

Offering our Gifts, Partnering for Change:
Decolonizing Experimentation in Winnipeg-based Settler Archives

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Opening Acknowledgement of Treaty Number One Territory

I acknowledge that I am a guest on Treaty One territory. These lands where I reside and wrote this thesis are the traditional territory of the Anishinaabeg (Ojibway), Muskeko-ininiwak (Cree), Dakota and Nakota peoples, and the homeland of the Red River Métis Nation. I recognize that the incredible gathering place at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers has an Indigenous history that stretches back to time immemorial. I respect that the sovereign First Peoples have a truly unique relationship to these lands and waters. Indigenous presence in Winnipeg today represents a continuum of existence on this territory, connecting the past to the present, or their early ancestors to descendants still living in the region. I respect the rich diversity of the urban Indigenous population who call this place “home”. This recognition is my promise to continue along a path of learning how to live on your lands respectfully. It is also a promise to work toward building reciprocal relationships and alliances that will create space for Indigenous voices to be heard in archives. Together, I believe we can effectively challenge colonialist archival practices, advocate educational and archival supports to work toward decolonization, and uphold the Indigenous rights to know and to control knowledge.

“From my perspective, any effort that we do in the community, including archival work, is a process of decolonization for us. So anything that is suspect; anything that is not of the same value, principles or goals is a challenge to that idea. The colonial system does not want to change. It wants to stay in place. It doesn’t matter how good willed (an archivist). Their training is to protect these things. Whereas ours is to use that to rebuild and decolonize our relationship. So this process, this idea of archiving stuff, is not putting it away. It’s putting a voice to a void piece of our history that was systematically ignored.”¹

- Larry Morrissette

¹ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story, thesis research interview, Winnipeg, MB., December 8, 2015.

Abstract

Since the nineteen-fifties, Indigenous residents of Winnipeg, Manitoba have conceptualized and developed distinct strategies in response to the impacts of settler colonialism. Roughly seventy organizations have been established by and for Indigenous peoples, including the first Indian and Metis Friendship Centre in Canada, the largest non-mandated family resource centre in the Province of Manitoba, a worker's food cooperative, housing corporation, political organizations, and many other community initiatives. Until recently, Winnipeg-based archives have overlooked this aspect of the city's history. This thesis closely examines the collaborative efforts of "Preserving the History of Urban Aboriginal Institutional Development in Winnipeg". This project was the first active attempt to centralize and archive the documentary history of contemporary Indigenous experiences in Winnipeg. The project revealed a number of challenges with transferring Indigenous records out of the rooted context of the community into an institutional archive. It demonstrated need for Winnipeg-based archivists and Indigenous group's experienced in decolonizing practice to work together to create culturally safe repositories and ensure future archives reflective of urban Indigenous identity, memory, and experience. This thesis responds to recent calls to decolonize settler archives by advancing the idea of policy change in institutional archives based on local notions of urban Indigenous knowledge stewardship. More specifically, this study argues that centering local Indigenous ways of conceptualizing, keeping and sharing information and knowledge is vital to genuine archival decolonization efforts. In conclusion, this thesis advocates local experimentation and collaboration to generate culturally safe repositories, as well as the redistribution of skills, resources and funding to support local Indigenous archives development in Treaty Number One to support Indigenous-driven efforts to rebuild community and reclaim Indigenous sovereignty over archival knowledge in the face of ongoing colonialism.



Dedication

Larry Morrisette Nikamo Mahengun (Singing Wolf)
(April 16, 1957 – Sept 20, 2016)

Your unexpected journey to the next world is a reminder of the importance of our work together.

For your courage, guidance, wisdom and friendship, Chi-miigwetch Larry.

I dedicate this thesis to you.

**Partnering for Change:
My Deepest Gratitude to the MRA & CCPA-MB**

For purposes of transparency, I want to acknowledge my role as a student researcher for the Manitoba Research Alliance (MRA), which is administered in cooperation with the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Manitoba Chapter (CCPA-MB). The stipulation in my agreement with the MRA has been to write a thesis in relation to the “Preserving the History of Aboriginal Institutional Development in Winnipeg” (PHAID)². The MRA provided me a grant in relation to their community-based research partnership, “Partnering for Change: Community Based Solutions for Aboriginal and Inner-city Poverty.” I am grateful for John Loxley’s invitation to join the project team to provide archival support during this timely and important archival project.

My sincere gratitude to the lead researchers, student researchers and staff persons of the MRA and CCPA-MB. Their insightful work has deeply informed my understanding of this city. The MRA also funded conference trips to London, ON and Thunder Bay, ON where I networked and shared learnings gained by working on their funded projects. In 2015, the MRA also invited me to partner with Victor, Emma and Zacheus Harper to provide archival direction and capacity building support for the Bear Lake-Stevenson River Knowledge Preservation Project. This has been an amazing learning opportunity. I extend a special thanks to Shauna MacKinnon, Lynn Fernandez, and Jess Klassen for their patience, guidance, superior organizational skills and whole-hearted support of this archival work. Thanks also to Karen Schlichting and Molly McCracken for allowing me to work at CCPA headquarters in the Social Enterprise Building to gain valuable hands on experience with archiving organizational records during my first year in this wonderful city. This support is really appreciated. Thanks for the amazing work that you do!

² The project was funded by the MRA, SSHRC-CURA Partnership Grant and a Canada Research Chair grant.

Chi-miigwetch to the Research Collaborators

I humbly acknowledge that while it reflects my interpretations, the knowledge in this thesis is not my own, nor mine to own. The knowledge presented here reflects a community of collaborators, and it is informed by relationships initiated during the project that move into communities well beyond my own direct connections. I am particularly grateful for the collaborators' support and willingness to open their homes and offices to meet with me and share their knowledge and perspectives. This includes, Louise Chippeway, Kathy Mallett, the late Larry Morrissette, Darrell Chippeway, Dr. John Loxley, Dr. Evelyn Peters, Dr. Shelley Sweeney and a fellow master's student on the project, Jesse Boiteau. Crystal Greene was unavailable for interview, but her work was valuable and also informed this study. My extended gratitude to Kathy, Larry and Shelley for responding to additional requests for input and providing solid advice on redirecting the study. Prior to Larry's passing, he promised to provide a critique of my analysis before it went out into the world. No doubt his insight would have been stellar. His involvement on the project tremendously impacted its direction, so his voice is centralized in this study. I would also like to recognize the critical input provided to me by Dr. Mary Jane McCallum of the University of Winnipeg who is well-versed in using archival records to research Indigenous history. Her valuable advice prompted me to reconsider and improve elements of this work prior to its submission. I genuinely hope each relationship built during the research and the work of our collective moves out into the world and expands in creative and useful ways. My sincere gratitude to all of you for allowing me an opportunity to learn from, and with, you. I have carried important lessons that I have learned from this project into my present work. I plan to continue on with my career in archives to advocate and give support to the development of community-controlled preservation systems.

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to my grandparents, in this world & the next, whose memories ground me
to friends, near & far, for moral support & endless w(h)ine sessions
to this place and the beauty that it inspires
thank you so much.

all my love,

Sarah

xo

³ I was awarded a SSHRC Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship upon entering the University Manitoba Archival Studies and Master's Program. This funded my education and an international internship with the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory in Johannesburg, South Africa. I am grateful to have received this support.

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List of Abbreviations

Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg (ACW)
Aboriginal Youth Opportunities (AYO!)
Agriculture and Rural Development Act (ARDA)
Association of Canadian Archivists (ACA)
Association of Manitoba Archives (AMA)
Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Program (BUNTEP)
Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives - Manitoba (CCPA-MB)
Canadian Museum of Human Rights (CMHR)
Canadian Indian Youth Council (IYC)
Centre for Aboriginal Human Resource Development Inc. (CAHRD)
Community Development (CD)
Community Economic Development (CED)
Community Economic Development Agency (CEDA)
Community Economic Development Network (CED-NET)
Digital Archives of Marginalized Communities (DAMC)
Hudson Bay Company Archive (HBCA)
Indian and Métis Conference (IMC)
Indian and Métis Friendship Centre (IMFC)
Indigenous Women's Collective (IWC)
The Letter of Understanding (LOU)
Library and Archives Canada (LAC)
Manitoba Archival Information Network (MAIN)
Manitoba Association of Native Youth (MANY)
Manitoba Research Alliance (MRA)
National Association of Friendship Centres (NAFC)
Native Women's Transition Centre (NWTC)
Ogijiita Pimatiswin Kinamatwin (OPK)
Original Women's Network (OWN)
Ownership, Control, Access, Possession (OCAP)

Ownership Control Access, Stewardship (OCAS)

Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit (IQ)

Preserving the History of Aboriginal Institutional Development in Winnipeg (PHAID)

Social Planning Council (SPC)

Society of American Archivists (SAA)

University of Manitoba (UM)

University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections (UMASC)

University of Manitoba Archives Research and Ethics Board (REB)

University of Winnipeg (UW)

Urban and Inner-City Studies Program (UICS)

Winnipeg Community Welfare and Planning Council (WCWPC)

Winnipeg Education Centre (WEC)

Preface: Sharing Personal Truths to be Accountable to Community

When anyone asks me why I am an archivist, these are the stories I want to tell. Sometimes I settle for the shorthand of saying that I want to help preserve the past so we will know our social heritage. Sometimes I refer to the rights of citizens, or the necessity of keeping public officials accountable for their actions. But underlying these general platitudes are the stories from my own experience.⁴

Knowing why we are carrying out research, our motive has the potential to take us to places that involve both the head and heart. We need to know our own research story to be accountable to self and community.⁵

I have an ethical responsibility to the community and my profession to be upfront about my positionality in research. Honesty and transparency of our subjectivity is what Opaskwayak Cree scholar Shawn Wilson indicates is essential to “respectful, ethical, reciprocal, accountable research.”⁶ My epistemology and methodology are critically informed by my own worldview and identity, and it speaks to the limitations of my contributions to decolonizing settler colonial archives. Here, I openly self-identify as a “settler-colonizer” as a way of indicating that I belong to the settler Canadian group whose ancestors carried out colonial crimes from which I continue to benefit. A white, educated, English-speaking, middle-class, cisgender woman⁷ of Ukrainian, Irish and English descent, my privilege on Turtle Island has not been earned. Those experienced in anti-colonial allyship point out that our settler privilege has been derived “at the expense of Indigenous dispossession.”⁸ In other words, it does not merely result from individual will and

⁴ Randall C. Jimerson, “Archives for All: Professional Responsibility and Social Justice”, *The American Archivist* 70, (Fall/Winter 2007): 253.

⁵ Margaret Elizabeth Kovach, “Situating Self, Culture, and Purpose in Indigenous Inquiry,” in *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009): 120.

⁶ Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*, (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2008): 12.

⁷ While I feel direct impacts of sexism as a woman, I do not suffer multiple forms of discrimination as those at the intersections of racial and other identities, such as Indigenous or black women, or women labelled with disability.

⁸ Elizabeth Christine Carlson, “Living in Indigenous Sovereignty: Relational Accountability and the Stories of White Settler Anti-colonial and Decolonial Activists”, (PhD Dissertation, University of Manitoba, 2016): 42.

hard work as falsely asserted in patriarchal narratives.⁹ The Canadian state has enabled white settlers to succeed by enforcing complex processes and structures of oppression in attempts to control, disempower and dominate Indigenous peoples and lands.¹⁰ Colonial violence is legitimized by a pervasive ideology of racial superiority that continues to enable white settlers, such as myself, to easily maintain privilege while Indigenous struggles to attain basic rights and access to land, resources and services are ongoing.

I am also an entry-level archivist working in an archival profession dominated by white settlers. I am considered a “professional” or legitimate, authoritative curator of societal records due to my schooling in a western intellectual framework that informs the Canadian archival profession.¹¹ This means my identity as a white settler-colonizer is compounded by an immersion in an Eurocentric profession with power to make decisions about what memories and whose stories are kept long-term and inform the telling of history. In my working partnerships with Indigenous groups, I have learned to engage in self-reflexive examinations of my dual position as “colonizer-perpetrator” and “colonizer-ally”.¹² “Unsettled” by the hard truths of our shared history and an increased exposure to Indigenous worldviews and experiences has shifted my outlook, as well as how I conceptualize myself as a settler living on Turtle Island.¹³ It has influenced changes in my interactions with Indigenous peoples. I am more conscious of the roles and spaces that I oc-

⁹ Monique Woroniak in Gladys Rowe, Liz Carlson, Teddy Zegeye-Gebrehiwot and Sarah Story, *Decolonizing Stories: Land and Settlement (Final Version)*, film, Published on Youtube Nov. 23, 2016, accessed February 16, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aTruP6r2cAA>.

¹⁰ Adam Barker and Emma Battell Lowman, *Settler: Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada*, (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2015): 3.

¹¹ Aaron Andrew Gordon, “Eurocentric Archival Knowledge Production and Decolonizing Archival Theory”, (PhD Dissertation, York University, 2014): ii. Gordon argues that archival theory is shaped by an “Eurocentric intellectual framework” that underpins and impacts understandings and conceptions of colonialism and colonial archives (ii).

¹² Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*, (UBC Press: Vancouver, BC, 2010): 28.

¹³ Gladys Rowe, Liz Carlson, Teddy Zegeye-Gebrehiwot and Sarah Story, “Decolonization through collaborative filmmaking: Sharing stories from the heart”, *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, Forthcoming 2017.

copy in varying contexts and communities. I am cognizant of the need to share “power with”, never exert “power over”, treading particularly light in instances where I have authority or opportunity to influence. This is challenging for settlers immersed in a western value system that habitually advances and reinforces values of “competition, hierarchy, control and superiority.”¹⁴ For me, understanding power and how settler-archivists reproduce inherited oppressive patterns of colonialism, even while declaring allyship, is a personal and professional aim.

I recognize the inherent biases in western archival practices and theories. Yet, I am fully convinced of Michael Hart’s claim that our conceptualizations of the world can change with the adaptation and use of diverse worldviews.¹⁵ Pointing to a prevalence of Indigenous worldviews on Turtle Island, Hart calls our attention to the need to learn ways to “act outside of the dominant worldview”.¹⁶ Learning Indigenous perspectives is teaching me to recognize and to name colonial realities, a process that is said to be essential to change-making and the building of relationships grounded in mutual respect.¹⁷ Through active engagement I am trying to learn how to “walk beside, never ahead or behind”.¹⁸ Yet, I do not claim to represent, nor wholly comprehend, Indigenous worldview or experience. I am still often unable to recognize the coloniality in situations. In my learning, I have reinforced colonialist and patriarchal notions in spite of a strong desire to challenge such mentalities. I find it much easier to interrogate oppression theoretically or talk about what change needs to happen than it is to work with community to directly address barriers and be an effective anti-colonial archivist and ally. There are principles that I

¹⁴ Anne Bishop, *Becoming an Ally: Breaking the Cycle of Oppression in People*, 2nd Edition, (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2002): 22.

¹⁵ Michael Anthony Hart, “Indigenous Worldviews, Knowledge, and Research: The Development of an Indigenous Research Paradigm,” *Journal of Indigenous Voices in Social Work*, vol. 1, issue 1, (February 2010): 2.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story, research interview, Winnipeg, MB., December 8, 2015.

¹⁸ Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story, research interview, Winnipeg, MB, December 11, 2015.

can apply to doing respectful allyship work, but I have learned through settler scholars, activists and my real-world experience and experimentation that there is no single approach or clearcut set of directions.¹⁹

For the reasons shared, I adhere to “settler archivist”, not simply “archivist”, as this identifier more accurately reflects my status, as well as my willingness to accept the responsibility to question and challenge colonialist mentality within the archival profession. This recognition of my status on unceded Treaty One territory does not release me from my responsibility to learn to live and work in less damaging ways. I further acknowledge that it would be a hollow admission if I did not share my learning within my own circles, or seek out those willing to collectively work for systemic change. This aspect of the study testifies to my willingness to share. It also represents a glimpse into personally complex processes undertaken that enabled me to carry out this research and put these words to paper in a better way than prior to this journey. It is also a transparent admission that my privileged position makes me part of “the settler problem” that needs to be rectified to ensure a decolonial future. I know that as a “settler archivist” I do not have the right to make determinations about Indigenous knowledge. But I know that I am in a position to influence local archivists to more carefully consider ethical and effective supports for Indigenous information and knowledge preservation, sharing and access in the archival profession. This study is my promise to do my part to work with settlers and Indigenous groups to challenge colonialism and change our relations with hopes that future generations will build on the work of this generation and move toward decolonizing archival thinking and practices.

¹⁹ Adam Barker, “From Adversaries to Allies: Forging Respectful Alliances between Indigenous and Settler Peoples” in *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-Non-Indigenous Relationships*, ed. by Lynne Davis, Toronto: University of Toronto Press (2010): 327. See, for example, principles on allyship written by Algonquin scholar, Lynn Gehl, “Ally Bill of Responsibilities”, accessed June 2015, <http://www.lynngehl.com/my-ally-bill-of-responsibilities.html>.

Language Usage

Indigenous people's and persons' own vocabularies for talking about their histories, contemporary politics and futures are not static, but changing and contested.²⁰

The language we use and how we choose to identify ourselves and others matters. The use of colonial categorizations has harmful and essentializing impacts on Indigenous peoples. The diversity of Indigenous names are linked to their “fluid” and “ever-evolving” identities.²¹ Elaine Coburn explains that “Indigenous peoples’ and persons’ own vocabularies for talking about their histories, contemporary politics and futures are not static, but changing and contested.”²² Prior to colonization each cultural group called itself by its own name “reflective of distinct relations and histories.”²³ Since Winnipeg’s Indigenous population is diverse in culture, class, generation and gender identity, it was important for me to respect the collaborators’ multiple preferred terms and identifiers in this thesis. I use these names when provided. In referring to the First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples as a whole group, the PHAID used “Aboriginal”, and the collaborators accepted “Aboriginal” and “Indigenous”. I use the latter for consistency and to make it clear that I am distinguishing “Indigenous urbanites” or “urban Indigenous organizations” from settlers and settler-led organizations. I recognize, as Coburn points out, that even a preferred category is problematic for its collectivization of identity and experience.²⁴ I employ “Indian” and “Aboriginal” only in instances where colonial administration or state agencies are referenced. I also adhere to the language of the sources that I quote directly, except in instances

²⁰ Elaine Coburn, “Introduction: Indigenous Resistance and Resurgence”, pp. 24-49, in *More Will Sing Their Way to Freedom: Indigenous Resistance and Resurgence*, ed. Elaine Coburn, (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2015): 30.

²¹ âpihtawikosisân, “A rose by any other name is mihkokwaniy”, âpihtawikosisân blog, January 16, 2012, Accessed June 27, 2016, <http://apihtawikosisan.com/2012/01/a-rose-by-any-other-name-is-a-mihkokwaniy/>

²² Coburn, “Introduction: Indigenous Resistance and Resurgence”, 30.

²³ Ibid, 28-29.

²⁴ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2012): 6.

deemed offensive by thesis collaborators interviewed for the study. I recognize that shorthand titles and categorizations are also inherently colonialist constructs contributing to an erasure of historical and contemporary diversity, and that it has contributed to divisions between Indigenous peoples in urban contexts.

I have also applied categorizations to non-indigenous peoples living upon “Turtle Island”, or what English-speaking colonizers renamed “North America”. I primarily use “settler” in this as Adam Barker and Emma Battell Lowman point out that it is one representative names that can “help us see ourselves for who we are, not just who we claim to be.”²⁵ However, spaces where the politics of this definition of “settler” are not known, I have begun to use “settler-colonizer” so it is clear that I am not invoking sentiments akin to terra nullius. Those critical of “settler” prefer identifiers such as “re-settler” or “occupier”, or historically contextualized Indigenous descriptors like “Mooniyaa”.²⁶ I respect such labels applied to me by First Peoples when speaking to my position as a person of European descent living on their land. For this study, non-Indigenous archives and archivists are called “settler”; I do so, knowing that not all settler archivists recognize the need to trouble settler-colonial structures. I also do this knowing that Indigenous peoples have had influences on the profession, but felt it critical to use a consistent term to point to the inherent Eurocentricity in mainstream archival processes, structures and concepts.

²⁵ Barker and Battell Lowman, *Settler*, 1. The authors explain that “settler” moves us away from “nationalistic terminologies” that fail to account for violent historical and ongoing colonization of Indigenous peoples and lands.

²⁶ Emma LaRoque, Foreword, “Resist No Longer” - Reflections on Desistance, Writing and Teaching”, pp. 5-23, in *More Will Sing Their Way to Freedom: Indigenous Resistance and Resurgence*, Ed. Elaine Coburn, Fernwood Publishing, (Winnipeg, MB, 2015): 12-13. The authors explain that the Indigenous scholar Emma LaRoque points out that this identifier erases the fact that Indigenous peoples were the first peoples living on Turtle Island, instead referring to settlers as “re-settlers”. Sajek Ward, *Decolonizing the Colonizer*, Video, Real Peoples Media, Jan. 13, 2016, accessed February, 2016, <http://www.realpeoplesmedia.org/news/2016/1/13/sajek-ward-decolonizing-the-colonizer>). Ward asserts that “settler” is a sanitized adjective synonymous to the past and argues that “occupier” is a more honest identifier. Elizabeth Christine Carlson, “Living in Indigenous Sovereignty”, 21. Carlson says that “Mooniyaa” is a Nehiyawak term for white settlers. See also, Dickson, *Hey, Monias*, (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2005).

Defining Community

Ascribing a definition to “community” is problematic, particularly as it is not my role or position as settler to define it. For the purposes of this thesis, “urban Indigenous community” is used to refer to those who constitute “The Village”, or Indigenous grassroots movement in Winnipeg described by Michael Champagne in the subsequent section, including the historical actors who played roles in the movement. It also includes those not directly involved in this movement. Those involved have indicated that this movement is not without divisions, differences, competition or exclusions. Winnipeg’s Indigenous populace itself is very diverse in culture, class, gender, ability and opinion. Throughout this thesis, I label those who challenge settler colonialism and work to improve life for themselves and future generations - whether by building Indigenous institutions or teaching history from an Indigenous perspective - as part of “a wider community” or “a wider movement” - that work and reside beyond North End and inner city neighbourhoods or city limits with a common goal to decolonize, and revitalize Indigeneity in all of its forms. There are also many instances in which I speak generally about the city’s “urban Indigenous populace” and this includes Indigenous peoples residing in Winnipeg. These definitions are not meant to be prescriptive, but to help readers understand what is meant by “community” within the context of this study.

Throughout the thesis, I refer to “settler archivists” in Winnipeg as a group or collective of professionally trained archivists. While there are a few archivists in Winnipeg who identify as Métis or First Nations, the local archival profession is predominantly dominated by settlers. This is also reflected at the national level. This biases and inequality is inherent in standard policies, practices and principles that underpin archival work, which will be discussed in this thesis. It is not my intention to contend that Indigenous thought has not influenced elements of archival the-

ory or practice; increasing engagement with Indigenous ideas by settlers and the contributions of Indigenous archivists and traditional knowledge keepers themselves are evident at the local and national levels. Yet, until the archival profession and archives in Winnipeg are culturally safe and Indigenous people's knowledge, expertise and practices are genuinely on an equal footing within the profession and visible in local repositories, I consider it a settler-dominated profession. It is important to acknowledge that Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg straddle complex traditional and contemporary worlds in terms of the ways that their knowledge is created, preserved and shared. These diverse ways of preserving and transmitting information through archival repositories, traditional knowledge sharing, storytelling and land-based activities all have value. There is much potential that could come from innovative approaches and solutions that make efforts to combine digital and technical knowledge keeping with traditional knowledge keeping. Placing the settler-dominated archival profession in Winnipeg into communication with local community activists, scholars and leaders in the urban Indigenous community could lead to important redefinitions of the usage of these terms and ensure urban Indigenous knowledge is accessible into the future.

Introduction

The Village exists every time community members come together to share their gifts with the purpose of helping others - understanding that it's all of our jobs to watch the children, ensure everyone is fed and that each person in attendance feels safe. But most importantly, when The Village convenes - whether it's on the corner at Dufferin Avenue and Main Street, or at the sound of the drum at an inner-city park - everyone knows they are loved.²⁷

In the Spring of 2015, I attended a weekly street-level gathering, “Meet Me at the Bell Tower - Stop the Violence” (MM@BT), under the bell tower at the corner of Powers Street and Selkirk Avenue, the pulsing heart of “North End Winnipeg”.²⁸ Amid the protective presence of the Bear Clan Patrol, I joined youth leaders, community organizers, residents and union representatives to hear thoughts on Indigenizing labour and the workforce.²⁹ MM@TB is succinctly described as “a living laboratory for relationship building, grieving and sharing good survival choices to make it through the week”.³⁰ The Bell Tower Movement brings together youth and other residents in solidarity against the ever-present “misery”, fear and violence experienced in North End and core neighbourhoods where Indigenous, newcomer and working poor populations constitute the majority.³¹ The telltale signs of misery are spread throughout countless households and neighbourhoods. It is reflected in the statistical evidence on homelessness, poverty, crime, gang violence, incarceration, school absenteeism and dropout, suicide and murdered and missing

²⁷ Michael Redhead Champagne, “It takes a village: Reaching out to First Nations homeless”, *CBC Manitoba*, August 19, 2014, accessed December 16, 2015, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/it-takes-a-village-reaching-out-to-first-nations-homeless-1.2740341>

²⁸ The “North End” constitutes roughly twelve square kilometres of area located in the region north of the CPR rail yard and it is centred around Main Street in Winnipeg.

²⁹ There is a weekly theme for gatherings that brings people together to discuss relevant issues, learn about the work of community groups or honour Indigenous contributions to society.

³⁰ Adel Compton, “Renewed Spirit in Winnipeg’s North End: An Emerging Aboriginal Young Adult Co-Creative Leadership Model”, (Master’s thesis, University of Winnipeg, 2008).

³¹ Michael Champagne, North End MC, presentation on Settler Colonialism and Urban Transformation panel at the Settler Colonialism and the Urban Prairie West colloquium, University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, October 29, 2016.

women and girls - interconnected issues rooted in the violence of settler colonialism.³² Less evident or readily available to the general public is the evidence of “Indigenous innovation” that has emerged in a response to Indigenous misery that points to tangible instances of colonial defeat.³³ These innovative responses are being imagined and carried out by organized Indigenous activists and community members, particularly within Winnipeg’s North End.

During MM@BT, Jenna Wirch, an Anishinaabe activist and youth worker in the North End, shared a firsthand account of the events that catalyzed the Bell Tower Movement, which had effectively brought together “villagers” in solidarity against the fear and the violence experienced by many Indigenous youth in North End and inner city neighbourhoods.³⁴ Wirch contextualized the necessity for change by recounting her personal hardships growing up in the area surrounding the bell tower, often referring to the broader struggles in her community - internalized oppression, racialized poverty, gang violence, inaccessible educational and employment opportunities.³⁵ She described her role in leading a march to the Manitoba legislature in 2011; a moment that had come to signify the official commencement of this youth-led movement to empower residents. She concluded by pointing to transformations that she had witnessed within the village, particularly among youth, as a result of grassroots actions that had emerged in the recent years, including an increased sense of community pride and engagement. Her poignant words suggested an incredible depth of experience. Her fiery passion and optimism was inspiring. As I listened to her personal story of empowerment, I recall thinking that Winnipeg residents need

³² For example, see: Erin Vosters, “Poverty in Winnipeg’s Inner-city: A Neighbourhood Description”, 2009 on the project site “Financial Exclusion and Poverty in Canada: Individual Coping, Community Action & Policy Reform”, accessed March 16, 2017, <http://financial-exclusion.uwinnipeg.ca/winnipeg>

³³ Michael Champagne, North End MC, 2016.

³⁴ “Jenne ‘Liiciiious’ Wirch, AYO!, Accessed August 8, 2016, <http://www.ayomovement.com/jennaliiciiious.html>

³⁵ Compton, “Renewed Spirit in Winnipeg’s North End”, 1. Other challenge include “the overwhelming unresolved grief from murders, suicides, escalating numbers of missing and murdered women, and a lack of healthy relationships are daily struggles (1).”

more opportunities to hear these stories and to learn about the efforts of Indigenous residents to overcome oppression and change their lives. Maybe this could help build the empathy, understanding and relationships needed to support their work.

Michael Champagne is another a pivotal progenitor of local movement and an outspoken proponent of “The Village” whose messages caught my attention. Champagne has been moving powerful humanizing Indigenous narratives out into the world, which are often reflective of the collective work being accomplished by locals dedicating heart, hand, mind and spirit to community-based solutions that are instilling this positive change. He has been shining a bright light on the concept of “The Village” within his writing and by speaking out, always encouraging people to share their gifts to support the community. He refers to The Village as the “Indigenous grassroots community” that is rebuilding the strength of the Indigenous community to a level that existed prior to colonization.³⁶ At that time, each individual belonged to a clan that had a collective responsibility to offer its own gifts to the co-creation of a “healthy, stable and safe community” for everyone.³⁷ Champagne is one of many Indigenous youth leaders in Winnipeg who embody this spirit and actively share knowledge, leadership and other skills to improve conditions for Indigenous residents, whilst inspiring ripples of positivity that reverberate throughout the city and beyond. In a blog post, he outlines four central and rotational roles - “helpers, advocates, organizers, rebels” - that are essential to keeping alive “the systemic pressure needed to get those

³⁶ Michael Champagne quoted in Julien Gignac, “Working Towards Change in Winnipeg, Canada’s Largest ‘Urban Rez’”, *Vice*, Feb, 17, 2017, accessed Feb. 20, 2017, https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/working-towards-change-in-winnipeg-canadas-largest-urban-rez. Champagne explains that several local organizations are directly involved in this collective work to “address the violence, reconnect youth to their culture, and keep families together”. See also, Champagne, “It takes a village: Reaching out to First Nations homeless”, *CBC News Manitoba*, accessed December 16, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/it-takes-a-village-reaching-out-to-first-nations-homeless-1.2740341>

³⁷ Michael Redhead Champagne, “It takes a village”.

in positions of power and privilege to change the status quo to make things right.”³⁸ Those who are impacted by colonization are filling these roles in the Indigenous-led decolonizing movement; functions he defines in the following words:

Helpers show up at rallies. These are the front liners, the people who run to get things, who do the face to face, one-on-one work, the fire keepers, the cooks, the floaters who help wherever help is needed. Helpers are the hands feet, eyes and ears of the solution. Advocates work within the system(s) and use their vast system expertise to assist anyone who is currently entangled within it to access services or escape the system entirely. Advocates are the pain relief, helping with immediate/short term contributions to the solution. Organizers work outside of the system, bringing people together, facilitating, and encouraging people to think about what we want to replace the status quo with. Organizers are the facilitators of the long term solution. Rebels are the ones who speak truth to power, the disruptors, they often have great personal sacrifices to get the attention of the entire system, often bringing whole systems to a stand still. The Rebels represent our frustration with the status quo and our passion for/commitment to the solution.³⁹

He further asserts that “everyone is needed” and has a personal responsibility to learn to “understand their role” within the context of the larger movement.⁴⁰

This insightful analysis of The Village and the roles being fulfilled by Indigenous peoples to address injustices and rebuild community through innovative and collective community-based solutions as part of the broader social movement provides the perfect thesis preface. It validates the idea that the best solutions arise from the community, particularly those who are impacted by the oppression with insight and skills to support processes that heal, empower, challenge and uplift. I witnessed a genuine interconnectedness among attending community members at the Bell Tower that evening in 2015. It is clear to me that there is a solid understanding that with this relatedness carries both a personal and a collective responsibility that is not lost on this generation. This agency is acknowledged by others, such as Nahanni Fontaine, who speak directly to active

³⁸ Michael Champagne, “Advocates, Organizers, Helpers & Rebels”, North End MC, May 5, 2015, accessed December 17, 2016, <https://northendmc.wordpress.com/2016/05/05/advocates-organizers-helpers-rebels/>.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

engagement, resistance and attempts to shift space in the face of negative social constructs (e.g. racism and sexism) that have persistently attempted to impede Indigenous peoples's capacity to lift themselves up in support of future generations.⁴¹ At the heart of this study is an acknowledgement of these ongoing struggles to counter systemic and structural violence, and processes of oppression. There is also a determination to forward the notion that the innovative responses are not a recent occurrence. It is important to also recognize and honour historical responses enacted by previous generations in this long-running Indigenous grassroots movement in Winnipeg that erected a foundation that Indigenous organizers continue to build upon in their own ways.

The recent calls to action issued by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) have asked each of us to take responsibility for repairing relationships between Indigenous-settler peoples. This call to action has “lit a fresh fire”, reigniting in some individuals an empowering or forward-moving path.⁴² Though often disregarded until “flash point events, culminations or times of crises”, the efforts of Indigenous reclamation, revitalization and resistance are neither passive nor recent phenomena.⁴³ For several generations in Winnipeg, Indigenous “helpers, organizers, advocates and rebels” have gained extensive experience developing anti-colonial approaches to challenge oppression, so it is important to recognize that they are “far along the path that many have yet to start”.⁴⁴ Althea Guilboche, a local helper known as “The Bannock Lady”, asserts that the community efforts underway require “society to wrap their arms

⁴¹ Nahanni Fontaine, interview, *CBC News Live*, Winnipeg, MB, October 27, 2016.

⁴² Niigaan Sinclair, “Reconciliation Lives Here: The 2016 State of the Inner City Report” in *Reconciliation Lives Here*, 12th Annual State of the Inner City Report, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives -Manitoba (2016): 4.

⁴³ The Kino-nda-niimi Collective, *The Winter We Danced: Voices from the Past, the Future, and the Idle No More Movement*, (ARP Books: Winnipeg, MB, 2014): 21. Leanne Simpson, “Oshkimaadiziig, the New People”, 13-21 in *Lighting the Eighth Fire: The Liberation, Resurgence, and Protection of Indigenous Nations*, ed. Leanne Simpson, (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2008): 13.

⁴⁴ Niigaan Sinclair, “Reconciliation Lives Here: The 2016 State of the Inner City Report”, Public Presentation for the 12th Annual State of the Inner City, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba at the Thunderbird House. Winnipeg, December 2016. Sinclair explained that organizational representatives framed “reconciliation” in terms of “peace building” or “community building”, which they assert has been only one element of their ongoing efforts.

around them” and to give their support.⁴⁵ Indigenous activists, such as Erica Violet Lee, have pointed to a necessity of settlers taking responsibility for ending the ongoing violence.⁴⁶ This violence takes many forms, such as: institutional racism, social and economic marginalization, inequitable funding of education on reserves, racialized barriers to the access of basic services and safe and affordable housing, and resource development resulting in the destruction of Indigenous lands. These factors underpin critical issues, such as the disproportionate numbers of Indigenous peoples suffering from poverty and homelessness, incarceration, children-in-care, and violent death (e.g. missing and murdered women).

For decades, Indigenous peoples have actively fought for Indigenous and territorial rights to be recognized. In recent years, the TRC has brought vital widespread attention to the general Canadian public about the need to change relations between settlers and Indigenous peoples. In the summary of its final report, the TRC also called out archives for belonging to an “architecture of imperialism”.⁴⁷ In other words, archives and archivists have contributed to the historical and ongoing settler violence against Indigenous groups. The TRC validated the necessity for widespread archival reform and engagement with reconciliatory processes based on the premise that Canadian archives, similar to settler states worldwide, “interpreted the past in ways that have excluded or marginalized Aboriginal peoples’ cultural perspectives and historical experience.”⁴⁸ In response to ongoing suffering and oppression, violations of Indigenous sovereignty and treaties, the TRC also recommended that archives implement the “United Nations Declaration of Rights

⁴⁵ Althea Guilboche, SIC Report Launch, CCPA-MB, Thunderbird House, Winnipeg, MB, December 2016.

⁴⁶ Erica Violet Lee, “Reconciling in the Apocalypse”, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba, Mar 2016, accessed March, 2016, <https://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/monitor/reconciling-apocalypse>

⁴⁷ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, “Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada” (2015): 246.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

of Indigenous Peoples” (UNDRIP).⁴⁹ Even though a non-binding or “aspirational” declaration, UNDRIP is an instrument that can be usefully leveraged to inspire concrete changes in archival practice to support the protection of Indigenous rights as related to information and knowledge.⁵⁰ This immense and necessary assignment has sparked debate and raised questions about what actions and approaches the archival profession can take to advance the processes of reconciliation.

This thesis takes the stance that meaningful reconciliation will not be attained within an atmosphere of ongoing settler violence, and considers some critical strategies that are needed to decolonize existing settler archival institutions, practices and policies. It namely addresses the need for policy change in relation to archives that claim to the ownership of donated Indigenous materials. In the process, an analysis of other areas where barriers need to be broken down to enable the preservation of urban Indigenous peoples records, so this history can be developed and present-day Indigenous struggles to address colonialism can be better supported. I assert that to decolonize archives Winnipeg-based archivists must listen to local perspectives, and take direction from Winnipeg-based Indigenous activists, scholars and community members experienced in the work of decolonization, and form alliances or partnerships to challenge existing colonial policies, practices and attitudes embedded in local archival institutions and the larger profession. I recognize that effective solutions to addressing settler colonialism come from local Indigenous residents who experience and have the ability to call out oppression. I also recognize Indigenous people’s position as the sovereign peoples of Treaty One with their own governance structures and protocols for living in relation to one another and the land. Indigenous land return is particu-

⁴⁹ United Nations, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted 107th plenary meeting, (September 13, 2007): 11. Article 13 of the UNDRIP declares the Indigenous right “to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literature.” Article 31 (1) and 31 (2) further assert their “right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.”

⁵⁰ Jennifer R. O’Neal, “‘The Right to Know’: Decolonizing Native American Archives”, *Journal of Western Archives*, Vol. 6, Issue 1 (2015): 15.

larly vital to ensuring the protection and development of Indigenous knowledge, and archival evidence could help support this return. As a result, archivists have an obligation to invite the inclusion and direction of Indigenous peoples, ideologies and approaches into archival work if they wish to make genuine decolonial change or support Indigenous movements seeking justice.

The burden of this work cannot fall solely on the shoulders of urban Indigenous peoples struggling to address or overcome the daily and systemic impacts of racialized violence and oppression. This study reflects a personal desire to point out the responsibility of Winnipeg-based archivists to give support to decolonization by offering up archival gifts, such as their expertise in digital preservation and modern organizational record keeping. At present, no centralized Indigenous-controlled repositories exist in Winnipeg with the capacity to sustainably preserve and make widely accessible the digital and documentary heritage of the city's vibrant, diverse and growing urban Indigenous population. There are also no relevant accessible outreach programs and educational services provided by existing archives in Winnipeg that are specifically geared at supporting Indigenous groups active resistance to colonialism or efforts in community rebuilding. Archivists need to make efforts to reach out to Indigenous residents to exchange their ideas and offer to share archival skills, knowledge, and resources to increase community capacity. Archivists also need to support the development of archival research skills and tools to assist Indigenous users to navigate complex and often Eurocentric archival interfaces to locate and leverage archival evidence. Creating opportunities to partner and to build relationships through archival work is vital as colonization has deeply impacted settler archivists' relationships with Indigenous peoples and this presents challenges to the preservation of an inclusive or representative documentary record of Winnipeg's contemporary society. A lack of trust of settler-run institutions also hinders some Indigenous peoples desire to donate their records for long-term preservation,

and as a result, records become dispersed, destroyed or unknown over time. These factors directly contribute to the obfuscation of an important aspect of Winnipeg's collective history. As a result, this thesis points to a critical need for the cooperative development of strategic archival interventions to build culturally-safe archives and archival training services and programming in Winnipeg, arguing that it cannot be done without urban Indigenous people's inclusion and input.

This study also represents a first-ever archival study related to urban Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg. My involvement as a settler student of archival studies providing archival supports to "Preserving the History of Aboriginal Institutional Development in Winnipeg" (PHAID) catalyzed this study. PHAID was a community-university partnership that sought to document and make publicly available histories of urban Indigenous peoples who contributed significantly to institutional development in Winnipeg. PHAID collected records of urban Indigenous organizations and initiatives that date back to the mid-twentieth century as evidence of their emergence and evolution. These efforts will provide an opening for insight to be gained about the nature of urban Indigenous people's individual and collective identities, experiences and contributions to the city's development. In 2013, these records were transferred into the interim care of the University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections (UMASC) with intention for a future return to the original stewards of the knowledge who had contributed for public use their personal oral stories, as well as paper records they have saved that document urban Indigenous activism and institutional development. My experience with PHAID taught me the value of this history and that urban Indigenous history is overlooked in archival mandates. It also demonstrated to me that Indigenous governance systems need to be respected by settler archives and their governing institutions, but how to do so is quite complicated in practice. Importantly, it also showed me the importance of centering Indigenous critiques in the daily work of archives, particularly at points

of discomfort and tension in our working partnerships as these points can act as sites of contestation for Indigenous people's seeking recognition of their protocols or principles of knowledge preservation and governance. As I will demonstrate, PHAID was a success, as well as a failure in some respects. Nevertheless, there is value in developing mutually beneficial partnerships with Indigenous organizers or scholars to experiment in projects to decolonize archives, and this must continue to ensure future archives that are reflective of contemporary urban Indigenous people's identities, memories, experience, and approaches to information and knowledge preservation.

Methodology and Chapter Outline

I employ a two-fold approach to document PHAID to capture two inter-related elements of societal provenance: the history of the records and processes used to archive them.⁵¹ I provide a contextualized analysis of the forces that motivated PHAID's efforts to remedy the absence of Indigenous records in local repositories.⁵² This descriptive, reflective and contextualized analysis is based primarily upon locally-generated sources (oral histories and archival records) created by PHAID team members. It is also based on oral history interviews that I conducted with PHAID team members, including my own reflections of involvement in the processes of the archival record's creation, recovery, transfer and preservation.⁵³ Particular attention is paid to the local notions of stewardship that had informed creation of a new donor letter for the UMASC based on the viewpoints of Indigenous team members on PHAID. "The Letter of Understanding" (LOU) facilitated the transfer of these Indigenous records out of the rooted context of the originating

⁵¹ Tom Nesmith, "The concept of societal provenance and records of nineteenth century Aboriginal-European relations in Western Canada: implications for archival theory and practice", *Archival Science*, Vol 6 (2006): 355.

⁵² John Loxley and Evelyn Peters, "Preserving the History of Aboriginal Institutional Development in Winnipeg" in *Research Driven by Community*.

⁵³ The PHAID team members interviewed for this study include: Larry Morrissette, Kathy Mallett, Louise Chippeway, Darrell Chippeway, John Loxley, Evelyn Peters, Shelley Sweeney and Jesse Boiteau.

community into an institutional settler archive. By centering community perspectives, I reveal insight into complex and diverse urban Indigenous historical and contemporary experiences, identities, cultural and political expression. In doing so, I pinpoint the need for an expansion in our understanding of urban Indigenous people's diverse protocols to alter archival responses to the calls for development of culturally-responsive governance models of stewardship. Indigenous peoples' urban realities and identities demand this shift in our collective thinking about archival decolonization, and how Indigenous values or principles effectively challenge colonialist archival practices that continue today, such as the transfer of ownership of information and knowledge out of the hands of Indigenous creators.

This thesis has four chapters and a set of forward-looking recommendations for archivists in Winnipeg. The first chapter opens with a glimpse into present-day Indigenous institutional development in Winnipeg to provide essential contextual information about organization's historical emergence and development to inform subsequent analysis. In a selective retelling, I prioritize the themes and collective remembrances of thirteen individuals who shared personal stories in oral history interviews conducted by PHAID about their memories and experiences of the city, activism and institutional development.⁵⁴ Deliberate dedication in this compilation to firsthand Indigenous stories and memories emerges from a desire to heed the call for settlers to legitimize Indigenous oral history narratives not merely as "alternate sources", but a "contemporary form" and "living expression" of oral tradition.⁵⁵ I affirm that this long-running movement is an evol-

⁵⁴ The multi-generational set of interviews that was available to me for use includes: Ann Callaghan, Louise Champagne, Louise Chippeway, Mary Courchene, Mary Guilbault, Damon Johnston, Kathy Mallett, Marion Meadmore, Larry Morrissette, George Munroe, Murray Sinclair, Leslie Spillett, and Doris Young. I was also able to use content from interviews that I conducted with Louise Chippeway, Kathy Mallett and Larry Morrissette on the PHAID as they contained additional historical information and memories.

⁵⁵ Melissa Adams-Campbell, Ashley Glassburn Falzetti and Courtney Rivard. Special Feature: Settler Archives. "Introduction: Indigeneity and the work of settler archives", *Settler Colonial Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2015): 111

ing, responsive, forward-moving phenomena that will continue for as long as settler colonialism remains intact. Though informed by analysis of multiple histories of urban Indigenous organizations that have I pieced together with documentation produced by PHAID, I do not seek to retell beginning stories of individual organizations. Instead, I provide a window into the moments and factors that catalyzed the initial institutional development. I intend to provide only enough relevant background on the subject to expose a radically different narrative of the city than has typically been shared through rumour and settler tellings of the past. Archival documentation of this history has potential to provide profound insight into the urban lives, experiences and identities of Indigenous Winnipeggers, if it is preserved and made accessible for broad public interaction.

The second chapter is a broad review of local historical literature and archival collections regarding urban Indigeneity and urbanism. I describe the widespread pattern in which Indigenous peoples are framed as the subjects of historical and other scholarly research in Winnipeg - not the creators nor the controllers of their own stories and memories. I also show how this is replicated by local settler historians and archives wherein recorded Indigenous materials are either excluded or integrated into obscurity within existing collections and in ways that misrepresent Indigenous agencies, identities and lived experiences. The widespread issue in settler nations of absorbing Indigenous stories and knowledge into archives in ways that uphold or reinforce exclusive nationalistic settler or Canadian narratives has been pointed to by Indigenous and other archivists and scholars of a variety of disciplines. These individuals have leveled critiques at archives, and call for the redistribution of power, structural change, or made practical and theoretical attempts to counter the coloniality of archives and give a voice to the colonized.⁵⁶ Influenced by their pro-

⁵⁶ Adams-Campbell, Glassburn Falzetti and Rivard, Special Feature: Settler Archives, 109-111.; Crystal Fraser and Zoe Todd, "Decolonial Sensibilities: Indigenous Research and Engaging with Archives in Contemporary Colonial Canada", pp. 2 and 5, *Internationale*, February 15, 2016, accessed July 1, 2016. Jeannette A. Bastian, "The records

found insights into the power dynamics of the archive and need to reframe these inclusions and exclusions, I consider the existing “gap” in Winnipeg’s archival record an issue of settler colonialism, not merely a result of passivity or unexplainable deficiency in integration. Further to this, a descriptive analysis of urban cultural expressions of historical knowledge in Winnipeg points to the local efforts and challenges in preserving and publicly sharing of these histories. In doing so, I allude to a need to leverage community-based strategies to ensure a future archive of Indigenous Winnipeg with capacity to document and theorize history in ways that counter and challenge dominant narratives, such as the notion of the continuum of Indigenous presence and mid-twentieth century “re-migration” to validate overlooked and long Indigenous urban history.

