federal Court of Appeal in 2018, thus making way for the project's construction (Pashagumskum 2020). Despite a number of delays and a ballooning cost (now estimated at $21.4 billion), the TMX is slated for completion in the third quarter of 2023 (Stephenson 2022). Using the case of the TMX, this paper now considers how the views of Indigenous Peoples concerning the project are represented across three national news outlets in Canada. The next section provides a detailed methodology of the study and the reasoning behind the choice of the three national news outlets, which represents the first comparative study of its kind.

Methodology

To effectively capture the main media discourse related to Indigenous views of the TMX, news stories from three major Canadian national news outlets were collected, namely from the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and the Canadian Television Network (CTV). The body of data this paper considers relates specifically to the news articles published online through each of the three television and media outlets' 'News' sections. The main rationale for this decision is that online content from these outlets is freely

accessible to all Canadians, and as a result has a significant reach across both television and online platforms.

Selected News Outlets

The choice of media news outlets requires further explanation. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was selected as it is Canada's publicly owned (and funded) news and information service. The news outlet was founded in 1941 and as their mission statement shares: "We are rooted in every region of the country and report on Canada and the world to provide a Canadian perspective on news and current affairs." (CBC News 2021, paragraph 1) Important to note is that the federal broadcast regulator, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) requires broadcasters to uphold cultural diversity and enhance opportunities for 'marginalized' groups such as women, visible minorities, Indigenous Peoples, and people with disabilities (Clark 2014). In line with the CRTC's mandate, CBC News states that it "is committed to accurately reflecting the range of experiences and points of view of all citizens. All Canadians, of whatever origins, perspectives and beliefs, should feel that our news and current affairs coverage is relevant to them and lives up to our principles" (2021, paragraph 6), and continues to state that "[w]e have a special responsibility to reflect regional and cultural diversity, as well as fostering respect and understanding across regions" (2021, paragraph 7). While CBC is recognized as among the most neutral news providers, striving to provide unbiased news coverage, it has often been the target of public scrutiny, especially from the Conservative Party of Canada, who have argued for the defunding of CBC, which they suggest caters to a center-left audience (Platt 2020; Barber 2008).

The second Canadian national news outlet selected for this study is the Canadian Television Network (CTV), which unlike CBC, is Canada's largest privately owned television network, founded in 1961 and acquired by Bell Canada Enterprises (BCE Inc.) in 2000, the country's largest communications company. Also operating in regions across the country, Bell Media, a subsidiary of BCE Inc., states that "CTV News is Canada's most-watched news organization both locally and nationally, and has a network of national, international, and local news operations" (Bell Media 2022, paragraph 1). While CBC is portrayed as center-left leaning, CTV is often considered as catering to a more center-right audience (Barber 2008). CTV's mission statement shares that "CTV News is committed to producing journalism that is accurate, fair and complete," and that their "journalists act with honesty, transparency, and independence, including from conflicts of interest" (CTV News 2022, paragraph 1). In its diversity statement, CTV News differs from CBC by specifically mentioning certain groups, stating, "[a]s part of Bell Media, it is a core principle of CTV News to represent ethnocultural groups, Indigenous people and persons with disabilities in a balanced and accurate manner" (CTV News 2022, paragraph 2). They continue by stating that "Our commitment to diversity is also reflected in the types of stories we report" (CTV News 2022, paragraph 3), while also providing examples of news stories covering

diversity, namely the recent Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls Inquiry.

The third and final news outlet considered in this study is the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN). Compared to CBC and CTV, APTN is a significantly smaller news provider, which like CBC is publicly funded. Launched on 1 September 1999, APTN was the result of many years of various pilot projects that sought to produce Indigenous-related content for and by Indigenous Peoples in Canada. In 1998, a CRTC report stated that a national Indigenous channel should be "widely available throughout Canada in order to serve the diverse needs of the various Indigenous communities, as well as other Canadians" (APTN 2022, paragraph 20). The CRTC Committee on Extension of Service to Northern and Remote Communities concluded that "Canada needed to step up and provide Indigenous Peoples with opportunities to preserve their language and culture through broadcasting and other communications." (APTN 2022, paragraph 31) As APTN states, this was seen as a major catalyst of change for Indigenous broadcasting and led to the creation of a TV newscast dedicated to sharing stories of Indigenous Peoples by Indigenous Peoples (APTN National News 2019). Since 2002, APTN National News has been running Monday-Friday newscasts, covering stories from an Indigenous perspective and reaches over 10 million households in Canada (APTN 2022). As suggested by its mission statement, it is committed to producing content for and by Indigenous Peoples, and I would also advance that it serves as an important source of education and awareness for non-Indigenous Canadians, acting as a means of engaging with Indigenous content and worldviews. Despite the fact that it publishes significantly fewer news articles when compared to CBC and CTV News, given that this study focuses on the representation of Indigenous views of the TMX, APTN News' inclusion as one of the main sources of news articles is crucial, as will become clear in the following presentation of results.

Search Criteria

Using the online news databases of APTN, CBC, and CTV News, keyword searches were performed, using the entry 'trans mountain pipeline.' Additional searches with 'tmx' and 'pipeline' were also performed, however the sheer amount of results related to the 'trans mountain pipeline' entry produced a total of approximately 3,000 news articles. The period selected for this study comprises all news stories relating to the TMX from 29 May 2018 to 29 May 2022. The start date of the study period relates to the date the federal government announced its purchase of the TMX, thus propelling the issue to new heights in the Canadian media landscape given that Canadian taxpayers were now directly tied to the project. The end date of the study period relates to just before this paper was submitted, completing a four-year block.

Results

According to the search criteria, filtering news articles relating to the TMX from the period of 29 May 2018 to 29 May 2022, a total of 2,848 articles were retrieved across the three national news outlets included in this study. CTV News published the largest number of articles (1,496), with CBC News publishing slightly fewer (1,284) and APTN News publishing a fraction compared to the two larger news outlets (73), due in part to its smaller size and operating capacity. An important consideration to note is that while APTN and CTV News articles appeared in reverse chronological order upon keyword searches facilitating a clear cut-off point of 29 May 2018, CBC News articles were sorted using another algorithm, potentially related to degree of accuracy, which necessitated sifting through 2,954 articles related to the 'trans mountain pipeline' entry published on the website database.

Following this initial search, all articles within the study period were consulted and those relating to Indigenous Peoples, Nations, and groups were identified, significantly diminishing the gap of coverage between all three national news outlets. Given these criteria, CBC News produced the largest number of articles (167), followed by CTV News (157), and finally APTN News (44). When compared to the entire body of articles relating to the TMX, this reveals an interesting trend.

As APTN News offers the highest percentage of articles relating to both the TMX and Indigenous Peoples (60%), followed by CBC News (13%), and CTV News (10%). these numbers confirm APTN News' commitment to providing news coverage from an Indigenous perspective, while also highlighting both CBC and CTV News' commitment to feature content reflecting diversity, albeit at a much lower rate.

Figure 1 provides a breakdown of the number of articles relating to Indigenous Peoples and the TMX that have appeared per year within the study period of 2018 to 2022. Evidently, 2018 and 2019 account for the largest number of articles due to the initial pipeline purchase and the subsequent legal challenges. Following the Supreme Court's decision in July 2020 that the government had sufficiently carried out meaningful engagements with Indigenous Peoples, the number of articles drastically reduces as the project was then able to proceed unhindered by legal action. In addition, with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, public focus on the TMX decreased, so much so that the Alberta Energy Minister, Sonya Savage suggested that "Now is a great time to be building a pipeline because you can't have protests of more than 15 people" (Weber 2020, paragraph 4), referring to the wave of protests that had occurred at different worksites and cities prior to the pandemic.

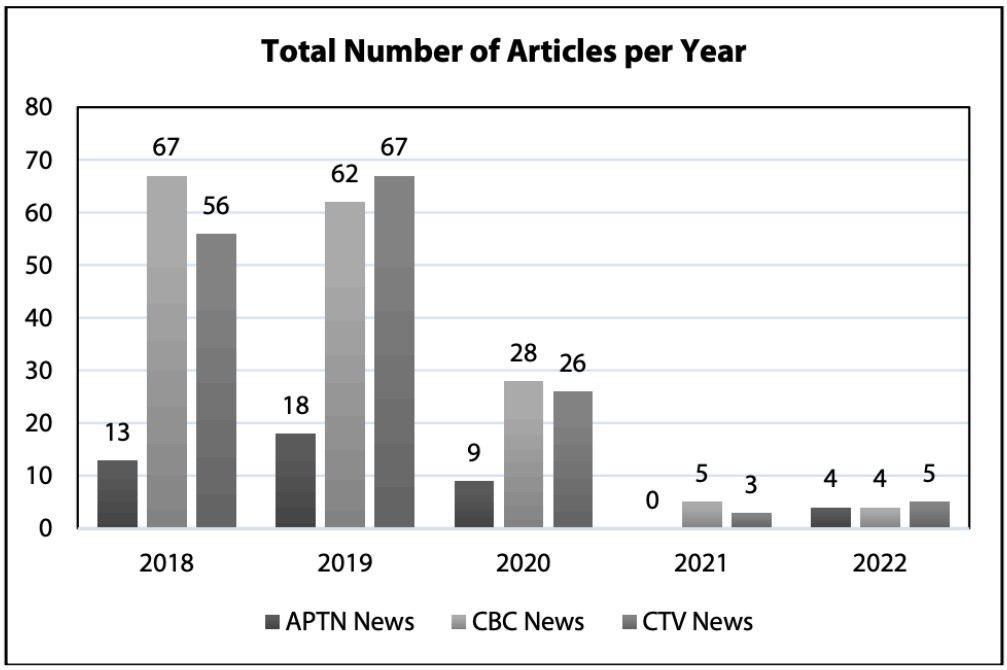


Figure 1: Total number of articles per year (2018–2022). Source: Author.

Returning back to the content of the articles, once those relating to the TMX and Indigenous Peoples were identified, they were coded according to four main categories: 1) Supporters, 2) Opponents, 3) Both, and 4) General Information. The purpose of these categories is to identify which groups are the subject of the news articles, namely interested parties who support the project, those that oppose it, articles whose main focus considered both groups, and finally articles relaying general information regarding the TMX, including information detailing its construction and cost updates, technical problems, and background information about impact assessments and approval processes. These thematic codes are featured in *table 1* according to total number and total percentage regarding the representation of interested parties in the news articles. As can be seen across all three national news outlets, there are a greater number of articles that focus on opponents of the TMX. Kaarsgard and MacDonald (2020) have suggested in their study of Instagram posts relating to the TMX from July 2011 to July 2018 that this is likely related to the pipeline's existing approval, with public discussion focused more so on movements of resistance (despite the ten-month period between August 2018 and June 2019, when the TMX's fate was uncertain due to the Federal Court of Appeal's temporary quashing of the project's approval).

Of particular interest in *table 1*, is the total number of articles relating to supporters of the TMX by CTV News (45) and the total number of articles representing both predominant views by CBC News (14). The former perhaps reflects CTV News' slight

center-right political leaning with a focus on the economy, with many articles centering on the various Indigenous business ventures seeking to purchase the TMX. Conversely, CBC News published far more articles that considered both sides of the issue for a total of 14 (compared to 5 by CTV News and 1 by APTN), perhaps reflecting CBC's attempt to maintain politically unbiased reporting (Barber 2008).

	Codes				
	Supporters	Opponents	Both	General Information	**Total**
Number of stories					
APTN News	13	27	1	3	**44**
CBC News	35	71	14	46	**167**
CTV News	45	72	5	35	**157**
Percentage of stories					
APTN News	30%	61%	2%	7%	**100%**
CBC News	21%	43%	8%	28%	**100%**
CTV News	29%	46%	3%	22%	**100%**

Table 1: Representation of thematic codes as total number and total percentage of stories. Source: Author.