The third chapter delves into the practical and conceptual issues that PHAID had with the location, transfer and preservation of records by drawing upon interviews conducted with project team members and my own remembrances as a participant in these efforts. I detail the initiation, Indigenization and recovery processes of PHAID in its attempt to carve out a space in the archive for Indigenous voices and interpretations of history. The challenges of archiving the records will be revealed, specifically related to problems with records management in urban Indigenous organizations, barriers encountered in choosing an existing archive to house Indigenous records, and issues with integrating urban Indigenous collections into an established settler-run archive. The notion of the settler-colonial archive acts as an entry point within this chapter to allow the drawing out of connections between institutional archives and settler colonialism. I demonstrate ways that archival involvement with PHAID promoted allyship, participation, inclusion and de-

of memory, the archives of identity: celebrations, texts and archival sensibilities”, *Archival Science* 13 (2013): 125-129.; Ann Stoler, “Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance”, *Archival Science*, Vol. 2, No. 1-2, (2002): 90-94.; Aaron A. Gordon, “Eurocentric Archival Knowledge Production and Decolonizing Archival Theory”, ii. Decolonizing the Archive., “What is decolonization?”, accessed Jan. 2017, <http://www.decolonisingthearchive.com/about/>

colonization whilst also reinforcing and reproducing values inherent in settler colonialism. In conclusion, the chapter highlights the importance of injecting activist principles into archival approaches to counter settler colonialism and improve collaborative attempts to reform the archival stewardship of Indigenous records held by repositories outside of their creating communities.⁵⁷

The fourth chapter demonstrates that change at the policy-level is fundamental to decolonizing settler archives. An in-depth analysis of the context that spurred creation of the LOU, processes used to develop parameters of the new agreement, and final outcome of the endeavour to decolonize indicates a solid first attempt of a local archive to reframe the relationship between its governing institution and urban Indigenous community. The LOU promises to respect Indigenous rights by asserting an Indigenous interpretation of the principle of knowledge stewardship over westernized notions regarding the ownership of information. While the LOU constitutes a unique archival donor agreement in Manitoba and a significant move forward for UMASC, it did not integrate all community input and recommendations. I point out that in order to facilitate the creation of a culturally safe archival repository fully compliant with Indigenous protocols of information and knowledge management requires reform at a higher institutional level in the UM's legal governance structure. The UMASC also needs to fulfill its promise to develop a guiding set of Indigenous principles and practices to facilitate respectful collections processing, sharing and long-term management. I demonstrate how the diversity of city's Indigenous population and the lack of a formal and autonomous urban cultural authority or Indigenous governance structure presents challenges in creating protocols for the UMASC and the repositories that serve Indigenous communities. Until now, a common response has been to advise archives to consult with

⁵⁷ Taylor R. Genovese, "Decolonizing Archival Methodology: Combating hegemony and moving towards a collaborative archival environment", *AlterNative* (2016): 32. Taylor Genovese also argued that there is a need to inject activist principles into archival work to move beyond "colonialist and imperialistic" archival thought.

the leadership of a nation or tribe to implement protocols.⁵⁸ This approach does not consider that Indigenous sovereignty is not properly recognized by Canada, and an equivalent formal Indigenous governance structure with the power and authority of the City of Winnipeg does not exist to represent urban Indigenous peoples living in the city who belong to diverse nations. The analysis raises important questions for future consideration, such as: What happens when there is no singular authoritative body for archivists to consult? How can archivists ensure that multiple sets of protocols are respected in archival work? How can it be practically implemented? I suggest that this situation presents a valuable opportunity for the UMASC to work with local Indigenous representatives to find a workable strategy moving forward that enables the UM to fully honour its promises to the community. In essence, the LOU establishes a precedent for future work that usefully contributes to wider thinking about archival decolonization. It validates value of local archival experimentation in partnership with Indigenous community members, and provides a direction in the creation of protocols for culturally diverse urban Indigenous populations.

The final section of this study provides a set of change-oriented recommendations for the UMASC to move forward based on input from the researchers and Indigenous team members, and some my own learning about urban Indigenous history and current issues. It also promotes creation of a two-pronged strategy to ensure a future accessible archive of Indigenous archival materials, including establishment of a community-run Indigenous archives in the North End, and adoption of a cooperative city-wide documentation strategy to steward records and fund the preservation of Indigenous records on behalf of those individuals and organizations interested or

⁵⁸ Jennifer R. O’Neal, “‘The Right to Know’: Decolonizing Native American Archives”, *Journal of Western Archives*, Vol. 6, Issue 1 (2015): 12. For example, in 2006, “The Protocols for Native American Archival Materials”, a cooperatively produced set of professional best practices by First Archivist Circle, generated conversation about the need to centre Indigenous worldviews and practices by soliciting input into the care of Indigenous materials held by settler institutions. This reflects a need to share decision making power and as O’Neal points out, represents also an act of “self-determination and sovereignty”.

in need of a place to safely keep their information until a time that Indigenous digital knowledge preservation systems are established. While I advance the idea that local archivists would give support to the creation of an urban Indigenous archive with the capacity to sustainably manage and publicly share its own information and knowledge, I also point out that the envisioning and development of a memory keeping site must be directed and controlled by interested Indigenous residents who value or understand what an archive can provide their community. The histories of urban Indigenous development and Indigenous group's sovereign status testify to the idea that community iterates the most effective solutions. In sharing visualizations of decolonization, I do not assume to have "the" answer. I share in the hope of generating much-needed dialogue within and between archivists and Indigenous activists, scholars and leaders in Winnipeg.

The Indigenous and settler collaborators that I had an honour to work with on the project and interview for this post-process analysis fundamentally shaped key ideas that I have forwarded in this study. In particular, Indigenous community members of PHAID provided me with the most meaningful understanding of aspects of the colonialist mentality called out and challenged during the project and its attempt to create an equitable space for Indigenous voices to be heard. I am grateful for this input, as well as the contributions of the lead researchers (John Loxley and Evelyn Peters) and to Shelley Sweeney, the UMASC's head archivist who willingly shared her perspectives. Linda Tuhiwai Smith has pointed to the extractive and the imperialistic nature of western researchers tendency to "collect, classify, represent and claim ownership over" Indigenous ideas and knowledge that developed as part of their own personal, historical and cultural experiences.⁵⁹ I consider the collaborators legitimate co-authors as their ideas have vitally and collectively shaped the ideas centred in this thesis. In this respect, it was Shawn Wilson's idea of

⁵⁹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 1-2.

“relational accountability”, or the idea that our research is informed by the relationships we build during processes of inquiry that has particularly influenced my thinking on the nature of the researcher-subject relationship.⁶⁰ I have foreground the ideas of those who have assisted me in my search for knowledge and understanding. My positionality required me to evolve my methodology to attempt to “level the playing field”, and to ensure Indigenous voices were not overrun by settlers’ through the centering of local Indigenous viewpoints and a critical awareness of settler-colonialism. As Liz Carlson succinctly asserts, it is impossible for settler-colonizers who do not “experience the impacts of being or identifying as Indigenous, or those not immersed in Indigenous culture, to situate themselves within an Indigenous worldview and framework.”⁶¹ While I believe that co-authorship offers one solution to this barrier, it is not permissible by UM Graduate Studies that operates in alignment with an emphasis on western individualistic approaches to scholarship and examination. In response, I tried to develop a workable approach that would include Indigenous participation, so that these perspectives and experiences could be centered and inform the outcomes of the study. I admit that implementation of the blended approach was by no means perfect. However, it did result in new insights for archival studies and a deeply enriching learning experience that will inform my research and writing moving forward. In her role as the external reviewer on my thesis committee, Dr. Shauna MacKinnon encouraged me to share some more about my methodology and post-defense thoughts within this thesis.

In the original submission for this study, which was approved by the UM Research and Ethics Board (REB), I proposed to conduct research on the record keeping practices and histories of community-based Indigenous organizations in Winnipeg by conducting and interpreting semi-

⁶⁰ Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*, 77-79.

⁶¹ Elizabeth Carlson, “Anti-colonial methodologies and practices for settler colonial studies”, *Settler Colonial Studies* (October 2016): 3.

structured oral history interviews with the directors and staff of urban Indigenous organizations, and team members of PHAID. The goal was to contribute to existing knowledge on community record keeping and set a foundation for understanding the record keeping context, practices, and issues that are specific to North End and inner city Indigenous organizations. After hearing from local organizers about complicated issues that they have faced in telling their histories and keeping or accessing records of their organizations, I wanted to learn how local archivists and records managers could give support to the shift in focus away from records recovery programs, such as PHAID, to proactive post-custodial records management systems and strategies that could better meet the cultural values of Indigenous organizations in a practical and affordable manner. While this is an important topic to address, and my thesis supervisor, thesis committee and the lead researchers of PHAID enthusiastically accepted my idea, I recognized the daunting scope of the assignment once my work began. At this point, I asked for further input from Kathy Mallet and Larry Morrisette, key members of PHAID, who advised that I focus strictly to an analysis of the project. They suggested that Indigenous organizations tended to be occupied with frontline work and convinced me that for the purposes of a master's thesis, much value would come from analysis of the PHAID itself. An archival studies article by Sharon F. Rallis and Kathleen A. Bolland further highlighted for me that evaluation, in and of itself, is "a learning process" that generates knowledge solidified my confidence in taking this direction.⁶² An archival literature review by Jacques Grimard and Lucie Page also pointed out a need for increased reflection by archivists' on the methods of evaluating their own work.⁶³ Since the final decision to evaluate PHAID was

⁶² Sharon F. Rallis and Kathleen A. Bolland, "What is Program Evaluation? Generating Knowledge for Improvement." *Archival Science*, Vol. 4 (2004): 9.

⁶³ Jacques Grimard and Lucie Page, "Towards Program Evaluation in Archives", *Archival Science*, Vol. 4 (2004): 126. See also, Jacques Grimard, "Program Evaluation and Archives: "Appraising" Archival Work and Achievements", Counterpoint in *Archivaria* 57 (2004): 87.

made after its completion, I had to devise criteria for a mindful framework of analysis that would assess the impact and the level of success of this project.

From the start, I was willing to experiment with theories, methods, and practices outside of the mainstream archival profession. In the revised direction of the study approved by the REB, I focused solely on conducting interviews with team members of PHAID. For these interviews, I blended a life story approach to oral history with alterations informed directly by “appreciative inquiry”. This combined approach to evaluating PHAID formed the interview structure and the types of questions asked. I began each interview by asking collaborators to share their life story, which I then followed by questions to elicit additional context and detail. Afterward, I asked each participant questions specific to PHAID to gain a deeper understanding of each individual collaborators life and how it had informed their work and perspectives. I also made sure that the ethics forms for the interviews would enable their preservation by the UMASC. This presented an opportunity to also collect additional contextual information for the future users of the urban Indigenous collections. In particular, this format allowed for a sharing of the team members life experiences that sheds light on the key events that have informed their values and perspectives in regards to archives and the local history of urban Indigenous institutional development. While I wanted to point to the complications of PHAID that need to be carefully considered so archivists can learn from these mistake and improve their processes, I also felt that it was very important to highlight the strengths so that these aspects of the archival work could be built on in future work. The idea to take a strengths-based approach came was directly influenced by community-based research conducted by the CCPA-MB in conjunction with community organizations for its annual State of the Inner City Report. The value of this approach was reinforced in a reading that was recommended to me by a community activist, which is called *Activism Works* by Elizabeth

Whitmore, Maureen G. Wilson and Avery Calhoun. In particular, I was drawn to these author's ideas about shifting from a commonplace problem-oriented thinking to a positive participatory framework to generate complex, nuanced and emotive narrative data that can be used to both highlight and build upon the successes of collaborative projects.⁶⁴

My growing awareness of Indigenous history and the ways in which Indigenous peoples have been largely framed in stereotypes or as victims also persuaded me to make all efforts to humanize and complicate my representations of the individuals and the groups discussed in this study. I view them as active agents who have courageously responded to oppression by organizing community initiatives and developing innovative responses in the face of ongoing colonialism in all of its forms. At the same time, I wanted to avoid “whitewashing” or covering over the reality of historical and present-day violence faced by Indigenous peoples. In providing archival supports for a local film about decolonization, I was introduced to theories of settler colonialism as one method to help me address my own unconscious biases and reframe my thinking, particularly the ways that the history of Canada and settlers relationships to Indigenous peoples' have been erroneously presented through the settler lens. This scholarship also reinforced a need to include and centre Indigenous perspectives and critiques of archives, so this became a critical aspect of the data analysis. I made the decision to narrow the scope of my inquiry and to stick as closely as possible to local writing featuring Indigenous voices. To me, these local voices are the authorities of local urban Indigenous history that can speak for themselves without the validation from external or academic written sources. I have also heard some Indigenous people and settlers experienced in allyship calling for settlers to listen to the stories and perspectives of Indigenous

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Whitmore, Maureen G. Wilson and Avery Calhoun, *Activism That Works*, Fernwood Publishing: Halifax & Winnipeg (2011): 23.

peoples in our own communities. While I agree, a strict focus on local Indigenous voices did present one key challenge in the internal committee's review of the thesis. In particular, Dr. Mary Jane McCallum, an Indigenous historian herself, pointed out the critical importance of including additional academic scholarship of Indigenous historians beyond Winnipeg whose perspectives are also needed to inform archival thinking. I have enhanced some of the features of this thesis with her advice, but I believe improvements can be made with further and thoughtful inclusion. Throughout the writing process I often found it difficult to address the masses of information I had collected and find a way to also put dominant archival and local Indigenous perspectives into conversation with one another, which has risked creating a false dichotomy of archivist (settler) and non-archivist (Indigenous). While I have pointed out the fact that there are Winnipeg-based archivists with Indigenous identities, an inclusion of more Indigenous historians and scholarship writing from outside of Manitoba, particularly those with experiences of leveraging archives in their research to point out articulations of settler colonialism, could have acted as an important bridge that would have helped me to avoid reinforcing unintended dichotomies in my writing.

In hindsight, I also believe that these flaws could have been prevented in the early stages of research preparation. In particular, I believe that the direction and methodology should have been more carefully informed through an in-depth two-way dialogue with the three senior Indigenous team members of PHAID, as well as Dr. McCallum, not only from the outset of the study, but throughout the entire research processes. I feel that the research I conducted was consultative and semi-participatory rather than directed by the subjects themselves. I recognized this after the original REB submission, so I did make attempts to ensure the study was participatory as possible within the boundaries of ethics board approval. I did this by conducting the interviews using open-ended approaches to solicit sharing. Each collaborator was also asked what they believed

were the most important to write about in the thesis, and these perspectives helped to shape the thesis direction and my writing, and solidified an in-depth analysis in Chapter Four on the development of the Letter of Understanding (LOU). Since I did have previous relationships with each of the collaborators based upon our work together, the channels for conversation and engagement were left open for anyone wishing to offer additional input or advice. Once a rough draft was approved by my thesis supervisor, Greg Bak, I invited further input from the collaborators prior to submitting it to my defence committee (Dr. Mary Jane McCallum, Dr. Shauna MacKinnon, Dr. Tom Nesmith) and the UM for its final publication. This measure was taken to ensure that I did not misinterpret or misrepresent their ideas, perspectives or experiences as project members and as active agents in the formation of the history documented by the project. Each collaborator had approved the thesis draft with minor suggestions for edits based upon clarifications from Shelley Sweeney of the UMASC.

In my honors undergraduate research on a stigmatized and marginalized working-class community in N.S., I learned that it is important to find meaningful ways to demonstrate respect by giving back to the subjects and collaborators of historical studies, particularly marginalized groups that are still seeking justice. Larry Morrissette and Kathy Mallett also asserted that ethical research must be mutually beneficial and be useful to their community, suggesting the study be a tool used to influence positive social change.⁶⁵ They requested that I provide a set of recommendations to inform archival work in Winnipeg in response to the TRC's Calls to Action, and that I encourage archivists to share their skills, knowledge, resources, and funding with local Indigenous organizers and others working on the frontlines of decolonization. I have included this set of recommendations in the final section to honour their request and to give back to a larger local

⁶⁵ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story, thesis research interview, Winnipeg, MB, December 8, 2015. Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story, thesis research interview, Winnipeg, MB, December 11, 2015.

community from which I have benefited professionally and academically by doing this research. Further efforts to expand and publish these recommendations will be made in the future to refine and move these ideas beyond academic archival circles into the broader community. I have also begun sharing ideas with Indigenous and settler colleagues in the profession in hopes of generating a greater dialogue on the need for local learning about decolonization and archival allyship in Winnipeg. After sharing the initial draft of this thesis, I was encouraged by hearing that some of the recommendations will be immediately acted upon by the UMASC, and sections of this thesis will be used by local educators and researchers, such as the coursework of Dr. MacKinnon in her coursework for the UW Urban and Inner City Studies Program. Dr. McCallum also stated interest in accessing the archival resources collected by PHAID discussed in the thesis for teaching history courses at the UW. Knowing this thesis will usefully engaged by those beyond archival studies to build further knowledge on this under-documented aspect of Winnipeg's history has validated for me the need for future community-engaged research. The intention of this study was to reach multiple audiences, including Winnipeg-based archivists, Indigenous activists and organizers, community-based researchers and educators who are working closely with urban Indigenous peoples' and organizations, and academics. I also hope it will be useful to archival users requiring information about the collections stewarded at the UMASC, in addition to the front desk, archival staff and interns at the UMASC who are required to process the materials, facilitate access, and have a solid understanding of the LOU to communicate its parameters to future donors or users. I hope archivists with settler identities gain a sense of their responsibility to do the work of continued self-education and also allow themselves to be critically informed by anti-colonial approaches and Indigenous perspectives. After doing this research I am also persuaded

by the idea that taking time to critically reflect on archival experiments is key to allyship. Not only that, it helps us learn and grow from our failures and build upon successes in future work.⁶⁶

The transparency I have demonstrated in revealing details about successes and failures of the research and writing processes does not absolve me from the mistakes that I made within this study. I am solely responsible for misinterpretations. I am also accountable to the collaborators with whom I have direct relationships, as well as to those who have publicly shared perspectives and stories that I have drawn on to inform my research and writing. Above all, I welcome local Indigenous groups constructive critiques of this work, and hope that others will begin to consider what it means to do genuinely ethical or collaborative archival research to inform social change. Larry Morrisette provided me this way of thinking about my own research. He indicated that I needed to put this writing out into the world to be shared, engaged with, challenged and shaped by others in collective society so that the ideas of the collaborators and my analysis and expansion of these ideas can be improved through dialogue with the ultimate aims of being acted upon to generate meaningful change that will support decolonization of settler-Indigenous relations.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Sharon F. Rallis and Kathleen A. Bolland, "What is Program Evaluation? Generating Knowledge for Improvement." *Archival Science*, Vol. 4 (2004): 9-10.

⁶⁷ Larry Morrisette, interview by Sarah Story.

Chapter One: The History of Urban Indigenous Institutional Development in Winnipeg

It's all about the social movement that is working to tell stories and change the narrative of the city. Winnipeg is not just about the Jets and Chamber of Commerce.⁶⁸

Standing at the corner of Main Street and Higgins Avenue in Winnipeg today, a distinct and vibrant urban Indigenous presence can be observed. The strength and potential of this growing village is marked by the Thunderbird that rests prominently atop the copper-lined rooftop of the Circle of Life Thunderbird House, a spiritual and cultural centre within the city. Thunderbird House is an important gathering place that resulted from an earlier vision to build an urban village that would connect all Indigenous peoples living in Winnipeg. The concept that led to its eventual birth was advanced in "Neeginan: A Feasibility Report" (1974), which is one of a number of proposals for Indigenous-centered development initiated in the late twentieth century.⁶⁹ In Inin'mowin (the Cree language), "Neeginan" translates to "Our Place."⁷⁰ There is an inherent value embedded in Neeginan that upholds the idea that "conceptualization, creation and control" over local development that seeks to address needs of Indigenous peoples must lie in the hands of the community members impacted by colonization or marginalization.⁷¹ However, urban Indigenous land ignored by local government authorities and private sector that continuously colludes on development that interfere with Indigenous visions of urban space. Highly stigmatized, this area of the city is marked by ongoing acts of colonialism that attempt to undermine efforts of the large Indigenous population living in this neighbourhood, such as the evangelical Youth For

⁶⁸ Marianne Cerilli, "Telling and Preserving our Beginning Stories", Panel presentation, The Gathering: Manitoba's CE/CED Conference, St. John's High School, Winnipeg, MB., Oct. 24, 2014.

⁶⁹ Royal Commission on Aboriginal People. *Aboriginal People in the Winnipeg Economy*. By John Loxley assisted by Bernie Wood, Louise Champagne, E.J. Fontaine and Charles Scribe. Feb. 1994 with modification in Sept 1996. Neeginan's vision was supported by the Winnipeg Native Coalition consisting of twenty-one local organizations.

⁷⁰ "Neeginan: A Report of the Feasibility Study Prepared for Neeginan (Manitoba) Incorporated", (Winnipeg: Hamas and Smith Ltd., April 1975): 10.

⁷¹ Ibid.

Christ recreational centre.⁷² Built across the street from the Thunderbird House, and supported by millions in governmental contributions from the Economic Development Plan of Stephen Harper's Conservative Government, YFC includes the Christianization of Indigenous youth within its mandate.⁷³ Meanwhile, Thunderbird House has had difficulty securing funds to pay its monthly bills and fund roofing repairs.⁷⁴ However, in face of ongoing colonialism Thunderbird House signifies an unwillingness to bow to assimilatory pressures to conform to the western value system. This urban Indigenous development is also emblematic of a wider and ongoing commitment by Indigenous people to take back control over their own lives and affairs.

Other urban Indigenous institutions, community-driven redevelopments, and regeneration efforts underway throughout the city also embody this spirit of resistance. Down the street from the Thunderbird House in the refurbished historical Canadian Pacific Railway station political leaders at the Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg (ACW) continue to re-envision a "self-sufficient, healthy and vibrant urban Aboriginal community."⁷⁵ In the nineties, the ACW emerged from the Neeginan vision and houses several Indigenous-led initiatives under one roof, such as the Centre for Aboriginal Human Resource Development (CAHRD). In a matter of decades, an Indigenous leadership evolved CAHRD from a small outreach program ("Native Employment Services") into a sizeable urban organization with a mandate to provide training and educational supports within a "culturally safe" environment to Indigenous urbanites.⁷⁶ From this location on Main

⁷² David Hugill and Owen Toews, "Born again urbanism: New missionary incursions, aboriginal resistance and barriers to rebuilding relationships in Winnipeg's North End", *Human Geography*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (2014): 71-72.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ "Thunderbird House auctions Indigenous art to restore roof", CBC News, December 21, 2008, accessed July 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/thunderbird-house-auction-roof-repair-1.3908389>

⁷⁵ Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg, "About Us", accessed January 18, 2017, <http://www.abccouncil.org/economic-and-community-development-education-training-and-employment.cfm>

⁷⁶ Damon Johnston, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette, research interview for Preserving the History of Institutional Development in Winnipeg, MB., Video, December 20, 2012. Leslie Spillett, interview by

Street, the three glowing red letters “MMF” are seen atop a high-rise marking the presence of the Manitoba Métis Federation - a strong organization that arose in 1968 to become a principal representative voice in the promotion of Métis rights and interests in Manitoba.⁷⁷ Further up Main Street, north of the Social Enterprise Building that houses non-profits (e.g. Aki Energy), stands the Neechi Commons. The cooperatives’ first location - Neechi Foods Community Store - is located on Dufferin Street. This Indigenous worker-run cooperative emerged in the mid-eighties as a community economic development (CED) concept that evolved over a twenty-five year span, effectively turning the weekly market into two permanent grocery stores as one local measure to address food insecurity in the North End.⁷⁸ While this cooperative exists today as a remarkable example of a long-lasting Indigenous CED initiative, even it has struggled to remain at various times in throughout its history. In 2017, Neechi Commons, for example, was forced to put its building onto the open market with the hopes of selling its building to a landlord who will share its vision and provide continued support for this model of development, which is bringing much-needed food services, employment opportunities, and pride to the North End.⁷⁹

The community-driven redevelopment and regeneration is underway in other parts of the city. For example, Merchant Corners on Selkirk Avenue is being evolved from a “symbol of de-

Darrell Chippeway, research interview for Preserving the History of Institutional Development in Winnipeg, Winnipeg, MB., September 26, 2012.

⁷⁷ George Munroe, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrissette, research interview for Preserving the History of Institutional Development in Winnipeg, Video, Winnipeg, MB., September 17, 2012.

⁷⁸ Louise Champagne, interview by Darrell Chippeway, research interview for Preserving the History of Institutional Development in Winnipeg, Video, March 29, 2013. Kathy Mallett, interview by Darrell Chippeway, research interview for Preserving the History of Institutional Development in Winnipeg, Video, August 14, 2012. The working group began by purchasing grocery orders from a St. Boniface CO-OP for a weekly market at the Family Centre on Selkirk Avenue prior to launching a loan campaign to generate revenue for down payment on an Assiniboine Credit Union mortgage to purchase their first building on Dufferin.

⁷⁹ Ashley Brandson McCallum, Neechi Commons complex in Winnipeg about to go on the market, *APTN National News*, July 17, 2017, accessed July 2017, <http://aptnnews.ca/2017/07/17/neechi-commons-complex-in-winnipeg-about-to-go-on-the-market/>

cline” into an “innovative educational, student housing and retail complex”.⁸⁰ Development is community-driven and guided by a vision to transform space along Selkirk Avenue into a “North End Community Campus” complete with affordable student housing and childcare facilities.⁸¹ “The Merch” is the latest addition to the education centres already located along this strip, such as the adult training centre “Urban Circle Training”, University of Winnipeg’s Urban and Inner-City Studies Program (UICS), and the University of Manitoba’s Inner City Social Work Program. At the corner of Selkirk Avenue and Salter Street stands the first Indigenous high school in the country to accept both status and non-status Indigenous students - the Children of the Earth High School.⁸² In the nineties, a collective push to establish a high school occurred in response to the community articulated demand for improved access to education centering on Indigenous values and methods of instruction.⁸³ In 2016 and 2017, the Children of the Earth and the Urban Circle celebrated twenty-fifth anniversaries in transformative educational provision for Indigenous residents, many who have moved on to careers and attained higher levels of education.⁸⁴ There are establishments nearby that predate these two organizations, such as the country’s oldest Indian and Métis Friendship Centre (IMFC). As the earliest progenitor of Indigenous development in Winnipeg, the IMFC emerged from a shortage of services available to urban First Nations and Métis in the Fifties.⁸⁵ While its centrality in Winnipeg was overshadowed by devel-

⁸⁰ Merchants Corner, “The Redevelopment of Merchants Corner”, accessed March 2017, <http://www.themerch.ca>

⁸¹ Merchants Corner, “Why?”, accessed March 2017, <http://www.themerch.ca>

⁸² Larry Morrissette, interview by Darrell Chippeway, research interview for Preserving the History of Institutional Development in Winnipeg, video, February 7, 2013.

⁸³ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story.

⁸⁴ For example, Jim Silver, “Chapter One - Aboriginal Adult Education: Combating Poverty and Colonization”, 1-16 in *Moving Forward, Giving Back: Transformative Aboriginal Adult Education*, ed. Jim Silver, Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing (2013): 13. The author says there is an 85-90% success rate at Urban Circle. See also: Mary Courchene, Interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway, research interview for Preserving the History of Institutional Development in Winnipeg, Video, March 27, 2013.

⁸⁵ Marion Meadmore, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway, research interview for Preserving the History of Institutional Development in Winnipeg, Video, March 7, 2013.

opment of larger urban organizations in the late sixties, the IMFC evolved in this context and it exists as a community centre today.⁸⁶ Several additional Indigenous organizations and initiatives have emerged in the twenty-first century offering culturally appropriate programs or services to help this generation overcome racialized and systemic barriers and reach their potential, such as Ka Ni Kanichihk and The Winnipeg Boldness Project.

The innovation that is seen today throughout the city, particularly in North End and core, does not reflect all urban initiatives that have come to fruition by Indigenous efforts over the last sixty-five years. For example, organizing campaigns led primarily by women resulted in the creation of a number of important organizations still functioning (e.g. Native Women's Transition Centre and the Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata Centre), while others, such as the Original Women's Network (OWN) and the Indigenous Women's Collective (IWC), are alive only in those memories of the organizers who recall them. The IWC was a political organization that existed throughout the Eighties and disbanded in the nineties as a result of internal conflict caused by inexperienced leadership.⁸⁷ There were initiatives by Indigenous organizers that were later taken over by settler entities, such as Main Street Project. Chronic underfunding has forced the shut down of others.⁸⁸ Some projects were not given an opportunity to thrive if organizers were unable to convince the settler state of their ability and competence to manage their own affairs, or forced them to evolve Indigenous mandates or practices to align with bureaucratic and western-styles of organization to succeed.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, old ideas have also been renewed and reimagined by this generation to serve present-day purposes. The Bear Clan Patrol is an example of an initiative that re-emerged

⁸⁶ Damon Johnston, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.; George Munroe, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.

⁸⁷ Doris Young, interview. Young explains how the leadership started strong then crumbled with its change.

⁸⁸ This was a theme in PHAID interviews. For example, Larry Morrisette, interview by Sarah Story. Louis Champagne, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Damon Johnson, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.

⁸⁹ For stories about Kinew Housing as an example, see: Marion Meadmore, interview. Murray Sinclair, Interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.

in response to safety concerns of residents, fears of gang violence, and high numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous women in North End neighbourhoods.⁹⁰ The original Bear Clan began in response to violence against women in 1992.⁹¹ The Patrol's work has inspired the creation of "Mama Bear Clan" in North Point Douglas, and successful community patrols in Thunder Bay, Regina, Kenora, and Brandon. Effective inspirational Indigenous models, such as Kinew Housing Incorporated, have also been adapted to suit the needs of communities around Turtle Island.

Roughly seventy urban Indigenous organizations exist in Winnipeg today.⁹² Indigenous institutional development has become a key aspect of community building efforts in response to the complex impacts of settler colonialism. Specifically, the formation of Indigenous-controlled organizations solidly rooted in Indigenous values are critical to processes of "healing", "capacity building" and "reclamation", and they support "rebuild(ing) of Indigenous identities at the individual, community, organizational and political level."⁹³ In 2011, the *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study - Winnipeg Report* found that "at least half" of Winnipeg's Indigenous population "use and rely at least occasionally on Aboriginal services and organizations."⁹⁴ Unlike practices of mainstream settler organizations, decolonization has been embraced as an "essential component" of

⁹⁰ James Favel, "How the murder of Tina Fontaine galvanized Bear Clan Patrol's James Favel", *The Current*, CBC Radio, Dec. 7, 2016, accessed Jan. 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/radio/thecurrent/the-current-for-december-7-2016-mmiw-winnipeg-public-forum-1.3883544/how-the-murder-of-tina-fontaine-galvanized-bear-clan-patrol-s-james-favel-1.3885228> Favel tells Anna Maria Tremonti that "disrespect" to Tina Fontaine's person galvanized reaction and the re-establishment of the Bear Clan. It was also inspired by the local water search patrol "Drag the Red".

⁹¹ "Bear Clan Patrol out of hibernation, ready to keep watch over North End", *CBC News*, May 13, 2015, accessed May 2015, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/bear-clan-patrol-out-of-hibernation-ready-to-keep-watch-over-north-end-1.3071781> Morrisette, interview by Darrell Chippeway.

⁹² Jim Silver, "Building a Path to a Better Future: Urban Aboriginal People", in *In Their Own Voices: Building Urban Aboriginal Communities*, by Jim Silver, (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing 2006): 31.

⁹³ Silver, Ghorayshi, Hay and Klyne, "Sharing Community and Decolonization", 174-175.

⁹⁴ "Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study - Winnipeg Report", Toronto: Environics Institute (2011): 46. This study also concluded that there is "broad agreement" that Indigenous-controlled services are needed as negative experiences commonly occur in non-Indigenous service provision, particularly social assistance and child welfare services (46).

programming, training and service provision.⁹⁵ Through addressing the local need for culturally appropriate services and programming, organizations contribute to transformative change by addressing issues resultant of racialized poverty, social exclusion and internalized colonialism. By challenging racialized oppression inherent in dominant systems and structures, Indigenous organizers have contributed to development and set into motion influential decolonizing processes.

The oral histories of Indigenous grassroots activists in Winnipeg suggest that a collective has worked for generations to improve the quality of life for Indigenous peoples. The noticeable efforts to carve out an Indigenous space in the city through the creation of urban Indigenous organizations began in the mid-twentieth century. A glimpse into early circumstances that ignited the initial institutional development in Winnipeg sheds light on its emergence as an significant incubator of Indigenous innovation and highlights an important and incredibly rich, but underdeveloped, area of local historical research. To provide a selective overview of this history, I have drawn upon thirteen interviews conducted by the PHAID, which is a sampling of interviews that were available to me at the time of writing. This multi-generational set of oral histories includes the following: Ann Callaghan, Louise Champagne, Louise Chippeway, Mary Courchene, Mary Guilbault, Damon Johnston, Kathy Mallett, Marion Meadmore, Larry Morrissette, George Munroe, Murray Sinclair, Leslie Spillett, and Doris Young. Centring the oral testimonies of these individuals as the key sources of historical inquiry and analysis recognizes local Indigenous residents as the legitimate authorities of this aspect of local history. Each of the individuals cited is a historical actor who witnessed changes in the city overtime, and actively participated in efforts to build the Indigenous organizations. This history is only a snapshot into an understudied aspect of the city's history with potential to be revised and expanded by Indigenous scholars and residents,

⁹⁵ Shauna MacKinnon, *Decolonizing Employment: Aboriginal Inclusion in Canada's Labour Market*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015): 71.

particularly if further oral histories and written records that are produced by these organizations can be obtained and analyzed to create deeper historical inquiry and analysis.

Brief history of the emergence of Indigenous urban institutional development, 1958-Present

The documented Indigenous history of the site upon which Winnipeg developed stretches back thousands of years.⁹⁶ Today, the city is home to one of the largest urban Indigenous populations on Turtle Island. This represents a continuum of presence connecting the past to present, or early Anishinaabeg, Muskeko-ininiwak, Nakota, Dakota and Red River Métis inhabitants to their descendants who reside in the region today. In the mid-twentieth century, Indigenous peoples from geographic and cultural regions outside Winnipeg migrated to the city in large numbers, adding further to the diversity of the local Indigenous populace. The historical Indigenous presence on these lands and waters is substantial in comparison to that of settler-colonizers who established a colony at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in the nineteenth century. However, enforcement of a host of oppressive state policies and measures in the late nineteenth century, such as the Indian Act, worked in tandem with pervasive racism and antagonism toward Indigenous peoples to facilitate their removal from settler towns and cities.⁹⁷ As a result, the creation of an “enforced structure of segregated settlement” forced most First Nations onto

⁹⁶ Anthony P. Buckner, “Manitoba History: Glacial Lake Agassiz”, *Manitoba Historical Society*, no. 19, (Spring, 1990), accessed June 2015, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/19/lakeagassiz.shtml. Archaeological findings suggest a permanent presence 5,000 to 7,000 years ago, while the earliest presence dates back 11,500 years.

⁹⁷ Evelyn Peters, “Introduction”, in *Indigenous in the City: Contemporary Identities and Cultural Innovation*, eds. Evelyn Peters and Chris Anderson, (UBC Press: Vancouver, BC, 2013): 4. Peters points to a number of mechanisms that removed Indigenous peoples from urban centres, including: the Indian Act, pass system, private property laws, illegal land surrenders and forced relocations. The Indian Act has had a longest-lasting impact as it forcibly categorized Indigenous identities and removed entire nations to reservations owned and administered by the Crown.

reservations located remotely from urban centres by the early twentieth century.⁹⁸ The physical removal from settler-controlled urban settlements was legitimized by dominant perceptions of their inferiority, and the deeply-rooted western ideological construct of Indigeneity that conflated it with rurality and remoteness.⁹⁹ This pervasive idea positioned urban Indigenous cultures and lifestyles as “inauthentic” or “less legitimate”.¹⁰⁰ Though cities on Turtle Island are situated on Indigenous land, such as Winnipeg that is within Treaty Number One, urban Indigeneity continues to be questioned by settlers, as well as some Indigenous peoples who regard those living in cities as inauthentic, or “not culturally qualified”.¹⁰¹

Insufficient statistical data available on Winnipeg’s Indigenous population has led local researchers to determine that few First Nations and Métis lived in city limits between 1901 and 1951.¹⁰² While concentrations of Indigenous inhabitants were present, such as those living in the Métis road allowance settlement of “Roostertown”, scholarly analysis of available surveys and census data demonstrate that rapid growth of Winnipeg’s Indigenous population occurred in the post-1958 period.¹⁰³ This estimate is also supported by testimonies of interview participants of PHAID who migrated to the city in the mid-fifties. These oral sources indicate a lack of visible

⁹⁸ Evelyn J. Peters, “‘Our City Indians’: Negotiating the Meaning of First Nations Urbanization in Canada, 1945–1975,” *Historical Geography* 30 (2002): 75. Peters asserts that reserves were intended to be “temporary enclaves” during colonial resettlement where Indigenous peoples would be indoctrinated in western beliefs and practices.

⁹⁹ Evelyn Peters, “Aboriginal People in Urban Areas,” pp. 45-46 in *Urban Affairs Back on the Policy Agenda*, eds. Caroline Andrews, Katherine A. Graham, and Susan D. Phillips, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press (2002): 45. David G. Burley, “Rooster Town: Winnipeg’s Lost Métis Suburb, 1900-1960”, *Urban History Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Autumn 2013, <https://www.erudit.org/revue/uhr/2013/v42/n1/1022056ar.html>

¹⁰⁰ Evelyn Peters, “Introduction”, in *Indigenous in the City*, 1.

¹⁰¹ Eddy Robinson, “Cities Are Indigenous Land, Too”, *Vice*, March 20, 2017, accessed March 2017,

https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/cities-are-indigenous-land-too

¹⁰² Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, *Aboriginal People in the Winnipeg Economy*, John Loxley, 7. See also: Larry Morrisette, interview with Darrell Chippeway. Morrisette argued that local census data is not reliable and discusses a census report that does not align with his experience, underreporting numbers of Indigenous families who lived in the city. Those who were ashamed to self-identify during this time were also not captured in the data.

¹⁰³ John Loxley, “Aboriginal Economic Development in Winnipeg”, draft, John Loxley fonds, Publications & Papers series, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections. An earlier version of this paper was produced in February 1994, and amended in 1996 for the RCAP.

Indigenous presence during this period, recalling their own minority experiences in the city and settler institutions. For example, Ann Callaghan recalled that Indigenous residents being visibly few at this point in the city's history, so she used to go to Union Station Bus Depot on Graham Avenue to meet other First Nations coming to the city for appointments. "It was good to see other brown faces," she told interviewers.¹⁰⁴ The sole First Nations student in the Winnipeg General Hospital's nursing program, Callaghan described feelings of isolation or loneliness, but finished her education out of a determination to heed the advice of her father to persevere so that she would be able to find gainful employment.¹⁰⁵

In the latter decades of the twentieth century, more Indigenous people moved to the City of Winnipeg. The postwar period marked the start of a sizeable migration to prairie cities, and increased "processes of creating urban communities for themselves".¹⁰⁶ The "first wave" of post war migration peaked in the mid-sixties as a result of an Indigenous baby boom and the acute socio-economic conditions on reserves.¹⁰⁷ Interviewees attributed migration at this time primarily to the need for access to greater educational and employment opportunity.¹⁰⁸ Land dispossession and settler violence also resulted in widespread poverty and poor social conditions on reservations, generating lateral violence and abusive relationships that prompted individuals and fami-

¹⁰⁴ Ann Callaghan, interview by Darrell Chippeway, research interview for Preserving the History of Institutional Development in Winnipeg, video, Winnipeg, MB., April 10, 2012.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. See also, Mary Jane McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work and History*, 212. The inclusion of Callaghan's story in McCallum's analysis also suggests that while there were individuals who supported her in her nursing training there was also "active discouragement" of her enrolment by Indian agents.

¹⁰⁶ David Newhouse, "The Invisible Infrastructure", 243. Newhouse lists several specific contributing, including poor housing, inadequate resources, jobs, and educational opportunities, and alcoholism. Doris Young, interview with Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. In Young's recollections, she shared the perspective that her generation (First Wave) did not experience the high level of violence or alcoholism that had prompted later relocation.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Newhouse cites the RCAP as using this terminology. Larry Krotz, "The Inevitable Urban Indian", in *Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada's Cities*, Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd. (1980): 55-56. Other motivators that influenced relocation included high birth rates, limited reserve economies and attraction to "bright city lights" (56).

¹⁰⁸ Ann Callaghan, Interview by Darrell Chippeway. George Munroe, Interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette. Marion Meadmore, Interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. Doris Young, Interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway.

lies to relocate to the city in search of refuge and access to support services and opportunities to improve their lives.¹⁰⁹

Migration to Winnipeg did not always fulfill everyone's expectations.¹¹⁰ The city could be a daunting place, particularly for those with limited or no prior exposure to it. This transition was further complicated by several factors. For one, settlers dominated nearly every aspect of urban life, including public and private institutions. Inherently racist attitudes also existed, along with expectation that Indigenous people conform to a modern and westernized urban lifestyle.¹¹¹ While oral evidence suggests resistance to assimilation, exposure to racist attitudes and negative experiences in settler institutions led to feelings of exclusion or inferiority and the sense of being "out of place" in white settler-dominated urban spaces.¹¹² Internalized oppression resultant from processes of colonization damaged individual's personal sense of identity and culture too.¹¹³ The Indian residential school system, for instance, taught Indigenous youth to believe that they were second-class citizens with little of value to contribute to society or the country's history.¹¹⁴ Those who later "made it" in their lives, or became widely known for their societal contributions, spoke directly in the interviews to their ongoing individual and collective struggles to overcome a sense of inferiority. They often talked about how they regained a sense of pride through their reconnection to cultural values, traditions and histories.

¹⁰⁹ Larry Morrisette, interview with Sarah Story. Morrisette pointed out that there were many single mothers who migrated for these reasons.

¹¹⁰ Graham Jones, "Outlook on City – Bleak", *The Prairie Call*, March 1968. Jones warned First Nations people who were thinking about moving to Winnipeg that it is not "the land of Milk and Honey" many hoped it would be.

¹¹¹ This local situation reflected broader concerns that Indigenous peoples were integrating too slowly into Canadian society. See, for example: David Newhouse and Yale Belanger, "The Canada Problem in Aboriginal Politics", 352-380 in *Visions of the Heart: Canadian Aboriginal Issues* (3rd ed.), Eds. David Long and Olive Patricia Dickason, Toronto: Oxford University Press (2011): 356.

¹¹² Marion Meadmore, interview with Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. Meadmore enjoyed her years at the UM, but also spoke to the difficulties of adjusting to the city and struggling to "fit in" to settler social spaces.

¹¹³ This was a key theme discussed in the PHAID interviews.

¹¹⁴ Murray Sinclair, interview with Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.

This experience was compounded by subjugation to a complex host of legal regimes and categorizations that “generated inequity among individuals.”¹¹⁵ The unwillingness of the federal, provincial and municipal governments to take responsibility for the provision of support services to residents living outside of reserves communities further complicated the transition to the city. Long-time city residents testified that publicly-funded initiatives designed specifically for Indigenous peoples were non-existent in the mid-twentieth century.¹¹⁶ Asked what cultural centres and services were available when she arrived to the city in the late fifties after graduating from residential school, Marion Meadmore responded similarly to other interviewees in her generation,

Zero. I think Indian Affairs was located in the city, but we were so far removed from Indian Affairs that they didn't enter into our lives. There were no services. There were no sports. There were no offices, businesses - nothing. Just a committee of non-Aboriginal people that organized annual conferences.¹¹⁷

Their stories also shed light on excessively bureaucratic barriers to accessing piecemeal supports provided to some urban families by the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA). In one instance, an interviewee recalled her work experience with the DIA, pointing out that it violated Indigenous cultural values of sharing and community, such as by discouraging elders on social assistance from sharing their groceries with their grandchildren and refusing their requests for additional funding for food supplies.¹¹⁸ A handful of programs and initiatives that were available to urban Indigenous residents were primarily organized by privately funded or religious entities, such as

¹¹⁵ Peters, Evelyn. “Aboriginal People in Urban Areas”, pp. 48. Peters explains that federally funded programs are not available to Indigenous urbanites that are made available to those living on reserves, though registered Indians living in urban areas have access to some programming unavailable to others. She also points out that municipal, provincial and federal programs are generally unevenly distributed, short term and under-funded.

¹¹⁶ For example: Kathy Mallett, interview by Darrell Chippeway.

¹¹⁷ Marion Meadmore, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. Here, Meadmore is referring to the annual Indian and Métis Conference (IMC).

¹¹⁸ For example: Doris Young, interview. In her position at the DIA, Young referred people to the IMFC for vouchers and support as it had stopped providing financial support for transients moving to the city. Young also indicated that non-affiliated social agencies also reached out to the IMFC to acquire supports for families not provided by the state as the IMFC provided referral services and guidance and counseling regarding matters of employment, housing, education, health and other community services in a culturally safe and environment.

the Bosco Centre run by Roman Catholic Oblates, and a reception lodge for First Nations and Métis residents on Selkirk Avenue that interviewees recalled was run by Stanley and Dorothy McKay.¹¹⁹ Hotel bars along Main Street, such as The Occidental, Savoy and Brunswick, also acted as popular social gathering sites.¹²⁰ However, public visibility of groups of Indigenous peoples at these venues reinforced racist and stereotypical perceptions of Indigenous peoples, and North Main's notoriety as a "dangerous place".¹²¹

In lieu of publicly available or funded support services, reliance on extended family and friends who had established themselves in the city was commonplace.¹²² Private homes became gathering places where relations offered guidance and protection, and presented opportunities to develop social networks that helped individuals adjust to city life.¹²³ North End neighbourhoods were said to have attracted the largest number of Indigenous migrants as it was comforting living amongst other Indigenous peoples.¹²⁴ While there were interviewees who attested to the lack of street lighting and poor housing conditions in North End neighbourhoods in the seventies and in later years¹²⁵, one participant who lived in the inner city suggested that neighbourhoods had not been as deteriorated in the sixties. Louise Champagne stated, "Neighbourhoods were real neighbourhoods where everyone sat out on their front porch and everyone looked out for each other.

¹¹⁹ Louise Chippeway, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Ann Callahan, interview by Darrell Chippeway.

¹²⁰ George Munroe, interview. Louise Chippeway, interview with Sarah Story.

¹²¹ Louise Chippeway, interview with Sarah Story. Chippeway spoke about being told by older family members to stay clear of this area upon her arrival to the city. Jim Blanchard, *Winnipeg's Great War: A City Comes of Age*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010. Blanchard indicates that Main Street hotels had been "given a bad name since the 1870s" (152).

¹²² For example: Louise Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story. Chippeway stayed at her aunties and at her brother's place when she arrived to the city in 1966, who lived at various locations in the North End.

¹²³ Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story. Larry Morrisette, interview by Sarah Story. Louise Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story. Doris Young, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway.

¹²⁴ George Munroe, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.

¹²⁵ Doris Young, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. Young described the housing and street conditions that she encountered doing a housing survey in the Seventies.

It felt like a very safe environment.”¹²⁶ Those who chose to live away from these areas to avoid stigmatization also stated a tendency to socialize and attend community events in the North End where Indigenous organizing was concentrated, and where they typically found a greater sense of community or belonging “among their own people” and family members living there.¹²⁷

In the first half of the twentieth century, North End neighbourhoods were predominantly comprised of working-poor families of Eastern European descent who moved into what was then viewed as the “foreign quarter” after 1896.¹²⁸ According to Jim Silver, Professor of Urban and Inner City Studies at the University of Winnipeg who writes extensively about local poverty and housing issues, there was cultural diversity in North End neighbourhoods. This was reflected in the community-driven newspapers, clubs and societies of Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Jewish, German, and Hungarian populations; some which had also endured a great deal of prejudice or anti-Semitism, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century.¹²⁹ Their living conditions tended to be difficult with poverty-level wages and the overcrowded living quarters of cheaply constructed housing that resulted in “unsanitary conditions and health problems”.¹³⁰ Silver also explains that poverty conditions tended to be blamed on resident’s “moral failings” rather than poor wages or lack of job security that typically accompanied seasonal labour employment.¹³¹ While discrimination against the working-poor remains, prejudice began to ease against these

¹²⁶ Louise Champagne, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Champagne grew up in the Elgin and Isabel Street area near the Salter Bridge, and attend the Hugh John High School.

¹²⁷ Mary Courchene, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway.

¹²⁸ Jim Silver, *Solving Poverty: Innovative Strategies From Winnipeg's Inner City*, Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, (2016): 25.

¹²⁹ Ibid. See also: Jim Silver, “North End Winnipeg’s Lord Selkirk Park Housing Development: History, Comparative Context, Prospects”, pp. 2. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives - Manitoba, June 2006, accessed February 2017, <http://www.policyalternatives.ca>; and Jim Silver, “Winnipeg’s North End: Yesterday and Today”, Vol. 44. No. 1, Jan/Feb 2010, *Canadian Dimension*, Accessed August 22, 2016, <https://canadiandimension.com/articles/view/winnipegs-north-end>

¹³⁰ Jim Silver, *Solving Poverty*, 25-26.

¹³¹ Ibid, 26.

particular cultural groups, so many families that were able to accumulate wealth moved outward into newly developed suburbs, taking their spending power and business out of the North End.¹³² This outmigration was accompanied by urban decline in later decades of the twentieth century, triggered by the globalization of the economy that resulted in factory closures and increased unemployment.¹³³ During the same period, Indigenous migrants from reserve communities located in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Ontario, and other regions of Turtle Island moved into the working-poor neighbourhoods, visibly changing the North End's ethnic composition. This concentration of the urban poor was compounded by the "complex and racialized poverty and social exclusion" that Silver argues "characterized the later twentieth and early twenty-first century".¹³⁴ The high unemployment rates and homelessness, deteriorating housing conditions, gang shootings, crime, and fear of growing violence that became increasingly prevalent in the North End and core in the latter twentieth century escalated existing stigmatization of this part of the city and its residents.

One predominant settler response to the increased Indigenous presence in the city in the latter decades of the twenty first century, and the visibility of poverty conditions was the framing of Indigenous "urbanites and urbanism" as the "urban Indian problem".¹³⁵ A result of the settler anxiety underpinning a belief in Indigenous residents as the so-called "problem" had manifested itself in local acts of settler oppression. There are local examples of measures that were carried out by settler municipal authorities and urban planners, such as those who sanctioned the forced removal and bulldozing of "Roostertown" in 1960. This working-poor neighbourhood in Grant Park was comprised primarily of Métis families who were often vilified by white settlers, which

¹³² Ibid, 33. Jim Silver, "North End Winnipeg's Lord Selkirk Park Housing Development", 2.

¹³³ Jim Silver, *Solving Poverty*, 33. Silver also discusses how the inner city was "hollowed out" with the movement of these families and their business to suburbs whose developments were supported by "massive government subsidies" for their construction and serving (33).

¹³⁴ Ibid, 70.

¹³⁵ Peters, "Aboriginal People in Urban Areas", 46.

justified destruction of their homes for suburban re-development.¹³⁶ A contrastive local settler response was epitomized by attempts to solve “the problem” on behalf of Indigenous residents. The Indian and Métis Conference (IMC), for instance, held annual conferences that were sponsored under direction of the Winnipeg Community Welfare and Planning Council (WCWPC). The IMC played a key role in raising local awareness about challenges faced by Indigenous urbanites, even prompting some Indigenous residents to get involved with its work.¹³⁷ The IMC was also pivotal in spearheading the “mutually beneficial alliance” of Indigenous leaders, community groups, and provincial and federal policy makers that led to creation of the Winnipeg Indian & Métis Friendship Centre (IMFC) in 1958.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, an Indigenous organizer who had been involved in its early activities and organizing pointed out that the IMC “never constituted an Indigenous voice.”¹³⁹ Instead, its predominantly white settler board set the agenda and Indigenous residents were invited to *participate* in dialogues regarding the issues of their own welfare, including settler-directed strategizing about how to resolve the “urban Indian problem.” This issue of settlers controlling the direction of solutions manifested within the IMFC itself. Even though Indigenous staff and advisory handled the outreach, referral services and programming that they had designed specifically for Indigenous residents, such as the successful Court Worker’s Program that was run by Dorothy Betz, the IMFC itself was not “officially organized” as entirely Indigenous-run entity until 1968.¹⁴⁰ At this time, Indigenous organizers and staff had successfully won an internal struggle to take over the IMFC’s board, which had remained “dom-

¹³⁶ Burley, “Rooster Town: Winnipeg’s Lost Métis Suburb, 1900-1960”, 3-6. It is called “municipal colonialism”.

¹³⁷ Marion Meadmore, Interview with Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. The IMC was comprised of social workers, clergy, academics and locals concerned with the social welfare of Indigenous urbanites.

¹³⁸ Hall, Leslie Elizabeth MacDonald, “A Place of Awakening: The Formation of the Winnipeg Indian and Métis Friendship Centre, 1954-1964”, Master’s thesis, University of Manitoba (2004): 1 and 73.

¹³⁹ George Munroe, Interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.

¹⁴⁰ Marion Meadmore, Interview with Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway.

inated and controlled” by settlers who were active members of the IMC.¹⁴¹ As a result, while the settler social workers, clergy, and other members of the IMC contributed vital supports for local struggling Indigenous residents, the oral histories also testify to the undertones of benevolent prejudice or white saviourism that manifested in this work.

This attitude stems from a deeply engrained sense of superiority and entitlement that has driven white settlers to seek control and leadership in struggles in communities that are not their own, sometimes rejecting calls to exercise restraint and reflexivity made by marginalized groups believed to be in need of their “rescue.”¹⁴² The oral testimonies about the transition of the IMFC to an entirely Indigenous-governed institutions speaks to the unwillingness of the settlers to give up their seats, not trusting that the IMFC would function without their support and leadership.¹⁴³ Paternalism and the framing of Indigenous peoples as “the problem”, or the requiring of settler assistance is essentially a racist construction that overlooks the colonial legacy of a settler state. This mentality is also reflective of long-held views of assimilationist governments.¹⁴⁴ Over time, this notion evolved into settler attempts to undo damages caused by state policy. The situation at the IMFC changed in 1963 when Jean Cuthand Goodwill, a Saskatchewan Cree woman, became the IMFC’s first Indigenous executive director, which helped organizers “move towards Indianism, and cultural revival” and the expansion of Indigenous-directed programming.¹⁴⁵ This is one example of “real” or genuine change to local systems that only began once Indigenous residents

¹⁴¹ Indian and Métis Friendship Centre, *History of the Indian & Métis Friendship Centre, 1953-1983*, Winnipeg: Indian and Métis Friendship Centre (May 1983): 3.

¹⁴² Jordan Flaherty, ““Saviors’ Believe That They Are Better Than the People They Are ‘Saving’”, *The Truth Out*, January 5, 2017, <http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/38989-saviors-believe-that-they-are-better-than-the-people-they-are-saving> Leslie Spillett, Interview with Darrell Chippeway, interview by Darrell Chippeway, research interview for Preserving the History of Institutional Development in Winnipeg. Video. Winnipeg, MB. Sept. 26, 2012.

¹⁴³ See: George Munroe, Interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.; Marion Meadmore, Interview with Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway.

¹⁴⁴ David Newhouse and Yale Belanger, “The Canada Problem in Aboriginal Politics”, 356.

¹⁴⁵ Indian and Métis Friendship Centre, *History of the Indian & Métis Friendship Centre, 1953-1983*, 5.

began to actively raise their voices, organize themselves, assert their own agendas, and challenge settler power and authority.¹⁴⁶ A perspective commonly shared by the interviewees is that urban Indigenous peoples and organizations have offered the best solutions to support and pull their own people in Winnipeg out of despair. One current Indigenous leader, Leslie Spillett, has also spoke directly to the point that settler society is the actual “problem”.¹⁴⁷ And in their position as an oppressor group that has caused the significant damage to Indigenous peoples, white settler society and governments cannot be in charge of developing effective strategies for Indigenous healing or rebuilding.

The largely unwritten social history of Indigenous Winnipeg is abundant with stories that validate this perspective of Indigenous solutions and innovation being effective in countering and overcoming the impacts of colonization. Scholars knowledgeable of locally situated community development work of urban Indigenous peoples, such as John Loxley, have also referred to the City of Winnipeg as an exemplary incubator of Indigenous institutional models.¹⁴⁸ Oral stories of long-time Indigenous organizers, leaders, and professionals who have contributed to strengthening our society since the mid-twentieth century, indicate that each organization has also acted as an incubator of Indigenous leadership that has moved out and contributed to community rebuilding far beyond an individual organization’s mandate. For example, the oral histories speak to the historical development and evolution of the IMFC, the first urban Indigenous organization in the city to be created for purposes of meeting urban Indigenous peoples’ need for culturally relevant programming and services. The doors to its first location opened on April 15, 1959 at 376 Don-

¹⁴⁶ George Munroe, Interview with Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.

¹⁴⁷ Leslie Spillett, interview with Darrell Chippeway.

¹⁴⁸ John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story. See, for example, John Loxley, “Chapter Two – The State of Community Economic Development in Winnipeg”, 14-23, in eds. Loxley, Jim Silver and Kathleen Sexsmith, *Doing Community Economic Development*, Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing & Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives – MB, 2007.

ald Street near the Exchange District. At this time, few culturally safe public urban spaces had existed, so the IMFC was popularly attended and quickly became “the place” where Indigenous residents felt welcomed.¹⁴⁹ One interviewee even referred to the IMFC as the “boiling keg”, or center of most Indigenous activity in the city.¹⁵⁰ Though the Winnipeg IMFC was not the first Indigenous community centre to be established in an urban area, it was the first to take on the name “Friendship Centre” and develop the concept.¹⁵¹ The recollections of interviewees indicate that the IMFC embodied its name as a social gathering place where lifelong relationships were developed.¹⁵² They recalled with nostalgia the Friday night socials, soup and bannock luncheons, handicraft clubs, and bake sale fundraisers, among other events. In these social spaces, youth had the opportunity to meet Indigenous role models and learn from older or experienced Indigenous organizers.¹⁵³ The IMFC’s staff and volunteers encouraged the development of positive sense of identity and inspired community action.¹⁵⁴ Its work also supported the development of a wave of urban youth leaders, many who became prominent elders, organizers, leaders and professionals that have influenced change in broader spheres, such as politics and Indigenous governance.¹⁵⁵

One of the most talked about early progenitors of leadership connected to the IMFC was Club 376, a “consciousness-raising” youth group influenced by the Civil Rights Movement and

¹⁴⁹ Louise Chippeway, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Ann Callahan, interview by Darrell Chippeway. George Munroe, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrissette. Kathy Mallett, interview by Darrell Chippeway.

¹⁵⁰ Louise Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

¹⁵¹ Marion Meadmore, interview. “History”, National Association of Friendship Centres, Ottawa, ON, n.d., Accessed September 28, 2016, <http://nafc.ca/en/who-we-are/about-nafc/> “Friendship Centres”, National Association of Friendship Centres, Ottawa, ON, n.d., Accessed September 28, 2016, <http://nafc.ca/en/friendship-centres/> The historical timeline on the National Association of Friendship Centres (NAFC) website indicates that two similar centres that existed prior to Winnipeg’s IMFC: the “North American Indian Club” established in 1951 in Toronto and the “Coqualeetza Fellowship Club” established in 1952 in Vancouver.

¹⁵² Doris Young, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway.

¹⁵³ Louise Chippeway, interview by Darrell Chippeway.

¹⁵⁴ Marion Meadmore, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway.

¹⁵⁵ Louise Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story. For example, Damon Johnston, Yvonne Monkman, Darlene Black, George Munroe, Ernie Klein, Allan Chartrand, Tom Jackson, Amy Clemens, Earl Duncan, Phil Fontaine, Ovid Mercredi, Elijah Harper, etc., began careers at the IMFC before moving onto prominent or professional positions.

the Red Power Movement. The Club emerged in the mid-Sixties at the IMFC's first location at 376 Donald Street to "provide a social and recreational vehicle for the ever-increasing numbers of Native youth migrating to the city".¹⁵⁶ Interviewees recalled that its membership consisted of roughly three to four hundred male and female youth, reaching over five hundred members when the club was "in full swing".¹⁵⁷ Club 376 hosted popular gatherings at the "Purple Pit", a "Beatnik-style" public coffee house for musicians and other talent on Saturday nights at the IMFC.¹⁵⁸ It also mobilized youth to take public stances on the issues impacting their lives, such as poverty, inequitable education and economic development, racism and Indigenous underrepresentation in government.¹⁵⁹ A former member called this leadership an "influential and inspiring force", and defined it as a "lightening rod for all the changes that took place", including the MMF and Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (MIB) in 1968, and the national and provincial associations of Friendship Centers.¹⁶⁰ Louis Chippeway highlighted that its membership had supported each other and continued to organize together even after the MMF and the MIB divided into separate entities,

We were still one. We were still a group of Aboriginal people, a group of native people. We believed in ourselves as Aboriginal people and we were still one. It did not matter what was happening at the political level. We were still one group of people. There was no differentiation at that time between status, non-status, Metis and Inuit.¹⁶¹

Its activism also inspired creation of youth clubs in rural reserve communities, such as Peguis, Sagkeeng, and Fort Alexander. Since the Club's leadership was tied to the Friendship Centre

¹⁵⁶ Allan Chartrand, "Club 376", in *History of the Indian & Métis Friendship Centre, 1953-1983*, Winnipeg: Indian and Métis Friendship Centre (May 1983): 18. The Club lasted a decade and faded out in the early Seventies.

¹⁵⁷ George Munroe, interview. Louise Chippeway, interview.

¹⁵⁸ Louise Chippeway, interview with Darrell Chippeway. Chippeway explained that the Purple Pit emulated the beatnik-styled coffee houses that had popularly emerged in the United States at this time. The youth organizers placed candles on the tables and served coffee, bannock and sandwiches to locals who came out to see performers, including Burton Cummings, The Randall's, and Percy Toosday.

¹⁵⁹ Indian & Métis Friendship Centre, *History of the Winnipeg Indian & Métis Friendship Centre*, 18. George Munroe, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.

¹⁶⁰ George Munroe, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette. Munroe explained that some of the early "groundwork" for the Manitoba Metis Federation (MMF) was generated by members of the CYC and Club 367.

¹⁶¹ Louis Chippeway, interview by Darrell Chippeway.

Movement, its membership was connected with youth throughout Turtle Island via other youth-oriented programs, such as Company of Young Canadians.¹⁶² This led to further involvement in initiatives providing youth with opportunities to assert their voices at the national and provincial levels, such as in the Canadian Indian Youth Council (IYC) and Manitoba Association of Native Youth (MANY). It was this “native movement of leadership” within the IMFC that had played a pivotal role in inspiring growth of local urban Indigenous leadership.¹⁶³ Empowered individuals moved outward into the community, obtained further training and experience, and made impacts in their own circles, acting as role models to the younger generations of Indigenous leaders.¹⁶⁴

While the IMFC acted as the first major incubator of Indigenous institutional models and supported development of this Indigenous leadership in Winnipeg, it was not the only influential force. Independent and grassroots experimentation in Winnipeg also fostered local participation, pride and reclamation of identity. One example is that “The Mayfair”, which was established by activists during the height of the American Indian Movement (AIM).¹⁶⁵ The Mayfair provided a less structured space for “more radicalized youth” to learn, experiment and reclaim a meaningful connection to their Indigeneity.¹⁶⁶ Larry Morrissette talked about how the Mayfair had prompted him to question the world and introduced new ideas to youth about how to generate change. This period was described by Morrissette as one of “cultural rebirth” in the city, or a time when Indig-

¹⁶² Inspired by US Peace Corps model, the short-lived CYC was established in 1966 by the Federal Government under prime minister Pierre Trudeau and defunded in 1970. The CYC recruited youth across Canada, including in several Indigenous youth in Winnipeg, to organize and inspire youth to take action to improve conditions in their communities independent of government direction. For example, Winnipeg-based coordinators Jeanette Levier and Harold Harper recruited local youth to organize and initiate community-based projects aimed at social change.

¹⁶³ Louise Chippeway in Marion Meadmore, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway.

¹⁶⁴ Club 376’s original members contained many Indigenous leaders who remained active in the community and larger political scenes, such as Phil Fontaine, Ovid Merced, Harold Harper, Roger Caves, Louise Chippeway, Darlene and Yvonne Black, and Stirling and Brian Randall.

¹⁶⁵ Larry Morrissette, interview with Sarah Story.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

enous peoples began to increasingly reconnect with their identity in local urban spaces where cultural and linguistic knowledge circulated.¹⁶⁷

The sixties and seventies also represented a period of increased political consciousness and discontent in wider Indigenous society, and residents of Winnipeg began to fervently assert their rights, demanding to be central to processes of their own personal growth and development. This commitment to community change developed from individuals' sense of injustice that they experienced in their own lives and families, as well as the teachings of their elders that instilled a deeply held belief or understanding of their "right to a dignified existence."¹⁶⁸ This move toward greater self-determination over their own futures was reflected in wider responses to the threat of the removal of Indigenous rights leveled by the Government of Canada. For example, Indigenous responses to Pierre Elliott Trudeau's political campaign platform "A Just Society for All Canadians", which included his *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* (known as the "White Paper") in 1969 that proposed to facilitate the full integration of First Nations into mainstream Canadian society with the elimination of the Indian Act, Indian Affairs, Indian status and the treaties.¹⁶⁹ The White Paper asserted the need for the equality of First Nations by demanding the relinquishment their "rights, beliefs, and identity in order to be Canadian".¹⁷⁰ Though change was desired, Indigenous peoples demanded that the change happen on their own terms, and exerted their rights to self-determination. The proposed legislation ignited widespread response in Manitoba that was spearheaded by the MIB. The Cree, Ojibway, Ojibwe-Cree, Dene and Sioux nations of Manitoba worked together under the MIB, and responded with "*Wahbung: Our To-*

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ "Pierre Trudeau: 'Canada must be a just society'", September 9, 1968, CBC Digital Archives, Accessed October 4, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/pierre-trudeau-canada-must-be-a-just-society>.

¹⁷⁰ Frank Deer and Florence Paynter, *Wahbung: 37 Years Later*, Editorial, MFNERC, Accessed on September 28, 2016, www.mfnerc.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/editorial.pdf

tomorrows”, also known widely as the “The Red Paper”.¹⁷¹ *Wahbung* means “the beginning”, and indicated a need for First Nations to return to their beginning foundations and histories.¹⁷² Elder Dave Courchene Jr. defined the paper as a “reminder” to government of original understandings of the relationship that the Crown had made with the First Peoples, and it called for “building a shared future”.¹⁷³ *Wahbung* set the tone for the next forty years, calling for a return to Indigenous roots to orient their future action.¹⁷⁴ A program called “Community Development” was adopted by the MIB and this form of action embodied values inherent in *Wahbung*. This led to training of Community Development Officers (CDOs) who became “the foot soldiers” of the MIB tasked with supporting leadership in First Nations communities to take positive action to address issues impacting the lives of residents in ways that would benefit all.¹⁷⁵ While the MIB was focused on non-urban or reserve communities, the spirit of *Wahbung* has been an influential force of change in urban centres in Manitoba, and its principle values have underpinned community development in the city that are still visibly reflected in local initiatives.

Indigenous movements informed the startup and work of Winnipeg-based organizations like the IMFC, which evolved itself in this larger context to promote community development.¹⁷⁶ The IMFC began to support development of local initiatives to address specific crises impacting urban Indigenous residents, many which later evolved into well-established organizations. Some of the initiatives included: Kinew Housing (1970), the Winnipeg Native Club (1971), the Main-

¹⁷¹ Frank Deer and Florence Paynter, Editorial - *Wahbung, 37 Years Later*, v-vi. Accessed September 16, 2016, www.mfnc.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/editorial.pdf

¹⁷² Dave Courchene, “*Wahbung - The Position Paper: A Return to the Beginning for Our Tomorrows*”, *Sagkeeng First Nations* (2012): 2-3. Accessed September 16, 2016, <http://amc.manitobachiefs.com>

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ Indian & Métis Friendship Centre, *History of the Indian & Métis Friendship Centre*, 9.

street Project (1972), Neeginan (1973), and the Urban Native Coalition (n.d).¹⁷⁷ As one example, the Native Club was established in 1971 at 150 River Avenue as a separate facility to address the need for sports and recreation. The Native Club became a hopping gathering place focused on recreation and community living, allowing the IMFC to focus more energy to addressing social issues. The Native Club organized sports teams (e.g. boxing, hockey, badminton, baseball), cultural clubs (e.g. pow wows), and large gatherings where prominent Indigenous speakers and activists came together to share their advice, stories and experiences. Team sports were said to have made a particularly positive impact on youth who had “hard lives”, as it provided opportunity for mentorship and friendship, generating self-confidence and the sense of belonging.¹⁷⁸ The opportunity to hear from Indigenous activists increased knowledge of important issues.¹⁷⁹

The oral histories clearly testify that the IMFC’s responsibilities evolved beyond the typical role performed by a community center in its provision of a bulk of programming and services to residents. It has also played a strong urban leadership role and often acted as the central voice for urban First Nations and Métis. However, the IMFC’s centrality as this lone voice for Indigenous residents in Winnipeg was challenged by the MMF after its creation in 1968. The MMF did not want the IMFC to speak on behalf of the entire Indigenous community as it sought to represent Métis interests.¹⁸⁰ A power struggle developed among organizers in the MMF and IMFC, which split some organizers into factions for a period of time. During this same period, the emergence

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. George Munroe, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette. Munroe was one of the youth who participated in Club 367. In 1969, Munroe became the IMFC’s Executive Director. Under his direction the IMFC’s strategy was focused on developing initiatives each time an issue arose that the staff thought needed to be addressed.

¹⁷⁸ For example, Marion Meadmore, interview with Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. Marion and Louise swapped stories about playing women’s fastball for the “Arrowettes”. This team was organized by the Native Club around 1966 to 1978. Louise Chippeway told Meadmore in interview that she had viewed her as “her mentor”.

¹⁷⁹ The visiting speakers included individuals, such as: Contantia Horne, Earl Leven, Ernest Tootoosis, and Bennie Thompson. Thompson, for example, was protesting the Manitoba Northlands Agreement that had proposed to flood northern First Nations communities in Manitoba and had come to share his knowledge about the issue.

¹⁸⁰ George Munroe, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.

of several other urban Indigenous organizations began to surpass the IMFC in the size and scope of the services and programming they provided.¹⁸¹ Damon Johnson claimed that growth in the city particularly took off following the Agriculture and Rural Development Agreement (ARDA) “victory” in the early seventies, which he said generated a “sea change” and boosted local development with its allocation of large sums of financial support toward Aboriginal economic initiatives.¹⁸² The AHDA’s were not initially offered for urban development, but there was interest in leveraging its supports for urban Indigenous development. Arguing that First Nations and Métis populations in Winnipeg were large enough to warrant their own agreement, Damon Johnston (Chair of CAHRD) and Wayne Helgason (President of the ACW) successfully worked with other urban Indigenous groups to take the HRDSC to court on “differential treatment”.¹⁸³ This court victory led to the injection of ARDA’s monetary support that increased Indigenous job training, employment opportunities and a number of initiatives during the seventies and eighties, such as CAHRD (1972), Anishinabe RESPECT (1981), and Anishinabe Oway-Ishi (1989).¹⁸⁴ Interviewees point out that Indigenous-run organizations such as CAHRD have played a critical role in the provision of accessible and culturally safe training and employment opportunities, which are not provided by mainstream programs.¹⁸⁵ In culturally safe spaces within organizations, individuals are given opportunities that help them to grow and develop, building the skills and confidence that they require to enter the larger workforce in fields of their choice.

¹⁸¹ Damon Johnson, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrissette.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid. Johnson and Helgason were joined by an intervener group from the east, and other urban Aboriginal groups that were not named in the interview. The court case won in the Federal Court of Appeals.

¹⁸⁴ ARDA was created in 1972. However, this cost-sharing program between provincial and federal governments ended in 1989, so CAHRD later has an agreement with the Federal Government and operates under its Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Services Program (ASETS).

¹⁸⁵ Leslie Spillett, interview. According to Spillett, The United Way conducted a study of twenty Aboriginal workers to better understand what had helped them develop their careers or “make it”. A near unanimous response was that it was the opportunity to work with an Aboriginal organization, such as CAHRD.

One unanticipated impact of the local investment is that it inadvertently forced the IMFC to rethink its central role in the wider urban Indigenous community and it began to revert back to its role as primarily community center.¹⁸⁶ Yet, in spite of its waning centrality in the seventies, several of the initiatives incubated by the IMFC in the span of a few decades resulted in the creation of several independent Indigenous organizations - a number of which are still in existence. One example is Kinew Housing Incorporated, which began as a small experiment in 1970, and later evolved into a “flourishing” multimillion-dollar housing corporation.¹⁸⁷ The concept for Kinew emerged from a needs assessment survey that had determined a “desperate need for housing” in the city in 1969.¹⁸⁸ “The Indian-Metis Urban Probe” was a partnership between the IMFC and the UW Institute of Urban Affairs aimed at identifying key issues and solutions to the problems facing urban Aboriginals.¹⁸⁹ Louise Chippeway, one researcher hired to conduct the door-to-door survey, explained that Indigenous residents faced challenges with local “slum landlords” and city officials who profited off tenants.¹⁹⁰ The main issue was difficulty finding accessible housing as Indigenous families were often denied housing based on racist attitudes of landlords.¹⁹¹ Many interviewees testified to the homelessness and poor housing conditions of Indigenous residents, citing issues of housing discrimination that forced families to live in a transient mode, constantly moving to escape unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions.¹⁹² From the probe, a tenant’s associ-

¹⁸⁶ Damon Johnson, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrissette.

¹⁸⁷ Marion Meadmore, interview with Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway.

¹⁸⁸ Louise Chippeway, interview with Darrell Chippeway.

¹⁸⁹ Indian & Métis Friendship Centre, *History of the Indian & Métis Friendship Centre, 1953-1983*, 24.

¹⁹⁰ Louise Chippeway, interview with Sarah Story. She estimated that roughly three hundred were interviewed.

¹⁹¹ Louise Chippeway, interview with Sarah Story. Chippeway explained that in her experience as tenant case worker at the IMFC for the Indian and Metis Tenants Association she had tried to find housing and counseling families, “bias, racism, and discrimination” exist towards renting to Indigenous people, and often times, landlords would claim the rental was “already filled up” when they inquired about renting properties.

¹⁹² For example, Marion Meadmore, interview with Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. Meadmore spoke of getting actively involved in the housing issue as she saw firsthand the discrimination and lack of access to housing after her friend, who was a single mother, was rejected for a rental because she was native and had a child. The housing that this woman did secure was ridden with bedbugs, and she was forced to move again.

ation was formed, spearheaded by Merle DesJarlais at the IMFC. This association evolved into Kinew Housing in 1970. At this time, a board under the direction of Marion Meadmore evolved the association into an organization aimed at developing a solution to the local housing crisis.¹⁹³ Kinew began by purchasing homes with private funds and renting them out at cost. Soon after, it engaged in a successful struggle to obtain a reliable source of funding was secured in the form of a loan from the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) to sustain its work.¹⁹⁴ At this time, Kinew was set on a sustainable trajectory, purchasing its first home with a thirty-year mortgage. Over time, the board negotiated with housing vendors in the North and West End's, as well as East and West Kildonan; neighbourhoods where Indigenous families would feel the most comfortable or welcomed.¹⁹⁵ In the Eighties, Kinew began to purchase much newer homes that "required less repairs and renovations".¹⁹⁶ In addition to purchasing and finding tenants for the housing, Kinew organized weekly classes at the Native Club for new tenants to teach them skills, such as driving, plumbing and painting, in order to help them become independent owners.¹⁹⁷ It also developed a crew of carpenters that was skilled in remodeling tenant housing. A nursery was established to enable tenants with children to attend these classes, and transportation arranged by taxi for participants' families. Kinew has also provided assistance to other Indigenous organizers

¹⁹³ Indian & Métis Friendship Centre, *History of the Indian & Métis Friendship Centre*, 24. Board members included: Marion Meadmore, Bob Major, George Munroe, Marvin Hunt, Norval Desjarlais, Bill Nanowin and Louise Chippeway". Marion Meadmore, interview with Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. Meadmore also mentioned George Clark (a non-Indigenous real estate agent), Mr. Schwartz (lawyer), Norval Desjarlais, Bob Major (businessman and former tenant worker), Marvin Hunt (a city engineer) and Stan Fulham.

¹⁹⁴ Marion Meadmore, interview with Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway; The board managed to access a loan from the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) with the support of then Housing Minister, Lloyd Axworthy. They needed the CMHC loan to buy houses that they could use to pay back the rent. There was a 10% equity payment required that the group forget about, however, Axworthy argued that "an obscure point in the legislation that allowed for demonstration projects or pilot projects". See also: "History", Kinew Housing Inc., Accessible October 4, 2016, <http://www.kinewhousing.ca/history>

¹⁹⁵ Doris Young, interview with Darrell Chippeway.

¹⁹⁶ "History", Kinew Housing Inc., Accessible October 4, 2016, <http://www.kinewhousing.ca/history>

¹⁹⁷ Marion Meadmore, interview with Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway.

by lending them space to host programs.¹⁹⁸ The interviewees cited that the key challenge in the formation of Kinew was convincing the government funders that it would be successful if run by an Indigenous board.¹⁹⁹ Kinew paid off mortgages for five hundred homes in thirty years, and a board of directors is still in place that emerged from those who own and control this housing. It has been touted as a pioneer in Indigenous housing and a model that inspired the development of housing projects around Turtle Island.²⁰⁰

The Indigenous housing crisis was only one of many interrelated impacts of settler colonialism that has forced urban Indigenous residents to organize, so urban Indigenous development continued to expand throughout the latter decades of the twentieth century and early twenty-first century. New initiatives were generated by an increasingly empowered collective of urban Indigenous “helpers, advocates, organizers and rebels” who sought to address issues of poverty, employment, economic development, child welfare, education and health. For example, there was a growing acknowledgement of an absence of the technical training and managerial skills required to manage community projects and enterprise. In response, the MMF and the All Chiefs Budget Committee of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (AMC) developed province-wide initiatives in the eighties, as a way to offer skills training to build capacity in economic development.²⁰¹ For instance, the “Métis Development Training Program” taught rural and urban participants about economic development and also required them to generate proposals for economic development

¹⁹⁸ Murray Sinclair, interview. Murray Sinclair, interview. For example, a group of parents consisting of Kathy and Murray Sinclair, Peter Avery and his wife, and others developed an Indigenous cultural and language learning program for young or primary school age children. It was initially hosted in a house given to them by Kinew Housing.

¹⁹⁹ Doris Young, interview. Murray Sinclair, interview. Sinclair explained that the Federal Government, Provincial Government of Manitoba and the Department of Indian Affairs entered into agreements that were based on corporate model, so organizations needed to become incorporated to enter into an agreement with these entities.

²⁰⁰ Indian & Métis Friendship Centre, *History of the Indian & Métis Friendship Centre*, 24. Stan Fulham served on the Kinew board from 1974 to 1981, and claimed that it inspired the following: Canative Housing (Edmonton and Calgary), Sasknative (Saskatoon), Thunder Bay Native Housing (Thunder Bay), Wigwamen Cooperative (Toronto) and Skigin-Elnoog (Maritimes).

²⁰¹ John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story.

initiatives that would be supported by their communities. Four proposals created in Winnipeg moved ahead with development, including an arts and crafts framing shop on River Street in the Osborne Village, Payek Intertribal Housing and Nee Gawn Ah Kai Day Care on Balmoral Street, and a food project that evolved into Neechi Foods Community Store.²⁰² With exception of the arts and framing shop, volunteer working groups slowly grew these projects into long-running organizations that still exist today.

During the seventies and eighties, Indigenous women's issues also came to the forefront of activism in Winnipeg. Women's groups developed that did not differentiate Indigenous women upon status and cultural affiliation but collaborated in recognition of their shared struggles.²⁰³ In interviews reviewed for this history, all of the participants spoke to the pivotal role of women in local development. Indigenous women have always played a central role in cultural transmission and ensuring basic needs of their families and communities were met.²⁰⁴ There were also women who had worked alongside their male counterparts in political organizations such as the MIB, or within reserve communities to influence the work of chiefs from behind the scenes.²⁰⁵ However, during this period Winnipeg Indigenous women's presence became very publicly visible in the development and leadership of service-oriented organizations, particularly those that addressed issues directly impacting women and children.²⁰⁶ Building upon community work of generations

²⁰² John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story. Louise Champagne, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Champagne stated that the MDTP was "dismantled" in 1985 with a change to a leadership "unsupportive of this type of community development", so its resource structure disappeared. In its places, urban organizers secured the projects under the structure of the Winnipeg Family Economic Development (WINFED) to enable their successful development.

²⁰³ For example, Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story. Mallett discusses women's enfranchisement or loss of their Indigenous status, which was a key issue that Indigenous women sought to collectively understand and challenge.

²⁰⁴ Doris Young, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. Murray Sinclair, Interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrissette.

²⁰⁵ For example, Doris Young, Louise Chippeway, Verna Kirkness, Janet Fontaine and others worked for the MIB.

²⁰⁶ Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story. Doris Young, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Louise Champagne interview, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Murray Sinclair, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrissette. Interviewees consistently made a point that women have been the primary leaders in the creation of Indigenous social services, primarily getting involved to address issues that impacted women and children.

that they had gained from watching female role models in their lives (e.g. mothers, aunts, elder, activists on the national scene, etc.), local female organizers led the local charge in responding to state-generated oppression and impacts of colonial violence (e.g. the residential school and child welfare systems) that caused a breakdown of families and communities.²⁰⁷ Indigenous women's persistent and strategic advocacy campaigns, and direct action or resistance to oppressive settler state policies led to the establishment of key Indigenous organizations in Winnipeg, such as the Native Women's Transition Centre (NWTC), and the Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata Centre.

The NWTC was established in response to violence against women and children. Upon the opening of its doors in 1979, Elder Herman Atkinson of Rousseau River blessed the NWTC to ensure that abusive spouses or partners would never enter and do harm to the women, a blessing that Doris Young claims has been fulfilled.²⁰⁸ In the Eighties, Young worked with organizers to secure funding for the development of a safe place for Indigenous women by generating several proposals and research that discussed their urban living conditions. At this time, she attested that the local police were "not helpful", and there was no place for women and children experiencing violence to escape. However, one challenge gaining governmental and funding supports for an Indigenous-specific organization arose from the issue that the Osborne House already existed. Osborne House did not initially support their proposals for an organization to provide services specifically to Indigenous women. Yet, Indigenous advocates insisted that a centre was needed to serve specifically Indigenous women for three main reasons, including: Indigenous women did not feel welcomed at the Osborne House, did not stay long at the centre, and were often told that

²⁰⁷ There are three or four generations of urban Indigenous women (and men) in Winnipeg who have been building on each other's work overtime. The first wave of female activists in the urban space were involved in the Friendship Centre Movement (e.g. Mary Guilbeault, Marion Meadmore, Dorothy Betz, Mary Richards) who inspired or mentored younger women (e.g. Louise Chippeway, Doris Young, Kathy Mallett, Leslie Spillett, Louise Champagne) who have led the way for those women now taking action (e.g. Nahanni Fontaine, Tasha Spillett, etc), and so on.

²⁰⁸ Doris Young, interview with Darrell Chippeway.

there was no room available. The genuine need for safe space where Indigenous women would not be turned away was forwarded in reports, and through advocacy work, funding was obtained to acquire first stage housing that gave women and their children a home for up to six weeks. In the mid-Nineties, the NWTC acquired further funding to develop second stage housing that gives women with children longer-term housing to prevent the loss of their children to Child and Family Services (CFS), and also provide transitional housing support. The staff and volunteers of the NWTC also supported other local struggles to obtain vital services for Indigenous families, such as a support role in the urban coalition that led to creation of the first non-mandated Indigenous organization on child welfare in Manitoba in 1985 - the “Ma Ma Whi Chi Itata Centre”.²⁰⁹

Each Indigenous organization that developed acted as a learning ground for its organizers who experimented with Indigenous organizational structures and how to implement cultural values into programming. The Ma Mawi Chi Itata Centre exemplifies one urban Indigenous organization that experienced major “growing pains” in its early years, which resulted in several years of internal dialogue and work before it began to effectively address issues in the community.²¹⁰ The board and staff of Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata dedicated a lot of time and energy to considering how to incorporate Indigenous values into its work, and how to best advocate for a diverse urban Indigenous community in need of its services. In this respect, the organization was quite unique during this period. While several urban Indigenous organizations had existed by the mid-Eighties, interviewees explained that many had not fully imbedded Indigenous cultural values into their organizational mandate and structure.²¹¹ Experimentation was an important part of these organizers early learning processes. At the Ma Ma Wi Chita Centre an attempted was made by

²⁰⁹ For a retelling of the beginning story of the Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata Centre, see Appendix 4.

²¹⁰ Kathy Mallett, interview with Darrell Chippeway.

²¹¹ Ibid.

staff to implement a “flat” organizational structure, as opposed to a hierarchical one commonly followed by western institutions. They replicated the Indigenous model of the circle wherein three directors were assigned to look after different aspects of the organizations work.²¹² However, this did not function as successfully as board members had initially hoped, and the organization ended up transitioning to more hierarchical business model for the first few decades.²¹³ It took quite some time for the organization to work through the issues and move forward in a united way, but a few interviewees explained that the valuable lessons learned during the process were carried into the organizers future work. Asked if “lateral violence” had existed in the organization during its early phase of development, Kathy Mallett rejected the notion, explaining that the internal conflict occurred among the leadership as a result of differing perspectives about how the organization should be structured and operated.²¹⁴ Larry Morrissette also added that dysfunction in the early years of the organizations development had resulted from some individuals coming to their work with a “very different idea of how to move forward as a people”, which he claimed demonstrated “the power of the conservative and neoliberal agenda”.²¹⁵ A cooperative balance was eventually struck that did not force the organization to bow to external pressures to conform.

Indigenous education also became a priority in the eighties and nineties. At this time, local initiatives emerged that sought to address culturally specific problems Indigenous students faced in the mainstream public school system, and to carve out a space for Indigenous-led instruction and educational programming. One initiative started in the mid-Eighties, for instance, was the

²¹² Darrell Chippeway in Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrissette, Interview by Robert-Falcon Oulette, interview by “Urban Aboriginal History Project Mix-down”, *At the Edge of Canada*, July 11, 2013, accessed September 13, 2016. <https://archive.org/details/UrbanAboriginalHistoryProjectMixdown>.

²¹³ Ibid. After the Centre had been sued twice, it became evident that the staff, most who had been educated within a dominant western value system, were not yet fully prepared to work effectively within a non-hierarchical agency.

²¹⁴ Kathy Mallett, interview with Darrell Chippeway.

²¹⁵ Larry Morrissette, interview with Sarah Story.

“Aboriginal Circle of Educators”, which was formerly called “Aboriginal Teachers Circle”. It was a group designed to provide support and an opportunity for Indigenous schoolteachers in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 to share their advice and experiences.²¹⁶ Indigenous organizers also gained valuable community development training through hands on experience in creating educational programs, such as those aimed at increasing parental involvement within the public school system, or that introduced elders into schools and exposed youth to the oral tradition and teachings.²¹⁷ The efforts sparked interest in heritage and led to further programs initiated by the students themselves, such as drumming and powwow clubs. In the early Nineties, Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata Centre began hosting “youth assemblies” wherein educational tools, such as popular theatre, brought hundreds of youth together.²¹⁸ At an assembly in 1991/92, the youth were asked to talk about issues that most affected their lives that resulted in the mandate to create an Aboriginal school. In response, a core organizing group called “Thunder Eagle Society” was formed to generate social development concepts instilled with Indigenous values and it led concerted local advocacy efforts for the creation of an Indigenous school.²¹⁹ Though these efforts initially were met resistance from the Winnipeg School Division, and proponents of the newly created Argyle High School, Children of the Earth became an award winning school within years of its creation.²²⁰ A substantial number of other youth-oriented programs have also developed with varying aims to support youth in their cultural development, or that acknowledge their strengths, such as Medi-

²¹⁶ Mary Courchene, interview with Darrell Chippeway.

²¹⁷ Kathy Mallett, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story. Mallett learned community development through on-the-job training at the CEDA and made concerted efforts to increase Indigenous parental engagement and worked to bring elders into the schools, which increased pride and interest in heritage.

²¹⁸ Larry Morrisette interview with Sarah Story. These assemblies began with fifty youth participants and fifteen workers expanding into five hundred participating in youth-run and controlled assemblies.

²¹⁹ Ibid. There were a number of programs controlled by Aboriginal people, but Morrisette stated that they “weren’t really Aboriginal programs”, so their work aimed to instill cultural values and approaches to education.

²²⁰ The school received national media coverage and nearly fifteen years after its establishment, McLean’s Magazine voted it one of the “Top Ten” schools in Canada. Over time, a number of political figures have visited the school, such as Jean Chretien, Romeo LeBlanc, and even Prince Charles who visited Children of the Earth in 1994.

cine Fire Lodge Incorporated and Aboriginal Youth Achievement Awards.²²¹ Adult education centres, such as Urban Circle Training, have also been a positive response to the need to provide educational opportunities for adults wishing to acquire a college or university diploma.

Many initiators of these changes were Indigenous educators and social workers who had received their training in programs specifically designed for Indigenous peoples, minorities or marginalized inner city residents underrepresented within the teaching profession or who faced unique barriers to learning. Some of the programs also accepted students who did not have the requirements necessary to attend university. Interviewees commonly referred to two accessible and supportive, culturally sensitive educational programs for adults who did not necessarily meet the full requirements to attend university or faced unique barriers to training that were provided by Manitoba universities: Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Program (BUNTEP), and Winnipeg Education Centre (WEC).²²² Mary Courchene, who attended BUNTEP, stated the importance of education to her own life and others in the Indigenous community, “I feel that education is the key to unlock the doors of our people and that is what will bring them along, move

²²¹ Larry interview, interview by Sarah Story. In 1994, Morrissette founded this Indigenous organization to promote cultural revitalization through education and training. Leslie Spillett, Interview by Darrell Chippeway. Spillett was part of the committee that developed this concept in 1994. She explained that in addition to countering stigma and stereotypes, the creation of the Aboriginal Youth Achievement Awards was an act of Aboriginal people working together to support Aboriginal youth and acknowledge “the gifts” that they carry.” Spillett claims these awards have been “extremely successful” and have given youth “a sense of their own wellness and their own goodness.”

²²² Chris Tataryn, “Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Program (BUNTEP) shut down after 38 years of success”, Westman Journal, July 9, 2013, Accessed September 21, 2016, <http://www.westmanjournal.com/news/local-news/brandon-university-northern-teacher-education-program-buntep-shut-down-after-38-years-of-success-1.1410265> 360 graduates went on to teaching in Northern Manitoban schools, and an undocumented number of additional graduates went onto higher learning and careers in other professions. University of Winnipeg, “About WEC”, Winnipeg Education Centre Accessed September 21, 2016, <http://uwinnipeg.ca/access-education/wec/index.html> According to its University of Winnipeg webpage, WEC is a “uniquely designed program that strives to incorporate the diverse backgrounds and needs of its students to ensure long term growth and success.” Early on, WEC recognized that Aboriginal people, minorities and inner city residents were underrepresented in the teaching profession and that Aboriginal students have unique barriers to learning, so the WEC developed a program specifically designed to meet the needs of this segment of students.

forward, and achieve what is our rightful place in society.”²²³ Courchene is a prime example of an individual who leveraged her teacher’s education to generate access to quality education for marginalized students. In the Nineties, Courchene became the first principal of the Children of the Earth School. During her oral history interview, Courchene explained that on the first day of its opening, hundreds of students had lined the streets in anticipation of being enrolled at the new school. She recounted the story of a thirteen-year-old boy from Long Plains who came to her office and requested to be enrolled in the school without any official papers. The youth had lost his parents, and he had been living with his elderly grandmother and raising his younger siblings. Courchene broke down the barriers to access for the youth to attend school. It took him seven years to graduate, but he did succeed. Many years later, Courchene met her former student in the city. He was gainfully employed, immersed within his culture and teaching powwow, and raising several children he had adopted who were facing similar barriers as he did during his youth. The issue of access to quality education remains a central issue in the city, but examples like this one demonstrate the life-changing potential of funded Indigenous-led education and programming.

Those involved in building urban Indigenous institutions have vividly recalled many other historical “flash points”²²⁴, such as provincial inquiries or broader social movements (e.g. Idle No More, the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, and the Kimelman Report), which have sparked further local reform and the creation of other important urban Indigenous organizations and projects that have not been mentioned in this brief history. Yet, it is evident by listening to the oral histories of those who contributed to this development, and by looking to the initiatives today that are being created in the city that this earlier work provided an important foundation for development that subsequent generations were able to build on in their own way, and according to complex evol-

²²³ Mary Courchene, interview with Darrell Chippeway.