When considering the percentage of stories related to the different interested parties, it is clear that APTN News articles focus more on coverage of supporters and opponents of the project, accounting for 30% and 61% respectively. When reviewing the individual articles, it becomes clear that APTN News carries out many in-depth and one-on-one interviews with different actors connected to the TMX. Both CBC and CTV News also included in-depth analysis of different actors' perspectives, but a greater share of reporting was given towards articles detailing general information of the TMX.

Table 2 provides a breakdown of the geographic representation of the articles by total number and percentage. Three main regions were identified and coded: British Columbia, Alberta, and Canada as a whole. As the TMX is located within British Columbia and Alberta, articles relating specifically to these two provinces accounted for the majority of articles across all three national news outlets (APTN—57%, CBC—64%, and CTV—66%). A greater number of articles reflected views from Indigenous Peoples in British Columbia as opposed to those in Alberta, and as is demonstrated, there is a clear geographic distinction between views of Indigenous Peoples located in these two provinces. Articles coded to the Canada category related to multiple Canadian geographies, namely articles concerning the general consultation process across the country and opinions of political leaders outside of British Columbia and Alberta.

	Geographic Regions			
	British Columbia	Alberta	Canada	**Total**
Number of Stories				
APTN News	19	8	17	**44**
CBC News	74	32	60	**167**
CTV News	68	36	53	**157**
Percentage of Stories				
APTN News	43%	18%	39%	**100%**
CBC News	45%	19%	36%	**100%**
CTV News	43%	23%	34%	**100%**

Table 2: Geographic representation of articles by total number and total percentage of stories. Source: Author.

Finally, *table 3* presents the results specifically related to British Columbia and Alberta. The data clearly demonstrates that articles concerning Indigenous views of the TMX coming out of British Columbia reflect the views of opponents to the project (accounting for 92% of the total number of articles), while Indigenous views from Alberta reflect supporters of the TMX (accounting for 97% of the articles). This clearly suggests a geographic divide between Indigenous views of the TMX.

	Provinces		
	British Columbia	Alberta	**Total**
Number of Stories			
Supporters	12	74	**86**
Opponents	145	2	**147**
Percentage of Stories			
Supporters	3%	97%	**100%**
Opponents	92%	8%	**100%**

Table 3: Geographic representation of supporter and opponents by province through total number and total percentage of stories. Source: Author.

Analysis

The narratives of these various actors, both for and against the TMX, have been represented more or less consistently across the three national news outlets, with a greater representation of opponents over supporters, likely due to the pipeline's official sanctioning thus giving a larger voice to those resisting the project (Kaarsgard/MacDonald 2020). However, a closer reading of the wording of the titles

does provide some notable differences between APTN, CTV, and CBC News. For instance, CTV News articles concerning protest actions appear to be more sensational as suggested by titles such as "Confrontation erupts outside AFN convention" (CTV News 2018c) or "Indigenous group calls pipeline activist's arrest a 'declaration of war'" (CTV News 2018b). Drawing on Miller's framing model of Indigenous news coverage (2008), it therefore becomes apparent that these stories fall within Frame 1, where Indigenous Peoples are considered troublemakers. One particular story concerning the occupation of a provincial park in British Columbia by the Tiny House Warriors (a grassroots organization opposing the pipeline) shows the contrast between CTV and CBC News headlines with the former publishing an article titled "Indigenous pipeline protesters take over BC Park, displace campers" (CTV News 2018a) labeling the group as pipeline protesters and emphasizing the negative impact of displacing visitors to the park while the CBC title was worded as "Secwepemc First Nation's 'Tiny House Warriors' occupy provincial park in Trans Mountain Protest" (Dimoff 2018), identifying the First Nation with which the group is associated and not mentioning the displacement of campers.

Another clear difference between CTV and both CBC and APTN is the use of terminology. Several CTV News articles refer to Indigenous Nations as First Nations groups or simply as protesters as suggested by the titles "First Nations groups drop out of appeal against Trans Mountain Pipeline expansion" (Villani 2019), "Lawyer says Indigenous groups didn't approach pipeline consultation in good faith" (Smart 2019), and "Pipeline protester interrupts Trudeau fundraising speech in Vancouver" (Kane 2019). More reflective use of language does seem to occur later on as with this example of a 2020 article titled "Indigenous land defenders shut down major intersection and port access in Vancouver" (Miljure 2020), which does not label opponents as simply protesters, but the often preferred title of land and/or water defenders and protectors. CBC and APTN News articles were more consistently reflective of naming practices throughout the four-year study period, often identifying specific Nations and titles such as "Stó:lō First Nation eyes claim over Lightning Rock site in path of Trans Mountain" (Barrera 2020) or "'Coldwater Chief Lee Spahan addresses PM about water concerns with Trans Mountain pipeline (CBC News 2018), and "B.C. Water Protector hopes Trudeau has a change of heart" (Hamelin 2019). These news stories demonstrate a greater attention to the fact that Indigenous Peoples do have concerns regarding the TMX, thus falling within Frame 2 of Miller's model, where Indigenous Peoples are framed as having a legitimate dispute (2008).

When reporting on supporters of the project, CTV News also reported differently than CBC and APTN News, using for instance direct quotations of supporters within the article titles such as this example "'We need it': Indigenous group holds pro-pipeline rally in Northern Alberta" (Romero 2019), emphasizing the supporters' view that the pipeline is a necessity, whereas the CBC reported the story as "Indigenous-led truck convoy rolls through Northern Alberta to support pro-pipeline movement" (Riebe 2019). The CBC also used many direct quotations in headlines such as "'I wanna

own this thing': Meet the Indigenous groups trying to buy the Trans Mountain Pipeline" (Purdon and Palleja 2019), but also placed more emphasis on direct quotations from opponents such as these articles titled "Trans Mountain Pipeline expansion 'a real stinker,' Indigenous leaders say" (Lindsay 2018) and "'We'll continue to win': How Indigenous leaders reached new heights in 2018" (Sterritt 2018), referring to the Federal Court of Appeal's quashing of the government's TMX approval earlier that year.

While APTN News published significantly fewer articles than CTV and CBC News, their content often differed from the former two national news outlets in that it provided more in-depth and one-on-one features of various supporters and opponents of the project. Examples include interviews with Water Protector Will George from the Tsleil-Waututh Nation opposed to the pipeline, "'If it has to get ugly, it will get ugly': opponents of the Trans Mountain get set to continue fight against pipeline" (APTN National News 2020b), and a "Nation-to-Nation" feature interview with Metis leader David Chartrand "Trans Mountain pipeline 'important for this country' says Metis leader" (Ward 2020). This reflects both APTN's mission statement of producing content for and by Indigenous Peoples in Canada, and affirms Clark's suggestion that reporters originating from the communities being reported, "bring their experiences, viewpoints and contacts in their communities to bear on the news content" (2014, 8). Several of the news articles also included video clips from the APTN National News broadcasts, which featured opponents walking along the Burrard Inlet or Indigenous entrepreneurs in offices, depicting the news outlet's ability and desire to meet directly with Indigenous stakeholders in their own environments. While these views have been featured across the various national news outlets, their portrayal has differed in terms of terminology and the choosing of quotations or actors featured.

The following discussion outlines three key themes that arise in the media coverage: the clear distinction of views between British Columbia and Alberta, the tension between fostering economic growth and ensuring the protection of the environment, and the challenge of respecting free, prior, and informed consent. By consulting the available positions of the various Indigenous stakeholders involved in the TMX, the discussion suggests, which news providers most accurately present the views of Indigenous Peoples.

Discussion

Following the review of the articles across APTN, CBC, and CTV News, it is clear that the TMX is a deeply divisive issue that touches upon several key debates surrounding fossil fuel extraction, climate change, economic development, environmental protection, and Indigenous rights and sovereignty. This discussion engages with three prominent themes in the media regarding Indigenous Peoples and the TMX. Additionally, it contrasts the depiction of Indigenous actors in the dispute, with their own supplemented online materials, in order to identify which news outlet most

effectively represents their views. Relating to the first theme, *table 3* depicts a clear geographic divide between views coming out of Alberta and British Columbia. This is likely due to the heavy involvement and investment of Indigenous Nations and businesses in the oil and gas sector in Alberta that live in the "Oil Patch" as opposed to the Indigenous Nations in British Columbia that are located far from the sites of extraction and who would be severely impacted should an oil spill occur. However, over the course of the last four years, an increasing amount of First Nations, including most in British Columbia have signed benefit agreements with Trans Mountain Corporation, signaling support from the leadership level.

As demonstrated in *table 2*, representation of this geographic divide focuses more on the stories coming out of British Columbia (APTN—43%, CBC News—45%, and CTV News 45%), publishing twice as many articles originating from there as opposed to Alberta (APTN—18%, CBC News—19%, and CTV News—23%). This further reiterates Kaarsgard and MacDonald's (2020) argument that opponents of the TMX are more prominently featured, as is the case across the three national news outlets considered in this study (APTN—61%, CBC News—43%, and CTV News—46%), which is nearly twice as much as the coverage of the project's supporters (APTN—30%, CBC News—21%, and CTV News—29%). As Wilkes et al. (2010) point out in their study of newspaper coverage of Indigenous protests, most tend to occur in British Columbia where Indigenous land title was never comprehensively extinguished, thus resulting in a myriad of legal fights when it comes to project development such as the TMX. As a result, the majority of actors lobbying against the project are located in British Columbia.

The most prominently featured Indigenous opponents of the TMX are the Tsleil-Waututh-Nation, the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, and several active land and water protectors, such as Kanahaus Manuel and Will George. Over the course of the past four years of media coverage, the Tsleil-Waututh Nation has challenged the TMX every step of the way. This is no surprise, as the Nation's traditional territory is located directly on the Burrard Inlet and at the TMX's western terminus where diluted bitumen is loaded onto tankers for marine shipping across the Pacific Ocean. As a result, the Nation is most at risk if a spill should occur, having potentially catastrophic effects on the marine environment. As stated by the Tsleil-Waututh Nation Sacred Trust Initiative, which was created in 2012 to stop the TMX by any lawful means necessary, "[c]onstruction of the Trans Mountain pipeline will irreparably harm TWN [Tsleil-Waututh Nation] environmental and cultural values […] TWN has a sacred, legal obligation to protect, defend, and steward the water, land, air, and resources in their territory." (Tsleil-Waututh Nation Sacred Trust Initiative n.d., paragraphs 2–3). Following the government's reapproval of the TMX, the Tsleil-Waututh Nation, along with three other BC First Nations—the Squamish Nation, Coldwater Indian Band, and the Ts'elxwéyeqw Tribes—submitted a case before the Federal Court of Appeal once again, however this time, the Court sided with the government, stating in its February 2020 ruling that the federal government had meaningfully engaged with Indigenous

Peoples and had remedied the flaws in its initial consultation process (Federal Court of Appeal 2020). The First Nations then brought this to the Supreme Court of Canada, which refused to hear the case, thus exhausting all possible legal recourses to halt the TMX. Despite the rulings, the Tsleil-Waututh Nation continues to vehemently oppose the project.

Another key actor fighting against the project and based in British Columbia is the Union of BC Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), an important representative body of First Nations Peoples in British Columbia. UBCIC Grand Chief Stewart Phillip has repeatedly called on the federal government to stop the project, which according to the UBCIC represents an "unacceptable and egregious risk to the clean and healthy ecosystems many Indigenous Peoples and British Columbians' livelihoods depend upon" (Union of BC Indian Chiefs 2017, paragraph 4). Grand Chief Stewart has been a central figure in the fight against the TMX, having been arrested at protests and has suggested that "The Trudeau government's fanatical determination to build this disastrous pipeline and tanker project is boorish and disheartening" (Union of BC Indian Chiefs 2018, paragraph 2).

Aside from direct opposition from First Nations governance authorities, several land and water protectors feature prominently across all three news outlets. Two key figures are Secwepemc activist Kanahaus Manuel and Will George of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation. Manuel is the founder of the 'Tiny House Warriors' grassroots organization that has built ten tiny houses along the 518-kilometre stretch of the pipeline that crosses through Secwepemcul'ecw, the traditional unceded territory of the Secwepemc in the BC Interior in order to disrupt the pipeline expansion (Tiny House Warriors 2020). Arrested several times, Manuel is in fact directly mentioned in many of the articles including "Indigenous group calls pipeline activist's arrest a 'declaration of war'" (CTV News 2018b). While Manuel has focused on the protection of land and inland waterways, Will George of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation has focused more so on protecting the coastal waters of the Burrard Inlet at the heart of his Nation. Member of the 'Protect the Inlet' grassroots organization, George has confronted the prime minister at town halls and has participated in various protests in and around Vancouver including the blockade of the Ironworkers Bridge alongside Greenpeace activists in 2018, which temporarily stopped tanker traffic in the Burrard Inlet (CTV News Vancouver 2019; APTN National News 2018c). George was recently arrested and given a 28-day jail sentence for not respecting a court injunction prohibiting protests at the TMX terminus in May 2022. In response, Tsleil-Waututh Nation Sacred Trust Initiative spokesperson Reuben George stated that "Tsleil-Waututh law tells us we have an obligation to protect and defend our land, water, and territory so that future generations of Tsleil-Wautuh people can thrive. Will George is a protector, not a protester" (Tsleil-Waututh Nation Sacred Trust Initiative 2022, paragraph 7). Both George and Manuel demonstrate that Indigenous Peoples are aware of the media's need for dramatic and newsworthy events, which the protests such as the tiny house- and bridge blockades accomplished (Wilkes et al. 2010). As

mentioned in the results section, the way the Nations and individual activists are portrayed has differed across the media landscape, with some instances of their being called disrupters and others as land and water protectors, which also fits well into Miller's proposed framing model where the media often frames Indigenous Peoples as either troublemakers or interested parties with a legitimate dispute (2008). It was found that APTN's coverage provided the most direct one-on-one representation of the TMX opponents, with full features on both Manuel and George (Brake 2018; Hamelin 2019), confirming Grote and Johnson's assertion that Indigenous-led media provides a multi-dimensional and more holistic understanding of the Indigenous experience as suggested in their study of Indigenous resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline (2021).

Conversely, while coverage of Indigenous supporters was at times less than half of that of Indigenous opponents, several features were carried out on the Indigenous-led groups vying to purchase the pipeline, representing a potential major shift in the relationship between Indigenous Nations and the oil and gas sector. This touches upon the second prominent theme across news coverage, the tension between fostering economic growth and environmental protection. As Bosworth found in his consideration of the DAPL, "mainstream media in the early 2010s largely fitted this struggle not into the survivance of Native Nations and US settler colonialism, but rather into a traditional narrative of US environmental politics: the economy versus the environment" (2021, 672; see also Kojola 2017 concerning the Keystone XL pipeline in media coverage). This becomes clear when reviewing the stories concerning the TMX. While activists and political organizations in BC are portrayed as focusing on the protection of the environment, their Indigenous counterparts in Alberta are portrayed as supporters of economic development. With official endorsements from provincial Indigenous governance bodies such as the Métis Nation of Alberta (Métis Nation of Alberta 2021), the unique history of oil and gas development in Alberta and its role within Indigenous Nations and communities becomes apparent. After nearly 60 years of tar sands extraction on the traditional territories of First Nations and Metis Peoples in Northern Alberta, Nations have come to live with the industry, which has provided jobs and capital for communities. Despite active opposition to tar sands extraction in the province from the grassroots level (Preston 2017), many Nations have embraced the oil and gas sector. Referring back to Tsing (2015), this could be interpreted as the adaptive art of living on a damaged planet, where faced with seemingly unhindered resource extraction, Indigenous Nations have made the best out of a bad environmental situation, such as the Fort McKay First Nation located in the heart of the tar sands extraction zone, which prides itself as "among Canada's leading First Nations when it comes to working collaboratively with industry. The Nation has a successful and long-established record of relationship building with the various oil sands mining companies that operate in our traditional territory" (Fort McKay First Nation 2022).

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As alluded to above, the potential role of Indigenous support and capital make the case of the TMX particularly unique. Following the announcement that the federal government would seek a new buyer for the pipeline, Indigenous-led investment groups stepped forward to bid on the project, first signaling their willingness to purchase an equity stake followed by a proposition to acquire the entire pipeline. These include Project Reconciliation, the Western Indigenous Pipeline Group (now known as Chinook Pathways), the Iron Coalition (which has since dropped out) and recently Nesika Services, a not-for-profit venture. Based in Calgary, Alberta, the Canadian oil and gas sector's main administrative centre, Project Reconciliation has been at the forefront of media coverage, and identifies itself as being a "100% Indigenous-owned initiative to acquire 100% of Trans Mountain Corporation including the Trans Mountain Pipeline and Expansion Project," which it argues "moves Canada's Indigenous peoples from managing poverty, to being firmly and genuinely 'at the table' as material equity partners with Corporate Canada" (Project Reconciliation 2022, paragraph 1). With many Indigenous Nations having already invested capital into various components of the petroleumscape, such as storage tank farms and shorter pipelines (Government of Alberta 2017), Indigenous ownership of the Trans Mountain Pipeline would represent the most significant investment to date of Indigenous capital into oil-based futures. Evidently, this tension has manifested itself in various ways across the country but especially within Indigenous Nations. Given the clear tension between economic development and environmental protection, and the prevailing debate around appropriate policy to mitigate the increasing impacts of climate change, especially in British Columbia, which has recently experienced both catastrophic flooding and heat waves, the idea of investing into fossil fuels and the petroleumscape is not one taken lightly. While groups such as Project Reconciliation have maintained that they are "ready, willing and able" to purchase the pipeline (Stewart 2022, paragraph 9), they also argue that the pipeline can be used as a right of way for future energy use, once fossil fuels are no longer extracted. This appears to be a precarious line of logic when considering post-oil futures.

This tension between environmental protection and economic development connect to the third major theme under study here, that of the free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous Peoples. MacGregor (2021) has suggested that the protection of Indigenous rights and the planet's health go hand in hand, while Whyte (2020) states that the climate crisis is in fact related to an astonishing failure to attend to just relationships with Indigenous Peoples. The vast spatial transformations and associated pollution caused by the extraction of the tar sands and its subsequent shipment through pipelines such as the Trans Mountain Pipeline have required that Indigenous Nations such as the Fort McKay First Nation to adapt to life in a damaged landscape. Does this necessarily mean that all Indigenous Peoples along the pipeline route must do the same?

Free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) is enshrined under Article 19 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which as of 21 June 2021, has been adopted into Canadian law under the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act (Government of Canada 2022). Hughes (2018) posits that the respect of free, prior, and informed consent is a pathway to autonomy and full recognition of the human rights of Indigenous Peoples. "Free" denotes the absence of pressure or coercion to decide, "prior" ensures that enough time is given to make a decision, and "informed" corresponds to an adequate knowledge of both the risks and implications of a potential project or decision (Hughes 2018). As Budd suggests in his review of newspaper coverage related specifically to the Federal Court of Appeal's decision to quash the approval of the TMX approval in 2018, the pipeline "represents a significant test of the Canadian government's willingness to extend the paradigm of reconciliation to include a respect for Indigenous People's right to free, prior, and informed consent" (2021, 129). Opponents of the project have cited the disrespect of this right as a major reason why the project should not move forward. As previously mentioned, the Tiny House Warriors sought to block construction crews as a means of asserting Secwepemc law and jurisdiction, emphasizing that "We have never provided and will never provide our free, prior and informed consent—the minimal international standard—to the Trans Mountain Pipeline Project" (Tiny House Warriors 2020, paragraph 4). The Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, also directly reference this, emphasizing the lack of free, prior, and informed consent of all Nations along the route and the expansion of fossil fuel infrastructure (Union of BC Indian Chiefs 2017, paragraph 4). By ignoring these legitimate concerns, the Canadian government could very well perpetuate what Youdelis (2016) has termed the antipolitics of Indigenous consultation that produces mechanisms which deny Indigenous Peoples' voice and political agency.

This raises an important challenge, whose voice should be heard? Does approval from recognized (and legislated) Indigenous governance bodies such as Band Councils of individual First Nations sufficient? Or must entire communities provide consent? Certain experts suggest that free, prior, and informed consent should not be considered as a "veto power" to projects but rather that establishing consent should be the objective of consultations (Hughes 2018). That said, it is considered necessary that all parties strive to reach a consensus in good faith, something the government accused the Tsleil-Waututh Nation of not doing in its renewed round of consultations in December 2019, while the latter suggested the government had withheld information regarding TMX plans, and as a result infringed on its right to free, prior, and informed consent (Smart 2019). The question remains, does one Nation's refusal out of 129 First Nations represent grounds to veto a project? Given the pipeline expansion's near completion, it would appear not to be the case.

Conclusion: Listening to Stories from the Land and Water

Indigenous Peoples and issues are widely featured and represented across Canada's media landscape. However, as Miller (2008) has suggested the way they are framed through differing news coverage can either depict Indigenous Peoples as troublemakers, as fighting amongst themselves, or as Peoples and Nations with a genuine dispute when it comes to contentious events or projects. The aim of this study was to build on the available research concerning representation of Indigenous views in the media by focusing on the case study of the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project (TMX), a multi-billion-dollar state-owned endeavour that seeks to triple the flow of diluted bitumen originating from Alberta's tar sands to the Pacific coast, opening up exports to markets other than the US. In order to effectively capture how Indigenous views concerning the TMX were represented across the Canadian media landscape, the online content of three national news outlets, the Canadian Television Network (CTV), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) was consulted and analyzed. By doing so, the paper responds to Clark (2014), in focusing on the representation of Indigenous Peoples from Canada's leading television broadcasters rather than primarily focusing on newspaper coverage as has largely been the case. This study therefore represents the first of its kind to compare and contrast the views coming from these three specific national news providers.

The main research questions related to how Indigenous views differed across the three news outlets, what main themes arose the coverage over time, how closely the coverage actually represented the views of Indigenous Peoples, and as a result, which news outlet most effectively represented these views. A total of 2,853 news articles over the past four years (May 2018 to May 2022) were consulted from the news databases of CTV, CBC, and APTN, representing the period from when the TMX was initially purchased, causing an exponential rise in its media coverage, up until the initial submission of this paper. This longer period of study thus accounts for variations of coverage over time, a challenge in previous research as suggested by Wilkes et al. (2010). Specifically, 368 articles concerning the TMX, were identified as relating directly to Indigenous Peoples, which served as the primary data set under review.