²²⁴ The Kino-nda-niimi Collective, *The Winter We Danced*, 21.

ing contexts and purposes. With each passing generation, institutional developments grow deeper Indigenous roots by developing structures and systems that adhere strongly to Indigenous values and approaches. Each generation has experimented with Indigenous models, attempting to learn from others and build on the work of others in ways that strengthen mandates and Indigenous modes of governance. Whereas the very first organizations in Winnipeg to be established were around the mid-twentieth century not fully governed by Indigenous leaders, protocols, or structures, those created in the late twentieth century attempted to center Indigeneity in their organizational structures and programming, and twenty-first century organizations are governed by Indigenous leaders, structures and protocols. It is clear that this development has neither been a smooth nor easy process, and some organizations have been significantly challenged, even torn apart, as a result of the breakdown of traditional systems of organization. There have been both internal and external challenges to urban Indigenous organizations, and the stories reveal that not everyone who has been involved has always been healthy and focused on the collective good.²²⁵ Nonetheless, regeneration of Indigenous approaches to healing and redevelopment simultaneously have challenged and succeeded in moving move beyond colonialist, capitalist and patriarchal systems. Today's organizations are determined to govern their own affairs and lives within culturally safe and welcoming spaces.²²⁶

Perhaps one of the most inspiring aspects of local Indigenous efforts is the emphasis placed upon the developing a caring culture that supports fellow community members and provides assistance to address the roots of issues in the colonialist systems that they are forced into.²²⁷ The refusal to give up on community members is a theme repeatedly addressed by interviewees who

²²⁵ Larry Morrisette, interview by Sarah Story.

²²⁶ Leslie Spillett, interview by Darrell Chippeway.

²²⁷ Larry Morrisette, interview by Darrell Chippeway.

themselves have experienced the impacts of colonial institutionalization. There is insistence that people can and do change or become productive members of society, so no one should be “written off because they have done something horrible.”²²⁸ Indigenous-led preventative strategies and supports address issues with perpetrators of violence who have been impacted by colonialism to the point of becoming destructive in their own communities.²²⁹ In reality, not every individual changes, and some have been placed back into colonialist federal and provincial systems, such as prisons, but organizations have also had many successes in supporting those wishing to transition to a new life.

This glimpse into the past demonstrates that collective action underway to strengthen The Village is not a recent phenomenon. Each generation of urban Indigenous peoples builds on the foundation of the work started by their ancestors, creating new initiatives, or strengthening old approaches in response to the evolving impacts of settler colonialism. While this short history focuses on past local events that have unfolded it is important to recognize that Indigenous institutional development has occurred within much larger, complex and evolving contexts of struggle aimed at obtaining justice and asserting Indigenous rights and sovereignty. Each of the urban organizations mentioned began as an initiative that emerged in a response to a specific issue or a set of issues impacting Indigenous urbanites. As a result, each organization and the broader historical context that gave impetus to its creation and evolution are deserving of their own historical analysis. In the living memories of those who have had involvement in organization’s creation and evolution are personal stories that speak to complex social histories of struggles to overcome colonization and the trauma that are also reflective of accomplishments and efforts to im-

²²⁸ Larry Morrisette, interview by Sarah Story.

²²⁹ For example, Ogjiita Pimatiswin Kinamatwin (OPK). The OPK emerged as an anti-gang program alongside North End Housing to renovate homes in the North End. OPK’s role has been to help individuals learn about their history and culture, and if they want, introduce them to elders. If there is no desire, OPK assists them to find work.

prove conditions for other Indigenous peoples. Since each development also occurred as an important aspect of an Indigenous-led grassroots movement long resisting assimilation and attempting to carve out an Indigenous space in the city, the histories reveal important details of complex contexts of their creation and the communities they are mandated to serve. A deeper study may reveal important findings about this context that can be useful today, such as the long history of Indigenous social and political thought in Winnipeg. The evolution of ideologies and how urban Indigenous initiatives have succeeded, failed, or been forced to adjust their visions and practices based upon ideology or policy may reveal insight into the local nature of Indigenous innovation.

This is a forward moving Indigenous grassroots movement wherein “Indigenous innovation” will continue to emerge from “misery” for as long as settler colonialism remains intact.²³⁰ The insidiousness of settler colonialism suggests that it will be an ongoing struggle in the future. Yet, accomplishments produced through Indigenous institutional developments are living proof that settler colonialism are being challenged. Asked why Indigenous peoples are still engaged in this struggle, long-time urban leader Damon Johnston replied by pointing to the importance of reflecting on historical accomplishments to consider how far Indigenous peoples have come in only a matter of decades, and in spite of the perpetual harm done to them by settler-colonizers:

I say look at the big picture. How long have we been at this? Forty years. How long have we been under the Indian Act? One hundred and thirty years. Give us credit. We’ve come a long way in a very short period of time. When I was a child - and that is not that long ago - there wasn’t a single organization in the whole country. There were only reserves. When I graduated from college in 1970, there were four or five thousand Aboriginal people in all of the universities in Canada. What do we have today? You have to be fair to yourself. I think that we are really hard on ourselves as Aboriginal people. We beat ourselves up. We don’t give ourselves enough credit, but we are starting to. We had a lot of damage. Canadians, most of them do not have an inkling of how much damage has been done to us. Even though we have come a long way, we will have a tremendous amount of work to do to get to the place where I think that we all want to be.²³¹

²³⁰ Michael Champagne, North End MC, Presentation on Settler Colonialism and Urban Transformation.

²³¹ Damon Johnston, Interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrissette.

Chapter Two: Settler Obfuscation of Living Indigenous Histories of the City

Urban Aboriginal peoples are an increasingly significant social, political and economic presence in Canadian cities today – and yet relatively little is known about these individuals’ experiences and perspectives.²³²

The history of (Indigenous) organizations isn’t fully developed when we don’t have an opportunity as a people to be part of that voice.²³³

The remarkable history and important contributions and accomplishments of Indigenous urbanites to the building of Winnipeg are often unrecognized or obscured in dominant historical accounts of the city and its development. Following broader trends in Canadian historical writing, Indigenous inclusion in local history is primarily relegated to “beginning chapters”, such as the early contact and fur trade periods, under-representing contemporary experiences.²³⁴ In the mid-Nineties, University of Manitoba economics professor, John Loxley, noted in his submission to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples that “the history books are relatively silent on the role of Aboriginal people” in Winnipeg following the suppression of the Métis Resistance and the subsequent land dispersals.²³⁵ Well-respected scholars of the city such as the historian Allan Artibise, an author of a dated account of the city’s urban development, fail to leverage Indigenous sources or provide substantive evidence of Indigenous peoples’ modern urban experi-

²³² “Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study: Main Report.” Environics Institute. 14 Accessed March 8, 2016, <http://www.uaps.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/UAPS-FULL-REPORT.pdf>

²³³ Larry Morrisette in Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette, Interview by Robert-Falcon Oulette, interview by “Urban Aboriginal History Project Mix-down”, *At the Edge of Canada*, July 11, 2013, accessed September 13, 2016. <https://archive.org/details/UrbanAboriginalHistoryProjectMixdown>

²³⁴ Victoria Jane Freeman, “‘Toronto has no history!’ Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism and Historical Memory in Canada’s Largest City”, PhD dissertation, University of Toronto (2010): 4. Freeman’s demonstrates that a similar pattern has occurred in the telling of Toronto’s history. Mary Jane McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work and History: 1940-1980*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press (2014): 5 and 10. McCallum states that a bulk of analysis focusses on the collapse of the fur trade and “the debate over whether Native cultures and communities ‘declined’ or ‘persisted’ after the fur trade period” indicating that the most emphasis is placed on former (5).

²³⁵ Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, *Aboriginal People in the Winnipeg Economy*, John Loxley, 7. Loxley contends that historians tend to represent Winnipeg as a relatively new one that began with its incorporation.

ences, even during periods when the city's population grew exponentially.²³⁶ Moreover, the city's foundational narratives have been primarily constructed by settlers and frequently begin with its incorporation, the boomtown era prior to World War One, and its role as a gateway of settler immigration and settlement in western Canada. A related tendency has been to overlook Indigenous perspectives that point out that the city was established on "unceded lands", and its growth and development made possible by breaking numbered treaties.²³⁷ There are a few exceptions, such as Adele Perry's historical work outlining how the City of Winnipeg has secured its water supply by imposing on Shoal Lake 40, while marginalizing and preventing this reserve community from obtaining its own clean water source.²³⁸ However, it is common to detach any acknowledgement of the structures and processes of violence and dispossession that have been used to acquire Indigenous lands and resources for the expansion and operation of Winnipeg in public settler histories, which results in constructed impressions and understandings that evade truth and accountability.²³⁹

In regards to the North End where the city's Indigenous populace is concentrated, a bulk of early historical and literary writing focuses on poor socio-economic conditions of its residents, and commonly juxtaposes their living situations to white settler middle or upper classes living in the south and west ends.²⁴⁰ In recent publications, Indigenous perspectives tend to be understat-

²³⁶ Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975). Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, James Lorimer & Company and the National Museum of Man Toronto, Vol 1. History of Canadian Cities Series, 1977.

²³⁷ This erasure is an emergent theme addressed in urban Indigenous history and urban settler colonialism. See: Victoria Jane Freeman, "'Toronto has no history!'", ii. Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers, Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th Century Pacific Rim Cities*, Vancouver: UBC Press (2010): 9.; Bonita Lawrence, "Real" Indians and Others: Mixed Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood", Lincoln Nebraska, UNP (2004): 17.

²³⁸ Adele Perry, *Aqueduct: Colonialism, Resources, and the Histories We Remember*, Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2016.

²³⁹ City of Winnipeg, "History of Winnipeg", accessed Nov. 24, 2016, <http://winnipeg.ca/history/>. See also: City of Winnipeg, "Historical Profile of Winnipeg", and "Timeline of Winnipeg Historical Events 1670-2012".

²⁴⁰ For example, John Marlyn's descriptions of North End "squalor and chaos" in *Under the Ribs of Death* (1957) are cited in Alan Artibise in *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, 64, and Jim Silver, *Solving Poverty*, 27-30.

ed and obscured in favour of settler residents' viewpoints. For example, in *Mosaic Village: An Illustrated History of Winnipeg's North End*, Russ Gourluck, a popular local historian, gives inadequate attention to Indigenous peoples and non-white settler groups in his aims to capture the rich diversity that comprises the North End.²⁴¹ While dozens of settler perspectives are incorporated, Gourluck presents a solitary Indigenous firsthand viewpoint provided by Colleen Simard who states that she felt "damn safe" in her neighbourhood despite the fact that families were moving away.²⁴² He does not elaborate on issues that Simard discussed regarding the impacts of colonization on residents, such as the trauma caused by residential school and child welfare systems, pointing only to aging neighbourhoods, deteriorating housing conditions and that First Nations are quite vulnerable to "profit-seeking landlords".²⁴³ Gourluck's composition is distinct for its inclusion of photographs of Indigenous organizations, hinting at their contribution to local revitalization efforts. Nevertheless, inclusions are situated alongside numerous settler residents nostalgic longings for "the good old days" and lamentations of the poverty, unemployment, deteriorating housing conditions, gangs, shootings, crime and fear that became ever-prevalent in the latter part of the twentieth century. The propensity to focus on the North End's deterioration and Indigenous poverty, and the failure to clearly recognize Indigenous residents as active agents in responding with their own unique and effective solutions to harsh impacts of settler colonialism is a common thread in publications. While it is necessary to speak to racialized inequality in the city, writing that does not emphasize the diversity of Indigenous perspectives essentialize their lived experiences and attributes decline to them. Folding unrepresentative Indigenous viewpoints in local settler histories also detaches them from living populations and reinforces settler racism.

²⁴¹ Jim Blanchard, "Gourluck turns his eye to rich North End history", review, *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 10, 2010.

²⁴² Russ Gourluck, *The Mosaic Village: An Illustrated History of Winnipeg's North End*, Great Plains Publications: Winnipeg (2010): 218. Simard is a columnist, publisher and editor.

²⁴³ Ibid.

Given that the North End has been home to one of Canada's largest concentrations of Indigenous peoples for decades there is no justifiable argument for exclusions.

There are exceptions to this trend, and richly contextualized stories can be gleaned from a few community histories. For instance, a publication by the John Hugh McDonald School called *Special People in a Special Place* includes personal perspectives contributed by Lyle Longclaw and Murray Sinclair. Longclaw shares stories of his life on his home reserve, and explains how the settler state forced his self-sufficient community into a dependent one without glossing over the challenges of transition to the city and forces of assimilation.²⁴⁴ He asserts that reconnection to Indigenous tradition and culture are key to overcoming hardship and oppression:

“If you take a look at those native people in the City of Winnipeg that live well and do well it's because they know who they are. They're proud of being a native person and they know the things that are important to them and their people and their nation. They know exactly how they have to behave. They know their role in life. They know their role as people in the City of Winnipeg and they know where they're going. They have made up their mind that they are not going to let government or anybody else let them live in poverty. They have made up their mind that they are not going to live that way. And it's these kinds of native people that I really respect and have come to admire.”²⁴⁵

He goes on to explain that the children of this urban Indigenous leadership will “turn this situation around” for Indigenous residents in Winnipeg since they would have opportunity to attain a better education and professional careers to would allow them to resist the persistent pressures of colonization and restore a system of self-governance.²⁴⁶ This vision of the future is imbued with a sense of strength and hope.²⁴⁷ Yet, largely unknown, such accounts provide contextualized and nuanced perspectives often missing in scholarly and public histories of the city.

²⁴⁴ John Hugh McDonald School, *Special People in a Special Place*, Hignell Printing Ltd., (1990): 21. Longclaw says creation of the reserves and pass system, residential schools, enfranchisement and socio-economic oppression forced many First Nations families to move to the city or away from their home territories and reserve communities.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 26-27.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, 27-28.

²⁴⁷ Murray Sinclair in *Special people in a Special Place*, 63. Sinclair expounds the need for Aboriginals to overcome hardship and oppression, but also states hope and encouragement for the future of Indigenous peoples.

A broad survey of scholarly and popular historical literature on the Indigenous historical experience in Winnipeg as specifically related to institutional development also determined that little has been made widely available. A master's thesis and related academic article written by Leslie Hall on the IMFC constitutes the only in-depth historical analyses publicly available about the early beginnings of an urban Indigenous organization in Winnipeg, which features the voices of Indigenous organizers who were involved in its early years. There are organizational histories provided by urban Indigenous organizations on websites with informative details of their beginnings, such as the dates of creation and the names of founders. However, analysis is not typically provided of this historical information and the websites tend to provide incomplete historical outlines that overlook substantive contextual details of conditions or events that gave rise to the organization and the complexities of their evolution. There is also inconsistency across the organizations regarding the amount of historical information provided, ranging from single-phrase inclusions to one-page historical sketches, which may also reflect the technological capacity of an organization rather than its interest in maintaining its organizational history.²⁴⁸

There is also a body of literature in a variety of disciplines that has grown substantially since the RCAP that has influenced writing about Indigenous Winnipeg.²⁴⁹ Evelyn Peters asserted in 2002 that “very little” literature had been produced about urban Indigenous issues in Canada, particularly regarding their urban migration and living experiences.²⁵⁰ A non-Indigenous social scientist herself, Peters concluded that a majority of writing was produced by settler “academics, consultants and researchers” who focused primarily on urban Indigenous peoples and

²⁴⁸ For example, see Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata Centre, “Our Mandate”, accessed March 2017, <http://www.mamawi.com>. Kinew Housing Incorporated, “History”, accessed March 2017, <http://www.kinewhousing.ca/history>. Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story. Mallett spoke about the limited capacity of some organizations to maintain their websites.

²⁴⁹ Evelyn Peters, “Emerging Themes in Academic Research in Urban Aboriginal Identities in Canada, 1996-2010”, *Aboriginal Policy Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2011): 78.

²⁵⁰ Peters, Evelyn. “Aboriginal People in Urban Areas”, 46.

urbanism as “incompatible” and “problematic”, presenting ideas on how to improve cities for them.²⁵¹ In 2011, she expanded her review of literature on Indigenous urbanites in the post-1996 era and pointed to a shift that had occurred as a result of the RCAP’s realignment of the discussion of urban Indigenous peoples. This resulted in more nuanced understandings of their experiences with colonialism and racism, and successes in developing positive urban Indigenous identities and communities.²⁵² In conclusion, she called out the “under-theorization” of urban Indigeneity, noted a dearth of studies on diversity and history, and called for further research development on urban Indigenous identity to inform policy development and build understanding among Indigenous and settler peoples.²⁵³

Locally, insight into Indigenous people’s contemporary urban experiences and contributions to community development has been generated in the post-RCAP decades largely as a result of a number of reciprocal collaborative research partnerships developed between Indigenous organizations, leaders, “organic intellectuals”²⁵⁴, and community-based scholars. This research often aims to generate systemic change by “shifting attitudes”, identifying service gaps and recommending policy solutions.²⁵⁵ It builds on local knowledge in ways that support ongoing efforts in community development and contributes to community-wide learning through coverage of a range of relevant subjects, including: poverty, employment, housing, criminal justice, education

²⁵¹ Ibid. The literature of the 1940s and 1950s that had emerged during the large Indigenous migration to cities had focussed on the incompatibility of Indigenous peoples and urbanity, but this shifted in the Eighties to viewing urban Indigenous peoples “almost exclusively through lenses of poverty and dysfunction” (78).

²⁵² Peters, Evelyn. “Emerging Themes in Academic Research in Urban Aboriginal Identities in Canada, 1996-2010”, *Aboriginal Policy Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2011): 78.

²⁵³ Ibid, 96-97.

²⁵⁴ Silver, “Aboriginal Adult Education: Combating Poverty and Colonization”, 10. Silver explains that Antonio Gramsci (1978) coined the term that he has applied to the urban Indigenous context wherein those who are “deeply rooted in the urban Aboriginal experience” use knowledge gained through their lived experiences and formal education to build an understanding of complexity of poverty and how to address poverty-related issues (10).

²⁵⁵ Shauna MacKinnon, “It’s More Than a Collection of Stories”, State of the Inner City Report, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba, 2014.

and capacity building.²⁵⁶ This research also tends to take a strengths-based approach to highlight community achievements. Efforts are also made to situate contemporary issues or experiences in modern historical contexts to address their roots.²⁵⁷ This literature is extensively consulted and cited in this study with appreciation for the considerable efforts made to co-author and foreground perspectives of Indigenous residents and organizations in research processes. To the best of my knowledge, evidence that forms the basis of much of this authorship has not been archived for public access. If even a portion of the extensive number of their interviews were made publicly available through an archive, it would make a major contribution to building a near absent archive on urban Indigenous peoples and organizations in Winnipeg.

Indigenous Winnipeggers have their own histories to share

There is a danger in claiming that the absence of Indigenous histories of Winnipeg is based upon the fact that their perspectives and stories are untold, hidden or overlooked in settler narratives of the city. As Jean O'Brien has pointed out, while Indigenous peoples have always used narratives to understand their worlds, "Indigenous agency in producing historical narratives have been rarely accorded a place of legitimacy in the formal discipline of history".²⁵⁸ The intention of this study is not to claim that local history is unknown or not shared by urban Indigenous residents. Instead, I frame this striking under-representation of Indigenous voices or perspectives in dominant historical narratives of Winnipeg and its development as a failure to situate the his-

²⁵⁶ For example see: CCPA-MB's annual State of the Inner City Reports and Fast Facts sheets, and works written by scholars affiliated with the MRA, such as Elizabeth Comack, Lawrence Deane, Lynne Fernandez, John Loxley, Shauna MacKinnon and Jim Silver.

²⁵⁷ For example: Elizabeth Comack, Larry Morrisette, and Lawrence Deane, *Indians Wear Red: Colonialism, Resistance, and Aboriginal Street Gangs*, Fernwood Publishing, Winnipeg, MB., 2013.

²⁵⁸ Jean M. O'Brien. "Historical Methods and Sources in Indigenous Studies", 15-22, in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*, eds. Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge (2017): 15.

tory of Winnipeg as the history of settler colonialism.²⁵⁹ Scholars are beginning to expand Canadian urban history to be more inclusive of urban Indigenous historical experiences, perspectives, roles and identity. For example, in 2016 a workshop entitled “Settler Colonialism and the Urban Prairie West” held at the University of Winnipeg brought settler and Indigenous scholars together to share ideas about urbanity and settler colonialism. This workshop also included local Indigenous activists and educators, such as Michael Champagne and Mitch Bourbonniere who provided their insights into the history and impacts of settler colonialism in Winnipeg. The scholars at this workshop pointed out that settler colonialism is largely presented as a rural phenomenon and comparative urban histories have yet to develop. There was also general agreement that while the study of settler colonialism enriches discussions of history, race and political economy, it is vital that Indigenous perspectives, such as those speaking to issues of decolonization and resurgence, be centralized in authorship to reveal diverse Indigenous worldviews, perspectives and agency. In other words, giving voices to narratives that have long been dismissed as “myth”.²⁶⁰

The previous chapter suggests that understanding the rich Indigenous history of the City of Winnipeg through an Indigenous lens or accounts of Indigenous peoples themselves has the potential to shift our perspectives of the city and its development. The oral histories recorded by PHAID can shift thinking about Winnipeg as a settler-created space to one that has always been Indigenous in spite of contemporary forced removals. Though a comprehensive historical analysis of Indigenous Winnipeg has yet to be publicly or widely shared by local Indigenous scholars themselves, Indigenous authors are increasingly forwarding their own histories, and in ways that

²⁵⁹ This idea builds on an idea forwarded in Adele Perry, “#IdleNoMore, Histories, and Historians”, *Active History*, February 26, 2013, accessed August 8, 2016, www.activehistory.ca. During Idle No More, Perry reminded historians of their responsibility to movement and “the change they demand”, and asked for mindfulness about colonizing pedagogical approaches to sharing history. She argued that while there are limits to its application, a need to “more rigorously situate Canadian history as the history of settler colonialism.”

²⁶⁰ O’Brien. “Historical Methods and Sources in Indigenous Studies”, 15.

pose challenges to dominant perspectives of the past. Mary Jane McCallum's case studies on the work of Indigenous women in the post-WWII era, for instance, demonstrate that women's urban experiences that were far more complex than previously presented. In one instance, McCallum challenges the notion that Indigenous women were inherently naive or "unfamiliar" with cities and demonstrates that many successfully moved to cities on their own or with other women to live and access work, education or skills training.²⁶¹ An edited collection by Niigaan Sinclair and Warren Cariou, *Manitowapow: Aboriginal Writings from the Land of Water*, consists of a rich anthology of sources on Indigenous Manitoban history from a diversity of perspectives that included writing on urban Indigenous experiences of Winnipeg.²⁶² Prior to his unexpected death, Larry Morrisette had partnered with Elizabeth Comack to write an Indigenous social history of the Bear Clan Patrol, which would represent one of the first written historical analyses of a local initiative through an urban Indigenous lens. Histories may also exist and be shared within organizations and in formats other than writing, such as oral history or multi-media, but these histories are not readily accessible for study.

While historical scholarship is beginning to percolate in Winnipeg, notions of urban Indigeneity are being redefined elsewhere that provide incentive for local redefinition that legitimize Indigenous urbanity. A body of Indigenous historical authorship has been developing for awhile in other cities around Turtle Island that is bringing increased attention to this aspect of history. This writing is encouraging story sharing about deep Indigenous connections to the land upon which cities have been constructed, and contemporary living Indigenous spaces in those centres.

²⁶¹ McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work and History*, 91.

²⁶² Niigaan Sinclair and Warren Cariou, eds., *Manitowapow: Aboriginal Writings from the Land of Water*, Winnipeg: Highwater Press, 2011. There are several creative writings inspired by the urban experience by writers, such as Marvin Francis, Duncan Mercredi, Emma LaRoque, Columpa C. Bobb and Rosanna Deerchild. Some of these selected writings focus specifically on Winnipeg, such as opinion editorials by Graham Jones and Marion Meadmore in *The Prairie Call*, a community newspaper founded in 1961 by members of the IMFC (86).

“First Story Toronto” is one example of efforts to research, preserve and share Indigenous histories of Toronto. This project has created an archive, and makes publicly available histories on a blog and by hosting events, such as urban walking tours where participants learn of the city’s history through an Indigenous lens.²⁶³ The project is also committed to recording the ongoing efforts to preserve urban history.²⁶⁴ The efforts to increase awareness of Toronto’s Indigenous history have had an impact, inspiring further Indigenous scholarship of the region and partnerships with settler scholars aiming for historical inclusivity.²⁶⁵

In other areas, evidence is increasingly being brought forward of pre-colonial Indigenous urban centres on Turtle Island, including those that predate the development of European cities, demonstrating that urban Indigenous experience is not merely the contemporary phenomenon as widely represented. Using museum exhibitions to showcase historical evidence, the Musqueam Nation has begun to reclaim a space in urban history by re-telling of the long history of the City of Vancouver. Musqueam historians reveal that an ancient Indigenous city named “‘cesna?em” was located at the site currently occupied by Vancouver that was comparable to urban centres in ancient Egyptian and Roman societies.²⁶⁶ This evidence pushes public thinking beyond widely accepted conceptions of Indigenous identity as being inherently non-urban and demonstrates the diversity and complexity of a “bustling community” that existed prior to Vancouver that contin-

²⁶³ First Story Toronto, Exploring the Aboriginal History of Toronto!, accessed September 2016, <https://firststoryblog.wordpress.com>

²⁶⁴ For example, see: Peter Mykusz, “The Nindinawemaaganidok / All My Relations Art Mural, Video, posted to First Story Toronto, September 24, 2013, accessed September 2016, <https://firststoryblog.wordpress.com/2013/09/> This video documents a recent ceremony honouring historical artistic renderings of Indigenous artists in Toronto.

²⁶⁵ Erica Commanda, “Phil Côté talks First Story: Toronto history through an Indigenous lens”, *Muskrat Magazine*. October 7, 2015, accessed May 2017, <http://muskratmagazine.com/phil-cote-talks-first-story-toronto-history-through-an-indigenous-lens/>

²⁶⁶ Myles Constable, “Media Coverage of ‘cesna?em, the city before the city’ exhibition”, January 26, 2015, Museum of Vancouver, accessed August 16, 2016, <http://www.museumofvancouver.ca/pro-grams/blog/exhibitions/1605>.

ues to thrive in the same geography despite colonial harms.²⁶⁷ Urban stories also shared by the Musqueam invite us to look beyond recent removals or influxes influenced by settler colonialism during the past few centuries and view them as extensions of a long Indigenous urban history.

In a dissertation on resolving the gap in urban Indigenous knowledge within Toronto, Jon Johnson points to a need for a redefinition of “urbanity”, which could reconfigure thinking and legitimize the perspective that “Indigenous peoples have always been urban”.²⁶⁸ Drawing on the scholarship by Forbes (1998), Johnson highlights that ancient Indigenous cities throughout North and South America had similar features to modern cities (e.g. “multi-lingual, multi-cultural, and cosmopolitan”).²⁶⁹ He explains that the centres “spatial arrangement into semi-autonomous kin-based groups” and tendency to organize near or around ceremonial centres differentiated them from modern settler definitions of “urban”.²⁷⁰ Specifically, Johnson points out that Forbes’ definition of urbanity does not prioritize cities as “structurally dense” spaces, privileging the idea of urban as “a high density of communication and networking among a large number of people in a given area”.²⁷¹ Forbes refers to these densely “interconnected settlements” located in and around ceremonial sites that formed historical Indigenous metropolises as “heart circles”.²⁷²

Insight into Indigenous definitions of urbanity could also be applied to analyses with the potential to reframe Winnipeg’s (or “win-nipi”) long history as it opens up many questions. For example, Did local spiritual sites, such as the petroforms at “Bannock Point” in the Whiteshell Provincial Park, represent part of The Forks heart circle? In the present day, does Thunderbird

²⁶⁷ “The city before the city”, Go West Coast, March 11, 2015, Youtube, accessed August 16, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JS7Y5nY70Fg>

²⁶⁸ Jon Johnson, “Pathways to the Eighth Fire: Indigenous Knowledge and Storytelling in Toronto”, PhD dissertation. Toronto: York University (2015): 134 and 135.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Ibid.

House as a key spiritual gathering place in Winnipeg represent a contemporary urban iteration of a “heart circle”? Also, I wonder what Winnipeg’s historical narrative might look like if one were to reframe the mid-twentieth “urbanization” as a contemporary form of “re-urbanization” as part of a long Indigenous history of “de-urbanization and re-urbanization”?²⁷³ Such an analyses rests beyond this study, but it is worth pointing to the archaeological evidence of an ancient site at the confluence of the Forks beneath the Canadian Human Rights Museum (CMHR) and Indigenous oral histories that speak to the extensive networking, exchanges, and peace meetings that occurred at this site for thousands of years. In 2013, an archaeologist interviewed during an excavation of thousands of artefacts at the CHMR framed the site as a “meeting ground”, “a place for people to get together”, and “nobody’s territory”.²⁷⁴ This subtle colonialist iteration of “terra nullius” may be challenged with application of Indigenous definitions of urbanity. Regardless, Winnipeg remains a special urban meeting place wherein cultural information of diverse Indigenous groups are brought together, intermingle or interconnect, and influence knowledge creation.

Indigenous Knowledge is Alive in the City:

Indigenous historians have pointed out that Indigenous peoples’ have their own ways of interpreting and remembering the past.²⁷⁵ In Winnipeg, there is an abundance of evolving Indigenous knowledge has been developed by distinct and diverse communities and cultures. Indigenous knowledge itself is deeply embedded in everyday lives, and it is expressed in a diversity of ways. Indigenous urbanites’ knowledge’s and histories are deeply rooted in culture and tradition and have been shared across generations in spite of colonial suppression. There is also an abun-

²⁷³ Ibid, 134. Johnson refers to the long Indigenous history of “de-urbanization” and “re-urbanization” in evolving circumstances over thousands of years which I used to frame my question.

²⁷⁴ “Ancient farming evidence found at Winnipeg museum site”, *CBC News*, August 13, 2013, accessed May 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/ancient-farming-evidence-found-at-winnipeg-museum-site-1.1359171>

²⁷⁵ O’Brien. “Historical Methods and Sources in Indigenous Studies”, 15.

dance of community knowledge expressed through a variety of means of communication that speak to urban Indigenous peoples thoughts, activities and experiences. There are indications that Winnipeg has long been a centralized location for the sharing and learning of tradition or heritage over time, particularly during heightened periods of cultural revitalization in history. Peters cites Ramirez (2007) who states that the idea of cultural revitalization occurring off-reserve in the city is not that well developed in Canada.²⁷⁶ Nor does a solid body of literature exist about the nature of Indigenous knowledge and traditions in urban settings.²⁷⁷ At the same time, Larry Morrisette referred to Winnipeg as a place where cultural and linguistic knowledge circulated in the Seventies, facilitating his own personal reconnection to cultural identity that continued to develop over a lifetime in the city.²⁷⁸ One comment that stands out in his discussion of this historical period is the following:

The funny thing is (that) people would say if you wanted to learn about culture you had to come to Winnipeg. It was a bit ironic because you would think that if you wanted more culture you would have to go back to the land. But that wasn't the case. The people with the knowledge were in the city.²⁷⁹

The statement that cultural transmission could occur in an urban setting as “ironic” suggests that Morrisette was well aware that his logic was counter-intuitive to the dominant way of thinking. It has been pointed out by other scholars that literature has a proclivity to “valourize” Indigenous cultural traditions practiced in natural settings.²⁸⁰ This tendency presumably exists as Indigenous knowledge and cultures have been directly informed by their unique relationships to land forms and natural environments that evolved over thousands of years. However, local testimony from

²⁷⁶ Peters, “Emerging Themes in Academic Research in Urban Aboriginal Identities”, 95.

²⁷⁷ Johnson, “Pathways to the Eighth Fire”, 137.

²⁷⁸ Larry Morrisette interview by Sarah Story.

²⁷⁹ Ibid. Larry Morrisette, interview by Darrell Chippeway.

²⁸⁰ Jon Johnson, “Pathways to the Eighth Fire”, 137.

Morrisette and other interviewees suggests that living in urban spaces does not preclude Indigenous residents from learning their cultural traditions and knowing their histories. The analyses of the interviewees themselves points to the act of building upon existing historical knowledge.

According to Johnson, land-based urban Indigenous knowledge and storytelling traditions are practised in cities and “in ways that exhibit significant similarities and continuities with those practices in non-urban locales.”²⁸¹ Explorations of urban land-based knowledge education itself, and how it acts as a vital and transformative means of reconnecting individuals to identity is now underway by local Indigenous scholars, such as Tasha Spillett, who explains that her identity was strengthened through a reconnection with the land and by learning the teachings of her traditional territory.²⁸² There are many others living in the city who have regained or maintained a strong connection to their traditional communities and territories, and make frequent trips home to visit family or partake in traditional practice and ceremony.²⁸³ Several PHAID interviewees who had moved to Winnipeg in the mid-twentieth century spoke of their reconnections and reclamations of Indigeneity, encouraged through their urban activism and work with urban organizations. For descendants of Treaty One signatories, the region that Winnipeg occupies is home territory and cultural practice continues at their sites in and around the city. For the urban residents without a connection to their home territory, there is also access to locally organized events and programming that encourage reconnection through opportunities to learn about their heritage.²⁸⁴ Settlers may have paved over the natural environment, but Winnipeg remains Indigenous land today and in spite of the pervasive constructs of Indigenous lands as somehow being “beyond urbanity”.

²⁸¹ Ibid, ii.

²⁸² For example, University of Saskatchewan, “Seeking to connect urban Indigenous girls with land-based knowledge”, November 17, 2016, accessed May 2017, <http://www.usask.ca/education/news/2016/tasha-spillett.php>

²⁸³ For example, Doris Young, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway.

²⁸⁴ I cannot speak to whether or not individuals are able to easily access teachings and knowledge specific to their own specific cultures. There is such a wide diversity of cultural groups in the city that I would believe that it is possible if individuals are connected to members of their own cultural group in the city willing to share knowledge.

Indigenous knowledge produces cultural records that are tangible and intangible in form, expanding beyond static Western archival notions of evidence and records. Traditionally, oral methods formed the basis of historical knowledge transmission. This also included use of tangible recordings (e.g. maps, petroglyphs, wampum belts and birch bark scrolls) that formed “living archives”.²⁸⁵ In oral cultures, teachings and knowledge are forwarded by myths, legends, histories and genealogy that are not static and allow for reinterpretation and expansion.²⁸⁶ Adams-Campbell, Glassburn Falzetti, and Rivard also point out that Indigenous knowledge is not static or relegated to the past; it is “largely future-oriented and continues to build and grow with every generation.”²⁸⁷ Since urban living is all that many have ever known, modern urban Indigenous stories become part of the personal and cultural groups historical narratives that can be shared through ceremony or other forms of instructive method.²⁸⁸ Darrell Chippeway, who interviewed the participants of PHAID, recalled an elder who treated the sharing of his personal history and experience of urban institutional development as a ceremony. Chippeway explained that the individual rolled out a mat on the floor where he placed down his “spiritual regalia” similar to the way that one “would see an elder sit down and talk about his history.”²⁸⁹ Reflections shared with the interviewers by elders, as well as those not considered elders, were said to have demonstrated a significant amount of knowledge and an insightful “Aboriginal analyses” of local history.²⁹⁰ In their attempt to convey ideas about Indigenous knowledge to settler archivists, some elders have

²⁸⁵ Rita-Sophia Mogyorosi, “Coming Full Circle?: Aboriginal Archives in British Columbia in Canadian and International Perspective”, (master’s thesis, University of Manitoba, 2008): 25.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Melissa Adams-Campbell, Ashley Glassburn Falzetti and Courtney Rivard, Special Feature: Settler Archives. “Introduction: Indigeneity and the work of settler archives”, *Settler Colonial Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (2015): 111.

²⁸⁸ For example, Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Larry Morrisette in Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette, Interview by Robert-Falcon Oulette.

even referred to themselves living “archives”.²⁹¹ Archivist Rita Mogyrosi cites Sul’ma’ejote in her investigation of the evolution of Indigenous archival approaches in British Columbia, who referenced “the mind” as “an archive” and the centre of the “knowledge and experiences passed along through the generations”.²⁹² In this same way, urban Indigenous knowledge is alive and embedded in the minds of individuals who accumulate and process information over a lifetime.

Since Indigenous re-migration to Winnipeg began, elders or traditional knowledge keepers who have lived in urban centres have played vital roles in transmission of history, memory and knowledge according to their own traditions, methods and protocols. It is not uncommon in Winnipeg to be offered smudge (ritual cleansing), or open a local event with prayers from elders. While ceremony is not always open to those outside of a specific culture, information is passed along in public spaces through ceremony that welcomes participation from everyone, including urban settlers. For example, at a “Water and Indigenous Women’s Wisdom” gathering in 2016, elder Myra Laramée conducted a women’s water ceremony in the UW’s Convocation Hall with two guest speakers, Freda Hudson (Unist’ot’en clan spokesperson and land defender) and Chickadee Richards (Treaty One water protector).²⁹³ In this public space, Laramée spoke about state regulations that had forced women’s ceremonies and sacred knowledge to be shared in secrecy. The transmission of women’s knowledge was even hidden from their male counterparts at times. Despite the colonial attempts to suppress them, women’s underground efforts ensured knowledge was passed along for future generations. In addition, the stories of ongoing oppression shared by land and water defenders as part of the ceremony spoke to a necessity of Indigenous movements

²⁹¹ For example, I have heard Carl Stone (cultural teacher, leader and Aboriginal student advisor at the UM) as well as elder Victor Harper of Wasagamack First Nation both publicly state, “I am an archive.”

²⁹² Rita-Sophia Mogyrosi, “Coming Full Circle?: Aboriginal Archives in British Columbia in Canadian and International Perspective”, Master’s thesis, University of Manitoba (2008): 13.

²⁹³ Myra Laramée in Myra Laramée, Chickadee Richards and Freda Hudson, “Water and Indigenous Women’s Wisdom”, The Uniter Speakers Series, [ceremony?], March 17, 2016, University of Winnipeg.

around Turtle Island to continue their attempt to protect lands and waterways; issues that have given impetus to Indigenous activism for generations. In these ways, Indigenous ceremony, history and stories of ongoing struggles are brought together and publicly shared in an urban space.

While ceremonial practices and oral transmission of cultural knowledge and history remain important in urban areas, there are contemporary forms of records also found throughout the city that communicate Indigenous knowledge. UM Indigenous Services Librarian, Camille Callison, provides an all-encompassing explanation of traditional and contemporary Indigenous knowledge and cultural expressions that is applicable to local urban contexts:

Indigenous knowledges and cultural expressions include but are not limited to tangible and intangible expressions including oral traditions, songs, dance, storytelling, anecdotes, place names, and hereditary names. In addition to these traditional forms of Indigenous knowledge, the dynamic quality of indigenous knowledge is that as it is sustained, it is also transformative, and continues to remain dynamic while producing ‘new’ knowledge in new media, such as modern forms of music, theatre and dance interpretations, film, poetry, literary expression, language applications, blogs, Facebook, or digital collections often contained in libraries, archives or cultural memory institutions and on the internet.²⁹⁴

There are numerous examples of these forms of Indigenous knowledge and cultural expression in Winnipeg. These cultural expressions are found in artistic renderings such as the Jackson Beardy Peace and Harmony Murals at the corner of Selkirk and Powers Avenue, or architectural designs of Indigenous institutional structures (e.g. Douglas Cardinal’s design of Thunderbird House).²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ Camille Callison (2016) cited in Canadian Federation of Library Associations, “Truth and Reconciliation Report and Recommendations”, Report submitted to the CFLA-FCAB Board of Directors, (2017): 36.

²⁹⁵ For example: Leonard Monkman, “Shared ‘vision’ of Thunderbird House can be conduit to save it: Architect.” *CBC News*, March 18, 2017. Accessed March 28, 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/architect-speaks-cultural-significance-thunderbird-house-1.4030878>

They are even found in symbolic urban markings that point to local encounters with colonial violence, such as shoes hung over telephone wires or spray-paint tags that denote gang territory.²⁹⁶

Local efforts have been made to share and honour Indigenous people's urban history through the celebration of historic moments and significant historical actors. Recently, the 25th anniversary of the Children of the Earth High School in Winnipeg was celebrated with a gathering that was held at the high school where speakers shared the beginning history of the school, personal memories, and displayed exhibits featuring its history and the accomplishments of students, faculty and community members. There is also a long standing exhibit honouring Indigenous leaders that has hung on the IMFC's "Aboriginal Wall of Honour" for decades that features artistic portraits of known Indigenous Manitobans who have demonstrated outstanding community leadership and service during their lives. Biographies of some of the individuals have been entered into the Manitoba Historical Society's collection of "Memorable Manitobans", including Order of the Buffalo recipients - Dorothy Betz, Stanley Wesley McKay and Mary Richard.²⁹⁷

Firsthand Indigenous accounts of activism are shared publicly at street-level community events and beyond the North End with a larger public by local activists. This was exemplified at MM@BT wherein the Anishinaabe activist and youth worker Jenna Wirch shared her historical account of the events that catalyzed the Bell Tower Movement, as described in the introduction to this thesis. Local Indigenous activists also regularly share personal and collective stories at universities or public demonstrations about historical issues that have impacted and continue to

²⁹⁶ Robert Henry, "Contested Colonial Spaces: Indigenous Street Gangs and the Prairie City", paper presented on the Racialized Policing and Social Control panel at the Settler Colonialism and the Urban Prairie West colloquium, University of Winnipeg. Winnipeg, Manitoba. October 29, 2016. Henry studies how people navigate urban spaces for survival, pointing to a need to "redefine literacy" as those with street-level knowledge read signs others cannot.

²⁹⁷ Manitoba Historical Society, Memorable Manitobans, Accessed August 6, 2016, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/index.shtml#bio_links.

impact their lives.²⁹⁸ Historical and contemporary experiences are also shared with broad audiences on the airwaves by local radio personalities (e.g., Rosanna Deerchild of the CBC's *Unreserved*, or Trevor Phillips of *On the Edge of Canada 2.0*). Firsthand accounts produced by local journalists (e.g., Leonard Monkman of *CBC Indigenous*) reveal insight into historical and current topics from Indigenous perspectives, and even introduce public audiences to the dedicated work of Indigenous change-makers in our society.²⁹⁹

Indigenous stories are also popularly shared through film in Winnipeg. In October 2016, I attended a screening of the locally produced film “this river” as part of the *Decolonizing Lens* film series hosted by the UM's Women and Gender Studies Department at the Winnipeg Art Gallery. A panel discussion following the screening featured local Indigenous activists and their activism.³⁰⁰ At this event historical knowledge was brought to the fore and connected to present-day issues related to Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW), and forward-moving visions. The reassertion of Indigenous values is injected into such urban public spaces in ways that reorient thinking of the real interconnectedness of Indigenous-settler histories.³⁰¹ There are other creative cultural expressions of our shared history or the resistance to settler colonialism cropping up throughout the city to set the record straight, counter negative framing of Indigenous

²⁹⁸ For example, I witnessed long-time two-spirited activist Albert McLeod speak to a large crowd at the first pride parade celebrations held in the City of Steinbach, Manitoba in July 2016. The push to indigenize academia has also resulted in creation of spaces for Indigenous speakers to present their ideas on campuses, such as at the speaker series hosted by the UM's Native Studies Department.

²⁹⁹ For example, Leonard Monkman, “Indigenous advocate Larry Morrisette inspired change in my generation”, *CBC Indigenous*, September 25, 2016, accessed September 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/larry-morrisette-indigenous-advocate-lenard-monkman-1.3773026>. Monkman wrote a touching article on how Larry Morrisette had inspired change in his generation, speaking to Morrisette's invaluable work in the North End.

³⁰⁰ The panel featured St. John's MLA Nahanni Fontaine, Bernadette Smith and Kyle Kematch of Drag the Red, elder Chickadee Richards of the Bear Clan, and film directors, Katherine Vermette and Erika McPherson. The panel was moderated by Rosanna Deerchild.

³⁰¹ For example, Chickadee Richards, “this river”, film panel discussion, Winnipeg Art Gallery, October 6 2016, Winnipeg, MB. Richards spoke to the long history of underlying current settler-indigenous struggles. I vividly recall her stating, “We are such loving and caring people that we have been pushed onto little pieces of land.”

peoples, and generate healing.³⁰² Strength-based narratives also highlight positive community perspectives, reveal the complexities of urban Indigenous experience, and demonstrate pride in community in ways that speak back to the predominant one-dimensional stories of Indigenous impoverishment or portrayals of passive victimhood.³⁰³

Institutional histories are also important to community organizations and organizers, and there are indications that organizations have made some attempts to record or share their history. In 2014, three local community organizers - Lorie English, Randa Stewart and Kathy Mallett - shared the beginning histories of their affiliated organizations at the annual CED-NET Gathering.³⁰⁴ Each organizational story included a retelling of major historical events that spurred the organizations' creation, principal changes that occurred within the organization over time, and the significance of history to the organization and community. The presenters' shared viewpoint was that sharing and understanding organizational stories helps organizations and individuals to more clearly see their accomplishments over time. They highlighted practical value in knowing why and how past organizational decisions were made in that continue to impact their practices. Knowledge of historical and contemporary values of organizations and their evolution in evolving and dynamic contexts over time were equally important. Mallett also highlighted key values

³⁰² For example, Winnipeg-based artist KC Adams has attempted to "combat" stereotypes and counter the "negative and disparaging" comments about Indigenous Winnipeggers she has witnessed in the news media and on social media. See: "Perception", KC Adams, Accessed August 7, 2016, <http://www.kcadams.net/art/photography/phtotal.html>

³⁰³ "Métis Poet Katherena Vermette Shares Love of Winnipeg's North End", April 29, 2015, *CBC News Aboriginal*, accessed on March 16, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/aboriginal/métis-poet-katherena-vermette-shares-love-of-winnipeg-s-north-end-in-video-1.3050509>. Vermette calls "North End Love Songs" an "ode to her neighbourhood" and response to how outsiders view it. Her narrated video "Heart" portrays positive imagery of the North End that is often not found in dominant literature.

³⁰⁴ Lorie English is executive director of the West Central Women's Resource Centre and a community activist who shared the history of this organization. Randa Stewart is a retired staff member of Assiniboine Credit Union who spoke to its role in North End development. Kathy Mallett is a long-time Indigenous organizer who was involved with several urban Indigenous initiatives, and she spoke to the early history of the Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata Centre.

of urban Indigenous organizations, such as an importance placed upon building relationships and reciprocity, which she said are also reflections of First Nations culture and history.³⁰⁵

The teaching of Indigenous history is also occurring within urban Indigenous institutions. Shauna MacKinnon points out that a “quiet resistance and decolonization” has been occurring in alternative adult education and training programs that centralize Indigenous knowledge through inclusion of cultural teachings and Indigenous perspectives on history.³⁰⁶ MacKinnon further describes the learning as a “necessary precursor to formal education and training.”³⁰⁷ North End social workers and educators claim that a requisite knowledge of Indigenous histories and the history of colonization are beneficially used to educate about systemic colonialism and to help individuals understand how it is manifest in their own worlds.³⁰⁸ This understanding is central to processes of healing and identity formation. French-Chippeweyan educator Mitch Bourbonnierre has also asserted that urban settler colonialism continues “unabated”, mainly because Indigenous and settler youth have “little to no concept of history or their place in history.”³⁰⁹ For this reason, Bourbonnierre claims that a culturally safe education inclusive of history is a critical component of learning that helps urban youth make sense of their world to move forward. Documented cases elsewhere demonstrate how historical knowledge supports healing or reconnection to heritage in ways that build identity. In “The healing power of public archives”, Jesse Thistle credits the centrality of archives in his healing journey, explaining that the work of archivists and historians is important for Indigenous peoples who have been removed from their communities or who have

³⁰⁵ Kathy Mallett, “Telling and Preserving our Beginning Stories”.