Three key themes arose, namely the geographic divide between Alberta and British Columbia (with stories focusing more so on supporters in the former and on opponents in the latter), the tension between economic development and environmental protection, and finally the issue of respecting the free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous Peoples and Nations. While greater coverage of Indigenous views, both supporting and opposing the project was reported through CTV and CBC News, APTN News' coverage of Indigenous views of the TMX was found to provide in-depth, one-on-one insights into opponents such as land defenders and water protectors, while also effectively representing the supporters of the project

such as the Indigenous-led groups vying to purchase the pipeline. Touching upon Adams' (2017) notion of metaphysics of encounter, peoples—and in this case a mainstream national audience—come into contact with different actors and issues, such as those connected to the TMX. It is therefore suggested that if we are to truly understand the views of Indigenous Peoples, it is worthwhile to listen to what they say directly from the land or the water's edge (in this case), something APTN does an effective job of doing, as suggested by its guiding mission statement of sharing stories of Indigenous Peoples by Indigenous Peoples (APTN National News 2019). As Grote and Johnson (2021) suggest, Indigenous-led media offer a multi-dimensional and more holistic understanding of the Indigenous experience. Given that the APTN provides freely accessible content (both visual and written), it is suggested that if mainstream Canadian society (or international audiences for that matter) wish to engage with Indigenous issues in the media, they should privilege Indigenous media outlets in addition to consulting the published materials of the actors themselves. As this study centers exclusively on national news coverage of the TMX, further research comparing local and regional news coverage, in addition to broader international coverage represents a promising pursuit. Nevertheless, this paper serves as a blueprint for future studies and its use of news coverage from three prominent Canadian news outlets provides a model to compare centre-right, centre-left, and Indigenous media, which can be of particular relevance to further research regarding the tensions between economic development, environmental protection, and the respect of Indigenous rights.

Relating back to the case study of the TMX and Indigenous views of the project, since the federal government's purchase of the pipeline in 2018, the TMX is a project that connects all Canadians in a way, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, and makes them part and parcel to what Hein (2021) has termed the global petroleumscape. Given the increasing value of Western Canadian Select, the diluted bitumen shipped from the tar sands (Alberta Energy Regulator 2021), and the rising need for energy, it appears that the demand for Canadian oil is likely to grow. While some Indigenous Nations become more heavily involved in the industry, others continue to fight for more rigorous environmental protection and clean-energy alternatives. With the TMX slated for completion by 2023, its impacts both negative and positive are unclear. Will the dreams of Indigenous investors to purchase the pipeline and become the owners of this megaproject come true or will the nightmares of land and water defenders and protectors come to pass? This remains to be seen.

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Making Brave Space: Beading, Reconciliation, and Urban Indigenous Geographies

Abstract

While cities have historically sought to displace and exclude Indigenous peoples through a multitude of state-sanctioned discriminatory policies such as the Indian Act, today, Indigenous peoples and cultures are flourishing across Canada's urban landscape and are creating new urban Indigenous geographies. Young Indigenous peoples are part and parcel of the vibrancy of urban Indigenous communities, especially given their involvement in promoting Indigenous cultures to wider audiences through social media. This project focuses on the spaces of solidarity and cultural exchange created by beadwork. This traditional art form and practice represents an important marker of Indigenous identity and a true form of cultural resurgence. While beadwork can represent a clear expression of one's identity in the city, it also provides opportunities for social gathering and exchange. One such example are beading circles where participants gather to bead and socialize. Focusing on the city of Ottawa, Canada's national capital, the study brings together the experiences of 13 post-secondary Indigenous students and artists, considering the role of beading circles on university campuses and how they can serve as what one interlocutor termed "brave spaces" and as sites of cultural and social exchange between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. It is argued that these networks of learning, exchange, and solidarity enable the formation of an urban sense of place while contributing to an Indigenous right to the city and to difference, ultimately furthering the process of Indigenous urbanism and the national project of truth, reconciliation, and healing.

Keywords: Indigenous peoples, beadwork, urban Indigeneity, Indigenous urbanism, Canadian cities, decolonization, anticolonialism, reconciliation

Résumé

Alors que les villes ont historiquement cherché à déplacer et à exclure les peuples autochtones au moyen d'une multitude de politiques discriminatoires sanctionnées par l'État, comme la Loi sur les Indiens, aujourd'hui, les peuples et les cultures autochtones s'épanouissent dans le paysage urbain du Canada et créent de nouvelles géographies autochtones urbaines. Les jeunes autochtones font partie intégrante du dynamisme des communautés autochtones urbaines, en particulier compte tenu de leur implication dans la promotion des cultures autochtones auprès d'un public plus large via les médias sociaux. Ce projet se concentre sur les espaces de solidarité et d'échange culturel créés par le perlage. Cette forme et

pratique artistique traditionnelle représente un marqueur important de l'identité autochtone et une véritable forme de résurgence culturelle. Si le perlage peut représenter une expression claire de l'identité d'une personne dans la ville, il offre également des opportunités de rassemblement et d'échange social. Un exemple est celui des cercles de perlage où les participants se rassemblent pour tisser des perles et socialiser. Centrée sur la ville d'Ottawa, la capitale nationale du Canada, l'étude rassemble les expériences de 13 étudiants de niveau postsecondaire et artistes autochtones, en considérant le rôle des cercles de perlage sur les campus universitaires et la manière dont ils peuvent servir de ce qu'un interlocuteur a appelé des « espaces d'encouragement ». et comme lieux d'échange culturel et social entre étudiants autochtones et non autochtones. Ces réseaux d'apprentissage, d'échange et de solidarité contribuent à créer un sentiment d'appartenance à la ville et à encourager le droit des autochtones à s'approprier la ville et à la différence, ce qui, en fin de compte, favorise le processus d'urbanisation des autochtones et le projet national de vérité, de réconciliation et de guérison.

Mots-clés: Peuples Autochtones, perlage, Autochtonie urbaine, villes canadiennes, décolonisation, anticolonialisme, réconciliation

Introduction

Canada is currently in an era of reconciliation. It has been a long time in the making. Over the past 10 years, the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) Final Report and its 94 Calls to Action, the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG), and the recent uncovering of unmarked graves of Indigenous children at former residential school sites, have all contributed to propelling the project and dialogue of reconciliation to the center of Canada's national narrative. This is radically realigning the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada and has brought about a greater awareness of the settler colonial legacy of the Canadian state embodied by the former residential school system and discriminatory legislation such as the Indian Act.

While Indigenous peoples and cultures were actively pushed to the margins of both real and imagined Canadian society since well before Confederation in 1867, there is now a growing consciousness of both the past wrongs committed to and the important contributions of Indigenous peoples to the creation and maintenance of "Canada" as we now know it. This is perhaps most apparent in urban centres today. Decidedly, Indigenous peoples are becoming increasingly urbanized. According to the most recent Canadian census, of the more than 1.8 million self-identified Indigenous people in Canada, over 800,000 are now residing in urban areas, representing a 12.5 percent increase between 2016 and 2021 (Statistics Canada 2022b). A growing urban Indigenous population in Canada's cities coupled with the rising awareness of and support for reconciliation profoundly impacts the

country's urban landscapes. It is suggested that these trends are contributing to the creation of new Indigenous geographies within Canada's cities where long-established and newly arriving Indigenous citizens are claiming and producing space, forming a new urban sense of place, all of which further the process of Indigenous urbanism, whereby urban Indigeneity and space are co-produced (Nejad et al. 2019; Dorries 2022a). This article considers how these new Indigenous geographies are being developed, by focusing on one case study, that of Canada's capital city, Ottawa. Specifically, the experiences of young urban Indigenous migrants pursuing higher education in the city are considered with a special emphasis on the role of beading circles and how they can facilitate the formation of lasting networks of learning, exchange, and solidarity for Indigenous peoples moving to the city. There exists a considerable body of literature demonstrating how beadwork constitutes a place-based form of Indigenous knowledge integral to identity formation and the fashioning of relationships to social, cultural, and ecological environments (Edge 2011; Smetzer 2007; Belcourt 2010; Racette 1991; Harjo et al. 2018), representing a true form of Indigenous cultural resurgence in the face of the settler colonial state (Ray 2023; Ansloos et al. 2022; Dorries 2022b). Drawing from these sources, this study seeks to connect both the growing literature on urban Indigeneity and the role of beading in contributing to urban placemaking practices, which foster a sense of place within the urban environment and contribute to processes of Indigenous urbanism.

Adopting an Indigenous research agenda (Smith 2012), the knowledge and experiences of 13 young Indigenous urbanites living and working in Ottawa details the influence and impact beading in the city has had on them, both as a personal and professional pursuit. It is argued that beading circles, specifically those held on university campuses, create what one interlocutor termed *brave spaces* that facilitate moving to a new city, connecting Indigenous students, enabling them to share and discuss common challenges, while often introducing them to this significant cultural practice for the first time. Drawing upon Julie Tomiak's (2011) assertion that cities can constitute effective centres of decolonization where Indigenous peoples engage in processes of placemaking and reterritorialization through the assertion of symbolic space, reclaiming physical space, and carving out political space, it is suggested that beading circles represent a prime example of such processes, which help secure both a right to the city and a right to difference, which in turn encourage urban Indigenous spatial production (Nejad et al. 2019). In addition to establishing new Indigenous geographies in the city, beading circles also have the potential to create awareness by connecting Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, thus significantly furthering the ongoing project of truth, reconciliation, and healing. These key sites of learning and exchange have tremendous transformative power to not only reshape the micro geographies of university campuses but of cities themselves.

Literature Review

Urban Indigeneity

Historically, settler colonial cities have neither welcomed nor acknowledged the presence of Indigenous peoples (Kermoal and Lévesque 2010; Tomiak 2017; Dorries et al. 2019). While all Canadian cities have Indigenous roots and many Indigenous people lived within burgeoning urban areas both permanently and seasonally, the urban came to symbolize a way of life that replaced so-called savagery and wilderness with progress and civilization (Peters and Andersen 2013; Dorries et al. 2019). A broad range of policies were implemented to distance Indigenous peoples from urban areas according to a fundamentally paternalistic logic, which argued that to preserve Indigenous ways of life, they needed to be protected from the vices of White society (Dickason and McNab 2009). Policies included the implementation of a private property regime, the removal of reserves close to urban areas through legislation such as the Oliver Act, the illegal surrender of reserve lands, the implementation of a pass system to restrict the movement of Indigenous peoples, and general hostility toward Indigenous peoples in urban areas (Peters and Andersen 2013; Kermoal and Lévesque 2010; Dickason and McNab 2009). These measures enabled the proliferation of settler colonial urbanism, whereby Indigenous peoples were dispossessed of their lands, subjected to assimilatory practices, most notably through residential and day schools, and displaced far from the center of urban life (Dorries et al. 2019). Indeed, as Dorries (2023) argues, the production of urban space is central to settler colonialism, "as it not only disrupts and destroys Indigenous relations to territory, reimagining Indigenous territories as *terra nullius*, but it positions Indigenous territories as empty resources available for urban development" (216). Consequently, by excluding Indigenous peoples from cities, Indigeneity and urban life came to be regarded as being mutually exclusive (Peters and Anderson 2013; Dorries 2022a). This rendered urban space into what Coulthard (2014) has termed *urbs nullius*, empty land available for urban development. This also contributed to the mythic separation of "city" and "reserve" (or any other rural or remote Indigenous community), masking the violence upon which the settler city was founded, suggesting that dispossession is non-urban and "something that happened *back then* and *out there*" (Dorries et al. 2019, 3, emphasis in original). Peters and Andersen (2013) touch upon the impacts of this mythic separation, stating that "the conceptual and physical removal of Indigenous people from urban spaces that accompanied colonial urbanization reinforced perceptions about the incompatibility of urban and Indigenous identities" (2013, 5). As Peters (1996) suggests, the experiences of urban Indigenous peoples have often been reduced to two broad categories, that of the successfully assimilated Indigenous person who has entered the labour force, adapting to Euro-Canadian ways, and that of the failed urban Indigenous person who is relegated to the margins of society and plagued by substance abuse and reliance on the state.

In its final report published in 1996, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) highlighted the tension between opportunity and loss that Indigenous peoples faced in urban areas (Peters and Newhouse 2003). Importantly, it moved away from solely focusing on the negative stereotypes largely associated with urban Indigenous peoples, suggesting that cities represent spaces of resilience and cultural innovation (RCAP 1996; Peters and Andersen 2013). To foster strong urban Indigenous communities, RCAP affirmed that Indigenous peoples must be supported by mechanisms of self-governance and representation through access to communal land bases (RCAP 1996). While many of the recommendations of RCAP were ultimately shelved (only now being seriously considered), urban Indigenous populations continued to grow and diversify. Important push and pull factors such as seeking employment and higher education opportunities largely contributed to the movement of Indigenous peoples towards urban areas. Also significant was a growing sense of pride in Indigenous identities, which translated into an increased willingness to self-identify as being Indigenous on Canadian censuses (Norris and Clatworthy 2003).

This process has resulted in a shift whereby urban areas are increasingly home to what Andersen (2009) calls a "density" of Indigenous cultures. The increase in urban Indigenous populations speaks directly to the resilience of Indigenous peoples and the fact that Indigeneity survives, adapts, and innovates in modern cities (Peters and Andersen 2013). Indeed, as Dorries et al. (2019) explore, urban Indigeneity is not a fixed category, but is rather fluid and dynamic and is defined by relationships to kin and place. Picking up on Gerald Vizenor's (2008) concept of "survivance," whereby contemporary Indigenous presence is itself a manifestation of Indigenous survival, resistance, and resurgence, urban Indigeneity speaks to the fact that in spite of centuries of settler colonial violence, Indigenous communities endure (Dorries et al. 2019). Here resurgence is understood as movements and embodied practices focusing on rebuilding nation-specific Indigenous ways of being and acknowledging self-determination, while resistance is understood as movements and embodied practices focused on addressing and fighting against settler colonial state violence (Dorries et al. 2019).

To encourage both resistance and resurgence in urban environments, Tomiak (2011; 2017) asserts that we must first recognize and understand the colonial foundations of cities to determine how they can be decolonized, working toward unsettling "settler colonial common sense" and state power. This sheds light on the city's role as both a linchpin of colonialism and a crucial site of decolonization (Tomiak 2011). Importantly, Tomiak charts out how cities can become effective centres of decolonization (and of anti-colonialism) by defining three courses of action. Cities must become areas where Indigenous peoples can (1) assert symbolic space, (2) reclaim physical space, and (3) carve out political space (Tomiak 2011). Tomiak also provides examples of strategies that can destabilize the status quo of the settler city

through processes of reterritorialization and placemaking. Reterritorialization involves strengthening existing and creating new physical spaces within the city that embody Indigeneity (i.e., reclaiming physical space), while placemaking enables Indigenous peoples to see the city as a place where they belong and can identify as themselves (i.e., asserting symbolic space) (Tomiak 2011). Both are considerably strengthened by the third of Tomiak's pathways, namely, the carving out of political space, which, for example, could be in the form of independent jurisdictional bodies, such as Indigenous advisory boards, which have the power to plan and help implement initiatives important to Indigenous communities parallel to City Hall's existing power (Nejad et al. 2019; Walker et al. 2017).

By achieving these three pathways, Indigeneity can be firmly entrenched, recognized, and celebrated within the urban landscape, granting urban Indigenous peoples and communities what Lefebvre (1996) has termed the "right to the city," which "cannot be conceived of as a simple visiting right or as a return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed right to urban life" (158). Nejad et al. (2019) suggest that in order to achieve an Indigenous right to the city, it must be renegotiated to include the "right to difference," which embraces a shift toward Indigenous cultures, politics, and spatial production (Newhouse 2011). They suggest that the right to the city and the right to difference are complementary, and that without the latter, the former becomes deradicalized and reduced to an institutionalized principle of human rights (Nejad et al. 2019; Butler 2012). By doing so, it negates the distinct relationship Indigenous peoples occupy as urban citizens in cities across Turtle Island. The language of migration is fraught given that Indigenous peoples are not migrating to cities but are often moving within their traditional Indigenous territories, maintaining links to the city, reserve, and territory (Peters 2004; Dorries et al. 2019). In response to settler colonial urbanism, which has attacked both an Indigenous right to the city and the right to difference, Dorries (2022a) suggests that Indigenous urbanism is a process through which "Indigeneity is mobilized and transformed by urban processes as well as the ways in which Indigeneity transforms what constitutes 'the urban'" (114). It serves as an analytic that seeks to transform urban space through a renegotiation and reconfiguration, which contests the violence caused by the settler colonial production of space (Dorries 2022a; Nejad et al. 2019). Just as urban Indigeneity is fluid and dynamic, not constituting a fixed colonial category, so too is Indigenous urbanism, which is transformative rather than an additive project that can be simply applied to existing settler colonial planning practices (Dorries 2022a). Instead, it engages both the production and practice of Indigeneity as well as the production of urban space, positing that Indigeneity and urbanity are co-produced and should be understood as a key analytic and basis for a liberatory research agenda (Dorries 2022a). As such, Indigenous urbanism can contribute to both the right to the city and the right to difference by making way for the participation

of Indigenous peoples in spatial production and the appropriation of space, which can create community spaces that are "reflective of a contemporary imprinting of Indigenous urban materialities … and [are] reflective of people's determination to create healthy and productive spaces for themselves" (Nejad et al. 2019, 418).

Embracing Indigenous urbanism can also, in turn, make way for what Iris Marion Young has called the "unoppressive city," where social justice "requires not the melting away of differences, but institutions that promote reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression" (1990, 46). Here a politics of difference founded upon the concept of "unassimilated otherness" is foundational, where diverse groups' identities and rights are entrenched and respected, creating a "being-together" of urban citizens, a space where people can live and interact free from oppression (Young 1986). By making the conditions possible for the flourishing of Indigenous urbanism, a renewed and renegotiated Indigenous right to the (unoppressive) city comes into view. It can also contribute to efforts toward reconciliation and collaboration, whereby recognizing the original occupancy of Indigenous peoples on the sites of current cities is paramount, and where Indigenous governance is supported, resulting in opportunities for collective deliberation and decision-making in urban environments (Dorries 2023). A pathway for promoting Indigenous urbanism can also be achieved by enhancing bottom-up resurgent practices of placemaking and spatial programming, which promote the role of cities as loci for Indigenous resistance and reclamation of land (Nejad et al. 2019; Dorries et al. 2019). Indeed, as Dorries et al. (2019) suggest, Indigenous peoples can reclaim urban space through both formal political channels and informal modes of organizing urban relationships. This article now turns to a specific example of an Indigenous bottom-up placemaking practice, which connects Indigenous peoples with each other and their surrounding urban environment, producing new ways and forms of achieving both a right to the city and a right to difference.

Beadwork

Including a wide range of objects crafted from hide, fur, and/or commercially made wood and cotton, and embellished with beads in identifiable patterns, almost all Indigenous peoples practice beadwork in one form or another with different nations producing distinct forms and items, often directly incorporating elements from their surrounding environment, thus representing an important form of Indigenous visual and material culture (Belcourt 2010; Racette 1991; Troupe and Dorion-Paquin 2002; Smetzer 2007). Garneau (2018) suggests that beading reflects a broader worldview that understands the relation of people to the environment as being-with rather than mastery over. It is therefore an embodied activity, which activates connections to kin, place, and more-than-human-relations (Harjo et al. 2018; Dorries 2022b).

As with most other aspects of Indigenous life, beading was also the target of settler colonial policies, which sought to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their territories and assimilate them into settler society. Specifically, the practice of beading was impacted by the outlawing of the potlatch (1884) and all other forms of ceremony (1885) by the Canadian federal government, given that Indigenous peoples adorned beaded regalia for these ceremonies, and those found to participate in these ceremonies were subject to punishment by imprisonment, which impacted the practice and status of beading (Prete 2019; Dorries 2022b). In the current era of reconciliation, beadwork has therefore come to represent a key form of Indigenous cultural resurgence (Ray 2023; Ansloos et al. 2022), which Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2017) defines "as a set of practices through which the regeneration and reestablishment of Indigenous nations can be achieved" (16). As Elizabeth Edge states, such practices "remain integral to our development, ways of knowing, teaching, learning and being, as Indigenous, and in the formation of pedagogical and ontological relationships to social, cultural, physical and spiritual environments" (2011, 16). It also contributes to a form of "decolonial aesthetics," which foster artistic and cultural production that creates and imagines futures beyond colonialism (Dorries 2022b; Martineau and Ritskes 2014). Indeed, as Cree artist Ruth Cuthand reflects, beading is "an activity of survival. It is a means of remembering tradition and feeling well" (2015, 83, as cited in Dorries 2022b, 314).

Beading is commonly done in a group in what is often called a beading circle. As Ansloos et al. state, "The holistic healing offered through beading is made more tangible by the profound act of gathering in a shared space … and in the relationships that develop and are nourished in this space" (2022, 2). Here, it is important to note the gendered aspect of this space, as beading represents a primarily female pursuit. Relating to her experience organizing a beading circle in Edmonton, Alberta, Edge shares that "gathering together as Indigenous women in the form of a beading circle served as a place and space to come together as Indigenous women and share experiences in a supportive and nurturing environment" (2011, 122). This can be especially significant within urban environments where many Indigenous peoples may be removed from their homelands and traditional teachings. Edge suggests,

> Foremost, is the challenge to learn about Indigenous cultures and traditions in a context where many moved from their home regions to urban centres, where access to First Nations or Metis Elders is limited or constrained, at a time when there are fewer and fewer Elders with direct and lived experienced from whom to learn. Noteworthy, is that it is at university where Aboriginal students may for the first time in their lives be learning about Indigenous histories, philosophies, and life ways. (2011, 123)

The importance of beading circles in providing urban Indigenous peoples, and especially students, space to both gather and ground themselves in the urban environment is precisely within the scope of this study. Indeed, Dorries (2022a) suggests that Indigenous peoples employ artistic practices to articulate urban Indigenous identity, intervening in colonial space not only by asserting Indigenous presence but also by shaping new understandings of urban space and time. Building on this, it is suggested that in an urban setting, attending beading circles provides participants with the opportunity to create a sense of place in the city. Here, sense of place refers to the subjective and emotional attachment people create, formed of meanings both personal and shared that are associated with a particular locale (Cresswell 2015). Beading circles provide Indigenous peoples with a locale where social relations take place and where the practice of beading gathers and grounds participants, giving them the space to teach, learn, and foster a sense of place and belonging within the urban environment.

As suggested above, for young Indigenous students moving to the city for post-secondary studies, oftentimes, it is here where they will encounter beading or learning about different aspects of their culture for the first time (Edge 2011). Dorries (2022b) suggests, "Beading persists as an important practice that not only resurrects cultural traditions but also confronts ecological and colonial violence" (314). Moreover, she advances that beadwork connects people to place and is a practice of resistance and regeneration (Dorries 2022b). For this reason, beading circles serve as an important form of "brave space," where the primary purpose of interaction is the search for truth (Palfrey 2017). Brave spaces allow participants to share personal and common challenges, enabling each other to work through them and find possible solutions. In the university context, cultural programming, such as beading circles, are often organized by Indigenous resource centres that provide services for Indigenous students on campuses and often represent the first point of contact at the university for newly arrived Indigenous students, and as such can act as important community institutions within the urban environment. Reflecting on the broader role of urban Indigenous institutions such as Friendship Centres, David Newhouse states, "The experience of urban Aboriginal life is mediated through community institutions. Participation in them gives a sense of community, a sense of history and a sense of shared values" (2003, 252). As will now be demonstrated by the case study of a group of young Indigenous beaders in Ottawa, beadwork is one example of a placemaking process that brings participants together, enabling the formation of relationships to social, cultural, and ecological environments, which in turn activate connections to kin and place, essential in the context of urban Indigeneity.