³⁰⁶ Shauna MacKinnon, *Decolonizing Employment: Aboriginal Inclusion in Canada’s Labour Market*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press (2015): 71.

³⁰⁷ Ibid. MacKinnon does not provide details on whether or not urban histories are shared.

³⁰⁸ For example: Silver, Jim. “Aboriginal Adult Education: Combating Poverty and Colonization”, 15.

³⁰⁹ Mitch Bourbonnierre, no title, Presentation on The Production of Settler Colonial Urban Space. He says mentorship, support with employment, cultural practices, ceremony and social action are also aspects of this healing circle.

lost their identities.³¹⁰ Though sharing historical knowledge is just one method of decolonizing processes that are helping individuals regain control over their lives, it is clearly an important element of individual and group learning and identity formation.

Under-representation of the urban Indigenous experience in Winnipeg-based archives:

In the writing of regional and national history, primary sources housed in archives form a solid bedrock of evidence that inform settler writings. In considering the evidential roles of archives, the importance of local urban Indigenous history, and role of historical knowledge in ongoing processes of healing, decolonization and resurgence work, it is surprising that active efforts have not been made to archive records with Indigenous residents, activists and institutions to ensure this important aspect of our collective history is documented. The starkly unrepresentative local record of first hand voices or accounts contributed by Indigenous peoples themselves is troubling. Multiple online searches over a two year period and several email inquiries to local archives regarding the urban Indigenous organizations named in this thesis resulted in an underwhelming number of related archival records created and donated by Indigenous activists or community members and organizations themselves.³¹¹ While Indigenous peoples are often the subject of collections, or have been generated as a result of Indigenous-settler interactions like those at the Hudson Bay Company Archive (HBCA), archival collections are rarely donated by Indigenous peoples themselves that demonstrate documentation of their own urban activities and contributions to institutional development.

³¹⁰ Jesse Thistle in Greg Mercer, “The healing power of public archives”, April 10, 2017, *Waterloo Region Record*, accessed May 18, 2017, <https://www.therecord.com/news-story/7233871-the-healing-power-of-public-archives/>

³¹¹ This included the following: the Archives of Manitoba, University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections, City of Winnipeg Archives, Centre for Rupert Land Studies, Centre du Patrimoine, University of Winnipeg Archives, University of Winnipeg Urban and Inner City Studies Library, and the Manitoba Legislative Library.

One of the archival collections is the Two-Spirited Movement collection donated in 2011 (with transfers in 2013) by Albert McLeod to the University of Winnipeg (UW) Archives. Albert McLeod is a Two-Spirited descendent of the Nisichawaysihk Cree Nation in Norway House and an activist who has been involved in the Two Spirit Movement since the mid-Eighties. His fonds contains rich recorded evidence of the Two-Spirited Movement between 1983 to 2013, primarily documenting Two-Spirited Manitobans and the development of Two-Spirited organizations that he co-founded or had involvement with during the Eighties and Nineties with some inclusion of recent decades.³¹² UW Archivist, Brett Lougheed, has asserted that it is “believed to be the most comprehensive collection of material” on this “grossly underrepresented” segment of society.³¹³

The UW also houses the complete electronic copy of the survey and website created by the Environics Institute as part of the “Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study”, a broad study of the urban Indigenous experience in Canada that was informed by an advisory circle of Indigenous representatives. While the study was national in scope, aspects of Winnipeg urban Indigenous peoples experiences and institutional development are reflected in the study. Recently, the UW also archived a web collection “Racism in Winnipeg” created by the UW Library in March 2015 to document the response to a claim stated in *Maclean’s Magazine* that Winnipeg was the most racist city in Canada.³¹⁴ The collection includes responses of Winnipeg Indigenous activists and leaders in addition to city officials but it was not contributed by Indigenous peoples themselves.

The Marvin Francis fonds at the University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections (UMASC) is another example of an archival collection donated by a self-identified Indigenous

³¹² Scope and Content, Two-Spirited Collection, University of Winnipeg Archives.

³¹³ Brett Lougheed, “Cool Things in the Collection”, *Manitoba History*, No 80, Spring 2016, accessed May 2017, <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/downloads/w3763689t>

³¹⁴ Scope and Content, Racism in Winnipeg Web Collection, prepared by Winston Yeung with edits by Brett Lougheed, University of Winnipeg Archives, Winnipeg, 2016.

urbanite. Francis, known for his book of poetry “City Treaty” (2002), was a Winnipeg-based writer whose short stories and poetry provide a window into the local Indigenous urban experience. An active member of the city’s arts scene, Francis made many contributions, such as the co-founding of the Manitoba Aboriginal Writers Guild and serving on the board of the Urban Shaman Art Gallery that has named a gallery in his memory. Prior to the transfer of the PHAID to the UMASC, no known additional archival holdings were contributed by Indigenous urbanites themselves. Instead, records that reflect evidence of Indigenous cultures and experiences have been contributed by settlers. For instance, the UMASC houses an extensive fonds collected by Walter Rudnicki, a settler-ally involved in the Indigenous rights movements. Among the many roles he performed over his career, Rudnicki conducted policy analysis on behalf of Indigenous groups, some of which was related to urban Indigenous peoples and urbanization.³¹⁵ In “The Advocate’s Archive: Walter Rudnicki and the Fight for Indigenous Rights in Canada, 1955 - 2010”, Amanda Linden highlights Rudnicki’s active efforts to collect records intended to bring attention to governmental negligence in addressing serious issues impacting Indigenous groups, such as poor housing conditions of Métis and non-status Indians.³¹⁶ The oral histories of PHAID speak to the housing crisis in urban areas that led to the development of local initiatives, such as Payek Housing and Kinew Housing Inc. Rudnicki’s fonds provides evidence that could usefully complement locally-generated records to understand broader historical factors contributing to the creation of urban Indigenous organizations.

In December 2016, the City of Winnipeg Archives released a research guide of its own holdings in response to TRC Call to Action #77, which is entitled “Conducting Research on In-

³¹⁵ Amanda Linden, “The Advocate’s Archive: Walter Rudnicki and the Fight for Indigenous Rights in Canada, 1955-2010”, Master’s thesis, University of Manitoba (2016): 61.

³¹⁶ Ibid, 40.

digenous Peoples and History at the City of Winnipeg Archives”. This guide pulls together a listing of archival collections that are relevant or related to the “urban Indigenous population, building relationships with Indigenous peoples, Indian Residential Schools, the aqueduct, family history and Indigenous achievement.”³¹⁷ It usefully consolidates descriptions to make potentially relevant data sets more easily accessible to users. For example, Community and Race Relations Committee Records (1981-1997) as evidence of racial issues, and records related to disproportionate social impacts of settler colonialism on Indigenous urbanites are highlighted, such as the Better Housing Commission Records (1966-1971) and Department of Public Welfare Records (1926-1965). Indigenous achievement is included in “Community Committee Records (1972-present)” that document proceedings of community meetings held in the city where locals have shared their ideas and grievances.

The Archives of Manitoba houses provincial and municipal government records reflective of settler state interactions with urban Indigenous organizations, such as documentation created by the Native Affairs Secretariat in regards to Ka Ni Kanichihk, Kinew Housing, Urban Circle Training, Ma Mawi Chi Itata, and recordings about the Native Women’s Transition Centre produced by the activities of the Manitoba Women’s Advisory Council. While these individual records are scattered throughout collections, there are extensive collections in its backlog with relevance to urban Indigenous peoples and the history of organizational development in Manitoba.³¹⁸ However, there is no publicly accessible guide to indicate other collections of relevance that have yet to be processed. One fonds identified in its holdings, Indian Handicrafts of Manito-

³¹⁷ City of Winnipeg Archives, “Conducting Research on Indigenous Peoples and History at the City of Winnipeg Archives”, 1.

³¹⁸ For instance, Carmen Miedema, personal email correspondence with Sarah Story, May 15, 2017. Miedema, a University of Manitoba Archival Studies summer intern at the archive, is processing hundreds of boxes of files that were generated through the activities of the First Nations Confederacy, which Miedema states is “a non-governmental organization that acted as a liaison between First Nations in Manitoba and the Federal Government between the Seventies and Nineties.”

ba Inc., contains valuable records created between 1967 and 1972 that focus on an initiative that aimed to source and market the work of Indigenous artisans and craftspeople.³¹⁹ This collection contains evidence of a network of local organizations, such as the IMFC, IMC and the CWPC of Greater Winnipeg.³²⁰ The records were donated by a settler, Marie M. Laing, who was involved in organizing the initiative - not by the Indigenous peoples featured in its records. As suggested in chapter one, the IMC did not constitute an Indigenous voice. Speaking within the context of her involvement with PHAID and her experience as both a long-time local Indigenous organizer and a researcher, Kathy Mallett also clarified that settler records and stories “do not reflect who they are as Indigenous Peoples”, nor do the archival institutions that hold records about Indigenous peoples reflect “the values” of the local Indigenous community.³²¹

While Indigenous cultural meanings and qualities often go unaccounted in the writings of settlers or those inexperienced with using archival materials, archival literature features is filled with examples of Indigenous uses of colonial records, which have been be re-contextualized and deconstructed to benefit Indigenous peoples and reveal insights into hidden histories. Indigenous historians in particular provide a wealth of experiential knowledge about doing archival research and have become particularly well-versed in leveraging archival sources in collections housed by settler archives to research Indigenous histories. These skilled scholars provide valuable insight into key issues of information inaccessibility and how Indigenous interventions in archives can enable important critical reinterpretations. For example, in 2013, Susan Hill, member of the Wolf Clan, Mohawk Nation and Grand River Territory (Six Nations), was guest speaker for the Riley

³¹⁹ Administrative History, Indian Handicrafts of Manitoba, Inc. fonds, Archives of Manitoba, accessed January 2014, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/755/1/1?RECLIST&DATABASE=AUTHORITY_WEB_INT

³²⁰ A closer look at the records demonstrates interesting evidence of settler-Indigenous peoples interactions and their activities, and also contains newspaper clippings and Indigenous records that exhibit local cultural knowledge and practices, such as photos of urban celebrations and a book of “recipes” or directions for making traditional crafts.

³²¹ Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story.

Fellowship Lectures at the UW Oral History Centre (OHC) who highlighted the importance of Indigenous engagement in settler archives. In a short period of time and on a limited budget, Hill responded to the Library and Archives Canada's (LAC) elimination of inter-library loans in 2012 that she claims has further impeded First Nations communities in southwestern Ontario access to written sources about their history. She worked with her students to locate and digitize thousands of records, such as RG10 Indian Affairs records, with the intention of providing direct access to First Nations reserve communities via partnerships with public libraries that often act as the only or central conduits for local information sharing. She asserted that histories and historiographies of First Nations communities in Ontario are often whitewashed, or "poorly or wrongly" informed and represented.³²² In her archival research, Hill seeks to reveal the complex historical interconnections between distinct First Nations groups, and to better understand shared and collective histories, international histories of Indigenous-Crown relations, Indigenous migration, impacts of settler invasions and violations, and Indigenous pre-Confederation and pre-contact histories.³²³ She articulated that access to records revealing details of this history and Indigenous reinterpretations of the past are vital to informing current relations within and between communities, arguing that the "rekindling of historic relationships and partnerships" encourages dialogue about responsibilities toward each other and land today.³²⁴

This important work has also exposed Susan Hill to the realities of being an Indigenous scholar doing historical research in archives, which she says requires support of settler allies,

You learn where it is safe to be brown and not safe to be brown, and that is why it is

³²² Susan Hill, "Seeking Historical Reconciliation in the Archives: Adventures in First Nations Document Collection and Analysis", Riley Fellowship Lecture, University of Winnipeg Oral History Centre, Winnipeg, MB, October 28, 2013. Accessed August 12, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DwQyveFyYlw&feature=youtu.be>

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid.

really important and valuable to have allied scholars. Because they can often tell things that nobody is going to tell me, but they'll tell it to a nice Irish-Scottish student from Ingersoll. And that's okay. He understands that as well. That's why we need fiends and need to be friends as well.³²⁵

And while partnering with settlers to generate access is beneficial in some situations, this method of access is ineffective when archival collections are closed or unknown to the public. In one example she provided, even settler students working on her project could not get access to archives of the Anglican Church across the street from her office at Huron University College. In this case the records collections were closed to the general public, including Indigenous people's seeking information about their own history, in response to litigation on Indian Residential Schools such as the Mohawk Institute that was operated by the Anglican Church. It is these types of scenarios that give the impression that settler archives bar access to records, or do not want to share information in holdings that is useful in present Indigenous struggles or reinterpretation of histories. The fact that white settler students are used to increase access speaks to racialized structures of access, raising questions about cultural safety in settler archival institutions.

Further to these points, the values of the local Indigenous people's are also not reflected in archival descriptions of settler archives that contain records by or about them. Inadequate contextualization of archival documentation by curators who display records online and offline can inadvertently reinforce the same types of stereotypes and prejudices that archivists might actually be intending to counter. For instance, the photographic descriptions in the Mennonite Archival Image Database contain Indigenous peoples who are unnamed and referred to in non-specific terms, such as "Indigenous couple" or "An Indigenous family". The problem with these online inclusions and the lack of contextual information provided about these records is related to the

³²⁵ Ibid.

context of the larger set of collections being shared that reflects the charitable and voluntary contributions of Mennonites to society. In such instances, Indigenous peoples tend to be portrayed as the receivers of benevolent settler assistance or charity, instead of their own agents of change. Leslie Spillett, the director and co-founder of Kanikanichuk and long-time Indigenous leader in Winnipeg, levelled a powerful challenge to settler-colonialism in her interview for PHAID that elucidates this issue in larger society. Spillett contended that the narrative of “The White Man’s Burden” is repeatedly upheld by settlers who have made efforts to lift Indigenous people out of their misery, whilst not acknowledging their belonging to settler-colonizer populations that have caused the crises or ways they continue to benefit from oppression.³²⁶ She called out narratives of “do-gooder” settlers who attempt to take credit for achievements of Indigenous peoples who are lifting themselves up as a people.³²⁷ In a similar vein of thought, Larry Morrissette argued that the ways in which archival records and museums have been made available to the public have convinced society that Indigenous peoples have had everything handed to them.³²⁸ Other marginalized groups have also point to the issue that photographs, artefacts or written documents that end up in the archive as a result of violence have often been presented in ways that hide their true values or inappropriately describe cultures and individuals.³²⁹ Undeniable benefits can result from individuals reconnection to information held by settler archives and present opportunities to reflect on records in new ways are possible. Yet, common occurrences of obfuscation and misrepresentation point to the harm that continues to be done to Indigenous peoples by archives, as well as repositories that are attempting to build trust by sharing records of Indigenous peoples.

³²⁶ Leslie Spillett, interview with Darrell Chippeway.

³²⁷ Ibid. Related to this point, Spillett added that while Indigenous peoples have always had their own role models, there is a notion that crises has occurred due to a so-called lack of role models in the community.

³²⁸ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story.

³²⁹ For example, Nadeem Din-Gabisi, Connie Bell and Etienne Joseph, “Whilst you archive me”, Decolonizing the Archive, accessed February 2017, <http://www.decolonisingthearchive.com/whilst-you-archive-me/>

The issues of misrepresentation, inaccessibility and lack of archived Indigenous records is compounded by a glaring truth that Manitoba's professionally-trained archival community has always been dominated by settlers archivists who adhere to approaches to knowledge preservation that reflect an alignment with inherently Eurocentric foundational principles and practices of the Canadian archival profession, which sometimes directly conflict with Indigenous values or notions of knowledge keeping. In the past few years, however, a handful of Indigenous students, primarily identifying as Métis, have graduated from the UM Master's in Archival Studies and History Program. The program has plans to increase participation moving forward and has been working in concert with the NCTR to provide these Indigenous students with local internships or work opportunities. The program has yet to attract urban Indigenous students with lived or deep interconnections to North End neighbourhoods, or those involved in urban Indigenous activism. Efforts to recruit and train Indigenous archivists have been increasing, so there is a potential for future inclusion, particularly if a more concerted effort is made to promote archives and archival education in North End neighbourhoods, campuses or work with local organizers to spread the word about the opportunities and scholarships that are being offered to Indigenous students.

No Indigenous-run archives in Winnipeg, yet

To date, a centralized community archive has not been developed with the mandate and capacity to sustainably preserve and make widely available records of Winnipeg's diverse urban Indigenous community, including records of urban Indigenous organizations and the individuals who belong to communities driving grassroots movement. In more recent times, however, efforts have been made to keep Indigenous secondary and primary source materials not specific to the urban experience. For instance, the Manitoba Indigenous Cultural Education Centre on Suther-

land Avenue houses a library and heritage collection.³³⁰ While there was interest, the Centre did not have the capacity to store and ensure that the materials collected by PHAID could be made publicly available.³³¹ An in-house library is also managed by The Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba, which is collecting original or primary source documentation for public usage.³³² The most noticeable efforts being made to build an Indigenous-run archive are underway at the Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre (MFNERC) where a dedicated team of staff members has been working on the development of an archive to preserve the centre's own organizational records. It also plans to house and make available records contributed by First Nations communities throughout Manitoba. Since 2013, MFNERC's staff members has consulted with local archivists on the development of its archive.³³³ MFNERC has aptly pointed out that many valuable collections are spread throughout communities in Manitoba, but no centrally located and recognized archive controlled by First Nations exists to make records of rural and remote reserve communities "easily accessible" for "educational and training purposes", a situation that MFNERC "hopes to change".³³⁴ While its collecting mandate is limited to serving First Nations groups (not Métis or Inuit), this is a promising endeavour that will make a valuable contribution to First Nations knowledge preservation in Manitoba.

³³⁰ Manitoba Indigenous Cultural Education Centre, "Heritage Collection", accessed August 28, 2016, http://www.micec.com/heritage_collection The MICEC is a non-profit organization that houses "more than 10,000 books, videos and hundreds of artifacts and works of art" and develops programs to teach about Indigenous culture.

³³¹ John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story.

³³² Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba, Public Education / Library, accessed August 28, 2016, <http://www.trcm.ca/public-education/library/>. The TRCM library contains materials that are "sensitive", which must be used in-house at the centre. However, it also states that it is working on expanding its "unique Treaty collection".

³³³ Manitoba First Nations Educational Resource Centre, "Let's Talk About A Manitoba First Nations Archives", accessed May 2017, <http://mfnerc.org/2013/04/lets-talk-about-a-manitoba-first-nations-archives/>. Manitoba First Nations Educational Resource Centre, "Update on the FN Archives", accessed May 2017, <https://mfnerc.org/2015/04/update-on-the-fn-archives/>.

³³⁴ Manitoba First Nations Educational Resource Centre, "Creating a Manitoba First Nations Archives: Next Steps", accessed May 2017, <http://mfnerc.org/newsletter/creating-a-manitoba-first-nations-archives-next-steps/>

The recently established National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR) is the only locally situated archive governed by an elder's circle. This national archive houses records related to the Indian Residential School System, including thousands of oral testimonies by survivors in addition to written, photographic and artifactual documentation pulled together from church, state and private archives around the country. The NCTR constitutes an archive of trauma and it houses evidence to ensure that colonial atrocities of the past will not be forgotten or repeated by leveraging evidence to educate and generate awareness of the past, and help both survivors and intergenerational survivors to reconnect, know and heal. Understandably, for some, the NCTR is an archive that evokes memories and feelings too powerful to warrant a visit.³³⁵ While it has an important mandate, the NCTR's identity as a national archive of trauma, in addition to being situated in a settler-dominated university campus far from the highest concentration of Indigenous peoples in the city, suggest that this is a less than ideal repository for an engaging locally-based living archive of urban Indigenous peoples in this city. There are Indigenous students at the UM and the NCTR does have a stated interest in collecting materials beyond those related to residential schools and intergenerational experiences and connecting remotely situated groups to these records, such as the settlement that started the TRC and records generated by the RCAP. Yet, for dynamic urban activist groups who concentrate their work in the North End wishing to create or engage with community-generated knowledge, and control access and usage policies according to their own mandate, the NCTR is not an ideal solution. It does, however, have the potential to play an advisory role in the development of Indigenous archives that seek to preserve large sums of digital data or navigate intricacies of access and privacy legislation. It could also be used to store back up copies or redirect funding and resources into the urban community for its own use.

³³⁵ This statement is based upon a real world experience that I had with survivors who refused to visit the NCTR.

While Indigenous-directed archival preservation efforts, in the western sense of the concept³³⁶, are beginning to emerge in Winnipeg, settler cultural groups in the city have fairly well-developed, centralized and accessible repositories to preserve and share knowledge of their collective experiences. This has resulted in published histories featuring endeavours of these cultural groups and their cultural centres, social institutions, charities, organizations and businesses. Oral histories, personal memoirs and illustrated compilations of their own cultural group's activities, experiences and societal contributions have also been widely produced by the historical societies, community organizations, and interested members of these cultural groups who have developed heritage centres and community archives, such as Oseredok, Ogniwo, The Irma and Marvin Penn Archives, and the Mennonite Heritage Centre Archives. It is common for settler historical societies to create and maintain museums and archival collections filled with the stories of their own "firstings" and "lastings" (e.g. narratives of "the first discovery") alongside its regional stories of pioneers and industries.³³⁷ Naturally, local archival mandates are directed toward the documentation of the experiences and the development of their own respective cultural groups, perhaps explaining why firsthand stories of their Indigenous neighbours with whom they share urban spaces are not widely represented in their historical contributions.

In her case study of the concept of "community" in relation to the Boissevain-Morton Library & Archives (BMLA), Sarah Ramsden shows how a collection of records amassed by a private citizen that contains rich evidence pertaining to the Dakota history of the region has not yet been transferred to a regional archive, citing the archives strict adherence to the collecting mandates of regional archives as a barrier. In this example, Ramsden demonstrates how notions of

³³⁶ I qualify this as I want to reiterate that I acknowledge that Indigenous preservation takes different forms, such as through land-based learning and transmission of Indigenous languages loaded with cultural knowledge and meaning.

³³⁷ Jean O'Brien cited in Adams-Campbell, Glassburn Falzetti and Rivard, "Introduction: Indigeneity and the work of settler archives", 113.

“community” and the boundaries imposed to community inform institutional mandates that can sideline those who fall outside of their own definitions.³³⁸ In this way, settler-defined notions of community or political geography have limited the preservation of Indigenous history in settler archives.³³⁹ This logic can be extended to an analysis of the collecting mandates of archives in the city where an over-inclusion of settler scholars records about Indigenous peoples and to the exclusion of the Indigenous peoples in the city itself have seemingly reinforced the pervasive notion of Indigenous peoples as non-urban or less authentic than Northern or remote groups.

The issues of misrepresentation of Indigenous cultures, identities, and lived experiences in archives, widespread situation of Indigenous peoples as subjects of research, and shortage of Indigenous sources produced or shared by urban Indigenous peoples themselves influences what historical narratives have been shared about the city. This situation is compounded by the lack of a formal urban Indigenous governance structure equivalent to the City of Winnipeg that has a responsibility to keep records of its affairs, as well as a lack of an Indigenous community archive to directly exercise sovereignty over contemporary technical knowledge keeping as settler states, institutions and community groups have done. This deeply influences what we can know of this important aspect of our society. One repercussion is that age-old colonialist perspectives prevail that stereotype urban Indigenous peoples as problems or victims without agency or the desire to develop solutions to overcome the impacts of colonization.³⁴⁰ The near absence of urban Indigenous versions of local history in archives contribute to the misshaping of public impressions that settlers themselves have singularly built this city through their own contributions to development

³³⁸ Sarah Ramsden, “Defining ‘Community’ in Modes of Community Archives: Navigating the Politics of Representation as Archival Professionals”, Master’s thesis, University of Manitoba (2016): 54.

³³⁹ Ann Stoler, “Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance”, *Archival Science*, Vol. 2, (2002). Stoler argues, “What constitutes the archive, what form it takes and what system of classification signal at specific times are the very substance of colonial politics (92).” The mandates of archives are based in such colonial politics.

³⁴⁰ Larry Morrisette in Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette, Interview by Robert-Falcon Oulette.

and improvement. There remains a lot of work to be done to preserve, document and retell histories of the city according to Indigenous peoples' perspectives. There are signs that this work is beginning as Indigenous peoples are increasingly writing and sharing their own versions of history, and local archivists are waking up to the fact of Indigenous exclusions and efforts are being made to recruit and train Indigenous archivists to change the local situation. In this context and considering the articulated presence of abundant Indigenous information sources and knowledge circulating in the city expressed in a wide variety of artistic, oral, and traditional Indigenous and western documentary forms, it appears we have reached a natural state in Winnipeg where it has become necessary to have a discussion about collectively developing strategies to support local documentation and preservation of this aspect of history, including support for in-house and post-custodial solutions to increase Indigenous peoples physical and intellectual control over information and knowledge. The next chapter tells the story behind the first known local attempt to centralize fragmented Indigenous evidence of urban institutional development and experience to carve out a space for urban Indigenous people's need to ensure a future archive. It is out of this larger context, specifically the significance of urban Indigenous history and the recognition of its under-documented and under-theorized nature that archival recovery efforts emerged.

Chapter Three: Recovering the Past for Present and Future Generations

In 2008, Dr. John Loxley, Professor of Economics at the University of Manitoba and lead founder of the Manitoba Research Alliance (MRA), spearheaded the first study of archival holdings in local repositories documenting urban Indigenous institutional development in Winnipeg. The study was inspired by Loxley's research on Indigenous economic development for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in 1996.³⁴¹ The RCAP inquiry had necessarily drawn attention to the unique challenges of Indigenous urbanites. During the RCAP, Loxley had recognized the necessity to document firsthand accounts of individuals who had initiated or who had been involved in developing Indigenous approaches to community and institutional development to better understand their motivations, experiences and thoughts about their accomplishments. In 2008, Loxley returned to the idea of documenting this aspect of history. The original intent of Loxley's 2008 study was to identify gaps in the historical record.³⁴² Graham Stinnett, an archival studies student at the University of Manitoba, was hired to perform the preliminary survey of existing Indigenous organizations and relevant archival holdings, which uncovered virtually "no archival integration" of records into Winnipeg's repositories.³⁴³ These findings resulted in the decision to shift to a broader search effort to locate and obtain recorded evidence held by urban Indigenous organizations that revealed details of their beginning stories and historical evolution. To conduct this work, Loxley partnered with Dr. Evelyn Peters, Canada Research Chair and Professor of Urban and Inner City Studies at the University of Winnipeg. Peters is a knowledgeable scholar extensively published in the area of urban Indigenous issues with experience in locating and analyzing organizational records. Loxley and Peters combined experience and in-

³⁴¹ John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story, 2016.

³⁴² Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story, 2016.

³⁴³ Notes to John Loxley by Graham Stinnett, PHAID project papers, unprocessed, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, 2008.

terests resulted in a cooperative endeavour to “strengthen the historical record of Aboriginal activity in Winnipeg as an important aspect of Aboriginal history”.³⁴⁴ This academic partnership resulted in creation of the PHAID with two priorities: record the stories of individuals involved in urban Indigenous organizations and archive records of organizations that people would entrust to the project.³⁴⁵ While individual organizers within the community had collected records of this Indigenous activism, PHAID was the first coordinated collecting effort in Winnipeg to pull together and centralize the collections.³⁴⁶ To the knowledge of the team members of PHAID, it constituted the first-ever collaborative effort in Winnipeg of scholars and residents to gather and archive a more comprehensive record of the history of urban Indigenous institutional development with the purpose of preserving and sharing the histories with a broad public.

From the start, Loxley and Peters recognized need for an Indigenous advisory committee that would take the lead on the project.³⁴⁷ Loxley invited long-time affiliations from his existing network that he believed had a keen interest in the documentary work and participated in the historical events that had led to the creation of organizations. The Indigenous advisory began with Louise Chippeway and Kathy Mallett, and expanded to include Larry Morrisette. In their own right, each advisor was an “organic intellectual”³⁴⁸ who had contributed to local social change; they had involvement in institutional development and fulfilled rotational activist roles throughout their lives as part of a wider Indigenous grassroots movement in Winnipeg. All of the Indig-

³⁴⁴ *Project proposal*, PHAID project papers, unprocessed, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, 2013.

³⁴⁵ *Project Description: Preserving the History of Aboriginal Organizations in Winnipeg*, unprocessed, PHAID project papers, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections [2013].

³⁴⁶ Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story. Mallett mentioned that a few others in the community have collected records, such as Linda Keeper who transferred records of her mother (Dorothy Betz) to the UMASC during PHAID.

³⁴⁷ John Loxley, interview by Story. Evelyn Peters interview by Story.

³⁴⁸ Silver, “Aboriginal Adult Education: Combating Poverty and Colonization”, 10. Silver explains that Antonio Gramsci (1978) coined the term that he has applied to the urban Indigenous context wherein those who are “deeply rooted in the urban Aboriginal experience” use knowledge gained through their lived experiences and formal education to build an understanding of complexity of poverty and how to address poverty-related issues (10).

enous team members also had experience conducting research within the community. At the time of PHAID, Mallet was co-director of Community Economic Development Agency (CEDA), Louise Chippeway was retired but continued to offer educational workplace workshops with Dan Highway (“Take a Walk in my Moccasins”), and Larry Morrisette was director of Ogiijiita Pimatiswin Kinamatwin (OPK).³⁴⁹ Two post-secondary school students - Darrell Chippeway and Crystal Greene - were also hired to work on PHAID, each taking on the dual roles as learners and leaders in documentary processes. They both eventually became key members of the advisory. Chippeway did not self-identify as an activist, but was inspired by the activism of his mother, Louise.³⁵⁰ Greene was involved in Idle No More activism and water protection speaking out and taking an active role in documenting critical issues impacting Indigenous peoples and lands.³⁵¹

The creation of the Indigenous advisory marked a significant turning point for the project at the time it evolved from a university-directed study into a primarily community-led project.³⁵² The strength of this team was attributed to their combined extensive personal knowledge and experiences as Indigenous peoples involved with developing local community initiatives.³⁵³ The senior team members were particularly essential as this aspect of urban Indigenous history and actors involved in history-making were not well-known to the lead researchers and those external

³⁴⁹ For further information on Mallett, see, Jim Silver, “Kathy Mallett - Inner City Builder”, Fast Facts, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives - Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB, November 3, 2015, accessed May 20, 2017, <https://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/commentary/fast-facts-kathy-mallett-inner-city-builder>; and for a few of the highlights on the lifetime work of Morrisette, see: “Indigenous advocate, Bear Clan Patrol co-founder Larry Morrisette dies at 59”, CBC News, September 20, 2016, accessed May 20, 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/larry-morrisette-dies-1.3771544>

³⁵⁰ Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

³⁵¹ For example, Crystal Greene quoted in Shelagh Pizey-Allen, “A Threat to Winnipeg’s Water Supply?”, *The Dominion*, Jan. 9, 2014, accessed Jan. 2017, <http://dominion.mediacoop.ca/story/threat-winnipegs-water-supply/19564>

³⁵² John Loxley and Evelyn Peters, “*Preserving the History of Aboriginal Institutional Development in Winnipeg: Research Driven by Community*” in *Practising Community-Based Participatory Research: Stories of Engagement, Empowerment, and Mobilization*, ed. Shauna MacKinnon, UBC Press: Vancouver, BC (forthcoming March 2018). Loxley and Peters referred to this transition in the project as an “Aboriginalization” but I have changed this to Indigenization to reflect current language that captures the same meaning of the author’s.

³⁵³ John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story.

to the early activism. As known and trusted advocates, it was also possible for them to gain access to the recorded documentation and secure more Indigenous participation for oral history interviews. Reflecting on their work, Louise and Darrell Chippeway indicated that due to historical colonization and ongoing settler colonialism that has harmed Indigenous-settler relationships and created distrust, the responses to PHAID's calls for community involvement by settler researchers would not have been as successful in soliciting willing participants.³⁵⁴ Loxley also highlighted the importance of their perspectives and personal connections claiming that they "welded nicely" with his own work ethics and goals, and he was reminded at each meeting of the importance of their participation.³⁵⁵ As the project evolved, Loxley and Peters shifted to primarily fulfilling its logistical needs, such as running meetings and securing funding. The members of the advisory performed community outreach and became the lead decision makers to ensure Indigenous principles and perspectives were centralized within all processes. As a result, their role as advisors evolved into a position of team membership that directed and led in decision-making.

The infusion of Indigenous input and leadership into processes effectively transformed PHAID. This involvement stimulated a shift from filling a gap in the historical or archival record to a very active attempt to capture and preserve living memories and knowledge of a shared urban history. The documentation of Indigenous agency and positive societal contributions from an Indigenous perspective to "counter negative stories" circulating in the public domain became an key articulated priority.³⁵⁶ In this respect, PHAID was similar to First Story Toronto, which had responded to need to confront "the misconceptions or negative perceptions of Aboriginal people" by recording firsthand accounts of Indigenous people's urban experiences, growing up,

³⁵⁴ Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story. Louise Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

³⁵⁵ John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story.

³⁵⁶ John Loxley quoted in a *Media Release*, draft, PHAID project documents, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, October 21, 2013. Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story.

working, overcoming discrimination and creating Indigenous organizations in Toronto.”³⁵⁷ In their review of independent community archives, Andrew Flinn and Mary Stevens asserted that efforts of marginalized social groups to document their own subordinated histories are generally “political and subversive”.³⁵⁸ Flinn and Stevens contend that these efforts are not acts of “intellectual vanity”, nor should they be viewed purely as a leisure activity.³⁵⁹ These findings corresponded with my own observations of PHAID. While it was noted that the Indigenous members brought considerable energy and passion to documenting history, their statements indicate that in their work was an inherently political adherence to the recovery and sharing of Indigenous historical understandings and interpretations. In this respect, PHAID aimed to deliberately reshape dominant historical narratives of the city that have excluded or downplayed contributions of urban Indigenous roles, perspectives and experiences. Morrissette firmly asserted that Winnipeg’s history would never be considered “fully developed” until Indigenous people’s had the equal opportunity to share interpretations.³⁶⁰

These efforts were also driven by an engrained understanding that the past informs the present and future. The records were not viewed as tools to simply inform understanding of the past, but intended to be leveraged to gain critical insight of historical processes for present-day purposes. Organizers engaged in decolonizing efforts can turn this information into knowledge to guide aspects of their work to improve societal conditions for future generations. Waziyatawin Angela Wilson connects Indigenous knowledge recovery to contemporary processes of decolonization, explaining them as “deeply intertwined” out of necessity to assess “how the historical

³⁵⁷ Rita-Sophia Mogyrosi, “Coming Full Circle?”, 88.

³⁵⁸ Andrew Flinn and Mary Stevens, “‘It is Noh Mistri, Wi Mekin Histri’: Telling Our Own Story, Independent and Community Archives in the UK, Challenging and Subverting the Mainstream,” 3-27 in *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory, Principles and Practice in Records Management and Archives*, eds., Jeannette Bastian and Benjamin Alexander, London: Facet Publishing (2009): 3.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story.

process of colonization has systematically devalued Indigenous ways” for the purposes of “revers(ing) the damage wrought from those assaults.”³⁶¹ Kathy Mallett argued the need for a better understanding of the “big picture”, or patterns and connections of history to the present, to assist the current work of organizations.³⁶² Mallett believed this history provided ample opportunity to learn lessons to help reorient approaches to community work:

We need to know the big picture of our work (and) our development. Why did we create these community organizations? How are they functioning? Are they actually doing what they are supposed to be doing? Why do we still have so many homeless people? Why do we have so many of our young girls being killed? You know? Why are we still having an incident like Brian Sinclair in the health field system? Why do we still have tons of our people in prisons? Why were these organizations developed? What is it that they are not doing to keep our people well or in tact?³⁶³

Her questions speak to the importance of understanding why and how challenges persist despite the innovative Indigenous development and progress that has occurred to date. In this way, the desire to understand how to improve present conditions drove the Indigenous team members documentary efforts.

Recording the voices of Winnipeg’s Indigenous organizers and leadership

In 2013, PHAID shifted its efforts from the collection of organizational records to filming oral history interviews with people involved in early institutional development or who made significant contributions to strengthening The Village. In 2013, Crystal Greene made a call out for community participation in *Grassroots News & Views* encouraging records donations,

Before cleaning out that old filing cabinet that sits in your basement, or tossing yellowing papers from your home office closet, consider donating to a project called Preserving

³⁶¹ Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, Introduction: Indigenous Knowledge Recovery is Indigenous Empowerment”, pp. 362. *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 28, Special Issue: The Recovery of Indigenous Knowledge (2004): 359-372.

³⁶² Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story.

³⁶³ Ibid.

the History of Aboriginal Organizations in Winnipeg, and perhaps, share your involvement in community development for the camera.³⁶⁴

Greene emphasized the importance of preserving oral histories of “trailblazers” who participated in early efforts, encouraging participation by stating that several elders had already been “eager to share their stories for the camera.”³⁶⁵ This was a response to a concern that several long-time Indigenous leaders had passed away in recent years prior to PHAID, such as Mary Richard and Dorothy Betz.³⁶⁶ This sense of urgency to capture voices of aging individuals, and the collective acknowledgement that their voices were fundamental to shaping understandings of the “personalities, thinking, motivation of individuals” connected to early histories of organizations were an impetus to interview.³⁶⁷ By this point, the team had also encountered issues in retrieving organizational records sets further validating a need to leverage technology to record the oral histories.

From the outset, acknowledgment existed of the important support roles or contributions of settler allies to institutional development, but a decision to focus strictly on those individuals with Indigenous identity was made to give a voice to their perspectives and create a manageable scope for the work.³⁶⁸ A list of potential participants was drawn up to reach out to those remaining who might be willing and able to share memories on record. The scope of potential participants and what constituted as “urban Aboriginal institutional development” was not strictly defined.³⁶⁹ Darrell Chippeway defined “urban aboriginal organization” as organizations that assisted urban Aboriginal peoples. He recalled that the lead researchers did not agree on the definition. As he understood it, Loxley included the AMC as this entity had also contributed to institutional

³⁶⁴ Crystal Greene, “Urban Aboriginal history project seeks your stories”, *Grassroots News & Views*, April 23, 2013.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story. Louise Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story. Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

³⁶⁷ Larry Morrissette in Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrissette, interview by Robert-Falcon Oulette.

³⁶⁸ John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story. Evelyn Peters, interview by Sarah Story.

³⁶⁹ Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story..

development in Winnipeg whereas Peters had a stricter definition that did not consider it priority. In the end, the Indigenous team members of PHAID drew up the list of potential interviewees, which resulted in wide capture of viewpoints of knowledgeable figures, including those whose societal contributions were much broader than the local urban scope.³⁷⁰

The Indigenous team members were unanimous in their desire to leverage film as the method to capture story and memory. Documentary filmmakers have pointed to the power of visual and aural methods of storytelling to convey holistic understandings that “empathically connect” audiences to the storyteller.³⁷¹ Though it was not articulated in layman’s terms, several Indigenous team members believed that filming would humanize the storytellers and allow viewers to form a deeper connection to the stories and storytellers.³⁷² Louise Chippeway believed filming was important to the work of the project:

You know what? I think (audio-recording) is good, but I think that an audio-visual of the person is even more meaningful. I think then people can relate to them. Young Aboriginal people are doing research and can see Marion Meadmore’s or George Munroe’s face. You can tell a lot by looking into a persons eyes or by looking at their face, you know? How authentic they are. I think in our case, all of them were authentic, or really sincere and truthful in the stories that they told us. I think that it is really important to have that visual representation as part of our research. Ten years from now or twenty, thirty, forty or fifty years from now, people will see who George Munroe was visually. He is speaking as if he is speaking to you live. Even though it might be fifty years from now, when my great grandchildren are doing research on Aboriginal people, ‘I want to know who my grandmother was. Her name was Louise Chippeway. I want to see her.’ You see? That is what it would mean to our people who come from all over Manitoba.³⁷³

It was also articulated by Larry Morrissette, an educator concerned with teaching the history of colonization, that film was a very useful, flexible medium for visual learners.³⁷⁴ I also recall the

³⁷⁰ Evelyn Peters, interview by Sarah Story. For example, Murray Sinclair had played a particularly important role in relation to the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, and the child welfare system that has impacted local lives and activism.

³⁷¹ Rowe, Carlson, Zegeye-Gebrehiwot and Story, “Decolonization through collaborative filmmaking”.

³⁷² Louise Chippeway, interview with Sarah Story.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story.

discussion of the accessibility of film, and its potential to recreate recordings in creative ways to reach a wider general public uninterested in transcripts or audio recordings.³⁷⁵ The Indigenous team members also liked the idea of sharing video clips with the public via a webpage prepared by the host archive.

There were indications that leveraging film technology to visually and aurally transmit history and memory to future generations was viewed as a contemporary extension of the oral narrative tradition. There are distinctions between oral tradition and oral history. At a basic level, recording oral histories is one method of documenting individual or group memories of their own lives, whereas oral tradition is a primary method of Indigenous knowledge transmission wherein information has been forwarded through the generations by aural stories and legends, ceremony or other instructive methods since time immemorial. In the past, knowledge passed through the oral tradition was rarely recorded as it often went against cultural protocol. This is changing in some cultural contexts and Indigenous groups have leveraged documentary film and oral history methodologies to record interviews and traditional teachings to ensure the survival of language and transfer cultural knowledge between generations. There are cases of elders, such as Victor and Emma Harper of Wasagamack First Nation, using audio-visual technology to record elders and land-based teachings to ensure knowledge will be available to younger generations.³⁷⁶ There are also Indigenous cultural societies that have leveraged documentary film to move beyond the transmission of knowledge to actively increasing the local involvement in cultural and historical research. The Kitikmeot Heritage Society, for instance, “builds digital literacy alongside aware-

³⁷⁵ I do not intend to state that audio cannot generate wide engagement. Podcasts are one way to use audio interviews but they involve capturing the soundscapes which require technical training in audio recording.

³⁷⁶ For example, see: *The Bear Lake - Stevenson River Knowledge Preservation Project*, unpublished report written July 29, 2016, submitted by Sarah Story to the Manitoba Research Alliance with thanks to Victor and Emma Harper of Wasagamack on November 21, 2016. Winnipeg, MB.

ness of local traditions and skills” to strengthen their role in “shaping the ways that Inuinnait culture is understood both within and outside of Nunavut.”³⁷⁷ Adams-Campbell, Glassburn Falzetti and Rivard refer to contemporary oral tradition as “a living expression of resistance to present-day settler colonialism and a reassertion of Native autonomy”, which acts as valid powerful evidence that can be used to contest and decolonize settler colonial narratives.³⁷⁸ The desire to transfer knowledge for cultural preservation purposes, encourage further recording and sharing, and resist dominant narratives by asserting their experiences and perspectives were also elements reflected in the work of PHAID.

There are scholars who question the reliability of oral methods as historical evidence for the same reasons the Indigenous team members wished to record their histories, such as the flexibility or creativity of the medium. The legitimacy of recording aurally transmitted stories was neither questioned nor invalidated by the researchers and archivists of PHAID. From a personal standpoint, based upon a decade of experience practicing oral history in the field, I supported wholeheartedly the direction as I have witnessed how it can be used to democratize the record or generate meaningful policy change. While recording changes knowledge, this should not diminish the value of oral recordings as sources of local historical knowledge. These recordings allow for flexibility or multiple interpretations. There is complexity to the recordings; they move beyond static written primary evidence of a singular event to include memories of events, as well as the very personal reflections, analyses and opinions of these events. Without the recordings, voices that have shed an important light on elements of Indigenous urbanism would have been

³⁷⁷ Kitikmeot Heritage Society, Community Documentary Film, accessed February 2017, <http://www.kitikmeotheritage.ca/qalgiq-theatre/community-documentary-film/>

³⁷⁸ Adams-Campbell, Glassburn Falzetti and Rivard, “Introduction: Indigeneity and work of settler archives”, 114.

lost to history since information and memory shared in the recordings are not captured in the written documentation.³⁷⁹

In “reading” these oral records, it is useful to know something about the influences that led to their creation as they are unarguably shaped by those conducting interviews and directing research. Darrell Chippeway and Crystal Greene conducted a majority of the hands-on work, so the methods of interviewing and filming employed were influenced by their training in journalism and filmmaking. Oral history methodology itself was not extensively consulted prior to developing a process, nor was training sought in this area, but evolved with the hands-on practice of conducting interviews. The format itself was informed by Darrell Chippeway’s background in reporting and it directly impacted the outcome or what information was shared. Unrecorded pre-interviews were conducted with each participant in preparation for a filmed interview. These pre-interviews were intended to be an opportunity for the interviewer to meet with the participants so they would be more comfortable during the interview. It also served the dual purpose of sharing a list of standard questions, which was tailored based upon information shared at this session.³⁸⁰

The other Indigenous team members also greatly influenced the outcomes of the interviews. Throughout the process, Louise Chippeway mentored Darrell by providing him with background information on each organization and participant prior to the interview.³⁸¹ Larry Morrisette contended that the lead interviewer did good work, but it was decided by the lead researchers that it would be beneficial to have him participate in conducting the interviews.³⁸²

Morrisette had extensive research experience and community involvement that directly influ-

³⁷⁹ For example, Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story. Chippeway indicated that one of the interview participants passed away shortly after her interview. The death of Larry Morrisette in Fall 2016 also solidifies the importance for the ongoing capture of these stories.

³⁸⁰ Ibid. The interviews were guided by a standard list of questions developed by the lead researchers and advisors. Few pre-interviews notes were archived, but might provide useful information for creation of archival descriptions.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Larry Morrisette, interview by Sarah Story. John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story.

enced the level of information shared during the interviews he attended. He was able to “read between the lines” and he posed challenging questions or counter responses to elicit nuanced interpretations and sharing. In the footage, Louise Chippeway is also often heard engaging in a mutual sharing of memories, drawing out further storytelling and asking additional questions to those posed by lead interviewers.³⁸³ On occasion, Crystal Greene is also heard posing thoughtful questions from behind her camera to engage further with participants.³⁸⁴ The participatory nature of many of the interviews facilitated nuanced interconnections between the interviewers, storytellers and memories of the past. The interpersonal dynamics of the classic interviewer-to-narrator structured interview were transformed in such instances, revealing insight into contemporary urban Indigenous memory-making, which is an area of study that will be of interest to those researchers open to accepting the legitimacy of the oral histories and understanding ways they were culturally constructed in the context of this project.