Methodology

Robert Innes suggests that "American Indian Studies must be an undertaking held to the highest of ethical standards" (2004, 131). I believe this extends

to all disciplines, such as geography, the environmental humanities, and Canadian studies when it relates to Indigenous peoples, worldviews, cultures, and histories. In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) emphasizes the need to adopt research methodologies that structure assumptions, values, concepts, orientations, and priorities that reflect the needs of Indigenous peoples. By adopting an Indigenous research agenda, researchers can center respect and reciprocity and remain accountable to Indigenous interlocutors and communities. This in turn leads to research being done *with* and not *on* Indigenous peoples, where "reporting back" and "sharing knowledge" are central pillars of the research agenda (Smith 2012).

When engaging with Indigenous interlocutors and communities, establishing relationships of trust is fundamental and does not represent a one-size-fits-all or a one-time transaction. Kathryn Besio (2010) argues that a researcher's expression of positionality is an important step in contextualizing research findings and remaining accountable to interlocutors and that as researchers, we must strive to "destabilize the binaries of colonialism while remaining attentive to colonialism's violence and violent legacies, and to write and work against their perpetuation in the colonial present" (2010, 564–65). Sarah de Leeuw (2017) specifically suggests that non-Indigenous settler geographers must "rethink the ways (and importantly the *forms*) by which we produce knowledge, especially about colonialism and Indigenous geographies and especially in and through our writing practices" (de Leeuw 2017, 309). Max Liboiron (2021) illustrates how research and change-making, scientific or otherwise, are always caught up in the contradictions, injustices, and structures that are rooted in colonial violence, which therefore requires manoeuvring within complex and compromised terrain. Liboiron, therefore, encourages adopting anticolonial research frameworks, which embody "the diversity of work, positionalities, and obligations that let us 'stand with' one another as we pursue good land relations, broadly defined" (2021, 27).

This study therefore adopts a critical anticolonial geographic lens, where I as a white settler male and ally engage with an Indigenous research agenda grounded in anticolonial thinking and practices. As the TRC made clear, we must recognize that "reconciliation is not an Aboriginal problem; it is a Canadian one" (TRC 2015, vi), and that as treaty peoples, we must seek to establish and maintain mutually respectful relationships. In the context of this study, I sought to engage with and learn from young urban Indigenous residents living in Ottawa over the course of several years. Between October 2019 and August 2022, a total of 13 semi-structured qualitative interviews were carried out. The majority (10 out of 13) were held in person, while two interviews were held via Zoom, and one was carried out over written correspondence. I also participated in a beading circle at the (now-named) Mashkawazìwogamig: Indigenous Resource Center of the University of Ottawa from 2015 to 2016. To connect with interlocutors, I utilized the "snowball" method where

I initially met with participants from the beading circle who then put me in touch with friends and colleagues who also bead. In line with other studies that carried out qualitative interviews with urban Indigenous people (Laliberte 2013; Dumas 2016), interlocutors were offered an honorarium as a means of respectfully acknowledging their contribution of both taking the time to meet and talk with me and for sharing their knowledge and experiences. Interlocutors were sent a transcript of their interview and given the opportunity to comment, redact, or change what they shared. As suggested by Edge (2011), direct quotes are included at length in the analysis and discussion as a demonstration of respect and as a way to honour the integrity of the interlocutors' chosen words. They were also given the opportunity to review the selected direct quotes after the initial writing of the paper and to state whether they wanted to be named or given a pseudonym, with the majority choosing to use their first name.

It is also important to recognize that the results of this study do not strive to speak on behalf of all urban Indigenous people who bead, nor do they necessarily reflect the views of all the interlocutors. As a non-Indigenous male settler who was invited into a predominantly female Indigenous space, I recognize the precarity involved in addressing this topic. I attempt to do so from a place grounded in respect, where consent, intent, accountability, and open communication were maintained to foster a sense of reciprocity throughout the study.

Results

To date, the existing urban Indigenous literature in Canada has primarily focused on the experiences of Indigenous peoples living in Western Canadian cities, given the region's significant urban Indigenous populations (Peters and Andersen 2013). As is illustrated in Figure 1, while Ottawa does not have as high of an urban Indigenous population as Winnipeg, Edmonton, or Vancouver, it does currently have the highest of any city in Central or Eastern Canada with a self-identified Indigenous population of 46,545 (Statistics Canada 2022b). This is especially significant given that the Ottawa-Gatineau census metropolitan area (CMA) is considerably less populated than the Toronto or Montréal CMAs, with an overall population of approximately 1.5 million compared to 6.2 and 4.3 million in the latter two (Statistics Canada 2022a).

Ottawa itself represents a unique urban case study given that it is the national capital and is a hub of opportunity for people across the country (Dumas 2016). Many Indigenous people move to the city due to pull factors such as employment opportunities with the federal government or to pursue post-secondary education; with several post-secondary institutions offering tailored Indigenous programs in law, medicine, Indigenous studies, and governance. Ottawa is also home to the head offices of the five major national

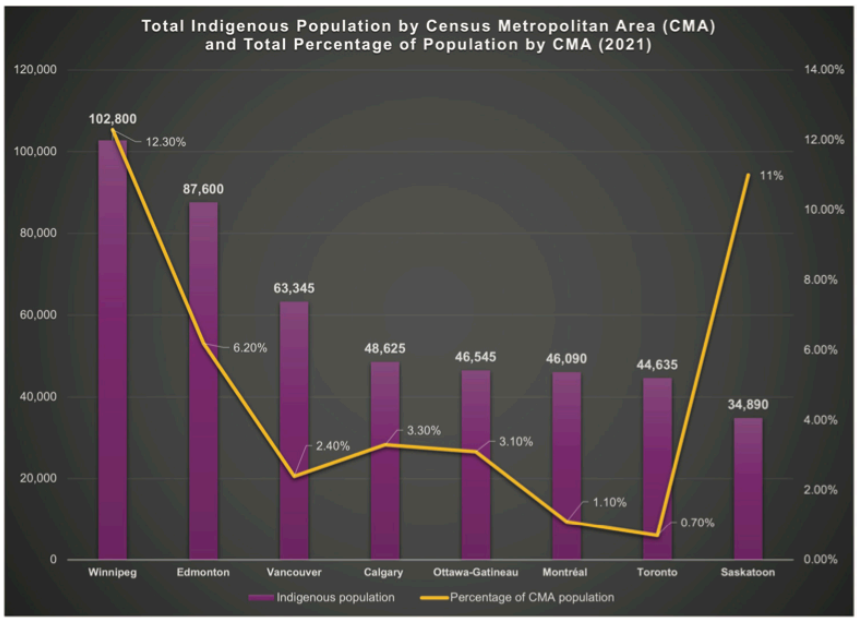

Figure 1: Total Indigenous population by Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) and Total Percentage of Population by CMA (2021).

Source: Author's treatment, 2024, with data from Statistics Canada, 2022a; 2022b.

Indigenous representative bodies, the Assembly of First Nations, the Métis National Council, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, and the Native Women's Association of Canada. As Tomiak suggests, given Ottawa's status as the national capital, events there are "often conceptualized as a stand-in for national interest and federal politics" (2016, 10). Coupled with the fact that Ottawa represents the primary location of Indigenous/non-Indigenous political brokering, acting as a key linchpin of the Canadian settler state (Tomiak 2011) and a symbolic centre of the current move toward truth, reconciliation, and healing, the city is vested with important power and symbolism.

In the context of this study, 13 young Indigenous beaders were interviewed, 11 of whom had frequented the Mashkawazìwogamig Indigenous Resource Center and beading circle program offered there in one form or another over the past ten years. Two additional beadwork artists connected to the circle were also interviewed. Considering demographics, 9 women and 4 men were interviewed, ranging from their mid-20s to mid-30s in age. None of the interlocutors were originally from Ottawa, all initially coming to the city to pursue post-secondary education. In terms of geographic origin, interlocutors came from what are today referred to as Northern Ontario

(6), Southern Ontario (3), Québec (2), and Alberta (2); nine of whom still lived in Ottawa, while the remaining four moved to other Canadian cities or returned to their home communities. Finally, in terms of cultural background, interlocutors self-identified as First Nations (Anishinaabe, Cree) and Metis. Interviews varied in length, with an average of approximately one hour. Based on previous urban Indigenous studies (Seraphim 2012; Laliberte 2013; Dumas 2016), an interview guide was prepared addressing five main themes including background, identity and culture, urban life, environment, and future plans. Interview transcripts were analyzed using MaxQDA Plus 2022 software. Transcripts were coded according to five categories including: (1) beading as a cultural practice, (2) social networking and urban life, (3) power, (4) education, and (5) connection to Land. The main findings of the five groupings form the basis of the following analysis and discussion.

Analysis and Discussion

Following the analysis of the coded interviews, three main themes arose, including (1) the space of the beading circle and the benefits of beadwork, (2) life and agency in the city as an Indigenous person, and (3) reflections regarding truth, reconciliation, healing, and the way forward. Each of these themes incorporates various coded segments from the five previously listed categories and relates specifically to the experiences of the interlocutors and ultimately illustrates how beading provided an opportunity for gathering, learning, the formation of identity and friendships, and the creation of a sense of place within the urban environment.

The beading circle took place at the Mashkawazìwogamig: Indigenous Resource Center at the University of Ottawa, its name meaning “Place of Strength” in Anishnaabemowin (uOttawa n.d.). The circle was organized each week and was open to all students regardless of skill or background. Dara shares that “When I went to the beading circle I finally got to meet a bunch of people who had similar interests, who had similar stories to tell, we always got along and created a safe little community, safe little space within the Indigenous Resource Center and really formed a lot of relationships there” (Personal Communication 2019). Danielle echoes this by stating that “having the circles made it so much easier to connect with other students” (Personal Communication 2021). Darren stated that when he joined the circle, he called it “beading, eating or reading circles because I didn’t bead but I would often do readings or have my lunch and it was just that desire to be with other Indigenous people at the university … I don’t think that you have to bead, it’s more of a community thing, just people coming together” (Personal Communication 2019). Many of the interlocutors shared how attending the beading circle helped with their transition to urban life, especially arriving from rural communities. Jayde, who initially moved from a First Nation community in Northern Ontario, shared that “a weekly circle where you can show up and

hang out and be yourself, that's really important to students that might be fresh out of the rez [reserve] and might not have that place to go back to and feel so out of place" (Personal Communication 2021). Connor, who also moved to the city for the first time, spoke about the initial challenges of urban life and integrating into a university environment that typically encourages a lot of social drinking. Speaking of the beading circle, he shares,

> I'd say it was a really important role to just help build some community and have a stable place to launch into other supports … It was very grounding there, and for me, it gave me something to do, quite frankly. I had a really hard time with urban life, because pretty much all I did in the city in the first few years was drink, like I didn't know what else to do much, so the beading circle was kind of my entry point into urban community engagement. (Personal Communication 2021)

For many, joining the university beading circle was the first time they had learned to bead and, in some instances, the first time they learned about their culture. As Maggie shares,

> I grew up in a non-Indigenous family, so for me, it was like opening the door to this whole different world, and it was definitely welcoming, and that was kind of when everything took off and I was able to reconnect and learn a lot more about myself and where I'm from … I reconnected with family who live in my community still. It's kind of weird, such a small thing opened up a huge world. (Personal Communication 2019)

Danielle also spoke of the power of beading and how it represented a pathway to learning about her culture. She shares that at first, "I didn't do any [beading], I was intimidated, I had just stepped back into reclaiming culture, and I just sat and watched and asked questions because Maggie was more experienced" (Personal Communication 2021). Once she learned how to bead, Danielle stated, "It's so much better to do it with other people than to do it by yourself. I mean it's good too, but you're already so isolated as a student … having circles made it so much more easier to connect with other students" (Personal Communication 2021). As Edge (2011) points out, the experience of learning, but also teaching, is intrinsic to beadwork. To be able to share teachings embodies an empowering practice, which can also in turn help one adapt to the challenges of urban life. Dara points to this, stating,

> Growing up in a big family and being close to my family, I was really isolated, so then once the beading circle started, that was kind of my first way into helping people, bring what I have, what I experienced growing up on the reserve and in the bush, I could bring that into the city and share it with people who didn't have access to that. (Personal Communication 2019)

Relating to university life, the beading circle provided an open, safe, and what one interlocutor termed, brave space, especially for young Indigenous students. After learning how to bead, Warren shared that:

> I immediately got hooked, I loved it, particularly it was great for my studies because being in academia, it's so easy to get caught up in their world, that you forget about your own. So, what I love about beadwork, is it sort of brings you down, reminds you who you are, where you came from, it sort of recalibrates you a bit … it works really good for my mental health. (Personal Communication 2019)

Belcourt (2010), Cuthand (2015), Ray (2016), and Ansloos et. al (2022) have all pointed to the healing nature of beading, which not only connects you with your hands but also with community, representing a means of remembering tradition and feeling well. Crystal shares, "Beadwork is one of those easy entry points with folks sometimes in our community, the connection is great, but also the actual act of beadwork itself is good for the soul …you see the fruits of your labour, and it's repetitive, and it's structured in a lot of ways, and you're using your hands … it's a good self-care" (Personal Communication 2019).

As has been shown, beading in the city represents a grounding experience for many reasons. Connecting with culture, forming social networks, and building resiliency and solidarity in the city all represent key outcomes for those who participated in the beading circle. But what happens when one leaves the intimate space of the beading circle and how can beadwork contribute to securing a right to the city? The simple act of wearing beadwork in the city can lead to many different experiences, given that it is often considered to be a clear representation of one's Indigenous identity. While her view has since changed, Dara reflected,

> For a while, I was actually really scared to wear beadwork, any type of earrings, anything saying "Hey look, I'm Indigenous," because if I dress the right way, I can probably pass as non-Indigenous … especially because that was the time when the discourse around Missing and Murdered Indigenous women was happening, so I just kind of felt when I wore these things, it would put a target on my back. (Personal Communication 2019)

This speaks to the violence upon which settler colonial cities are founded, whereby Indigenous peoples have faced long-standing and ongoing brutality (Dorries et al. 2019). Relating to her experience in Ottawa, Crystal also felt that you need to brace yourself for all types of possible interactions when wearing beadwork in public. She explains,

> What's also interesting, and specifically I would say in Ottawa I find interesting, the conversations that open up. So, it's either like 'Oh,

> I'm native too, my great-grandmother is native, therefore there is an implication that this individual thinks they have a right to our stories and teachings when in fact, that is a responsibility that is earned, or because they think that I'm non-Indigenous, they can get away with saying something racist to me, so like yea, basically when I go out the door, I kind of have to be prepared for those conversations. (Personal Communication 2024)

That said, for many, including Crystal, wearing beadwork in the city and, especially in the national capital, is an important form of representation, she states, "I think it's important to show up at government meetings or conferences and things like that wearing your culture to represent and show who you are and where you come from" (Personal Communication 2019). Darren echoes this, stating, "I don't fit that Hollywood archetype for an Indigenous person … so when I wear beadwork it's saying I'm part of that too, I don't experience it the same way but I don't want to exempt myself from that either, I think it kind of stands to say, you know, watch your mouth around me" (Personal Communication 2019). Kara shares that "it is honestly a visual representation of again who I am as a person, an extension of my culture, my community" (Personal Communication 2019). Considering how beading was historically impacted by state-sanctioned policies such as the banning of Indigenous ceremonies (Prete 2019), today beadwork represents a visual embodiment of cultural resistance, resurgence, and resilience, acting as a form of decolonial aesthetics (Martineau and Ritskes 2014). Maggie clearly illustrates this by stating, "I'm proud to wear beadwork as a way to feel good about myself and represent who I am. And my Mom and my grandparents were in residential school and they couldn't express themselves the way they wanted to, and I can" (Personal Communication 2019).

While confidently wearing beadwork represents a clear example of one's ability to exercise what Young (1990) calls unassimilated otherness given that it is representative of Indigenous identity and cultures, the practice of selling beadwork also represents a viable way of supporting Indigenous artists, providing economic agency, especially for Indigenous women (Smetzer 2007; Ansloos et al. 2022). Dara states, "This is how a lot of our women support themselves, support their family … I think it's really important, it's like reclamation … It's pretty symbolic and it makes me proud to wear it" (Personal Communication 2019). Crystal shares that it is "something that was very much within sort of the women's sphere and our power, and like moving forward also, how we still kind of use that to demonstrate our power" (Personal Communication 2019).

Some of the participants now sell their beadwork, carrying out custom orders, but also showcasing their work at local Indigenous-run businesses and via social media, for instance on Instagram. Selling beadwork, especially when advertising it via social media, can however be fraught with

tension, for instance when orders are unrightfully cancelled or designs are copied without permission (Ansloos et al. 2022). As Stephanie states, "I am mindful to ask permission to the artist of a certain template I want to use, if they decline, I respect that. Artist etiquette 101" (Personal Communication 2022). Mariah, who also sells her beadwork, explains, "I'm also in a tricky space where everybody's beading … they're first-time beaders and they're selling their stuff for like $100 … well, you're taking away from artists who actually do this for a living" (Personal Communication 2022). It was suggested taking the time to properly research where and from whom you buy beadwork is important. As Ashley shares,

> I buy from specific people too. I mean of course, if I'm about to buy from a person I never bought from before, I'll look up their profiles and if they're always writing statuses that are always negative, I'll try and stay away from them. If they're like a single mom, a young mom or something, that's usually what it is, or an older grandma, I don't mind helping them out. (Personal Communication 2019)

While beading continues to represent a predominantly female pursuit, an interesting outcome of the university beading circle was that it was open to all students, and some male Indigenous students took part. Connor jokes that it got him brownie points with his now-wife's grandmother, who was "bragging to her beading circle …that her granddaughter's boyfriend knew how to bead" (Personal Communication 2021). Humour aside, Connor appreciated being able to access the space and teachings of the beading circle, recognizing that "I don't ever want to be taking up space for any kind of traditional female-dominated thing" (Personal Communication 2021). Now a trained teacher, he discussed that wearing and talking about beadwork in the classroom was a good way of creating an inclusive space for his students, "I think it's good to normalize men doing this type of thing. I know that it's a thing in the back of some people's minds, but I find nobody talks about it" (Personal Communication 2021).

While typically beading occurs in informal and personal spaces such as someone's kitchen or home, organized beading circles like the one held at Mashkawaziwogamig assert symbolic space, reclaim physical space, and are a form of placemaking, as suggested by Julie Tomiak (2011). Creating more Indigenous spaces in the city has taken time, something observed by some interlocutors who have now lived in Ottawa for over 10 years. As Brad shares,

> I can see how at first, when I moved here, I thought wow there's not really a big Indigenous community, it's almost like you need to find it first and then it's like wow, there's tons of Indigenous people here… maybe it's an urban centre thing where we're not as present, or there's not as much culture, but no, it's here, it's just harder to find. (Personal Communication 2022)

Brad also stated that he has noticed many changes in the urban landscape, with more Indigenous spaces being created in the city, such as Madahoki Farms, an Indigenous-owned space that hosts events for the urban Indigenous community. He also shares, "But I feel that it's coming, I think the more Indigenous spaces there are, the more things like that will start to develop. With Madahoki, with a couple of the other spaces that are starting to be developed in Ottawa that are specifically Indigenous space" (Personal Communication 2022). Jayde is actively contributing to Indigenous spatial production in the city. In 2021, along with her mother, she opened Beandigen Café in Downtown Ottawa. Far from just being a coffee shop, Jayde hosts multiple community events and features work from local Indigenous artists for sale. As she explained shortly before the café opened,

> I'm hoping to do regular beading circles at the café that we're getting started. That's one of the main things that we want to include in the café space, time set aside for workshops, for language courses, for community groups to come in, that sort of stuff, so being able to have an actual space that is an Indigenous space that you can sit and bead at is like one of the only things I've ever wanted living in Downtown Ottawa. (Personal Communication 2021)

These are exactly the types of spaces that promote resurgent practices of placemaking and spatial programming, imprinting the built environment with Indigenous materialities, which in turn help cement an Indigenous right to the city and right to difference (Nejad et al. 2019). They are spaces that are both easily accessible and visible for all urban citizens can serve as both gathering places for Indigenous peoples and build awareness for non-Indigenous urbanites thus contributing to processes of Indigenous urbanism.

The emergence of new Indigenous geographies is also happening in tandem with a broader shift in Canadian society concerning the acknowledgment of the country's history and treatment of Indigenous peoples. Interestingly, this shift was observed throughout the interview process between 2019 and 2022. Following the uncovering of unmarked graves of Indigenous children at former residential school sites starting in 2021, there was a cataclysmic shift in the mainstream Canadian consciousness concerning the past harm caused to Indigenous peoples. While this has been well-known for generations amongst Indigenous peoples, having these stories, supported by undeniable physical evidence, deeply unsettled the entire country. Initiatives such as the annual Orange Shirt Day held alongside the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation on 30 September to honour the victims and survivors of residential schools quickly became widespread. These events have also had a significant impact on the beading circle. As Darren, who is now the Indigenous Community Engagement Officer at the University of Ottawa explained, the facilitator of the beading circle organized a multi-session project to bead little orange

Figure 2: Poster promoting beading drop-in group at Beandigen Cafe.

Source: Jayde Micah and jayde micah designs, 2023.

shirt pins to raise awareness about the impacts and intergenerational trauma caused by residential schools. He also pointed to another beading workshop to create little red dresses to bring awareness to missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQUIA (Two-Spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, and asexual) people, which also speaks to beading's capacity to educate, raise awareness, and help process the trauma of past and ongoing discrimination.

Speaking more generally to the current shift in Canadian society, Crystal shares, "Since the TRC, it's like this great awakening, non-Indigenous people are like 'Oh my God, look at the state of this,' it's like yea, you did this, what are you going to do about this?" (Personal Communication 2019). Mariah shares that this will require "A lot of unsettling. I mean, we have to get really uncomfortable to get comfortable" (Personal Communication 2022). Many

Figure 3: Beaded orange shirt for National Truth and Reconciliation Day.

Source: Jayde Micah Naponse, 2024.

pointed to education as being the way forward, to foster true understanding and reconciliation. Ashley states, "Education, that's one thing that I just want to see, like education is massive, massive" (Personal Communication 2019). As many of the later interviews suggested, this change is unprecedented, with settler Canadians finally "waking up," as Crystal previously put it. Many interlocutors believed that beadwork plays an important role in promoting education, representation, and reconciliation. Returning to the topic of wearing beadwork, Jayde mentions, "One of the baristas here today had previously complimented my beadwork and I showed her my page, and gave her the reference to who made these ones [motioning to her earrings], and even that small nudge might be the one thing that brings her into this entire community of learning, that's exactly what it's all about" (Personal Communication 2021). Stephanie, who also runs beading workshops, takes the opportunity to educate her participants, especially in terms of appreciation versus appropriation. She explains, "At first, I felt uneasy but this subject is always important for non-Indigenous people, to have a better understanding of the differences and hope some unlearn what they know now and re-learn

new knowledge and move forward with that and share with others" (Personal Communication 2022).