Fifty-two individuals in total were interviewed.³⁸⁵ This collection is particularly valuable as it is comprised of meaningful, humanizing, personal stories of Indigenous peoples who “made it” as community leaders, politicians, organizers, scholars, business people, lawyers, educators, social workers, health care workers or other professionals. Their personal histories are deeply interwoven with the institutional histories. Each storyteller reveals aspects of their lives in home reserve communities prior to migration, personal motivations for their migration to the city, their early experiences of the city and motivations for their activism or contributions to organizational development. Primarily between the ages of 50 and 90, most individuals moved to Winnipeg as

³⁸³ For example, Marion Meadmore, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. In this interview, there are many moments where Marion Meadmore and Louise Chippeway interact and share ideas and memories.

³⁸⁴ For example, Kathy Mallett, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Greene asked Mallett about the role of lateral violence in the early years of Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata, which elicited an interesting response about the complex issues involved in structuring the organization in its early years and the importance of preserving organizational history.

³⁸⁵ The completed list of interviewees is in Appendix 3.

young adults during the “first wave” of urban Indigenous migration between the mid-Fifties and latter Seventies. A few interviewees also self-identified as belonging to a “first generation urban Aboriginals” born in the city.³⁸⁶

Despite sharing unique individual personal experiences and perspectives, the participants shared some similar perspectives and each has been impacted by racism, settler-colonial policies and institutional structures. Most spoke of the processes of colonization that had damaged their personal sense of Indigenous culture and identity, and each self-identified as either a residential school survivor or intergenerational survivor.³⁸⁷ Sinclair advanced that residential schools taught students they “had nothing to contribute to the history of this country”; one of several oppressive ideologies internalized by Indigenous people’s.³⁸⁸ Sinclair’s story highlighted that even in those cases where a sense of family history prevailed, there was still often a significant lack of cultural information available to contribute to cultivating their personal sense of, or their cultural identity as, Indigenous people. In his own words, Sinclair shared the following perspective,

We were always aware that we were Aboriginal, of course, but there was not a lot of cultural information. My grandparents had both gone to residential school and they had both raised their children, my father and my aunts and uncles, to believe that there wasn’t much about Aboriginal culture and Aboriginal identity that was worth being proud of. So, that environment was very strong, although we had a pretty good sense of our own family history through other Aboriginal people and other Aboriginal communities around the province. But nonetheless, finding my own sense of who I was and what my history was or what our history and our culture was a challenge as a young person. There wasn’t a lot of information publicly available and finding those people who had that information was also difficult. That was important to me. It was important to me when I went back to school, and it remained important to me. [...] It had become important to me because when I returned to University in 1976 my first child had been born, Niigaan, and when he

³⁸⁶ For example, Larry Morrisette, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story.

³⁸⁷ For example, Ann Callaghan, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Marion Meadmore, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. Mary Courchene, interview by Darrell Chippeway. Doris Young, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Louise Chippeway. Murray Sinclair, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.

³⁸⁸ Murray Sinclair, interview by Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette.

was born I had a real sense of responsibility to ensure that he had a good sense of himself and a good knowledge about who we were as Anishinabe people.³⁸⁹

Due to the breakages in the transmission of cultural knowledge that resulted from the processes of settler violence and oppression and prevalence of racism against Indigenous peoples, many of the interview participants highlighted that upon their arrival in the city, it was a common experience to sense shame or denial in their heritage and Indigenous identity.

In contrast to local writing, PHAID interviews do not frame participants as unchanging passive victims of oppression, instead highlighting their complex and evolving real world experiences. Deeply personal accounts of efforts to overcome processes of colonization demonstrate how these generations of Indigenous urbanites emerged from colonialist institutional structures. They struggled to make sense of their worlds and address the impacts of oppressive systems in their own lives, which effectively drove their personal desires and collective efforts to work to help improve the lives of other Indigenous peoples and future generations.³⁹⁰ Empowering stories of coming to embrace Indigenous identity reveal that it often led to efforts to influence and help others begin their own journey of self-discovery and healing. Recovery and development of cultural identity reemerges throughout these interviews, indicating how the processes of decolonization informed their community organizing work and the development of urban Indigenous initiatives and organizations. As local scholars have highlighted, an experienced leadership evolved within Winnipeg able to identify key issues that need to be addressed that has inspired the organization around these issues.³⁹¹ In some instances, organizing efforts led to institutional development and all organizational histories are directly tied to histories of its organizers.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Larry Morrisette, interview by Sarah Story.

³⁹¹ Silver, Parvin, Hay and Klyne, "Sharing, Community and Decolonization", 138.

In addition to these oral histories, the response to the project's calls for participation also yielded record donations from several community members that date as far back as the mid-nineteen-fifties.³⁹² This includes records donated by each of the three senior Indigenous team members, as well as by Jacqui Lavallee, Lena Friesen, Linda Keeper, Ivy Chaske, Gerry Moore, Donna Glover, Francis Roesler and Randi Gage. Similar to the filmed interviews, documentation of community and institutional development donated by individuals speaks to a wide variety of initiatives each individual has engaged in during their lives.³⁹³ These collections also reflect individuals' engagement with broader Indigenous issues and activism beyond Winnipeg.³⁹⁴ Numerous photographs of cultural events held in the city are also contained in the collections, as well as records of Indigenous organizational activities in other regions of Manitoba.³⁹⁵

The most extensive archival collection is the Dorothy Betz fonds, which consists of seven Hollinger boxes of records pertaining to urban initiatives that the late Dorothy Betz, and her husband Elmer Betz, were involvement in during their lives.³⁹⁶ In general, however, records trans-

³⁹² Memories shared by individuals, however, stretch back much further in history as some discuss growing up on reserve communities, share stories about their families or talk about the influence of role models in their youth.

³⁹³ For example, MSS 469 A13-156 Randi Gage fonds, University of Manitoba Archive and Special Collections. The Randi Gage fonds contains copies of photographs from her trip to Oka, Ontario during the Oka crisis. Gage was a Vietnam-era veteran who was the founding president of the National Aboriginal Veterans Association, in addition to being the founding secretary of the Manitoba Aboriginal Veterans Association. Gage donated a range of records, such as an Aboriginal Remembrance Day service program, colour copies of photographs that she took during a trip to Oka during the crisis from her own personal album, draft speeches on community alternative justice and health-related matters (palliative care), genealogical records and a personal biography, and a contact list of the Aboriginal Centre of Winnipeg's member organizations and representatives in 1993.

³⁹⁴ For example, MSS 463 A13-150, Linda Keeper fonds, University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections. Linda Keeper donated three boxes of records pertaining to community development, educational and arts-based programs and organizations, and several papers and materials related to women, child welfare, justice and politics, and health. Keeper also donated Indigenous newspapers from around Canada that she collected between 1983 and 2004.

³⁹⁵ For example, [Gerry Moore fonds], no MSS number, University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections. This unprocessed collection contains a video recording of the first Pow-Wow held inside Winnipeg School Division No. 1 held at the Aberdeen Junior High School in 1984/85. See also: MSS 462 A13-149, Lena Friesen fonds, University of Manitoba Archive and Special Collections. Friesen donated reports, minutes, surveys and other records pertaining to Northern Manitoba, such as the Northern Association of Community Councils.

³⁹⁶ MSS 473 A15-79, Dorothy Betz fonds, University of Manitoba Archive and Special Collections. The records of Dorothy Betz were transferred to the archive by her daughter Linda Keeper following the completion of the project. Betz was an active organizer in the second half of the twentieth century. The majority of records pertain to urban

ferred by individuals tend to form small collections of carefully selected archival records, including photocopies of personal albums and records wherein the creators retained the original record. In one instance, UMASC welcomed the request of an individual who wished to appraise and organize her own records at the archives prior to official transfer. The collections that had required most archival attention on transfer were the two collections conveyed directly by urban Indigenous organizations themselves, including those belonging to the ACW and IMFC.³⁹⁷ The ACW fonds is particularly large, consisting of approximately sixty bankers boxes. Although settlers' collections were not officially included in PHAID's work, Loxley hired me to process his fonds during this period, which contains evidence of Indigenous institutional and economic development in Winnipeg and Northern Manitoba. Loxley has been working with Indigenous peoples since his arrival in Canada in the sixties, so the archival evidence ranges from his work with the Assembly of First Nations to individual documents on Indigenous organizations and community development projects, such as the OPK and Pollock's Hardware. Dennis Lewycky of the Social Planning Council also offered to donate organizational records to the UMASC, but these records were sent to the Archives of Manitoba, which already housed its records.

The oral histories provide substantial contextual evidence that is particularly useful for understanding collections that contain a single or few written records, or where relationships to organizational record sets are not apparent. For instance, the Jackie (Jacqueline) Lavallee fonds consists of a single letter sent to Lavallee from Len Evans, Minister of Community Services and

organizations and initiatives, so it was subdivided into several topics or sub-series (e.g. law and justice, health and welfare, community development and employment, correctional services and law). Other resources include a range of government reports or publications produced by other organizations, as well as personal papers.

³⁹⁷ The records of the ACW remain partially processed at the time of writing this thesis, but I can confidently state that it consists of about sixty bankers boxes of records reflecting the activities of the ACW, as well as other happenings in the wider village, including many important issues for Indigenous peoples unfolding in provincial, national and international contexts. The records of IMFC comprises of six boxes of records donated to the archive as evidence of the IMFC's operations, including over nine hundred photographs and a box of electronic files.

Corrections for the Government of Manitoba appointing her to an interim board of the Children's Aid Society (CAS) in 1983.³⁹⁸ The letter itself is not obviously related to the establishment of the Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre in written documentation. However, the oral histories reveal how LaVallee was part of local activism on child welfare in the Eighties that led to the formation of this important urban organization.³⁹⁹

There are instances when interview participants speak directly to the creation of specific records themselves. Louise Chippeway, for instance, donated several records that she had accumulated and stored in her home basement. In one interview, Chippeway holds up a copy of the *Ota-Miska: A Resource Manual For Northern Manitoba Communities* (1985).⁴⁰⁰ This was the first manual of urban Indigenous organizations in Manitoba, and a publication she played a role in authoring, so she speaks to its purpose and the context of its creation. Similarly, Doris Young spoke to her involvement conducting a survey of the urban Indigenous population for *The Indian-Métis Urban Probe*, which demonstrated an urgent need for safe and affordable housing for Indigenous families moving to the city.⁴⁰¹ The Probe's findings sparked local action that led to creation of the Indian Tenants Association located at the IMFC, which later evolved into Kinew Housing Inc. The oral histories provide rich contextual details about records that are not otherwise recorded in documents that speak to interesting personal stories related to their creation.

³⁹⁸ Letter from Len Evans to Jackie Lavallee, 1983, MSS 468 (A13-155), Jackie (Jacqueline) Lavallee fonds, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections.

³⁹⁹ For example, see: Kathy Mallett, interview by Darrell Chippeway, or Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁰⁰ Province of Manitoba, *Where to find it Ota-MISKA : a resource manual for northern Manitoba communities*, Prepared and edited by Louise Chippeway, Dept. of Northern Affairs, 1984. Found in MSS 464 A13-151, Louise Chippeway fonds, University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections. Louise Chippeway, interview by Darrell Chippeway. In reference to the "Ota-Miska", which translates to "This is where you can find it", Chippeway explained that John Morrisseau of the MMF hired her to compile the book.

⁴⁰¹ Doris Young, interview by Darrell Chippeway. The Institute of Urban Studies, *The Indian-Métis Urban Probe*, Prepared by the Indian and Métis Friendship Centre and The Institute of Urban Studies, Winnipeg, MB, January 1971. The publication does not indicate the names of those who participated in its creation, so the oral history is a testament to the involvement of Young in conducting research for the probe.

The oral histories and the documentary evidence collected by the PHAID from the only known body of records in an archival repository (UMASC) in Manitoba, and possibly the whole of Canada, which contain an extensive collection of archival records created and contributed by Indigenous peoples themselves for the purposes of preserving the evidence of urban histories of Indigenous institutional development and achievements in community development from their own perspectives. As a result of these efforts, voices of Winnipeg's early Indigenous trailblazers are now being preserved for long-term access on behalf of the original stewards of the materials for a wider community of activists, scholars, residents and relations of participants who wish to engage with this history. As a whole, the oral and written documents provide a somewhat fairly representative selection or sampling of evidence of major initiatives undertaken by Indigenous urbanites since the Fifties. Yet, the records collectively reflect a mere sliver of the documentary evidence of Indigenous historical activities and activism in Winnipeg that could be made available to the public if further effort was made to document and preserve historical evidence, or capture ongoing activities, such as younger generations of activists efforts to share their own gifts to strengthen The Village.

The challenges of recovery

The location of recorded evidence presented its own set of issues for the team to navigate. In particular, the nature of the organizational development and the state of organizational records keeping systems made it a challenge for the Indigenous team members to locate, collect and archive complete sets of records. This is because most of the recorded documentation of Indigenous institutional development and local grassroots movements from which these organizations

emerged has been scattered, lost or destroyed.⁴⁰² It is particularly true of records documenting the early development of organizations that evolved from initiatives generated by community activism or collective work in the mid to late twentieth century.⁴⁰³ In general, the project found record keeping to be inconsistent across organizations; while some kept records, very little to nothing was kept by others. Whether or not an organization kept its early records appears to be directly connected to the nature of circumstances arising from its development. Often records were dispersed among individuals who were involved in organization's establishment, leadership, or among those individuals extensively involved in activism related to a specific issue impacting Indigenous peoples that later happened to lead to the formation of an organization. Since organizations were largely community or volunteer driven in the early years, it has been suggested that this records dispersal among individuals occurred particularly in cases where an institutional structure did not emerge until several years later. In other cases, formal institutional structures failed to develop entirely, or work developed under an umbrella of a larger organization. For early initiatives that later grew into large organizations, record keeping became a complex necessity but earlier records remained presumably scattered among activists. Over time, documentation kept by individual activists tended to get lost or destroyed after they passed away, or during relocation and downsizing of their possessions.⁴⁰⁴ Darrell Chippeway stated that it was upsetting that so many records had been misplaced or destroyed, but he also found it gratifying to locate records.⁴⁰⁵ In one instance, ten annual conference reports and general assembly pack-

⁴⁰² Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁰³ John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁰⁴ Evelyn Peters, interview by Sarah Story. Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁰⁵ Jared Story, "Video project tells story of trailblazers", *Canstar Community News*, October 29, 2013. Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

ages of the Indigenous Women's Collective (IWC) were collected from three different female activists involved with this organization to pull together a complete set.⁴⁰⁶

Darrell Chippeway met with all of the individual and organizational donors and confirmed that no representatives he spoke with indicated a capacity to ensure a future archive of their own organizational records. He also found that some organizations that had kept records have been forced to destroy materials due to the volume generated by their activities, or do not have appropriate systems to manage records so they have not had the time to appraise records for transfer and preservation. For example, CAHRD has records of enduring value, but it is also an organization under which numerous training and employment initiatives have developed, which makes keeping records of its wide range of activities a challenge.⁴⁰⁷ He also explained that a number of the organizations lack storage space to keep records, while others had never seriously considered archiving their records. In the case of the ACW, two hundred boxes of documents were stored in the basement of its shipping and receiving area that student archivists working with administrative staff members scaled down to sixty boxes during the initial onsite processing. However, these records were nearly lost as ACW directors had been discussing destruction of records at the time PHAID commenced. This had been considered not because of ignorance of records value, but to avoid unfavourable mould and fire hazards that could result from keeping records in these conditions.⁴⁰⁸ The acting director of the ACW was willing to work with team members to ensure their preservation, which is beneficial for PHAID, UMASC, and interested members of the public who wish to access information about this organization and its activities over time.

⁴⁰⁶ Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story. These records were kept by Donna Glover, although one report was donated by Louise Chippeway, and many photographs of the ICW's activism were in the possession of Ivy Chaske, who also had photographs of the Original Women's Network (OWN).

⁴⁰⁷ Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁰⁸ Jesse Boiteau, interview by Sarah Story.

In other cases, however, records of value have been destroyed with changes in organizational leadership and the inherent burden of dealing with masses of stored records. Expanding on her personal research experience accessing organizational records, Evelyn Peters explained that organizational records often get discarded with changes in leadership and improperly managed records do not demonstrate direct relationships between records make them difficult to understand.⁴⁰⁹ In other words, unmanaged records risk losing their relationships to other records generated by organizational activities results in loss of provenance that is vital to understanding the context of records creation, content and determining value of records or record sets.

There was also one historical case where political reasons were highlighted by an acting director as reason for the improper destruction of organizational records. In this specific case, the current organizational director claimed that a former director had destroyed financial records that contained evidence of the activities during his time in leadership so he could not be held accountable for problematic decisions regarding expenditures. In another case, the downfall of an organization had been disruptive and controversial, so its records were not made publicly available to guard against dredging up unwanted resentment in the community.⁴¹⁰ External political reasons may also help explain losses of records. In response to the common assertion that activists were “too busy to keep their own records”, Morrissette pointed to the need to consider external socio-economic realities of the organizations and broader political or ideological changes as root causes of records loss or destruction.⁴¹¹ Further to this point, he asserted that initiatives that had posed particularly threatening challenges to colonialist ideologies and policies that have been defunded or forced to close, which resulted in records abandonment, destruction or dispersal.

⁴⁰⁹ Evelyn Peters, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴¹⁰ Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴¹¹ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story.

Overall, the most commonly stated reason for a lack of recorded evidence is that community-based organizations have little time, funding and capacity. It was also asserted the staff did not consider the long-term value of records beyond their immediate purposes. The stories of organizers of community organizations provide particularly important insight into records keeping systems and challenges. Kathy Mallett indicated that organizations simply do not have capacity to handle their own records and information, sometimes even struggling to keep information on websites updated.⁴¹² Mallett spoke directly to her experiences organizing records of the CEDA. She described the daunting task of having to sort and appraise sixty boxes of CEDA's organizational records, keeping the records she thought had enduring value.⁴¹³ Mallett had insight into managing records based on previous archival work experience, but highlighted the general lack of staff knowledge across community-based organizations about how to effectively capture and determine what records retain and for what purposes.⁴¹⁴ She also claimed that many organizers do not understand the importance of regular record keeping maintenance, or have been unable to keep up with basic annual record keeping duties due to workloads or a lack of skill in this area. She also indicated that creation of proper organizational record sets is needed as the preservation of quality records is vital to understanding historical events that led to the formation of Indigenous organizations, including insights into their original purposes, evolution, programming and details about individuals who were involved in this work.⁴¹⁵

Inconsistent and improper records management is also a noted issue for non-Indigenous community-based organizations that do not have core funding and capacity to implement robust

⁴¹² Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴¹³ Ibid. Mallett kept only the most important organizational records, including financial records and those related to its board of directors, including board minutes, documentation of project coordinators and funders, and some information about events or programs organized by CEDA. Remaining records were destroyed by a shredding company.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid. Mallett worked at the Archives of Manitoba for a short period of time.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid. Mallett cited the example of Ndinawe, which is rooted in the Krantz case.

systems. At the CED-NET Gathering in 2014, the loss of important organizational histories and memories of community development work being done in North End and Inner City neighbourhoods was lamented. Randa Stewart of the Assiniboine Credit Union noted that as the long-term employees of organizations retire, memories and stories often go with them and become lost or forgotten over time. Stewart asserted that this forgetting results in a loss of understanding about the organization, its relationship to individuals or families and impacts of its work on the broader community and its contributions to the development of small business and enterprises in the North End.⁴¹⁶ Despite possessing keen insight of how sharing story and knowing history can benefit community organizations, organizers and broader public, a dearth of knowledge about creating and keeping quality records, record keeping, archives and the record's role in maintaining robust organizational memory presented itself during the panel and subsequent public discussion at this gathering.

This situation is worsened by the lack of time, technology and funding supports needed to development and implement robust digital record keeping systems to keep corporate memory. Underfunding or precarious funding, accompanied by pressing demand to fulfill mandates means that organizers have a limited capacity to save important working records (e.g. tax or financial records and annual reports). The frontline work of improving socio-economic and environmental conditions of neighbourhoods or responding to the perpetual and complex challenges of social injustice and inequality, colonialism and racialized poverty is far more pressing, so preservation of records with enduring value is placed on the back burner. Those who do attempt to share their

⁴¹⁶ Randa Stewart, "Telling and Preserving our Beginning Stories", Panel presentation at The Gathering: Manitoba's CE/CED Conference", The Canadian CED Network. St. John's High School, Winnipeg, MB., October 24, 2014.

history typically resort to affordable and doable “one-off” projects to repackage and share stories with aim to enhance public awareness of its history and role of the organization in community.⁴¹⁷

The state of organizational record keeping systems is quite noticeable in the gaps of the records sets donated to the archive.⁴¹⁸ For example, while the IMFC’s executive director and the archivists involved had been expecting a near unmanageable volume of records, a significantly smaller collection of records were actually discovered on site in a metal trailer parked exterior to the IMFC building.⁴¹⁹ The IMFC fonds contains six boxes of records types in paper, electronic, photographic and artistic form; a considerably small collection given the IMFC’s decades long history and pivotal roles as “the” key urban gathering place, service provider and incubator of widespread institutional development between the mid-fifties and early seventies. For an undetermined amount of time, the IMFC’s records were stored in a locked metal shipping container external to its Robinson Street building. The student archivist who sorted and transferred the records to UMASC testified that they were “not overly organized” due to high turnover in staff and the inconsistency in records management practices.⁴²⁰ Louise Chippeway, lead author of the IMFC’s twenty-fifth anniversary booklet published in May 1983, used organizational records and interviews with those active in the IMFC’s early years. Chippeway recalled that the IMFC made attempts to keep its records, but struggled to do so with its limited space and relocations.

Louise Chippeway also points to archives and archivists being virtually unknown among community members during her IMFC days, so archival preservation was not discussed.⁴²¹ This

⁴¹⁷ Examples of projects and ideas shared by the presenters and audience ranged from hiring a historian to write the history of the organization to creating interactive timelines, maps and displays at their offices.

⁴¹⁸ There were two sets of organizational records donated by urban Aboriginal organizations to be preserved, including the Winnipeg Indian and Métis Friendship Centre (IMFC) and Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg (ACW). For the purposes of this thesis, the IMFC is referenced in more detail as the ACW fonds was not processed.

⁴¹⁹ Jesse Boiteau, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Louise Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

is a trend that continues, and marginal community-based archival advocacy has occurred within the North End and inner city by archivists to promote preservation.⁴²² Over the last few years, I have repeatedly heard stories about the absence of archival interventions by local archivists to reach out to this important segment of Winnipeg society and offer support. In considering the number of trained archivists and record keeping professionals in Winnipeg, I was initially quite surprised at the lack of archival integration and how little has been done to provide this support. However, I have observed a genuine lack of interconnection between settler archivists and local activists or organizers. The lack of genuine relationships and the knowledge of urban Indigenous peoples issues is also reflected in the colonialist ways that records that are kept in archives have been integrated. Winnipeg's Indigenous communities cannot be reduced to only The Village. Urban Indigenous peoples live in other areas of the city. At the same time, a concentration of Indigenous residents live in North End and inner city neighbourhoods where few local archivists live. Living and working in different neighbourhoods is a factor that decreases opportunities to "bump into each other" and develop a familiarity with one another in ways that lead to relations that enable a transfer of archival knowledge.⁴²³ While Indigenous-settler relationships do exist they do not necessarily result in conversations and the sharing of knowledge about Indigenous archival or records management issues. The situation calls attention to the need for archivists to move beyond their own neighbourhoods and comfort zones to meet with Indigenous residents, particularly those who are under-documented or marginalized, in their own spaces. Whether it takes place in spaces created by those affiliated with local movements or those disassociated with activism – it is important to make efforts to create spaces of inclusion where we can convene to develop relationships and share ideas or strategies. It also calls for archivists to generate conver-

⁴²² Kathy Mallett, interview with Sarah Story. Shelley Sweeney, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴²³ Shelley Sweeney, interview by Sarah Story.

sations with Indigenous members of their professional or personal circles about archival preservation to find out more about their experiences with keeping records. In lieu of current meeting places and dialogue, PHAID's efforts helped to facilitate an important opportunity for archivists and members of the community to convene, collaborate and experiment. This collaborative work enabled us to begin to get to know each other a little better, and learn how to work together in an effective and mutually respectful ways, as well as share information archival practices and hear about the practices, principles and preservation needs of Indigenous groups in Winnipeg.

It must also be acknowledged that settler colonialism and this lack of solid relationships between settler archives and Indigenous groups have also understandably resulted in resistance to the idea of settler archives as culturally safe places for Indigenous information and knowledge to be preserved. There are activists and organizers in positions of authority that have absolutely no interest in transferring personal or organizational records out of the Indigenous community to an archive governed by western standards and practices. In an analysis of the dynamics of silence within archives, Rodney G.S. Carter points out that a political method of exerting control used by marginalized groups has been through an intentional silencing through denying archives of their records, or "acting outside the archive, to subvert it, and not to concede to having power exerted over them or their records".⁴²⁴ In other words, while PHAID was an attempt to give a voice to Indigenous stories, there are those who remain distrustful of settler institutions and unwilling to transfer their records. One interview participant directly conveyed to Darrell Chippeway that they view archives in Winnipeg as "an extension of colonialism", and rejected the notion that community records be transferred into the hands of settler-colonizers.⁴²⁵ This validates a need to work in partnership to develop choices in the types of archival supports that move far beyond the

⁴²⁴ Rodney G.S. Carter, "Power, Archival Science, and Power in Silence", *Archivaria* 61, (Spring 2006): 227.

⁴²⁵ Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

transfer of records to existing settler repositories. In particular, development of support for skills transfer in digital record keeping and preservation to grassroots activists and organizations, and offers to share funding and resources are important ideas to discuss putting into action.

Transferring records out of the creating community to a settler archive

In 2013, no sustainable Indigenous archives or cultural centres in the city existed with the capacity to make publicly available the records recovered and created by the project. Despite the desire to honour principles of *Ownership, Control, Access, Possession (OCAP)*, the project team was faced with little choice but to transfer the records to an existing settler institution, so a search for the most suitable option available began. Winnipeg-based archival repositories were contacted, including: the Archives of Manitoba, CMHR Archives, City of Winnipeg Archives, UW Archives and UMASC. Loxley and Peters outlined the various reasons why some of these archives were deemed unsuitable stewards for Indigenous records, which is related largely to adherence to a variety of policies and practices that conflicted with the specific needs and values of PHAID. To begin, the Archives of Manitoba was deemed too restrictive and indicated to the researchers and Indigenous team members that it would only keep original records, not copies. The archivist consulted also stated unwillingness to be flexible in its archival practices to accommodate the needs of PHAID. It was also known amongst the team members that this archive has a significant backlog of collections that the researchers and Indigenous team members felt would impact its ability to make available these records in a reasonable amount of time. They also expressed a concern about its genuine lack of community outreach and engagement with urban Indigenous peoples. Kathy Mallett, who had some work experience at the Archives of Manitoba, framed the lack of archival engagement with Indigenous groups as a demonstration of its unwillingness to

share information.⁴²⁶ In hindsight, an Indigenous team member also expressed concern that there might be Indigenous donors less willing to transfer records into a government archive than an educational or cultural institution due to the history of oppression and a mistrust of the settler state.⁴²⁷ As for the CMHR, there was worry that it would be unable to share these records in a timely manner given it was in its early stages of development. While no mention of the CMHR's controversial nature were made during interviews for this study, in hindsight, publicly broadcasted protests led by local Indigenous activists surrounding its opening and criticisms of its "portrayals of Indigenous issues" may dissuade Indigenous activists from contributing materials to its archive well into the future.⁴²⁸ The City of Winnipeg was also not deemed an option for PHAID as archivists had not responded to requests for information about holdings or policies. However, during this period, a flood caused by a rainstorm paralyzed the archive so its attention was focused on saving its historical records and relocating its holdings.⁴²⁹

In the end, the city's two academic archives made the most sense. The UW was initially the main choice as it is geographically more central or closer than the UM to the largest concentration of Indigenous population in Winnipeg. There were also some feelings that since Peters research chair had funded the bulk of the PHAID's work, UW should host these collections.⁴³⁰ To make their decision, the researchers and Indigenous team members held structured interviews with both head archivists at the UM and UW to determine what archive would make the most suitable partner. Afterward, a meeting was held wherein Indigenous members of PHAID made

⁴²⁶ Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴²⁷ Ibid. Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴²⁸ Joseph Breaun, "Canadian Museum for Human Rights opens amidst controversy and protests", *The National Post*, September 19, 2014, accessed May 21, 2017, <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/canadian-museum-for-human-rights-opens-amidst-controversy-and-protests>

⁴²⁹ Kim Lawson, "EXCLUSIVE: Future of Preserving Winnipeg's Past Unclear", July 18, 2016, accessed May 21 2017, <http://www.am730.ca/syn/107/151693/151693>

⁴³⁰ John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story.

an unanimous decision to transfer the records to the UM, largely based upon the perception that the UMASC had more resources and student support to meet its overall aims. The UMASC was also more willing to be flexible and agreed from the start to accommodate the Indigenous team members demands to ensure PHAID's preservation needs were fulfilled. The team was also impressed with Shelley Sweeney's interview, and her stated understanding of a need to work in more anti-colonial ways. Sweeney later admitted that if she had known the UW was also being interviewed, she may have declined an interview and rather worked in cooperation with UW archivists on an amenable and collaborative agreement to support the preservation of the records.⁴³¹ In hindsight, Sweeney also noted that she had been "surprised" that paper records were part of the PHAID as the digital oral history interviews were only discussed with her at this meeting.⁴³² She believed that the UMASC was accepting only the digital oral history interviews, as UW Archive did not have the digital expertise or capacity to handle these records at the time.

Despite communication issues that later revealed themselves, the willingness of Sweeney and the UMASC to go out of their way to work cooperatively with team members was important to establishing the amendable relationship that formed between the Indigenous team members and the archives during the project. Prior to the decision to transfer the records to the UM, I had already been asked to join their project as an archival support due to a personal interest in social justice archives. However, generally, an adherence to community development practices were reflected in the efforts of the lead researchers to ensure Indigenous inclusion and fair pay for Indigenous archival students identifying as Métis and First Nation. In addition to UMASC's Métis summer intern (Jesse Boiteau), two First Nations undergraduate students who were working at

⁴³¹ Shelley Sweeney, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴³² Shelley Sweeney, *Personal correspondence with Sarah Story*, June 4, 2017. She noted, "The project grew, as projects do, but that doesn't mean that we intended it that way."

the IMFC on a Young Canada Works summer grant had involvement in processing the IMFC fonds. During the period PHAID was underway, these three students completed the transfer and processed the IMFC's fonds. They also partially processed the ACW fonds. To date, the ACW fonds has not been completed and there has been no Indigenous inclusion in the processing of smaller collections donated by individuals since the official end of the Indigenous team member's active involvement in PHAID.⁴³³

The Indigenous involvement in the more archival aspects of PHAID have been called “participatory”, and in instances there have been references to “co-curation” made by specific individuals. In her thesis on participatory archiving, Michele Rydz asked an important question: “If records are a creation of community and society, then should not community and society be more involved in their archiving?”⁴³⁴ Her response is that archivists define and work according to a “definition of provenance that is inherently societal” and that a participatory approach to archiving includes “input of the society that it serves to represent” in order to “uncover the societal provenance of records related to Aboriginal people.”⁴³⁵ Rydz described the need for increased awareness in the archival community about the importance of societal knowledge and inclusion of Indigenous perspectives in preservation practices, arguing “little has changed in the ways in which archivists actually approach Aboriginal records” even though Indigenous memories “carry new and different historical perspectives”.⁴³⁶ She argues for a reconceptualization of archivists understanding of Indigenous worldviews and to “represent Aboriginal concepts of memory

⁴³³ Jesse Boiteau, interview by Sarah Story. Boiteau mentioned that he had acquired paid employment at the NCTR, leaving this collection unfinished, which he had later regretted. Non-Indigenous archival interns, such as Samantha Booth and Chantel Fehr, have worked on the collections (e.g. Dorothy Betz fonds and Morrissette fonds).

⁴³⁴ Michele Rydz, “Participatory Archiving: Exploring a Collaborative Approach to Aboriginal Societal Provenance”, (Master's Thesis, University of Manitoba, 2010): 2.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

preservation.”⁴³⁷ Following a similar line of thought, processing archivists working on PHAID had wished to respect inclusion of Indigenous perspectives and concepts of memory preservation.⁴³⁸ In practices, there were only a few attempts to directly involve community members in archival processes. For instance, though I was not employed at the UMASC nor charged with processing these collections, I had been inspired by project naming efforts of other archivists and recognized need to capture photographic descriptions after collections were processed. In 2013, I volunteered to transport boxes of IMFC records to CEDA where I sat with Louise Chippeway and Kathy Mallett who named as many of the individuals in these photographs of this collection as possible since most of its images had arrived at the archives unlabelled. Though oral history interviews with the donors who have transferred records to the UMASC could expand archival description of such records in profound ways, at the time, these photographic descriptions were easily added to the IMFC fonds. I had worried that if we did not complete this task during the project, it might be forgotten and valuable provenance would be lost over time. These small acts, in addition to hiring First Nations students at the IMFC to help process these collections, speak to the inclusive or participatory nature of the project, in addition to our collective and genuine interest in working with community to process these collections.

While historical learning resulted from their involvement, meaningful capacity building work and skills transfer was not effectively embedded into the oversight of the undergraduate students. In practice, the cultural knowledge of these students was not leveraged in ways that influenced UMASC’s archival processes and systems. In this respect, the notion that archival collections were “co-curated” in a meaningful way can be soundly challenged. Once the records were recovered, created and transferred to the archive by the community members, Indigenous

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Jesse Boiteau, interview by Sarah Story.

protocols or practices of knowledge keeping were not integrated into processing the collections. So, Indigenization of archival components of PHAID were limited to hiring students who identified as Indigenous. During a Skype session between Verne Harris, Head of Memory Programme at the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory (NMCM) and students of the UM Archival Studies Program in 2014, Harris had spoken about the integration of black and marginalized archivists into the archival profession in South Africa. He pointed out that while there had been success in increasing numbers of black archivists hired to work in the archival profession during the post-apartheid era of the country's history, the diverse cultural ways of knowledge preservation of the region's black communities were not given an equal nor adequate space to flourish in archival institutions that had been pre-established according to western standards and systems.⁴³⁹ However, during post-apartheid era, numerous community-driven initiatives have popped up around South Africa that document black lives and experiences in ways that do align with community praxis to meet their needs.⁴⁴⁰

In essence, community records collected and created by PHAID became institutionalized in the UMASC upon their transfer according to a predetermined set of standard western archival standards and systems. The appraisal, arrangement, description and presentation of these records is no different from processes used to curate settler records. The failure of UMASC to integrate Indigenous approaches of memory preservation directly into its practices at this time results from the reality that a solid implementable set of Indigenous practices and principles had not yet been developed to guide the archival work. Without these established Indigenous protocols or guidelines to facilitate usage of an integrative approach that unifies Indigenous ways of archiving with

⁴³⁹ Verne Harris, Skype conversation with History 7392: Archives, Public Affairs, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Johannesburg, SA and Winnipeg, MB, Fall 2014.

⁴⁴⁰ For example, see: Verne Harris, "Antonyms of our remembering", *Archival Science* 14 (2014): 216-229.

western practices, records were simply absorbed into the archive to be housed alongside other collections and in ways that do not directly speak to the context of their creation and transfer to UMASC. For example, these collections have been separated into fonds with little demonstrable or obvious relationships drawn between collections in their descriptions, and there has been no effort to group these collections under an umbrella indicating that they were strategically created and contributed by members of a Winnipeg's Indigenous community. Instead, these records are grouped by name and subject area with other records that are actually "connected peripherally to Indigenous peoples" to facilitate online findability.⁴⁴¹ And despite the Indigenous team members request to have the records made available immediately, there not been any attempts to share digitized content in the UMASC digital collections, or create dedicated webpages to share materials.

In this respect, UMASC has not yet been able to meet its promises to share records in a timely manner, nor has it achieved creation of a culturally safe repository for local Indigenous people's and their archival collections. This situation is not unique to the UMASC, nor is it an issue exclusive to settler archives in Winnipeg or Canada. Archives frequently absorb Indigenous records in ways that do not centre their distinctiveness or challenge to settler narratives. Archival collections also take much time, resources and staff to process. Most Winnipeg-based archives have large backlogs, the UMASC included.⁴⁴² There are also archives that have been forced to place moratoriums on collecting or enforce stricter collecting policies as they are without capacity to store or process records; a situation that speaks to significant underfunding of archives. In interview, Sweeney explained that while the UMASC is still accepting collections, it still has "at

⁴⁴¹ Indigenous People Collections, University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections, accessed March 2017, <http://umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/collections/subject/nativestudies/index.html>

⁴⁴² Shelley Sweeney, interview by Sarah Story.

least (a) 50 % backlog of collections that have never been touched”.⁴⁴³ She contended that they are “All great, worthy, lovely collections”, so no particular collection gets preferential treatment, unless a request is made by a researcher to have a collection processed immediately.⁴⁴⁴ Sweeney further explained how the under-resourcing of archives causes backlogs and slow processing:

Here’s the thing. The Provincial Archives does not collect private records to any extent anymore. All of that is backing up onto us. Even ten years ago we would have been in better condition to handle this project but, we didn’t initiate the project - and we wouldn’t have initiated it. We would say, ‘Hey wait, we don’t have the resources for this.’ At the same time, we don’t want to stop it because it is such an important collection or project. But we are just inundated with other collections. So that’s been a big part of it. We are so badly under-resourced right now that it’s not even funny. We get three to four hundred collections a year and this was under a dozen. No matter how important these collections are, we still have to do a basic handling of all of those other collections. They all have to be accessioned, be boxed, allocated space, and so on and so forth.⁴⁴⁵

While the UMASC is a relatively well-resourced repository in comparison to the UW Archives, it does not have the resources and Indigenous archival expertise or capacity to carry out a comprehensive Indigenous archiving project. At the same time, Sweeney refuses to stop collecting records as it would mean “the final historical record would be badly served”.⁴⁴⁶ The repercussion of under-resourcing resulting in the slow archival processing times means that heightened community interest around PHAID during the active involvement of the Indigenous team members faded overtime. The drawn-out process of editing and rendering the film footage for usability across platforms is ongoing at the time of writing this thesis, which was an aspect of filming overlooked in planning phases of PHAID. In other words, many of the videos had not been transferred to the UMASC at the time of writing this thesis, which means potential users have been unable to access interviews since the UMASC cannot share them with the public yet. Also, re-

⁴⁴³ Ibid. Sweeney added that a staff member recently began processing a collection donated to the UMASC in 1983.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Shelly Sweeney, *Personal correspondence with Sarah Story*, June 4, 2017.

sources were not set aside for timely processing, nor was a deadline set for the final transferal of records to the archive. This created a situation where the archive will need to place considerably more efforts into outreach and advertisement to regain interest of the community and let them know the records are at the UMASC and available for use.

Further to this, there were few direct linkages or relationships made between the UMASC and individual donors of materials, including the participants interviewed for PHAID. The team members of the Indigenous team members acted as the mediators or the bridge between UMASC and community participants and donors, which was hugely successful in acquiring information to be preserved. At the same time, the lack of direct relationships has resulted in difficulties reaching several of the individual donors to sign the stewardship agreement or solicit contextual information about individual collections to inform descriptive and access processes. There was an admission that activist principles were also not articulated or centralized in archival processes of PHAID, which diverges from values underlying the community members efforts to document their history. This is directly related to the idea that archivists did not have strong ties to this particular community, nor a solid knowledge of its history. While each archivist involved generally understood the importance of the work to community, there was little time allocated for learning about the issues and history of the urban Indigenous Winnipeg during the project; and most of the discussions in meetings with between the Indigenous team members, researchers and archivists focused on logistical aspects of transferring the records to UMASC. There was an adherence to providing archival supports and advice only where invited to do so. The archivists took a solid position of non-interference, and fully supported the Indigenous team members' roles in taking lead responsibility for connecting with community.

Admissions were also made by all the archivists involved in having little prior experience working with Indigenous groups, so it was a learning experience for the archivists involved who opted to tread lightly and not overpower processes.⁴⁴⁷ While the nature of archival involvement was rather passive, and there were regrets that more time had not been deliberately allocated for the team to get to know each other better, the Indigenous team members and the researchers stated that the archival supports and “solidarity” was appreciated.⁴⁴⁸ There were no critiques of individual archivists or the form of allyship (supportive non-interference) that was offered. However, it was when the Indigenous team members and researchers turned to the task of looking for an archive to house these community-generated records that they saw the need to critique archival policies and intervene to ensure that community control of the collections was effectively in place. It was during this time Sweeney leveraged her position as head of the UMASC to provide solid logistical support for Indigenous team members wish to maintain ownership over their materials, which was considered by both the researchers and the supporting archivists to be an “anti-colonial” approach.⁴⁴⁹ Sweeney’s inclination to provide internal support for the request to create a new donor agreement was informed by participation in the creation of the UM’s bid for the NCTR.⁴⁵⁰ At this time, she also happened to be engaged in an internal process of considering a variety of approaches to donor agreements with her co-researcher Katherine Pettipas.⁴⁵¹ Pettipas volunteered research hours and guidance to Sweeney in creating the first draft of the Letter of Understanding (LOU), which was based directly upon the requests made by the researchers and

⁴⁴⁷ Shelley Sweeney, interview by Sarah Story. Sweeney also spoke about the fact that she had never actively searched out Indigenous collections for preservation at the UMASC, preferring that Indigenous peoples took this role on themselves. Jesse Boiteau, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁴⁸ Louis Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story. Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story. Darrell Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story. John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story. Evelyn Peters, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁴⁹ John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁵⁰ Shelley Sweeney, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁵¹ Katherine Pettipas is the former Curator of Native Ethnology at the Manitoba Museum, who has, over the length of her career worked with Indigenous groups to develop culturally appropriate stewardship of sacred materials.

the Indigenous team members at a couple of meetings held in the summer of 2013.⁴⁵² The initial first draft was put into writing by the summer intern, Jesse Boiteau, and circulated to the team input, evolving the draft from a bare bones structure into a more robust and community-informed agreement.

To be clear, the demand for a new policy came from the Indigenous team members; the impetus for the change did not come from archivists or the UMASC itself. In PHAID's oral histories it was commonly stated that the inspiration and drive for real change to the status quo can be found in community, not well-established or slow-moving bureaucratic institutions. This held true for this project. Andrew Flinn and Mary Stevens point out two commonalities in independent community archives initiatives that also hold true in the case of the PHAID, including the "cautious" willingness to partner with mainstream bodies that have overlooked their histories in order to "collect, preserve and make accessible" a more representative societal record, while also maintaining a "strong sense of independence and autonomy in their decision-making and governance."⁴⁵³ The authors quote Stuart Hall who reflected that, "'Recast' histories and their making challenge and seek to undermine both the distortions and omissions of orthodox historical narratives, as well as the archive and heritage collections act sustain them."⁴⁵⁴ Susan Pell also asserts that critiques of archival power have often centred on the control of records by archives and the content in archives "upon which futures are planned and constructed."⁴⁵⁵ This was true regarding the Indigenous team member's involvement from start to finish. However, the desire to assert their autonomy and rights most poignantly manifested itself in the creation of the LOU.

⁴⁵² Shelley Sweeney, interview by Sarah Story. "Indigenous Archiving Policy (In Progress)", email correspondence, Shelley Sweeney to Greg Bak, Jesse Boiteau and Sarah Story, 2013.

⁴⁵³ Flinn and Stevens, "It is Noh Mistri, Wi Mekin Histri", 6.

⁴⁵⁴ Stuart Hall (2005) quoted in Flinn and Stevens, "It is Noh Mistri, Wi Mekin Histri", 3.

⁴⁵⁵ Susan Pell, "Radicalizing the Politics of the Archive: An Ethnographic Reading of an Activist Archive," 41.

This was also the point where archival involvement on the project constituted a tangible act of archival activism, and an effort to experiment with decolonizing the archive. Generating Indigenous participation in archival processing was an important feature of archivists' involvement on PHAID. Yet, this inclusion did less to alter pre-established archival principles and approaches, or to even the playing field and build trusting relations with community, than did the policy change at UM. The development of the LOU is discussed in-depth in the following chapter.

Chapter Four: A Letter of Understanding or Misunderstanding

In the Fall of 2013, recognition of the need for policy change to facilitate the transfer of Indigenous records to the UMASC emerged at the first official meeting of the lead researchers, Indigenous team members, and archivists.⁴⁵⁶ At the meeting, tension between Indigenous community values and the institutional values of the archives prompted members of the Indigenous team members to ask critical questions about the transfer of their materials to the UM. Such critiques of archival power have often been centered on control of records by archives and content in archives “upon which futures are planned and constructed.”⁴⁵⁷ In this context a key concern was related directly to archival power and authority, particularly the potential loss of community ownership that typically occurs on transfer of materials to archives. Questions were also raised about the standard approaches that the UM takes to archiving records, such as the appraisal and disposition of records. Subsequently, a series of meetings and email correspondence occurred wherein the Indigenous team members and researchers articulated their recommendations for the creation of an acceptable donor agreement to the archivists. The intention of this collaborative process was that it would result in a mutually agreeable resolution to support the preservation of urban Indigenous-created records within the settler institution.

The development of the LOU was neither simple nor straightforward. Nor did it occur in a vacuum. There were a number of key players involved, as well as external factors that induced the focus on policy change. The creation of a new policy was influenced by the evolving nature of the UM’s relationship with Indigenous peoples during this period, particularly its heightened profile that resulted from events inspired by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

⁴⁵⁶ In attendance at this meeting: Evelyn Peters, John Loxley, Darrell Chippeway, Louise Chippeway, Kathy Mallett, Larry Morrisette, Crystal Green, Greg Bak, Tom Nesmith, Shelley Sweeney, Jesse Boiteau and Sarah Story.

⁴⁵⁷ Susan Pell, “Radicalizing the Politics of the Archive: An Ethnographic Reading of an Activist Archive,” 41.