Referring back to the beading circle, Darren sums up how the space itself represents an important site of reconciliation:

> It's a good inclusive space but it's also a space where people can talk … like someone might talk about a story, you know, a family history or story, or maybe just like a trip back to the rez. But all of these, for the non-Indigenous people that come, I think it provides an opportunity to learn the day-to-day, there's a lot of older stereotypes that we're just trying to break down and it's a good way to realize holy crap these people are just like us. (Personal Communication 2019)

In a university context, where students are learning and often shaping worldviews that will guide them throughout their lives (or seeking new knowledge in the case of older students), accessing these types of spaces and networks can foster positive relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Furthermore, the open, inclusive, and brave space, which encourages the seeking of truth (Palfrey 2017), enables students to build lasting social and cultural networks, which promote solidarity, resistance, and resurgence (Dorries et al. 2019; Dorries 2022a). While recognizing that beading circles represent traditional female Indigenous spaces, opening them to all students who wish to learn represents an empowering pursuit that can be replicated in other educational and urban contexts. Given the current dynamics of post-TRC Canadian society and the emergence of a new cultural environment, new urban Indigenous geographies are actively being created, with spaces such as beading circles enhancing bottom-up resurgent practices of placemaking (Nejad et al. 2019), which create key sites of exchange, learning, and opportunity that contribute to Indigenous urbanism.

Conclusion

Picking up on the call of Peters and Andersen (2013) for conducting further studies into the distinct and varied ways urban Indigenous peoples adapt and thrive in urban environments, this study addresses the current gap in the literature concerning Indigenous peoples living in Central and Eastern Canadian cities. Focusing on the case study of Ottawa, Canada's national capital, the article contributes to the existing literature by demonstrating the clear link between beading and the formation of an urban Indigenous sense of place. Working within an Indigenous research agenda (Smith 2012), 13 young Indigenous urbanites were interviewed regarding their lived experiences moving to and living in the city as mediated through beadwork, an Indigenous art form and practice rooted in place-based knowledge, representing a key form of decolonial aesthetics, which encourages cultural healing, resistance, resurgence, and resiliency (Edge 2011; Martineau and Ritskes 2014; Curthand 2015; Dorries 2022b; Ray 2023; Ansloos et al. 2022).

The interlocutors highlighted three key themes: the positive benefits of beading and the space of the beading circle, the challenges and opportunities of being Indigenous and portraying one's identity in the city, and the impact of current discussions and policies surrounding the national project of truth, reconciliation, and healing. One interlocutor suggested that the beading circle represents a form of brave space, which enables the seeking of truth and allows for the sharing of challenges and solutions (Palfrey 2017). Drawing from Julie Tomiak (2011), it is argued that beading circles contribute to processes of placemaking and reterritorialization that enable urban Indigenous peoples to assert symbolic space, reclaim physical space, and carve out political space within urban environments. By supporting these spaces, whether they be on university campuses, in local Indigenous-run businesses, or in community centres, securing both a right to the city and a right to difference becomes viable (Nejad et al. 2019). Research into other forms of urban brave spaces, both ephemeral and fixed, such as powwows or spaces like Beadingen Café and Madahoki Farms, and the ways they are shaping new urban Indigenous geographies in different Canadian cities by imprinting Indigenous materialities through resurgent placemaking and spatial programming (Nejad et al. 2019) merits more attention.

On an everyday scale, the act of simply wearing beadwork can embody what Iris Marion Young (1990) has termed unassimilated otherness, or the capacity to maintain and portray one's distinct identity and traditions free of oppression, embodying true social justice and a "being-together" of urban citizens. This shift connects to broader social and spatial transformations in cities across the country that are creating new Indigenous (and Canadian) urban geographies, which recognize the past exclusionary and discriminatory treatment toward Indigenous peoples bringing into view the role of the city as a locus for Indigenous resistance and reclamation of land (Dorries et al. 2019). This is not to say that certain aspects of urban life are no longer oppressive toward Indigenous peoples. Racism, cultural appropriation, and general ignorance are still present and are actively being contested across urban (and rural) Canada (Dorries et al. 2019). What is encouraging to hear, as observed by the interlocutors, is the shift in narrative that has occurred over the past decade due in large part to the efforts of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, and the uncovering of unmarked graves of Indigenous children at former residential school sites. They have pushed Canadians to acknowledge their complicity in Canada's settler colonial reality. As two interlocutors put it, Canadians are finally waking up to the legacies of colonialism, and in order to move forward, they have to get really uncomfortable to get comfortable.

In the context of the city, this means upsetting "settler colonial common sense" (Tomiak 2016) and encouraging urban Indigenous spatial production by supporting Indigenous governance and opportunities for collective deliberation

and decision-making (Dorries 2023). As Dorries et al. (2019) suggest, reclaiming urban space can be done through both formal political channels and informal modes of organizing urban relationships, such as those created through beading. These placemaking practices, in turn, contribute to processes of Indigenous urbanism, co-producing urban Indigeneity and space (Dorries 2022a). Young Indigenous people have a key role to play in producing urban Indigenous space and fostering this positive shift toward anticolonialism, which promotes both resistance and resurgence. Further research into the career pathways of young Indigenous graduates who participated in programming such as the beading circles held at the Mashkawazìwogamig Indigenous Resource Center at the University of Ottawa represents a promising pursuit, in addition to the role beading circles can play in facilitating meaningful discussions and exchanges between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Just as beading requires a great deal of patience, practice, and care, so too does the project of truth, reconciliation, and healing, which is not a finished product to be obtained, but rather an ongoing relationship that requires compassion, commitment, and courage.

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Dumas, Daniel and Carolin Maertens (2023). “Spaces of Living in Transformation: Sights, Sounds and Sensations of Munich’s River and Slaughterhouse Districts.” Global Environment, 16(2): 386–399. https://doi.org/10.3197/ge.2023.160208.

Dumas, Daniel. (2022). Book review: "Carola Hein (ed.), Oil Spaces: Exploring the Global Petroleumscape." Global Environment, 15(3): 609–614. https://doi.org/10.3197/ge.2022.150309.

Dumas, Daniel. (2020). “Problematic Postage: Canada’s Claim to the Arctic through a Postage Stamp.” Arcadia, 25: online. https://doi.org/10.5282/rcc/9064.

CONFERENCE AND WORKSHOP PRESENTATIONS

“Beading the City: The Role of Beadwork in Fostering an Urban Indigenous Sense of Place.” Solidarities. Networks—Convivialities—Confrontations—Conference of the Association for Canadian Studies in German-speaking Countries (GKS). Grainau, Germany. 5 March 2023

"Place them on a Stamp: Inuit, Banal Nationalism, and the "Pioneer Experiment" of Forced Relocations to the High Arctic in the 1950s." American Society for Environmental History Conference. Eugene, Oregon. 24 March 2022.

"Pipeline Dreams and Nightmares: Indigenous Views of the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project." Ecologies, Environments, Ethics—Conference of the Association for Canadian Studies in German-speaking Countries (GKS). Grainau, Germany. 18 February 2022.

"The Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project and the Global Petroleumscape." Oil Spaces: A Multidisciplinary Discussion on the Global Petroleumscape in Times of Transition. Munich, Germany. 13 December 2021.

“Problematic Postage: Canada’s Claim to High Arctic Lands and Waters through a Stamp.” 41st American Indian Workshop, Munich, Germany. 27 November 2020.

“Beaded Dreams: Indigenous Representations of Identity, Environment, and Resistance on present-day Turtle Island.” Amerika-Kolloquium, Munich, Germany. 30 January 2020.

"Problematic Postage: Canada's Claim to the North through a Stamp." Inuit Studies Conference. Montreal, QC. 6 October 2019.

"Leaving the Tar Sands? Indigenous Journeys of Risk, Reward, and Displacement in Northwest Turtle Island." Mapping Mountains and Seas: Journeys, Cartographies, Effects Workshop, Munich, Germany. 24 June 2019.

"Stragglers of the Plains: Colonial categorization and cultural resilience of Metis peoples in late 19th century western Canada". Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Annual General Meeting. 21 May 2016. Honolulu, Hawai'i, U.S.

"Indigenous Representations of the City". Graduate Students Association Interdisciplinary Conference. 18 February 2016. Ottawa, ON, Canada.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

"Canada and its Regions." Amerika-Institut, LMU Munich, bachelor's seminar, 2 hours weekly, Summer Semester 2023.

"From Land Grabs to Land Back: Indigenous Experiences of Place in Canada." Amerika-Institut, LMU Munich, bachelor's seminar, 2 hours weekly, Winter Semester 2022–23.

"Applied Qualitative Methods." Department of Geography, LMU Munich, master's seminar, 2 hours weekly, Winter Semester 2021–22.

AWARDS

LMU-Abschlussstipendiums 2023
Jürgen-Saße Award, Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien, Germany 2022
LMU International Office Study Scholarship, LMU Munich, Germany 2019–21
Premier's Public Service Award, Government of Alberta, Edmonton, AB 2018
Ontario Graduate Scholarship, University of Ottawa, ON 2015–16
Admission Scholarship, University of Ottawa, ON 2014–15
Chancellor's Scholarship, University of Ottawa, ON 2009–13
Queen Elizabeth II Reaching for the Top Scholarship, University of Ottawa, ON 2009

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Research Assistant 2023–2024
Rachel Carson Center, LMU Munich

- Assisted the Chair of Environmental Humanities with research-related tasks including archival and literature review research, and website maintenance.

Lecturer 2022–2023
Amerika-Institut, LMU Munich

- Created and taught bachelor's level courses specializing in Indigenous and Canadian Studies within the American Studies program including *From Land Grabs to Land Back: Indigenous Experiences of Place in Canada*, and *Canada and its Regions*;
- Responsible for additional pedagogical and administrative tasks within the department such as managing department social media channels and acquiring new books.

Urban Environments Initiative Program Associate 2020–2022
Rachel Carson Center, LMU Munich

- Assisted with the organization of several academic workshops and conferences hosting scholars from around the world specialized in urban ecology;
- Designed, created, and maintained an interactive website to help connect members of the research network.

Editor, Graduate Student Intern 2019
Rachel Carson Center, LMU Munich

- Copyedited and proofread various written contributions for *RCC Perspectives* scholarly publication;
- Maintained academic blog, *Seeing the Woods*, created web content, and edited contributions using WordPress.

RELATED EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE

Special Projects Intern 2017–2018
Indigenous Relations, Government of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, Canada

- Drafted briefing notes and reports detailing progress on the First Nations Regional Drinking Water Tie-In Project and the 2013 Southern Alberta flood recovery program;
- Facilitated engagement sessions with Indigenous peoples to gain feedback for the Alberta Sixties Scoop Apology.

Tutor 2016
Nunavut Sivuniksavut, Ottawa, ON, Canada

- Served as English tutor for Inuit students from various indigenous communities;
- Worked closely with several students to improve their reading, writing, and comprehension skills;
- Provided close feedback on weekly written assignments and strategies for improving essay and report writing.

Research Assistant 2015–2016
Institute of Indigenous Research and Studies, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, ON, Canada

- Worked closely with coding, categorizing and sorting historical record data into the Digital Archives Database Project;
- Located and analyzed primary source material from Library and Archives Canada.
- Cross-checked and verified data from big data stores.

Teaching Assistant 2014–2016
Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, ON, Canada

- Taught and assisted teaching across six courses in Geography, Environmental Studies, History, and Indigenous Studies;
- Marked and graded multiple exams and regular student assignments including summaries, essays, and reports under tight deadlines;
- Liaised between students and professors, leading discussion groups on critical topics.

OTHER EXPERIENCE

Speaker 2021–2022
ProEnviron Doctoral Program, Rachel Carson Center, LMU Munich

- Served as the representative of all doctoral students in the program, organizing feedback and soft skills sessions;
- Organizing academic events for the program such as research excursions.

Volunteer 2015–2016
Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health, Ottawa, ON

- Contributed to a weekly seniors' arts and crafts group, assisting with preparing and serving food, helping seniors with activities, and cleaning at the end of each gathering;
- Served as a volunteer for large-scale events such as symposiums, concerts, and fundraisers, including Wabano's annual fundraising gala.

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