In 2011, UM President, David Barnard, publicly shared its institutional “Statement of Apology and Reconciliation to Indian Residential School Survivors” at the TRC’s Atlantic National Event in Halifax, Nova Scotia. In the apology, Barnard acknowledged that the UM “failed Aboriginal peoples” by not challenging “forced assimilation”, nor had it fulfilled its responsibilities as an educational institution to support the preservation and the advancement of Indigenous cultural knowledge, traditions and languages.⁴⁵⁸ The UM also forwarded its new mandate promising to work collectively “to ensure values of First Nations, Métis and Inuit cultures and communities are included in scholarship and research across the university.”⁴⁵⁹ This statement of apology was one of the deciding factors leading up to the TRC’s official announcement on June 21, 2013 that it would become the home to the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR).⁴⁶⁰ At the signing ceremony, Chief Justice Murray Sinclair, Head Commissioner of the TRC, stated that the NCTR would collect statements and records generated through the work of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement, in addition to records “relating to all aspects of Aboriginal history.”⁴⁶¹ Emerging from the widely broadcast events and promotion of increased Indigenous access to post-secondary education was more productive engagement, an increased critical dialogue about Indigenizing the university in order to create a more “culturally safe and responsive” learning spaces for Indigenous students.⁴⁶² The decision to transfer materials to the UMASC oc-

⁴⁵⁸ University of Manitoba, “University of Manitoba Statement of Apology and Reconciliation to Indian Residential School Survivors”, Presented to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada at the Atlantic National Event in Halifax, NS., October 27, 2011, accessed Jan. 2017, <https://umanitoba.ca/about/media/StatementOfApology.pdf>

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Shari Narine, “TRC passing the torch to the U of M”, *Windspeaker*, Vol. 31, Issue 5, June 2013, accessed October 20, 2016, <http://www.ammsa.com/publications/windspeaker/trc-passing-torch-u-m>

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² For example, “Indigenous Knowledges and Indigenizing the Academy” Transforming Scholarship or Window Dressing?” Conference at Hanley Hall, St. Paul’s College, March 14, 2014. Panel presentations provided by Elder Don Robinson (Oxford House/ Bunibonibee First Nation), Elder Margaret LaVallee (Sagkeeng First Nation), Ovide Mercredi (Senior Advisor to the UM), Shauneen Pete (Executive lead of Indigenization at UR) and Cynthia Wesley-Esquimaux (Vice-Provost of Aboriginal Initiatives at Lakehead University).

curred within this atmosphere of greater institutional understanding, recognition and willingness to enhance supports for Indigenous knowledge development, UM's publicly affirmed commitment to reconciliation, and the procurement of the NCTR.

Involvement in the bidding process to obtain the NCTR also influenced two key UM actors involved in the creation of the LOU, particularly Shelley Sweeney (Head of UMASC) and Greg Juliano (Head of Legal Counsel). Since the UMASC is governed in accordance to institutional policies, it must acquire approval of Legal Counsel to create legal agreements, or risk liability.⁴⁶³ In accepting records on behalf of the university and acting in her role as head archivist, Sweeney agreed to be the internal advocate to negotiate the agreement with legal counsel. This process was by no means quick or easy; negotiations took place over a two-year period beginning in 2013 and ending with official approval in 2015. By the time this agreement was finalized, the bulk of the materials had already been transferred to UMASC. In the meantime, Darrell Chippeway was charged with ensuring that donors understood that the new agreement would be completed and mailed out for them to sign and return to the archive. Despite the length of time it took to move the policy through the bureaucratic processes of the institution, Sweeney asserted that cooperative support from Greg Juliano was pivotal in acquiring institutional approval.⁴⁶⁴ She suggested that Juliano's willingness to collaborate and "keen understanding" of the importance of the community's request was quite similar to her own which had been influenced by involvement in the preparation of the UM's bid to obtain the NCTR.⁴⁶⁵

The creation of the LOU also occurred during a time of growing awareness among local archivists of the need to support Indigenous efforts to preserve information and knowledge in

⁴⁶³ Shelley Sweeney, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ Shelley Sweeney, interview by Sarah Story.

culturally appropriate and mutually respectful ways. During this period, efforts were emerging in Winnipeg to reform archival practices and create the space for Indigenous histories, ideologies and approaches to influence archival processes. For example, a MAIN-LCSH Working Group of the Association of Manitoba Archives began the development of culturally respectful library subject headings for the Manitoba Archival Information Network (MAIN).⁴⁶⁶ In October 2013, an Indigenous archives colloquium held at the UM, “‘I have never forgotten his words’: Talking About Indigenous Archives”, brought archivists from around the country together to learn about Indigenous approaches to archiving and knowledge preservation.⁴⁶⁷ The UM Masters in Archival Studies Program itself supports this work and materials relating to Indigenous archiving principles and practices are discussed on an ongoing basis. The archival educators, Dr. Greg Bak and Dr. Tom Nesmith, promote student learning in this area and make concerted efforts to increase Indigenous students enrolment in the program.⁴⁶⁸ During the start of PHAID, Boiteau and I were enrolled in an archival studies course (History 7392: Archives, Public Affairs, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada) taught by Dr. Greg Bak wherein we were introduced to

⁴⁶⁶ Christine Bone, “Modifications to the Library of Congress Subject Headings for use by Manitoba archives”, University of Manitoba, IFLA-WLIC, January 6, 2016. Creative Commons (ORCID: 0000-0003-4868-124X), <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0> The MAIN-LCSH working committee included: Christine Bone, Camille Callison, Brett Lougheed, Janet La France and Terry Reilly.

⁴⁶⁷ Sarah Story, *Presentation Notes* for the Preserving the History of Aboriginal Institutional Development in Winnipeg panel at the Talking About Indigenous Archives colloquium, University of Manitoba, October 5, 2013. I had submitted the team proposal for an archival presentation given in conjunction with Crystal Greene, Darrell Chippeway, Larry Morrissette, Jesse Boiteau and Shelley Sweeney. The panel included two components, Part I: “Community Perspectives” with Larry Morrissette, Crystal Greene and Darrell Chippeway, and Part II: “Perspectives from the Archival Team on the Challenges and Potentials of Archiving Winnipeg’s Urban Aboriginal Records” with Shelley Sweeney, Jesse Boiteau and Sarah Story. It was during this presentation that I went beyond discussing PHAID to suggested a need to move beyond institutional solutions to a two prong solution, particularly imagining the potential of a community-driven archive run by for Indigenous peoples to serve their needs and on their own terms.

⁴⁶⁸ For example, Greg Bak and Tom Nesmith have been promoting the program to Indigenous students with various panel presentations on campus. On October 26, 2016, a panel “Archives, Memory & Reconciliation” featured Theodore Fontaine, Nesmith, Bak and archival students in the foyer at Migizii Agamik. In the fall of 2015, I participated in a similar panel with Bak and local archivists where I spoke to the importance of preserving urban Indigenous records. Bak and Nesmith also formed a partnership with the NCTR in 2015 to provide an Indigenous student in the program with an \$30,000 entrance scholarship to the UM Archival Studies & History Master’s Program. The course outline for History 7392 is evidence of inclusion of Indigenous writing on archives, knowledge and history.

Indigenous perspectives of archives. Knowledgeable Indigenous speakers were invited weekly to engage with our class at *Migizii Agamik* (or “Bald Eagle Lodge”). In this classroom setting, we were introduced to the first-hand experiences of Indigenous people, and diverse perspectives on truth, reconciliation and Indigenous knowledge preservation. For me, it began a process of critically thinking about archive’s colonial practices and how Indigenous cultural protocols and practices, such as those outlined by the First Archivist Circle and the Aboriginal Torres Straight Indigenous Data Archive (ATSIDA), could act as adaptable models to assist with the improvement of how settler archivists archive and represent Indigenous materials and knowledge. This learning stoked desire to cooperatively support the Indigenous team members, and these ideas were brought into discussions surrounding the development of the LOU. In this respect, archival education and the evolving archival profession awakened our understanding for the need to challenge standardized archival practices. While decolonization requires us to take direct action, education provides a theoretical background and historical knowledge that can empower student archivists to think about what actions might be taken to change archival approaches and systems. The ideas and theories that we discussed in class played an important role in the facilitation of the dialogue and generating ideas to support the LOU’s development, as well as those publicly shared with regard to the NCTR.⁴⁶⁹ Ultimately, however, it was the Indigenous team members’ solid critiques of colonial archival practices and principles that were key to sparking the LOU’s development. This criticism was informed by the Indigenous team members personal and collective experiences with colonialism, in its varying manifestations. The team member who vocal-

⁴⁶⁹ For example, Jesse Boiteau, “The Urban Aboriginal History Project: Building Trust through Participatory Archiving,” *Jesse’s Thesis*, WordPress, September 30, 2013, accessed May 3, 2016, <https://jesseboiteau.wordpress.com/2013/09/30/the-urban-aboriginal-history-project-building-trust-through-participatory-archiving/>. The ideas that are forwarded in this blog post are based directly upon the dialogue that Boiteau participated in wherein ideas were shared by Greg Bak or vocalized by other students in History 7392: Archives, Public Affairs, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, including: Amanda Linden, Wendy Smith, Sarah Story and Natalie Vielfaure.

ized the most concern about the transfer and the issues of keeping Indigenous materials in a settler institution was Larry Morrissette. Through his lived experience as an Indigenous man and long-time work as an activist, scholar, organizer, and igniter of Indigenous community development initiatives, Morrissette had developed a solid understanding and critique of colonialist thinking, and similar to the other Indigenous team members, dedicated his life to decolonization. In an interview with Morrissette in 2015, he spoke of his initial “reluctance” to get involved with PHAID and “the project” of transferring Indigenous records out of community into a settler institution.⁴⁷⁰ However, he also saw value in preserving an under-documented aspect of history that was deeply important and personal to him, so he accepted the request with recognition that he could use his knowledge and experience to influence its direction.

Larry Morrissette also had a particularly heightened and informed awareness of the colonial practices used by academic institutions to secure Indigenous material objects and records for their own benefit and research purposes. This was informed by his past personal experiences. In the nineties, Morrissette was involved in repatriating material objects from the UW’s Anthropology Museum.⁴⁷¹ He described the objects (e.g. pipes, drums, medicine bags) as being personal, familial and sacred in nature. He argued that these items had been unjustly “expropriated by researchers” through funded research grants in the seventies with use of mediators who secured the objects from individuals who did not have the authority to hand them over to researchers but did so as a result of poverty conditions. The details of the expropriations by academics are conveniently overlooked in the museum’s revised policies and principles manual, simply referring to

⁴⁷⁰ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid. He made no mention of the others involved in the repatriation.

these collections as having been “built up over time.”⁴⁷² In 2001, a Provincial Enquiry chaired by the Manitoba solicitor-general was launched after an audit found a number of objects missing from the museum’s collection. Morrisette was investigated by the RCMP for his involvement in repatriating the cultural objects. The investigation concluded that the deaccessioned artefacts were repatriated “in a manner contrary to accepted practices and to its own Museum Policy Manual.”⁴⁷³ Darlene Fisher asserts that some of the repatriated objects belonged to the Pauingassi community of northeastern Manitoba, which had not been informed of this repatriation process due to the museum’s “inadequate inventory controls, poor staff training, failure to follow their own museum practices manual, and poorly documented transactions and deaccessioning.”⁴⁷⁴ Morrisette asserted that the enquiry led to an adoption of “British museum policies” wherein individuals wishing to repatriate objects “must prove the lineage to an item”.⁴⁷⁵ However, he further explained that those who had supported the repatriation in the nineties had tried to inform the government that these objects did not belong to a single person; they belonged to the collective. He claimed that the repatriation had been “handled well” in spite of the enquiry’s claims explaining that each object was “brought into ceremony” and returned to the larger traditional community from which they had been “non-transferrable” in the first place.⁴⁷⁶ He maintained that the repatriation had a few positive impacts, including objects returned to the collec-

⁴⁷² University of Winnipeg Anthropology Museum, “Policies and Procedures”, University of Winnipeg, Revised March 2007.

⁴⁷³ Office of the Auditor General, “Investigation of Missing Artifacts at the Anthropology Museum of the University of Winnipeg”, Winnipeg, MB (June 2002): 12, accessed October 22, 2016, http://www.oag.mb.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/UofMANTH_JUN02.pdf

⁴⁷⁴ Darlene Fisher, “Repatriation Issues in First Nations Heritage Collections”, *Journal of Integrated Studies*, Vol. 1., No. 3., (2012). Accessed October 22, 2016, <http://jis.athabascau.ca/index.php/jis/article/view/79/75>. Fisher cites Heather Devine who attributed these failures to “a theft of artifacts from the museum (230).” Heather Devine, n.d. “After the Spirit Sang: Aboriginal Canadians and Museum Policy in the New Millennium”, 217-239, accessed October 22, 2016, http://www.aupress.ca/books/120167/ebook/10_Beaty_et_al-How_Canadians_Communicate.pdf

⁴⁷⁵ Larry Morrisette, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid. Larry also explained that during the enquiry there were professors at the UW who had supported the Indigenous repatriation of these materials, but these individuals had been reprimanded by the administration (e.g. silenced or defunded) so it remains a sensitive topic that many are not comfortable speaking about.

tive and reburial of Indigenous bodies with the benefit of spurring some improvement to repatriation policies of the museum.⁴⁷⁷

During the first PHAID meeting in 2013, a point of tension arose when one archivist in attendance unknowingly insulted Morrissette by remarking on this case, stating that the repatriated cultural objects had been “whisked away” with poor practices or without an understanding of their history.⁴⁷⁸ This was a catalyst for the challenge he levelled at the archives during the meeting. He did not openly address the issue but explained that this was the moment that led him to conclude that values of local archives and museums had not changed since his last experience. This precipitated his direct demand for Indigenous values to be “unconditionally central” in all processes of archiving the records, including their transfer to the UM.⁴⁷⁹ From this moment of tension emerged the decision to look at alternate agreements and consult Indigenous cultural protocols elsewhere for some guidance in facilitating the records transfer. Dr. Greg Bak forwarded the suggestion to consult the First Archivist Circle’s community-generated “Protocols for Native American Archival Materials” as one way to begin our thinking about the creation of an alternate donor agreement more respectful of Indigenous values of knowledge preservation. In the weeks that followed, a process of creating a mutually beneficial donor agreement began. At this time, the goals of the project necessarily expanded beyond a decision to transfer Indigenous materials to the settler archive into a solid attempt to change the relationship between Indigenous donors and the UM through challenging and reshaping an essential legal agreement.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid. There were bodies that were returned to Sagkeeng for reburied, and ceremonies performed with other items and returned to the collective, such as a drum that was given to the Three Fires Society.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

Key elements challenged in the standard deed of gift

In the past, it was common for the UMASC to receive records donations according to a variety of approaches, such as bailment agreements or wills; some collections are without a formal donor agreement guiding their care.⁴⁸⁰ Today, the archives employs a mandatory, standardized and legally binding device called a “deed of gift”, created and approved by legal counsel to transfer property to UMASC according to institutionally established policies. Aaron D. Purcell asserts that deed of gift is ideal for archives since it tends to be a simple legal agreement that is “scalable, concise, unambiguous, legally binding and adaptable”.⁴⁸¹ Deeds of gift are also used by Indigenous-run archives, such as Sípnuuk Digital Libraries, Archives & Museum. However, the UM’s current five-page standard Deed of Gift was deemed too complex to offer to lay people who lack legal training since it is laden with legal jargon. Loxley and Peters own unwillingness to accept the UM’s unilateral donor agreement for purposes of PHAID were laid out in an article that they wrote about the project, which stated:

The standard Deed of Gift Agreement used by the University is three and a half pages long without signatures or the list of items ‘donated’. It is both complex and inappropriate. It is wordy and full of legalese that lay people would find hard to follow. It deals with ‘property’ and its valuation and the charitable tax receipts that might flow to ‘donors’ under the Income Tax Act. More importantly, it states that ‘The Donor hereby gifts, assigns and transfers all of the Donor’s right, title, and interest in and to the Property, to the University, for its own use absolutely, subject only to the terms of this Deed’, which hardly suggests a collaborative arrangement.⁴⁸²

Loxley explained that these reasons validated the creation of a shorter, more comprehensible le-

⁴⁸⁰ Shelly Sweeney, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁸¹ Aaron D. Purcell, *Donors and Archives: A Guidebook for Successful Programs*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield (2015): 19.

⁴⁸² John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story. Loxley and Peters, “Preserving the History of Aboriginal Institutional Development in Winnipeg: Research Driven by the Community”.

gal document that was based on “mutually agreed upon terms.”⁴⁸³ This issue was addressed by substituting the legal language with plain language in a one-page letter.

Stylistic variations between donor agreements or deeds of gift at the UMASC, university archives and other archives present the illusion of a lack of standardization, yet they tend to have common essential components.⁴⁸⁴ One key commonality is a requirement to legally transfer the donors’ or creators’ ownership of materials to a collecting body or its governing institution. The UM is no exception. The pre-imposed arrangement that Indigenous rights over recorded materials would be transferred to the UM was unacceptable to the Indigenous team members who challenged the LOU on this basis. This notion posed a fundamental and ideological disagreement in that it violates and disrespects Indigenous approaches to knowledge and information management.⁴⁸⁵ This notion was informed by a lack of trust or heightened awareness informed by Indigenous peoples experiences of colonization, the settler state and settler institutions (such as museums and archives) that increase potential risk of violating and misusing records transferred from Indigenous hands into settler institutions outside of their community. In response and with support from the researchers and archivists, the Indigenous team members strongly asserted that Indigenous values, beliefs and interests needed to be respected in the new agreement. From the outset, an intention of the new agreement is distinguishable in its name. Whereas “Deed of Gift” indicates a legal property transfer wherein the archive is gifted archival materials without an obligation of return, the “Letter of Understanding” (LOU) suggests an agreement based on a mutually beneficial understanding between two parties. Two key promises were forwarded in the

⁴⁸³ John Loxley, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁸⁴ I consulted a number of donor agreements, including those at the University of Victoria, Simon Fraser University, University of Alberta, Ryerson University Library and Archives, Nova Scotia Archives, Archives of Ontario, Library and Archives Canada, as well as MIT Libraries in the United States.

⁴⁸⁵ Larry Morrisette, interview by Sarah Story. Louise Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

LOU by the UM to donors. This includes a promise to act as “steward” of materials rather than “owner”, and to “respect Indigenous archiving principles.”⁴⁸⁶ To reframe the new agreement, a request was made by the Indigenous team members that the western concept of “ownership” be replaced with the concept of “stewardship” to more accurately reflect their own ideas about the role that the UMASC would perform by accepting the materials and how materials will be handled by the archive.

However, “stewardship” and what it means for the settler archive to steward Indigenous records was never explicitly outlined during PHAID, nor were specific mechanisms developed to assert and protect Indigenous interests in this agreement. A solid understanding of the types of stewardship expected to care for the materials is also central for ensuring the UMASC can meet its promises in practice. In Indigenous knowledge preservation and transmission there are differences and similarities, so what constitutes stewardship in this instance, and how the UMASC will steward the information or knowledge donated through the project hinges upon particular values and contextual factors that gave rise to its creation. In other words, “stewardship” has a particular meaning to those who informed its creation. In her discussion of The Local Contexts project, Kimberly Christen points out that stewardship is diverse and dependent on “historic, geographic, social and cultural contexts (that) will always determine the parameters for interaction, uses and circulation of any and all knowledge.”⁴⁸⁷ Such contexts can be usefully applied to the consideration and creation of an informed understanding of the mutually agreed on terms so an Indigenous interpretation of stewardship is applied by the UM to the custodianship of these records. I do not seek to define the parameters of stewardship as this is a role for the urban Indigenous community

⁴⁸⁶ University of Manitoba, *Letter of Understanding*.

⁴⁸⁷ Kimberly Christen, “Tribal Archives, Traditional Knowledge, and Local Contexts: Why the “s” Matters”, *Journal of Western Archives*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, Article 3, (2015): 17.

and members of the PHAID working in collaboration with the UMASC to determine. Instead, I draw out some of the key conceptual features in the LOU to demonstrate the need to strengthen terms of the agreement with meaningful future dialogue, and a fuller understanding of the scope of challenges presented in stewarding records on behalf of the diverse urban Indigenous community in Winnipeg. Ultimately, an overarching expectation exists among PHAID team members that a set of “Indigenous archiving principles” will be developed in the near future to ensure the materials will be stewarded in accordance with how the Indigenous team members - and the wider urban Indigenous community that they represented - intended.

Defining stewardship broadly

The concept of stewardship has been included in broadly defined sets of culturally-specific guidelines widely accepted as the protocols for governing the ethical research of First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples in Canada. These guidelines help inform how information held outside of its originating community can be safeguarded against increased real or perceived risks of contravention by settler individuals and institutions holding the information. Though there are variances in the protocols of nations based upon the fact that they have distinct identities, a few widely accepted guidelines in Canada include: the First Nations Information Governance Centre’s *Ownership, Control, Access, Possession* (OCAP) guidelines, the Manitoba Métis Federation’s *OCAS: Ownership, Control, Access, Stewardship* principles that aim to maximize privacy protections for Métis peoples, and *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* (IQ) (translating to “that which Inuit have always known to be true”) that has been adopted by the Manitoba Inuit Association.⁴⁸⁸ In *OCAP*, “stewardship” is also referred to also as “custodianship” and falls under the principle of

⁴⁸⁸ Tagalik, *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit: The role of Indigenous knowledge in supporting wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut*, Prince George, BC, National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health (2010): 1

“possession”, whereas *OCAS* directly refers to “stewardship”, and the *IQ* forwards “Avatimik Kamattiarniq” or the principle of environmental stewardship. While these guidelines are not without their differences and complications when it comes to their criteria and practical implementation, commonalities exist with regard to their notions of stewardship.

There is a distinction between the concepts of ownership and stewardship in the *OCAP* that identifies ownership as “the relationship between a people and their data in principle”, whereas “stewardship is the mechanism by which ownership can be asserted and protected.”⁴⁸⁹ In *OCAP* stewardship is the principle of governance that acknowledges that Indigenous cultural knowledge is collectively owned in the same way “that individuals have a right to their personal information.”⁴⁹⁰ While *OCAS* tends to give more weight to privacy protection for Métis individuals than *OCAP*, there is a broad consensus on this notion of ownership and taking responsibility for knowledge protection on behalf of the collective. The *OCAS* further asserts that this entails taking responsibility for the “ethical planning and management of resources.”⁴⁹¹ In essence, to “steward” knowledge or information means to take responsibility for its care, maintenance and preservation according to a particular set of cultural values and ethics on behalf of a collective. And while diversity exists based upon each nation’s unique worldviews and relationships to different land forms, stewardship is commonly used to describe and understand Indigenous peoples spiritual relationship to the land that respectfully considers the holistic interconnection of beings and systems. This worldview encompasses a protective and collective responsibility to ensure the wellbeing of the natural world for humanity and nature’s own sake. This notion of interconnec-

⁴⁸⁹ The First Nations, Métis and Inuit Research Engagement Steering Committee, “Framework for Research Engagement with First Nation, Métis and Inuit Peoples”, Winnipeg, MB, Faculty of Health Sciences, University of Manitoba (2013): 13.

⁴⁹⁰ The First Nations Information Governance Centre, *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession: The Path to First Nations Information Governance*, Ottawa: The First Nations Information Governance Centre (May 2014): 5.

⁴⁹¹ Manitoba Métis Federation, *OCAS*, 34.

tion with the natural environment comes through directly in the *IQ* indicating that stewardship is a demonstration of the “respect for the value and place of every other living thing and (their) mutual interdependence with our past, present and future environments”.⁴⁹² Working closely with *Pak-su-nuk-see-win* elders in Manitoba, I have learned Indigenous knowledge arises from these interrelations giving precedence to care for something on behalf of the larger community.

Shelley Sweeney reasserted that the notion of stewarding collections on behalf of society, or that archives cannot truly own knowledge of any donor or keep their records solely for its own purposes, is not incomprehensible to settler archivists.⁴⁹³ The emphasis is placed on archives serving society, enshrined in Association of Canadian Archivists (ACA) Code of Ethics.⁴⁹⁴ This approach forms the bedrock for archival work. With the exception of private and commercial archives, Sweeney further argued that archivists have a tendency to govern as stewards for “the common good” and according to the principles of openness and public service to society, rather than “over-controlling proprietors”.⁴⁹⁵ Nonetheless, it is widely known that western cultures diverge from Indigenous cultures with respect to the concept of the individual ownership of knowledge; the former often giving full authority or control to the individual in western cultures. It is necessary to consider that settler archives are not singularly governed by archival principles or the direction of individual archivists but are also directly influenced by systems of legislation regarding access and privacy developed by governing institutions and the settler state that can directly impede Indigenous individual’s or group’s requests to readily access information about

⁴⁹² Shirley Tagalik, *Inuit QaujImajatuQangIt*, 3.

⁴⁹³ Shelley Sweeney, interview by Sarah Story.

⁴⁹⁴ Association of Canadian Archivists, “Code of Ethics - Principles”, <http://archivists.ca/content/code-ethics>.

⁴⁹⁵ Shelley Sweeney, interview with Sarah Story.

their lives and communities.⁴⁹⁶ For instance, Mary Horodyski's master's thesis on accessibility rights and archival records of people labelled with intellectual disability points to local examples of access to archives regimes with an "unwieldy bureaucracy" and "unnecessary barriers" that can be sometimes be governed with a "highly saturated paternalistic protectionism".⁴⁹⁷ *OCAP* itself has also indicated Access to Information and Privacy legislation as a "significant barrier" to control over First Nations information, and called for reforms to the Library and Archives of Canada Act to ensure *OCAP* is implementable.⁴⁹⁸ The access experience described by Horodyski points out a need to reform complicated systems of legislation governing information housed in archives. This, in addition to insufficient archival community engagement described by these Indigenous team members, validates local perceptions of settler archives as controllers, not sharers, of archival information.⁴⁹⁹ Indigenous people's consistent experiences of settler institutions control over information and misrepresentation of their cultures further validate necessity for rules to guide the care of materials, safeguard information and build trust.

This situation has given rise to the creation of Indigenous protocols directly aimed at informing and reforming archives, especially for the historical reason that Indigenous peoples have

⁴⁹⁶ Add to this point the fact there are archivists who are racist, do not recognize the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples, and do not act in ways that demonstrate allyship or respect for Indigenous peoples. Nor do all archivists govern their archives with the same willingness to accommodate needs of groups in the way that UMASC has for PHAID.

⁴⁹⁷ Mary Horodyski. "'Society seems like it doesn't even know...': Archival records regarding people labelled with intellectual disability who have been institutionalized in Manitoba", (Master's thesis. University of Manitoba, 2017): 133. Horodyski outlines FIPPA processes, pointing out that the photocopies are "a poor substitute" for the original due to the redaction, poorer visual quality and fact that records are removed from the context of their creation (136). Poor descriptions of archival records often also produce unhelpful results or drawn out access request periods (140).

⁴⁹⁸ Lever and Barriers of *OCAP*, 7.

⁴⁹⁹ Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story. For instance, Mallett spoke of her work experience at the Archives of Manitoba indicating that while the mandate and values of the archive is the impetus to share information, in practice, this archive lacked genuine community engagement and did not conduct outreach in the Indigenous community. It demonstrated to her that the principle of sharing was actually "not an essential institutional value of archives." She asserted that the UM's approach on PHAID was a much better way of working with the Indigenous community.

typically retained little control over information others have in their possession.⁵⁰⁰ For example, the “Protocols for Native American Archival Materials” (after referred to as “The Protocols”) were collaboratively developed by a diverse representation of individuals and organizations called “First Archivist Circle”, which had the overarching aim to provide general guidance to settler archives caring for Indigenous materials.⁵⁰¹ These best practices were not adopted by the Society for American Archivists - the national association of archivists in the United States - though there is evidence of adoption by some individual institutions. The conceptualizations of interconnection and collectivity embedded within *OCAP*, *OCAS* and *IQ* are inherent in The Protocols, which also advances the notion of Indigenous communities principal rights over their materials and knowledge. The Protocols encourage archivists to work with distinct Native American communities in the development of culturally-appropriate approaches. The UMASC has joined this wider movement to reform archival practices by embedding elements of the values articulated in these guidelines within the LOU. It endorsed a moral commitment to the community in its recognition of the validity of Indigenous knowledge systems by working to find a way to merge these approaches within an established western system.

Breaking it down - what the LOU promises

The LOU promises to house, protect and make information available for public usage on behalf of the original steward of materials without taking away Indigenous claim to ownership over their records and knowledge. In particular, semantics used in relation to the “donor” of materials highlight a divergence from the standard deed of gift. In the LOU, the UM refers to a do-

⁵⁰⁰ The First Nations Information Governance Centre, *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession*, 6.

⁵⁰¹ First Archivist Circle, “Protocols for Native American Archival Materials”. First Archivist Circle was a group of Indigenous archivists, librarians, museum curators and scholars in the US that also included Kim Lawson (Heiltsuk Nation Librarian) from British Columbia.

nor as “original steward” acknowledging that on transfer to the UMASC, it will become the “new steward” with a promise to care for and make records widely and publicly available:

I/We Insert Name here am/are the current steward(s) of the material to be transferred, or the authorized representative(s) of the steward(s), and have full authority to enter into this agreement. We are not restricted from making the promises in this agreement by any other agreement, nor do we require the consent of any other person(s).

I/we agree to transfer and assign all rights to the outlined materials (see attached transfer schedule) (the “Materials”) to The University of Manitoba and its Archives & Special Collections, (the “University”) which will act as the new steward of these materials for the use absolutely of the larger community subject to this agreement.⁵⁰²

In this regard, the LOU is unique to its predecessor as it does not claim direct “ownership” over the materials. Instead, the “original steward” - or an individual or institutional custodian responsible for the care of the information - transfers their material in agreement that the UMASC will act as the caretaker or custodian of their records while ensuring public availability of the materials. In contrast, the UM’s Standard Deed of Gift contains an expectation that the “donor” or the entity providing a “donation” or charitable “gift” of materials to the repository, does so with an understanding that it will not be returned. In other words, the major difference is that the LOU assumes the possession of the materials is not fixed on the transfer to the UM. The understanding of the original stewards is that their material will reside at UMASC in perpetuity, or without a fixed length of time but always remain in their possession and ultimately the possession of the larger urban Indigenous community that gave rise to the creation of information and knowledge within the records. In this respect, ensuring maintenance of intellectual control over their own materials in the LOU aligns well with the *OCAP*, *OCAS* and *IQ*.

⁵⁰² University of Manitoba, *Letter of Understanding*.

The application of the concept of “stewardship” in the LOU was also strengthened by an inclusion of a stipulation for the potential return of records back into the control of the urban Indigenous community. A request that this clause be included was made to ensure materials could be returned into Indigenous care and possession through transfer to a sustainable Indigenous cultural centre or repository with capacity and resources to manage and make available the records. A recommendation forwarded to Legal Counsel by the Indigenous team members asked the UMASC to “consult with the steward(s) if the materials would be more appropriately housed at another facility, such as an Aboriginal archive.”⁵⁰³ The legalese of legal counsel, however, says that the UM “may transfer or dispose of the Materials according to standard archival principles. For example, the University may transfer a portion or all of the materials to another archive, if the lead archivist feels these records would be more appropriate to be housed at the other facility.”⁵⁰⁴ At a first glance, it appears the UM has removed a consultative component of the agreement. However, I assume that this change was made so that in the event that an original steward is unreachable or passes away, the UM retains power to transfer materials to honour the original intention of the agreement. This was particularly critical to ensuring that a fragile trust developed during PHAID that can be maintained, and to avoid frustrating, costly or resource-consuming struggles to force institutional processes of repatriation. The LOU ensures that such tumultuous process will not have to be endured in the future as a result of UM’s willingness to transfer materials back to Indigenous physical control.

The Indigenous team members stipulation that records be transferred to an “Aboriginal archive” were replaced by legal counsel with “another archive” in the final version to allow for

⁵⁰³ University of Manitoba, *Letter of Understanding*.

⁵⁰⁴ “Indigenous Archiving Policy (In Progress)”, email correspondence, Shelley Sweeney to Greg Bak, Jesse Boiteau and Sarah Story, 2013.

flexibility in the case that a suitable location, not necessarily identifying as solely “Aboriginal” but better situated to serve Indigenous urbanites needs. While the issue of what type of archive could become new steward of these materials was not defined during PHAID, the Indigenous team members suggested that this be an Indigenous steward with the “capacity and resources for such an initiative.”⁵⁰⁵ The issue of sustainability was important. A reason UMASC was chosen as a steward was the perception that it was a sustainable and well-resourced repository supported by the UM’s educational community. There were Indigenous team members who believed that a future transfer should be to another educational and non-political entity demonstrating financial stability to ensure records safety and longevity, especially given that many urban Indigenous organizations have faced unstable funding.⁵⁰⁶ There were also Indigenous team members who argued that if an organization requested their materials be returned for any reason in the future, the materials should be returned without any question.

It is less clear in the LOU if this action would be allowable as it is not addressed directly. If the UM will be honouring Indigenous principles, such as those outlined in the *OCAP*, it clearly stipulates that First Nations ownership and control of their own knowledge, information and data must be maintained.⁵⁰⁷ At the same time, given that political reasons were cited for one example of internal destruction of records by an individual in a position of authority that were later criticized by other staff, a consultative process that moves beyond an individual demand for transfer would be good practice. Information is power. There are individuals or groups who seek to de-

⁵⁰⁵ The First Nations Information Governance Centre, *OCAP*, 24.

⁵⁰⁶ For example, Darrell Chippeway. Chippeway expressed concern about records being archived by Indigenous political bodies that are dependent on state funds, such as the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (AMC). Hypothesizing about the AMC as a future archive for such materials, he raised questions about the Conservative Government’s cutbacks, which have been commonly enforced provincially (and federally) to community-based Indigenous agencies. “What if Stephen Harper’s administration cut funding to the AMC? What would happen to these records?”

⁵⁰⁷ The First Nations Information Governance Centre, *OCAP*, 6.

stroy information to serve their own purposes. The UMASC will need to ensure that transfer only occurs when the steward is committed to transparency and accountability and recognizes the societal value of the records. Ensuring safe transfer back into the community to the most suitable steward and in the spirit of non-competition is part of the long-term responsible custodianship the UMASC agreed to by advancing the notion of stewardship.⁵⁰⁸ While there is potential for future return, the terms governing such a transfer have not yet been determined by consensus. Also clarification is needed regarding whether or not mechanisms will be put in place to ensure transfer of information to another steward in the event that relationships between the UM or the UMASC and the original stewards breaks down. It is equally as unclear whether or not the LOU can veto transfer of the stewardship of these materials to a particular entity without a full agreement, or whether the LOU trumps the OCAP Principles, given that the LOU is legally binding agreement whereas OCAP is a de facto set of guidelines. Left undefined, the lack of principles and procedures could cause difficulty in making the records accessible now and into the future.

One of the complicated aspects of the LOU is the language surrounding ownership and transfer of “all rights” to the UM from original stewards. Since the intellectual rights of records creators are governed and protected by Canadian Copyright Law, archives often encourage and insist on the transfer of ownership. However, copyright control often remains with the creator. Deeds of gift enable an archive to make materials readily available to the public for a multitude of purposes, and intend to allow ease of access so that users do not personally have to seek out permission from individual or institutional creators to consult their materials, which would be a prohibitive process for researchers. In this respect, the UM Deed of Gift asks donors to transfer

⁵⁰⁸ “Code of Ethics - Applications of Principles.” Association of Canadian Archivists. <http://archivists.ca/content/code-ethics>. The ACA upholds in its ethical code a principle of non-competition to ensure that records safety is not endangered.

“right, title, and interest in and to the Property, to the University, for its own use absolutely, subject only to the terms of this Deed.”⁵⁰⁹ It includes the copyright of materials. More specifically, this transfer means UMASC can permit copies of materials to be created for use (occasionally amended) with UM reserving the right to “govern and restrict” the access of third parties to these materials.⁵¹⁰ The LOU deviates from the Deed of Gift in that original stewards are only asked to transfer “all rights” over the materials to the UM, not title and interest.⁵¹¹ By changing the legal terminology, transfer of “rights” of the materials to UMASC refers to intellectual property rights. While copyright denotes an exclusive legal right that grants the creator of an original work control over its use and distribution, unless they stipulate otherwise, by transferring their “rights” to the material, the steward allows UMASC to make records publicly available whilst the original steward maintains ownership (title and interest) over their own materials. The LOU also allows individuals and organizations to place their own restrictions on access and usage of the materials, which must be agreed upon prior to transfer.⁵¹² This gives the original steward an opportunity to exercise some control over specific stipulations on use of their materials in order to reflect their cultural and personal values. In the case of institutional record creators, institutions retain rights over the individual, so they have power to place restrictions on their institutional records.⁵¹³ In this way, individuals and organizations have opportunity to maintain a level of control over the access and use of the materials by striking a reasonable agreement between the community and

⁵⁰⁹ University of Manitoba, *Standard Deed of Gift*.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid. There are exceptions to this rule, including materials created or published by individuals other than the donor, or any specific requests that are agreed on between the UM and donor on transfer, and listed in the agreement.

⁵¹¹ The transfer of “title and interest” refers to a change in the materials legal status or that ownership is conveyed from a donor to the archive. Title and interest are often transferred to protect the governing institution in instances of legal action. However, since the transfer of rights is precluded by a lack of transfer of the title and interest (ownership), a clause has been added to ensure the university is protected from any unforeseen liabilities that may arise through its stewardship of the materials.

⁵¹² University of Manitoba, *Letter of Understanding*.

⁵¹³ Aaron D. Purcell, *Donors and Archives*, 34.

UM without forcing it to sign rights of ownership over to a settler institution governed by western legal regimes.

This looks great on paper. However, copyright gets quite complicated when applied to the stewardship of Indigenous materials as western conceptions of copyright do not always align with Indigenous values or principles of knowledge and information governance. This is particularly true in the case of urban Indigenous peoples records since there is such a wide diversity of cultures, protocols and perspectives within this population. In order to respect Indigenous cultural copyright, the UMASC will need to understand where and how knowledge and cultural expressions are located in urban Indigenous records. The collections donated by the project are not necessarily void of cultural expressions that require protection, but this might not be obvious at the outset as the knowledge is contained within institutional records that look like any other settler institution's records. For example, letters of correspondence in an urban Indigenous organization that has been archived might include details about a particular culture's practices, or contain photographs of traditional practices carried out in urban settings that contain knowledge not meant to be shared with the wider society, or that needs to be protected by Indigenous cultural copyright. Camille Callison asserts that "Parallel to Western culture, Indigenous peoples regard the unauthorized use of their cultural expressions as theft."⁵¹⁴ Learning to recognize these cultural expressions within the urban collections will be necessary in order to ensure that tangible and intangible knowledge that is expressed in a range of contemporary formats and media is not unintentionally reproduced without proper permissions. Negotiating this process could be tricky if the settler archivists handling materials do not understand how Indigenous knowledge and cultural expressions present themselves in contemporary and urban Indigenous records. Callison

⁵¹⁴ Camille Callison cited in "CFLA-FCAB Truth & Reconciliation Committee Report & Recommendations", 36.

points out that Indigenous knowledge and cultural expressions “are not limited to traditional tangible and intangible expressions including oral traditions, songs, dance, storytelling, anecdotes, place names, and hereditary names”, but transmitted and reproduced in a wide variety of new media ranging from film and theatre to Facebook and digital collections.⁵¹⁵ As previously demonstrated, urban Indigenous cultural and historical knowledge tend to be shared or expressed in dynamic ways that settlers may not recognize as legitimate forms of cultural knowledge transmission.

Open access versus controlled sharing

In relation to this issue, complications present themselves with regard to access to usage of urban Indigenous records. From the start, a key intention and priority of PHAID was to ensure that the records transferred during the project were made open and widely accessible to the general public. The original stewards were made aware that if they donated records or agreed to an oral history interview, this would be made available to the public through UMASC.⁵¹⁶ However, decisions about collections ultimately lie with each original steward as the OCAP, OCAS, and IQ all make it clear that organizations and individuals have a right to manage and make decisions about their collective information and knowledge. Boiteau argued the LOU was beneficial to all original stewards because it is broad enough to be “tailored” to “different needs” of indi-

⁵¹⁵ Camille Callison cited in “CFLA-FCAB Truth & Reconciliation Committee Report & Recommendations,” 35.

⁵¹⁶ The method of sharing was not thoroughly discussed, but we did talk about the implications of sharing online. Darrell Chippeway was asked to contact all of the participants again to make sure that they understood, and agreed to their interview being made widely available online through a channel, such as YouTube, which could be shared more widely and rapidly, and with a different impact, than a user requirement to contact the archive for the record.

viduals or organizations.⁵¹⁷ While space for provision of stipulations seems to ensure that the rights of original stewards can be advanced, it is not straightforward in practice.

For instance, what happens when the rights of individual urban Indigenous organizations conflict with the rights of the wider Indigenous community over the governance of access and usage of their institutional records? This question, raised by Larry Morrissette, who had contested the notion of the UMASC negotiating one-on-one deals with organizations, especially if it allowed placement of access restrictions on institutional records that unduly impeded Indigenous peoples' consultation of the records. In this respect, Morrissette forwarded the rights of a wider collective of Indigenous (e.g. Winnipeg residents, activists and organizers, etc.) and their need to access information over the organizations ability to define terms of access. He argued that urban Indigenous organizations are mandated to provide vital services to Indigenous urbanites, so it is in the public's interest that they maintain full transparency.⁵¹⁸ This assertion was influenced by a belief that the public should have an opportunity to consult records, and if needed, hold organizations to account for their actions. He stated a desire to see all organizational records made easily accessible to the general public without any barriers and formal or legal permissions requests to gain access (e.g., FIPPA requests).⁵¹⁹ Following the same vein of thought, he argued that organizations that refused to make their records available were closing off the community from accessing its own history and impeding peoples' ability to analyze and understand that history. He advanced the idea of organizations and UMASC working on society's behalf, and as such, keeping records for only the benefit of that larger society, relinquishing formal systems of control to al-

⁵¹⁷ Jesse Boiteau interview, by Sarah Story.

⁵¹⁸ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid. Evelyn Peters, interview by Sarah Story. Peters also mentioned that the interviews be placed online "as soon as possible" with "seamless access."

low for engagement and interpretation beyond institutional purposes, whether it be for historical analysis or to generate action or advance ideas to address current issues. He also stated:

We, as a people, we have to understand, create and be able to challenge our own history, and you have leaders talking about certain issues that shape a particular Indigenous history at that point in time. And whether or not people have agreed, or are all on the same page or not, young people should have the ability to critique - and without question - how they interpret the material. It can't be limited to a young person wanting to do something and they have to go to an organization and it gets released. It has to be done in a way that if it is Indigenous, it is Indigenous. You (UMASC) are holding it for us. It's like it's at my Grandma's place in her basement. 'Go and get it'. It should have that type of mentality. Not this formal structure that has never ever really supported who we are.⁵²⁰

He further argued that an organization unwilling to share information would constitute “freedom shaping” by overprotecting its data instead of contributing it to enable improved analysis that would result in the creation of “a clear vision of the future and the development of our history.”

⁵²¹ Morrissette particularly wanted the youth to have information available so that they can “interpret the world as they see the world” and have an ability to critique organizational practices and improve approaches, including those of respected leaders and elders.⁵²² In this way, his notion of stewardship and caring for archived knowledge on behalf of the collective solidly supported a strict adherence to wide open access, transparency and accountability for the benefit of the public without any archival interference.

Kathy Mallett also indicated that she would be suspicious of any Indigenous organization that did not want to open its records to the public. Mallett stated the importance of admitting that conflict has arisen in organizations, but she also suggested that in sensitive cases records removal or the placement of limitations on access to specific sets of records for a stipulated period of time

⁵²⁰ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story.

⁵²¹ Ibid.

⁵²² Ibid.

might be an effective approach to encourage donation of records.⁵²³ When later speaking about Indigenous conceptualizations of sharing information, she pointed out that sharing is a “spiritual value” that is based upon relationships and trust building wherein individuals are encouraged to share only to the extent that they feel comfortable.⁵²⁴ This was reflected in the action of several original stewards who carefully selected what records they shared with UMASC. With respect to the individuals or organizations unwilling to share records with the public, Mallett thought they may not either see the value of their records to larger society, or distrust the settler institutional repository charged with stewarding records. In such a circumstance, she suggested that UMASC archivists meet face-to-face to connect with organizations who had not donated to the archive to openly discuss the value of archiving and sharing their records with the public.

In sensitive cases, finding a way to balance the needs of original stewards and the larger public could be found. While a strict adherence to open access serves the purpose of transparency by allowing society to hold an entity to account, in some cases it could also jeopardize preservation of records containing culturally or personally sensitive information. Considering many community-based organizations exist without robust record keeping systems in place to determine what records can be shared widely, and given that settler archivists are unfamiliar with the work of the organizations, culturally sensitive materials could unknowingly be placed in the public sphere.⁵²⁵ It could also lead to an unwanted record culling or redaction of materials prior to transfer that could have otherwise been made publicly available at an agreed upon point in the future. In *OCAP* a refusal to close or place restrictions on records at the request of an original

⁵²³ Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Personal information is included in the documentation stewarded at UMASC. Records contain information about individuals’ work performance, health, behaviour or internal interactions with other staff, and other personal business. The transfer of such records from the organization to the archives opens up risk for individuals, including the leadership, such as exposure of potentially embarrassing, discomfiting and damaging experiences in organizations.

steward would violate its principles and the rights of an organization to assert control over information it created.⁵²⁶ Archivists commonly work to balance interests in regard to access and privacy case-by-case. This method that can ensure the preservation and protection of information in ways that to safeguard against damaging an organization or relationships in and between Indigenous communities.

Balancing access and privacy concerns - who to consult in urban communities?

Nevertheless, it would be valuable to further consider Morrisette's counterpoint about a need for urban Indigenous organizations to openly share records with the broader public that they have been created to serve. He pointed to the potential future friction between institutional and collective rights within urban Indigenous communities themselves. Ultimately, *OCAP* asserts that "the community" holds the right to determine what is in their own best interest, but Morrisette argued that "what is in the best interest of 'the community' is up for debate."⁵²⁷ It is useful to consider what could happen if organizational demands conflict with urban Indigenous communities or the publics that they are mandated to serve. Existing guidelines or protocols provide ways to resolve issues in the management of Indigenous records or information. The *OCAP* suggests that leadership enact a governing set of principles in a community regarding information access, usage and privacy or develop policies and procedures to provide the necessary direction to protect community and individual privacy.⁵²⁸ Regarding the ethical research and governance of knowledge, principles developed by groups are reflected in *OCAP*, *OCAS* and *IQ* that have

⁵²⁶ The First Nations Information Governance Centre, *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession*, 5.

⁵²⁷ Ibid, 11. Larry Morrisette, interview by Sarah Story.

⁵²⁸ The First Nations Information Governance Centre, *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession*, 13.

gained traction in Manitoba.⁵²⁹ In addition to the common assertion of their rights of ownership and control over their own knowledge and data, each stipulates duty to consult in order to request the permission from a particular nation or acquire groups consent to use information about them, regardless of where it is held.⁵³⁰ Similarly, First Archivists Circle suggests working with “tribal leadership” to come up with culturally-specific and respectful resolutions.⁵³¹ Models of Indigenous-created deed of gift’s elsewhere also pertain to singular cultural affiliations and have been developed by or in direct consultation with tribal leadership.⁵³² While there are significant issues in determining an authority recognized by community members in the process of identifying who to consult in any given community, urban centres present further challenges.⁵³³

The key issue with applying these approaches in an urban context is that the advice that is provided to archivists makes an assumption that there are distinct cultural communities with their own defined leadership structures with a leadership that exists with authority to act on behalf of a group or collective. However, the sheer diversity of cultural identities in an urban centre significantly complicates questions of ownership and governance over records stewarded outside of a creating institution or community. The notion that Indigenous peoples should adhere to a singu-

⁵²⁹ For instance, *OCAP* is cited in the Tri-Council Policy 2 that governs the ethical research of Indigenous peoples with a duty to consult leadership of communities.

⁵³⁰ First Nations Information Governance Centre: Barriers and Levers for the Implementation of OCAP, “Barriers and Levers for the Implementation of OCAP”, *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, Vol. 5, Issue 2, (April 2014): 2. This encompasses a duty to consult a particular First Nation or group to request consent to use data about them, regardless of where it is held.

⁵³¹ First Archivist Circle, “Protocols for Native American Archival Materials”.

⁵³² For instance, The Karuk Tribe Deed of Gift. It is not a perfect model to apply in this context as it was created with tribal leadership and it strictly considers the needs of a single tribal group and its cultural protocols, but it does offer ideas that could be adapted to the LOU to improve it.

⁵³³ For example, Tri-Council Policy stipulates that band councils must be contacted to conduct research in any given reserve community. However, while band councils are elected by the community, they are accountable to Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada under the Indian Act. In some cases, band councils are viewed as an arm of the state or not the authority to seek permissions for research, particularly regarding cultural Indigenous knowledge. In some cases, elders or knowledge keepers are the appropriate authority for members of a community to ask for direction. In Garry “Morning Star” Raven, “The Seven Teachings and More: Anishibaabeg share their traditional teachings with an Icelander”, Winnipeg: KIND Publishing (2013) there is a teaching by Raven that says, “You’d don’t let the government rule alone, you have to get involved and they have to involve you (123).”

lar identity is often tied to colonialist laws, such as the Indian Act, that regulate Indigenous identities and governance. Unlike tribal councils in Manitoba that were formed in the Sixties to work with specific cultural communities, urban Indigenous organizations evolved in incredibly diverse local contexts and serve members of multiple affiliations. Even on an individual basis Indigenous identities are complex and it is quite common for individuals to have multicultural identities (e.g. Dakota-Anishinaabe-Métis). There are also cases of individuals living within urban centres who have lost knowledge about their families, communities and culture identity resultant from settler colonialism, such as those taken by the child welfare system. In other words, in evolving urban contexts, straightforward or standardized “one size fits all” resolutions will not be easy to apply as there is no single authority - be it a band council or group of elders - to create a defined set of shared Indigenous protocols or principles that may more commonly exist on a reservation that is governed by a specific nation or tribal community. In urban contexts, there is a need to consider and navigate diverse notions of stewardship to figure out how to manage collections. Whose knowledge or cultural expressions are contained in the documentation? Is an organization or individual First Nations, Métis, Inuit, or identity with a cultural group outside of Canada? Does the organization serve a specific cultural group or broadly represent “Indigenous peoples” as a whole? Does the individual have multiple cultural affiliations, and if so, what cultural protocols do they choose to honour? The questions of identity will matter when determining the complex questions surrounding access and usage on a case-by-case basis as there is a diverse layering of cultural protocols that govern knowledge production, sharing and preservation.

It is also worth considering who has the authority to make decisions in an event that disputes arise over access to institutional records, or in the likely event that an original steward is deceased or unreachable. Who does the UMASC turn to for consultation and direction to make

important decisions? Who does the archive contact when they wish to transfer materials? What happens when an organization shuts down that had culturally-sensitive materials in the collection that raise questions about usage? In “Rupture, defragmentation & reconciliation: re-visioning the health of urban Indigenous women in Toronto”, Billie Allan (Zaagaateikwe) also points out that the duty to consult can be quite complicated in urban centres where it is not always clear who has the authority to represent Indigenous urbanites,

In the context of urban Indigenous communities, navigating engagement of the community via leadership becomes even more complicated. While there are urban reserves in Canada, they constitute only part of the geography of a given city. Beyond urban reserves, the diversity and mobility of urban Indigenous peoples in cities poses particular challenges to imagining and implementing governance structures.⁵³⁴

Allan further explains that organizations, such as Friendship Centres, play a role in representing Indigenous peoples in urban centres such as Toronto. In the local context, the Friendship Centre does not speak for the whole of the urban Indigenous population; nor does any other individual organization. The oral histories collected by the project speak to tensions that emerged between organizations and even cultural groups within the city over issues of cultural and political representation, such as at the IMFC and the MMF in the Sixties when the latter sought to singularly represent Métis interests.⁵³⁵ Allan points to Indigenous health and social service agencies as being recognized as “a point of contact and/or proxy to community engagement”.⁵³⁶ However, she also points out that this can be problematic, especially if a particular community does not choose an

⁵³⁴ Billie Allan (Zaagaateikwe), “Rupture, defragmentation & reconciliation: re-visioning the health of urban Indigenous women in Toronto”, PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto (2013): 87.

⁵³⁵ There are still some divisions between Métis and First Nations individuals or groups within the city.

⁵³⁶ Ibid, 88.

organization as its representative, or in cases where an organization does not represent an entire Indigenous population.⁵³⁷

The issue of who speaks on behalf of who in the urban Indigenous community is highly contested and politically charged. Do we assume that “leadership” in urban context is political? If so, what political entity can represent the urban population adequately?⁵³⁸ The Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (AMC) is a governing political body in Manitoba that endorsed OCAP, but it serves specifically First Nations communities and it is not specific to the city. The MMF is a key representative body for Manitoba Métis, but is it the only authority or point of contact? Does it have full authority to make decisions about knowledge preservation? Can the ACW speak for the urban Indigenous population if there are those who dispute this? Who speaks for the Inuk living in Winnipeg? There are individuals considered to be local leaders and organizations that have filled many rotational roles in serving Indigenous peoples, such as many of those in the PHAID oral histories. Would a representative body of these urban leaders provide a solid direction forward? Or is it a non-political body that should be charged with making decisions about knowledge preservation who archivists can consult? Since elders are the knowledge keepers in Indigenous society and there are elders living in the city that come from diverse communities is it protocol or appropriate to contact elders? Are there specific elders, or a group of elders that have authority to provide direction? Is it the protocol to follow traditions of the signatories of Treaty One? Or does a representative body of elders living locally need to be formed to ensure the perspectives of at least those in Manitoba are represented? Do the settler political boundaries

⁵³⁷ Ibid. In Toronto, Billie Allan also points out that women are often not adequately represented in the leadership of organizations similarly to the chief and council model, though this might not be the case in Winnipeg where a large number of women have been involved with the governance and directorship of organizations.

⁵³⁸ In recent years, there have been developments of urban reservations in cities such as Winnipeg (e.g. Long Plains First Nation and Rousseau River First Nation) who fall under larger cultural groups within Treaty One, but it is unclear to me if they have jurisdiction on this subject or if the nature of their role is purely political or socio-economic.

of “Manitoba” isolate or marginalize nations that need to be involved in decision making processes regarding the creation of principles and practices? Should the NCTR provide direction to this process in some capacity, and if so, on what grounds is it a genuine authority in Winnipeg’s Indigenous community?⁵³⁹

Sajek Ward, a Mi’kmaq warrior living on Sto:lo territory shared that as a guest on another nations territory means that one needs to follow that nation’s protocols.⁵⁴⁰ Liz Carlson recently completed a dissertation that also addresses the need for settlers to learn to live in “Indigenous sovereignty”, or what she defines as an “awareness that we are on Indigenous lands containing their own protocols, stories, obligations, and opportunities which have been understood and practiced by Indigenous peoples since time immemorial.”⁵⁴¹ Considering the fact that the lands upon which Winnipeg rests are those shared by sovereign peoples of Treaty One lands that include the Anishinaabe (Ojibwe), Muskeko-iniwak (Cree), Dakota and Nakota (Sioux), and the Red River Métis, it seems most respectful to learn their perspectives and ask for their direction, including how to in consult in tandem with the other cultural groups represented in Winnipeg’s Indigenous community. It would also respect the nation-to-nation relationship we have been asked to respect as settlers. To begin by first making initial contact with elders or knowledge keepers who are authorized by these sovereign groups to speak to protocols and perspectives of knowledge keeping and transmission that need to be respected within Treaty One is a good place to begin. In considering that there are records containing information reflecting even wider cultural, linguistic and

⁵³⁹ The NCTR has done work on access issues, so I wonder what might be applicable in the urban context? For instance, due to the sensitive nature of the information in its collections, individuals can contact the archive to have records containing their own personal information closed indefinitely to the public. If a donor changes their mind about making a record accessible, the record can be stored but not made available to the public, removed from collections, or destroyed at their request. The UMASC might be able to learn from the NCTR’s experience, but it still needs to look to local notions for direction to avoid replicating systems that misrepresent local peoples or contexts.

⁵⁴⁰ Sajek Ward, *Decolonizing the Colonizer*.

⁵⁴¹ Liz Carlson, “Living in Indigenous Sovereignty, ii.

political expressions that these four sovereign cultures, it is worth considering the processes by which their notions of stewardship could also be included or reflected, if this is the appropriate way to move forward. Kathy Mallett also mentioned that it is important to include urban youth in processes, in addition to elders and information professionals, as younger generations have a stake in ensuring knowledge protection and transmission.⁵⁴²

During PHAID, what constitutes “the urban Indigenous community” in Winnipeg was not pre-established. Nor were the questions of long-term access and privacy discussed during PHAID in any depth. Dialogue about what accountability mechanisms could be appropriately established through the co-development of protocols would be a beneficial future exercise. The authors of the OCAP state that their criteria cannot simply be applied by information stewards “according to their own standards”, but requires robust understanding of the context of a particular nation, including its “governance structures, values, history and expectations”.⁵⁴³ It further states that, “What may work for one community may not be appropriate for another; what is acceptable at a national level may not be acceptable at a regional or community level.”⁵⁴⁴ What constitutes as a “community” may need to be determined based on the context of the request and a case-to-case basis after careful consideration of the specific types of information being sought by the public, but how to constitute what makes up a community? Who gets to decide in this matter? A dearth of available published information on “local notions” of access and privacy within the local context of urban Indigenous Winnipeg or other Canadian cities makes this a difficult issue for local settler archivists to address. As stated in previous chapters, there is an outlying need for literature about urban Indigeneity produced by Indigenous urbanites themselves,

⁵⁴² Kathy Mallett, interview by Sarah Story.

⁵⁴³ First Nations Information Governance Centre, *Barriers and Levers for the Implementation of OCAP*, 4.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

which could inform archival work in the future. The fact that many communities exist within the larger urban Indigenous community further complicates matters. There may be multiple groups or communities that have responsibility over certain materials or knowledge that need to be included in consultations.

The issues of urban Indigenous identity and representation add to the complexity in this context can further complicate striking balanced agreements between original stewards and settler repositories. How can the diverse ways of Indigenous knowledge production and preservation be reflected in current archival approaches? Is there a way to design systems that will facilitate ease of access and also respect the diverse and divergent perspectives of urban Indigenous peoples? Are there practical local solutions that could be implemented in the management of urban Indigenous peoples records? For example, should the LOU be amended to give space for original stewards to provide their identity and stipulate who they consider to speak on their behalf. These issues require that meaningful and mutually beneficial dialogue be initiated that can produce results to ensure collections can be managed respectfully without cumbersome or over-complicated mechanisms that a settler repository can implement. Louise Chippeway also mentioned that the Seven Teachings might help guide development of principles and practices.⁵⁴⁵ It could be a useful exercise for knowledge keepers and archivists to consider Indigenous values or the seven sacred teachings - love, respect, courage, honesty, wisdom, humility, truth - in relation to archival principles to learn how they complement and counter western archival principles, so manageable processes can emerge that the UMASC can apply to the work of stewarding materials while respecting a diversity of agreed upon cultural protocols.

⁵⁴⁵ Louise Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story. This is beyond my knowledge but leveraging common values inherent in the teachings could be used to frame dialogue or act as a useful starting point.

Respecting Indigenous principles

Striking a balance with the LOU was not easy as Indigenous knowledge and intellectual property rights rub up against one another, and western legal regimes that control pre-established settler institutions have a tendency to push aside Indigenous values to protect their own interests against liabilities. In addition to complications outlined previously, there are conflicting messages in the LOU that need thorough consideration to understand the blurring and the contestation of these values. To begin, clarification about whether, or in what specific processes, UMASC plans to respect Indigenous knowledge keeping principles or adhere more closely to standard archival principles needs to be made clear so that original stewards completely understand what they are agreeing to when they transfer records to the UMASC for stewardship. As it stands right now, vagueness of wording in the LOU creates some confusion. In relationship to stewarding these records, the LOU includes a statement that indicates the UM will “respect Indigenous archival principles”. This is counteracted in another paragraph, which states that the records will be transferred or disposed of “according to standard archival principles”.⁵⁴⁶ Does it mean that the UMASC is not required to consult with the original stewards about the transfer or disposition of records? If so, this would be disconcerting as the Indigenous team members raised issues with advancement of “standard archival practices” in the LOU, particularly with regards to archivists assignment of values that could lead to the disposition of materials that might be valuable to the original stewards. They requested that the original steward be consulted before anything was discarded to get their approval or return items. This is a common procedure in archives and a provision included within the UM’s standard Deed of Gift, which says it will make “reasonable efforts” to offer back to the donor and his/her “heirs, executors, or assigns” any materials that the

⁵⁴⁶ University of Manitoba, *Letter of Understanding*.

archives wishes to discard.⁵⁴⁷ However, there is no stipulation in the LOU stating that the original stewards will be contacted, or what constitute “reasonable efforts”. There is also no stipulation in the LOU that the UM is obligated to retract archived materials, if stewards request it in the future. In the meantime, collections have been processed by summer interns at the UMASC without a clear understanding in place of the procedures that need to be followed, and it is not given that the interns are receiving clear directions or context about the creation of the collections.⁵⁴⁸ In the future, those of us with memory of these collections who have been providing information to processing archivists will not be available to intervene or respond to their questions. Also, given that direct relationships were not established between the original stewards and the UMASC, and that there have been issues connecting with individuals original stewards, it makes it difficult for archives staff processing the collections to know how to proceed in order to make these collections readily available.

In the end, individual and organizational stewards of materials transferred at the time of the project agreed to contribute their records with the full intention and the awareness that their records and interviews would be made readily available to the general public. The Indigenous team members agreed that the UM is accountable to both the original stewards who transferred the materials, as well as the larger collective to which they belong. It means that the UMASC will need to ensure high standards of stewardship and accountability in the resolution of future conflicts by preparing well in advance. This requires the UMASC to begin the work of fulfilling their promise. It needs to begin its work with urban Indigenous peoples to develop a robust and

⁵⁴⁷ University of Manitoba, *Deed of Gift*. Since the archive agrees to “archive and hold the Property in perpetuity”, it governs the right to dispose or transfer the materials, such as to another or more suitable archive, and “in accordance to standard archival principles”.

⁵⁴⁸ I intervened in the processing of one collection transferred to the UMASC by PHAID. A summer student processing records had slotted a number of documents for disposal. Fortunately, she contacted me to request information about the project and context of the collections creation and I was able to redirect her to keep the records.

implementable set of guiding principles and procedures to govern how urban Indigenous records will be managed and shared. This is particularly important to do in the near future to ensure the LOU is not misinterpreted and materials that constitute the collection are no longer cared for on the basis of western archival standards or practices, nor later fall to the governance of western legislation in ways that violate the rights or protocols of the original stewards and communities of knowledge. These arrangements need to be laid out in detail, and with a shared interpretation to avoid future confusion or misunderstanding between Indigenous stewards and the UMASC.

The creation of the LOU was an exercise meant to encourage the UM to work together with community to create a mutually agreed upon agreement that would reorient the relationship between Indigenous stewards and the archive. However, the process underlying its creation was not ideal and warrants future improvement. The process that unfolded was dragged out over a long period of time, and a series of important decisions were left up to the UMASC and the legal counsel as the face-to-face dialogue with the Indigenous team members diminished over time. This resulted in less community input during final stages of the process, which ultimately impacted the final outcome. In other words, processes became consultative and Indigenous voices were less central than during decision making processes regarding their work with community and choosing an archive. In the end, the LOU was accepted by the UM, but it was not accepted on the basis of consensus by the Indigenous team members. In this respect, the LOU fell short of attaining a fully shared understanding as is reflective in the fact that original recommendations were dropped or altered in negotiation processes, which is reaffirmation of colonial values inherent in the institution. If the Indigenous team members or original stewards had been at the negotiating table until the end, results would have been different.

There were conflicting opinions on the LOU's role in building trust during the project. It was unquestionable that the LOU's development was created with a positive spirit and began in a cooperative nature. This is a point that all PHAID team members pointed out in interviews. While there were some team members who believed advancing the concept of stewardship was vital to building trust⁵⁴⁹, Morrissette framed it as questionable, even referring to the LOU as the "Letter of Misunderstanding", as it has not yet accomplished what he had hoped.⁵⁵⁰ When asked if the LOU had built trust he argued that it had not, but believed that it could one day be used to "open the door" to dialog on what Indigenous principles needed to be respected. In his words:

No, it didn't (build trust). So, the Letter of Understanding was really a Letter of not Understanding. It does its job in relation to the semantics of the English language, but it doesn't consider the ongoing value interpretation based upon a cultural group in relation to understanding the documents. I really believe that. The value is seen differently. [...] What I mean by that is, we've opened this door, so let's keep it open. The Letter of Understanding should keep the door open without people having to feel that they have to come and knock or it closes on them, or opens only when it is convenient. The Letter of Understanding should keep the door open until a time where, at some point, we can really can sit down and discuss these issues as equals.⁵⁵¹

He suggests here the idea that Indigenous peoples did not enter the process on an equal basis or an even playing field with the UM, so they were forced to forfeit their values in the creation of the LOU. In other words, the outcome was accommodation as opposed to genuine understanding.

An article posted to Arcan-1, a key Canadian archival profession listserv, recently sparked a much-needed and heated dialogue on decolonizing settler archives. In this article, "Decolonial Sensibilities: Indigenous Research and Engaging with Archives in Contemporary Colonial Canada", Crystal Fraser and Zoe Todd convincingly argue that attempts to decolonize or Indigenize settler archives can only be partial "given the inherent colonial realities of the archives as institu-

⁵⁴⁹ Louise Chippeway, interview by Sarah Story.

⁵⁵⁰ Larry Morrissette, interview by Sarah Story.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

tions.”⁵⁵² They further argued that decolonization of archives “requires an erasure or negation of the colonial realities of the archives themselves.”⁵⁵³ In my own interpretation of Morrisette’s critique based on an interview and other conversations that I had with him over time, this article gets to the heart of the issue he brought up - a fundamental redistribution of archival power is required so that the influence of Indigenous peoples themselves can come to the forefront of structures and processes. It is pointed to by other colonized groups seeking archival justice who articulate that since knowledge is a prerequisite for power, processes of decolonization need to “reattribute power in new patterns” to ensure that elite and exclusive privilege in which current structures are forged are not upheld, and agencies of all can “come to the fore”.⁵⁵⁴ While the LOU did not “level the playing field”, it did try to move beyond respect of cultural difference in its effort to address legal issues of control. Yet, there are inherent limitations to the creation of such agreements embedded in settler legal frameworks. The UMASC is ultimately governed by a legal regime based on western principles that also protects its governing institution from legal claims. The LOU itself is binding (irrevocable and unchangeable) and acquires legal status upon the transfer of records to the UM.⁵⁵⁵ Until the UM, as an institution, embraces Indigenous legal principles of governance as an institutional policy it is unlikely an equitable and decolonizing stewardship agreement will be reached.

The LOU was an attempt to cooperatively create an agreement to reframe the hierarchical relationship between Indigenous donors and UM. While the Indigenous team members and the researchers of PHAID did not get everything initially requested, the agreement is the first of its

⁵⁵² Crystal Fraser and Zoe Todd, “Decolonial Sensibilities”, 1.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ Decolonizing the Archive, “What is decolonization?”.

⁵⁵⁵ The LOU agreement is governed by the Province of Manitoba, so legal disputes fall under the jurisdiction of the Court of the Queen’s Bench.

kind in Manitoba and by no means a failure. It is also important to recognize that the UMASC willingly agreed to a request to steward these materials, even with the prospect of a future transfer out of its holdings. The UMASC spends money and puts a lot of resources into processing, storing and caring for the materials that could one day no longer directly benefit the UM itself. This demonstrates determination to act as an archival ally to local Indigenous peoples who had requested assistance. The willingness of the UMASC's head archivist to work with legal counsel to advocate on behalf of the community and ensure that it had a place to store records without transferring ownership out of their hands was the first step in upholding an ethical mandate. The endorsement of the Indigenous right to control information and knowledge held outside of the originating community is a model of how archives can work on behalf of larger society. It also points to an expansion of the usage and definition of the concept of archival donor work, particularly in its conceptualization of stewardship, which may be useful to other projects or different settings. Personally, I frame this work of allyship as settler archives acting upon its obligatory responsibility to provide the anti-colonial support that Indigenous peoples request, and do so out of respect and the consideration that settler archives and archivists occupy Indigenous lands.

The LOU fundamentally represents a community group's attempt to redistribute archival power. The Indigenous team member's willingness to critique and challenge the power and the standard practices of archives is a good example of how Indigenous peoples challenge archival power in Canada.⁵⁵⁶ In mapping out conceptions of archival power, Susan Pell concludes that there is a tendency to focus on aspects of archival power as "domination", pointing out that it

⁵⁵⁶ There are other examples of Indigenous groups who recognized archival power and took it into their own hands, such as exemplified by the outcome of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement wherein the TRC mandated the creation an independent archive.

takes on varying attributes depending on the context and actors involved.⁵⁵⁷ In the context of PHAID, ownership and control over urban Indigenous people's records was a primary concern. The creation of the LOU attempted to take down a key policy of a settler archive that transfers ownership and control away from community. The Indigenous team member's identities and lived experiences as Indigenous peoples and activists cannot be overlooked as this deeply influenced the direction of this work. In this instance, Indigenous team members saw an opportunity to challenge the institution and make concrete changes for the wider urban Indigenous populous, so they seized that opportunity. Morrisette vocalized resistance in an attempt to decolonize the relationship between an archives, which he points out have been resistant to the change needed to ensure that Indigenous peoples seeking to rebuild and give voice to their own histories that was systemically ignored. By calling out the UM, a challenge to power inequities inherent in the archive was made that can be framed as an attempt to decolonize. It was this challenge to western principles and practices impacting current relationships between Indigenous peoples and settler institutions that support continuance of the silencing and overshadowing of Indigenous cultures, perspectives and histories.

The end goal of the work begun by PHAID has not been reached, so "the door needs to be kicked open" to further change.⁵⁵⁸ Positively, a moral and legal foundation has now been established for the UM to build upon. To fulfill its promises, UMASC's first step will be to establish a set of principles and procedures that respect local urban Indigenous conceptualizations of stewardship as a mode of intervening and generating meaningful structural changes to the settler archive to help avoid the integration and obfuscation of these Indigenous records into its western

⁵⁵⁷ Susan Pell, "Radicalizing the Politics of the Archive", 40.

⁵⁵⁸ Larry Morrisette, interview by Sarah Story.

system. It is an opportunity for the UM to work even more collaboratively and enact an inclusive and consensus-based process from conceptualization to completion. The original stewards who have entrusted the UMASC with their records; it is a fragile trust that should not be broken. By working together we can honour our Indigenous neighbours who have dedicated their lives to decolonization, cultural revitalization and reclaiming Indigenous sovereignty on Turtle Island. By reshaping power relations inherent in settler archives that control information by and about Indigenous peoples we can begin to address the existing unequal settler-Indigenous relations that will not help us move forward together.

Recommendations: Moving Forward Together

This chapter reports the conclusions and recommendations that resulted from this study. I share some of these ideas with hopes of making a contribution to an archival profession that is increasingly aware of a need for collective archival approaches that will move us forward and together in a genuine pursuit of decolonization. Indigenous people's efforts in Winnipeg aimed to "rebuild Indigenous identities at the individual, community, organizational and political level"⁵⁵⁹ can act as an inspiration to guide archivists to work for change. In a similar way, archivists need to critically consider how to give support to these processes by decolonizing or reconstructing archival principles, approaches, processes and structures to back local Indigenous struggles to self-determine their lives and lands. In this section, I suggest ideas about how we might begin to do this at each level. It is by no means a comprehensive and prescriptive set of recommendations. Instead, it is hoped that these ideas might help inspire dialogue among Winnipeg-based archivists that will lead to collective dialogue and collaborative action.

Individual level: Recommendations for settler archivists

In the prelude, I suggest that decolonization needs to occur at an individual level. It is not my place to tell settler archivists how to go about their personal learning. The catalyst of my own journey was my involvement with PHAID, and I continue to learn through engagement in community-based archival work, critical self-education, and making deliberate efforts to move beyond my own neighbourhood to listen to Indigenous archivists, scholars, activists and elders. I also value learning from local settlers experienced in allyship. By providing the archival supports to the co-production of a local documentary film "Decolonizing Stories: Land and Settlement", I

⁵⁵⁹ Silver, Ghorayshi, Hay and Klyne, "Sharing Community and Decolonization", 203.

learned that the daunting task of decolonizing begins with learning to understand the truths of our shared history, which often begins small and in our own backyards.⁵⁶⁰ We begin by learning to understand Indigenous histories and Indigenous perspectives of the lands that we occupy by engaging with Indigenous scholarship and Indigenous peoples in our communities. This learning should also require us to deepen our own understandings of settler privilege, identity and history, and critically engage with theories of scholars writing about settler colonialism, anti-colonialism, anti-capitalism and decolonization to help us think through our personal and archival approaches to working with Indigenous groups in our communities. Learning to be an ally also involves self-reflexive learning, active hands on experimentation in collaboration with Indigenous community members and scholars, as well as knowing how we reinforce inherited and oppressive patterns of settler colonialism, particularly in situations where allyship is declared. Those behaviours need to be recognized and pointed out so that they can be addressed. It has been clearly stated by Indigenous scholars and historians, leaders and activists that reconciliation will not be possible without decolonization. While archival decolonization will not be fully attainable within our generation, it cannot prevent settler and Indigenous archivists from doing this work, and in fact requires us to work collectively to chip away at racist and oppressive systems. Future generations will build on this anti-colonial change in their own ways and according to new and evolving contexts.

The idea of building “The Village” resonates with me at a deep level. I think that this is a powerful concept to consider in relation to archival obligations to alter the current relationships between Indigenous and settler groups. We have a lot to learn by looking at the examples of the successful initiatives and approaches to community building and decolonization that have been developed by Indigenous groups in Winnipeg. What “gifts” or expertise and resources do local

⁵⁶⁰ Rowe, Carlson, Zegeye-Gebrehiwot and Story, “Decolonizing Stories: Land and Settlement”.

archivists have to offer urban Indigenous groups seeking to preserve their records? What gifts do Indigenous peoples have to offer archives in how to approach the archiving of records? What skills and knowledge do archivists have that can be offered to build local capacity? What skills and knowledge do Indigenous peoples or scholars bring to preservation and sharing information and knowledge that archivists could learn from and apply to their work? How might the idea of the rotational roles in Indigenous movements of “helper, organizer, advocate and rebel” be applied within the archival profession? To be sure, it is not settler archivists role in the community to reinforce the benevolent settler mentality that aims to “fix” Indigenous or other marginalized groups. Nor is it appropriate to assert “power over”, dominate discourse, or control archival processes of decolonization. It should be archivists role to offer support as helpers. It should be our role to take direction from and work in partnership with Indigenous peoples to improve access to information, reform western archival principles and practices, and create culturally safe repositories. And when invited to collaborate, act as allied advocates and organizers within institutions to advocate change that is desired by Indigenous groups to break down barriers and generate access to materials, or to redistribute funding and skills development opportunities to Indigenous groups seeking to preserve their own information and knowledge within or external to existing archives. And it is also our duty to rebel. Rebel against the patriarchal ideas and practices that are upheld or reinforce inequitable power relations existent within and between our profession, our governing institutions and our communities. Rebel by instilling principles of decolonization as archival ethic and a guide in everyday archival practice. Rebel by working together to advance alternate policies that support Indigenous rights to control or govern their own knowledge and access information to give power to their claims - be it over land, resources, or historical justice.

The collaborators in this study point to a need and a desire for archival allyship. During PHAID, a position of non-interference was taken by the archivists and action taken only where requested. The lead researchers ensured Indigenous voices were central in all decision-making processes. Deliberate efforts to respect Indigenous direction, level the playing field and create space is vital to our work. In an interview Kathy Mallet, who referred to herself an “archivist turned activist”, contended that settler archivists do not have to be Indigenous to do good work in partnership with Indigenous communities, but it does matter how settlers approach their work:

Actions speak louder than words. But then, you do not want to be a pain in the ass. You don't want to be seen as paternalistic. Out you go! It's always been that if you want to be an ally, you have to walk beside me, not behind me, not in front of me, beside me. And understand where we are coming from. We will listen to your opinion and take your opinion into account. But, I think the thing is, especially for non-Indigenous people - for me anyway - is that you have to know your place in that space, right? That's just how it is.⁵⁶¹

Mallett further suggests that collaborating on small projects, such as PHAID, can be a good way to learn how to approach our work, build anti-colonial relationships, and co-create strategies that give non-invasive and effective assistance to groups requesting archival support services. As it stands, genuine archival outreach and active efforts to meet Indigenous groups within their own neighbourhoods and on their own terms are needed to build bridges between archives and those who need to access records or leverage archival tools to build their own archives. Getting to know one another will help us understand where the need for archival support exists, offer our support, receive direction from community groups on the actions to be taken, and shift our practices and policies to serve Indigenous residents better. Our goal as archivists should be to work toward the point that there will be no basis for claims of settler archives as being controllers of information. Archival records need to be made readily available to Indigenous peoples, particularly those who need it to generate knowledge, fight settler colonialism and support decoloniza-

⁵⁶¹ Kathy Mallett, interview with Sarah Story, 2015.

tion or resurgence. Indigenous historians and the members of PHAID have pointed to a number of barriers to access, sharing and use, ranging from poor and stigmatizing descriptive practices to funding restraints limiting marginalized groups ability to find and know their own histories.

Community Level: Recommendations for Winnipeg-based archives

An incredibly important area of focus that I have highlighted within this study is the need for trained archivists and information management professionals to focus their attention on building community-wide capacity in records management. There is a genuine need for record keeping systems and strategies that are affordable, implementable and easy to maintain, especially among community-based organizations who serve marginalized groups without core funding. A working alliance of archivists and records managers in Winnipeg specifically tasked to address this issue is needed. This work needs to work with the full inclusion of Indigenous organizational staff and leaders. Working in direct partnership with organizations to cooperatively develop affordable and user-friendly record keeping systems that can be easily leveraged and implemented by frontline workers is important as they are the experts on healing and development and they know what types of information resources are needed to support their respective lines of work. Efforts would require co-development of educational sessions to share information on records keeping, particularly hands-on workshops specific to community-driven organizations. It is vital that training workshops transfer skills and knowledge that will enable staff to capture, store and appraise both analogue and digital records. Options need to be made available for organizations to either set up partnerships with local archives for long-term holding, or work together to create in-house strategies that will allow organizations to sustainably manage their own records. The key is to build capacity for the independent management of records. If desire exists within organ-

izations to make their records publicly available, an agreement with MAIN that does not require them to be a certified archive could be considered. AMA staff could provide free workshops to staff members who are tasked with making their organizational holdings known to a wider public. Strategic and flexible post-custodial approaches need to be our collective goal.

While social movements in Canada have a long history of creating their own archives to record their activism, archival activism has not yet been embedded as a part of the Indigenous grassroots movement in Winnipeg. Nor is archiving an integral part of the collaborative research processes between the local scholars working closely with Indigenous organizations, intellectuals and leadership. These groups generate valuable information that could be used for a multiplicity of purposes by the public to generate new and meaningful knowledge. To compound this situation, urban Indigenous peoples are not clearly represented in the archival collecting mandates of settler repositories in Winnipeg. This impacts what can be known, whose stories are shared, and what information is used to shape the city's narrative landscape. Though archiving Indigenous information and knowledge in settler repositories presents challenges and "cannot replace elders or knowledgeable people", Kim Lawson highlights the value of archival pursuits and reconnecting "ideas, information and objects" to originating communities to be re-contextualized in ways that generate "meaningful knowledge."⁵⁶² Jeannette Bastian and Ben Alexander also point to the relationship between community and archives, arguing that construction of community archives can play a vital role in the building and formation of community. Through acts of preserving and valuing its records, archival development supports communities by helping individuals or groups

⁵⁶² Kim Lawson, "Precious Fragments: First Nations materials in archives, libraries and museums", Master's thesis, University of British Columbia (2004): vii and 69.

to strengthen their identities, tell their own stories, and shape their own memories.⁵⁶³ The centralization of archival knowledge within the North End or the heart of the concentration of Winnipeg's Indigenous populace could have a positive impact. In my mind, an ideal location for an archive might be in new or existing space close to educational centres along Selkirk Avenue (e.g. The Merchant). This hub of educational activity has great potential to facilitate active engagement with information to inspire knowledge production with benefits at individual, community, organizational and societal levels. Indigenous youth and other residents should be able to walk off the street into a culturally safe space in their own neighbourhood and connect with community records reflective of their own experience. They should never feel intimidated or restricted in their search for information, especially regarding their own lives. They should have access to the same opportunities afforded to settler communities that archive their own materials. Imagine the knowledge that might be produced if this generation of Indigenous activists were to leverage the tools to archive their own social media feeds and contribute to documenting society through their own lens. Imagine if residents could readily access archival documentation to give the evidential support to their efforts to build up their communities and strengthen The Village.

I do not propose a template. I learned through this study that is essential for the conceptualization, creation, and control over local development to stay in the hands of those impacted by settler colonialism. The Village knows what it needs and it knows how to leverage knowledge to speak back for its own purposes. Archives need to give support to activism and local residents that are interested in gaining control over dynamic information sources that influence narratives directly impacting their lives. There are community-based historical associations and archives worldwide that provide stellar, adaptable models for consideration. For instance, I had an oppor-

⁵⁶³ Jeanette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander, "Introduction: Communities and archives - a symbiotic relationship" in *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*, xxi.

tunity to spend time at GALA (Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action) in Johannesburg, South Africa. GALA mobilizes community-generated knowledge and memory to generate pride and understanding, challenge prejudice, entrench the rights of groups they represent, and preserve information according to their own ideologies and praxis.⁵⁶⁴ GALA created an online database of community resources on gender and sexual orientation-based violence; saved publicly available records of LGBT organizations in Uganda raided by the police; co-produces popular publications (e.g. oral histories and queer fiction); offers citizen journalism workshops; conducts walking tours to popularize queer history in Hillbrow (a stigmatized inner city neighborhood subject to racialized poverty); partners with AIDS and health organizations to develop educational theatre productions; provides arts-based training to refugees to support integration of LGBTI asylum seekers and undocumented immigrants; uses art and archives to create visual advocacy campaigns; and so much more! GALA's work is movement building. They ground their practices in an anti-oppressive framework resulting in conscious and relevant programming and services. They do their work on a limited budget led by a small but dedicated team of LGBTIQ activists. Developing an archive does require time, planning, resources and funding, but there are examples of successful projects launched that have begun only with a dream and a desire.⁵⁶⁵ The sole precondition is to understand and to value what archives can provide to the community. Starting small and building capacity and community engagement over time is a very doable, worthwhile endeavour. While preservation in the digital age does require archival and technical knowledge to ensure long-term sustainability of records there are open source tools that have been usefully leveraged by activist archivists in Winnipeg and elsewhere working with community groups to

⁵⁶⁴ Sarah Story, "Archival Activism for Social Justice", paper presented at the Manitoba Libraries Association Conference, Winnipeg, 2013.

⁵⁶⁵ For example, rukus!, "Introduction", accessed June 2017, <http://rukus.org.uk/introduction/>.

support archival preservation. Indigenous groups will find settler and Indigenous archivists in Winnipeg that are willing to lend a hand of support, if invited. Archivists have the responsibility to give this support, particularly to marginalized and under-documented groups in society. Until the time that a community-controlled knowledge preservation centres emerge with the capacity to document, preserve and share histories and records of Indigenous groups, partnerships with existing repositories that have well-established archival systems and infrastructure could be one useful short-term solution. Our collective and ethical goal, however, should always be to aim for Indigenous control over the intellectual and physical aspects of information and knowledge.

Organizational Level: Considering documentation strategy as one resolution

A common soil and water source enriches and binds collections together. Archivists should offer the future not individual trees, but a forest.⁵⁶⁶

I have pointed to the profusion of Indigenous information being generated by Indigenous residents through their political, social, cultural, intellectual and artistic activities in Winnipeg. It is not feasible to archive everything, but a reasonable or manageable selection of materials could be preserved through the collective efforts of existing archives. The history of urban Indigenous activism in Winnipeg has demonstrated the value of reviving old ideas to serve present purposes. I suggest existing archives consider the revival of an older idea called “documentation strategy” that was articulated by Helen Samuels, which has been leveraged by social movements since the seventies to practically and systematically document society.⁵⁶⁷ Samuels explains, “Documentation strategies are designed to respond to abundance - an abundance of institutions and infor-

⁵⁶⁶ Helen Willa Samuels, “Who controls the past”, *The American Archivist*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (Spring 1986): 124.

⁵⁶⁷ Richard Cox in Malkmus, Doris J. Malkmus, “Documentation Strategy: Mastodon or Retro-Success?” *The American Archivist*, Vol. 71. No. 2 (Fall-Winter, 2008): 405.

mation.”⁵⁶⁸ Samuels contends that this method does not “force” archives to “assume more than its own institutional responsibilities”; it facilitates an examination to advance coordinated efforts by multiple archives.⁵⁶⁹ Though it was not labeled as such, PHAID embodied many of the key components of a collaborative university-community documentation strategy.⁵⁷⁰ However, a successful documentation strategy requires that key requirements are met and that a detailed plan is developed in advance.⁵⁷¹ There are critiques and documented accounts of failure using this strategy that do need to be taken into account to avoid repeating others’ mistakes.⁵⁷² There are relatable lessons to be learned by the failures of the PHAID-UMASC partnership, some of which have been pointed out in chapters three and four. The key challenge for the UMASC is that archivists were not involved in the early stages of the planning of PHAID. This input could have supported the development of a strategy that would ensure the existence of ongoing institutional support or a continuing budget to facilitate the timely completion of processing collections and additional documentation after community’s active administration and involvement on the project ended.⁵⁷³

The UMASC is a sustainable archive supported by its institution and the larger academic community, but similar to other existing archivists it is unable to implement a full or comprehensive Indigenous archival program on its own, and it does not have the expertise and resources to steward the enormous amount of records being produced by urban Indigenous peoples and their

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ Helen Willa Samuels, “Who controls the past”, 123.

⁵⁷⁰ For example, PHAID included: experts with a solid community reputation able to identify research, interviewees and collecting areas, permission for records collection and oral history interviews and community interest. The advisory filled a role of building trust and communicated processes with community participants to facilitate transfer of documentation and connections with organizations. The UMASC was identified as a host institution for the project and agreed to manage the documentation in accordance to a new stewardship agreement that suits the needs of this specific community.

⁵⁷¹ Doris J. Malkmus, “Documentation Strategy: Mastodon or Retro-Success?”, 405.

⁵⁷² Ibid, 406.

⁵⁷³ Ibid. A key requirement for this strategy to work effectively includes “committed and competent host institutions whose mission aligns with that of the project” and one that will include the work as part of its continuing budget.

activities in Winnipeg.⁵⁷⁴ It is dedicated to supporting Indigenous groups preserve their records in spite of limiting circumstances, but it does not have the resources or the financial structure to prioritize Indigenous collections or make collections immediately and widely available. On the other hand, Indigenous team members of PHAID consistently stated a worry about their records “going to sleep” in an archive.⁵⁷⁵ They articulated during PHAID that they expected records to be made readily available to the community. To ensure this happens in a timely manner, PHAID and the UMASC needs to co-create a solid plan for the future care of these collections that is strategic and clearly laid out according to a defined mandate. PHAID was an organic process that lacked structure, whereas information management requires workflows to be in place. It was also all-encompassing in the amounts of information that it tried to collect as “urban Indigenous institutional development” was not strictly defined.⁵⁷⁶ There were no local Indigenous scholars historians skilled in leveraging and reading archival sources on the PHAID who might have also contributed valuable input about where and how knowledge and cultural expressions are located in information, and strategic direction on what specific types of records and stories are important to capture, preserve and make publicly accessible. Nonetheless, PHAID was an important local endeavour and it has provided a platform for analysis that could be used to develop a continuing plan of strategic collection with defined parameters and clearly marked subject areas. In considering the sheer amount of information that needs to be archived, and the lack of time, space and resources available to Indigenous activists, Indigenous historians or other scholars, and Winnipeg-based archives to preserve Indigenous records alone, a collaborative and city-wide documentation strategy project could be one way to ensure a future archive of Indigenous Winnipeg. Fol-

⁵⁷⁴ Shelley Sweeney, *Personal email correspondence with Sarah Story*, June 4, 2017.

⁵⁷⁵ Larry Morrisette in Darrell Chippeway and Larry Morrisette, interview by Robert-Falcon Oulette.

⁵⁷⁶ Doris J. Malkmus, “Documentation Strategy: Mastodon or Retro-Success?”, 403. Malkmus argues that “a series of narrowly focussed, sequential projects” has more potential to succeed than “single, comprehensive projects”.

lowing closely the four steps outlined by Samuels, I have laid out a rough plan for consideration in the subsequent paragraphs.

The topic has already been identified by PHAID. A working group of archivists, historians, organizational leaders and interested residents or activists, a team could outline key subject areas that need to be collected and shared to support Indigenous peoples to know their histories and leverage evidence in support of ongoing campaigns to attain and assert Indigenous rights (e.g. education, housing, economic development, etc.). In this process, existing collections transferred by PHAID to the UMASC will be a useful starting point to help determine what specific subjects and subgroups need to be documented as there are many different types of urban Indigenous institutions in Winnipeg with varying mandates. The list of interviewees could also be expanded based upon names provided in the PHAID interviews and records. The group of dedicated repositories will need collaborate with Indigenous groups to agree upon common subject names to categorize collections, such as “Urban First People’s Collections”, which will ensure that intellectual relationships are generated among collections within and between repositories.⁵⁷⁷ Each repository would be responsible for considering their mandates and determining what subject area best fits their overall mandate, and where mandates can be expanded for further inclusion. This would also require repositories to consider how much space and capacity they have to offer to develop a particular collecting area. This would help determine what subject collections are each repositories’ responsibility. For example, two-spirited collections could go to the UW Archives to complement its existing collections, large sets of audio recordings could be housed at the UW’s Oral History Centre with expertise in this area, and records of scholars performing community-based research could stay with the archives of their affiliated academic institutions.

⁵⁷⁷ In the Winnipeg context, repositories might agree to also apply the MAIN-LSCH to descriptive processes to ensure respectful language is used.

If there are many scholars working on inner city housing issues at the UW, the UW Archive or the Institute of Urban Studies Library could cooperatively manage records related to housing. Since the John Loxley fonds is housed at the UM and it contains records related to community economic development, the UMASC could expand collecting on Indigenous community economic development. If there are collections containing a large amount of art, partnerships with local galleries that specialize in preservation could be made to store the art.

Next, identifying and designating an Indigenous or settler archivist at each repository or gallery (with a demonstrated ability to work with Indigenous groups or other marginalized communities who understands their own positionality) could be specifically designated to work with the community to develop these collections. For example, an archivist could partner with an expert scholar and community member with in-depth knowledge of a specific subject to make big decisions regarding the collections or facilitate introductions and to help build relations for the purposes of locating and acquiring records in the community. For example, Elizabeth Comack, Lawrie Deane, patrollers with the Bear Clan, or former gang members could advise on records related to street gangs and criminal justice. If there are collections regarding Indigenous youth, members of organizations such as AYO! should be consulted since they are the experts on their own lives. The subject experts could educate the designated archivist who will monitor appraisal, arrangement, description and sharing of the collections from their institutions. A shared website dedicated to the “Urban First People’s Collections” might be co-developed by institutions using Indigenous developers from Winnipeg to ensure that collections are not “lost” in archives by being absorbed or dispersed among settler records and narratives, though it would also be useful to provide collection descriptions to MAIN to facilitate widespread findability. The acting archivist could work with subject experts or others skilled in finding resources and funding to support col-

lections development and sharing. If each repository is dedicated to hiring high school, undergraduate or graduate students to provide meaningful skill building opportunities, training and supervision could be coordinated across archives. In considering the number of Indigenous peoples who return to education later in lives as mature students, making concerted efforts to find funding opportunities that are not limited to age, such as Young Canada Work, is important. If the goal is to continue the documentation on a particular subject area acquiring opportunities to build capacity by offering to fund training is important. For example, affordable hands on oral history workshops hosted by the UW's Oral History Centre would help residents learn to better create and keep audio records.

The key would always be to ensure that the needs of community are balanced with what an archive has capacity to offer. In other words, the goal is not to make promises that cannot be made or to manage everything on a topic, but to ensure that a manageable amount of evidence is preserved that is useful to the community. In this study, I also brought up a need to understand urban Indigenous cultural expressions in order to inform how records are processed and subjected to copyright and privacy legislation. The existing documentation stewarded by the UMASC could be analyzed by Indigenous historians or other scholars to understand more about contemporary Indigenous records and their contents to develop collective archival understanding of their value. It could also facilitate archival learning about the cultural expressions in sets of records that are sensitive or require special permissions from Indigenous groups to use. Material items (e.g. art, artefacts, music, language) will also need to be considered to determine the appropriate access and usage protocols. Before this happens, it would be useful for the UMASC to develop the Indigenous principles that it has promised PHAID in the LOU. This process would guide implementation of practical archival approaches to handling urban Indigenous records that could

be adapted to participating archives in Winnipeg without reinventing the wheel. At the very least, lessons could be learned from the UMASC experience to build on its work elsewhere.

Organizational Level - Suggestions for the UMASC:

It is not my position to dictate changes to the UMASC that has a competent staff, leadership and facilities to make improvements to its own processes, if desired or required. However, in chapters three and four I do outline several issues that need to be resolved for the UMASC to live up to its promises made to community members of PHAID. The most critical aspect will be development of the protocols to guide the management of urban Indigenous collections. This should be viewed as an opportunity for this university archive. It should also be supported by its governing institution, which has a stated mandate to support reconciliatory processes and ensure that Indigenous knowledge is validated, respected and preserved in the academy. There is next to no literature or advice on how to ethically manage urban Indigenous materials within settler repositories available to North American archivists. The UMASC will need to ensure a consensus-based process can be implemented in conjunction with substantial representation from local Indigenous groups and knowledgeable information professionals in the development of its protocols. Ensuring that these processes are closely documented and shared with the community and other archival professionals is important as it could inform or inspired processes elsewhere. Respectfully reaching out and requesting the advice of knowledge keepers who belong to groups that are signatories of Treaty Number One is a good place to begin. The Indigenous team members of PHAID indicated that this should not be an elite or politicized process but a thoughtful and inclusive process that involves elders, youth, archivists, long-time activists and Indigenous historians or others with in-depth understanding about Indigenous knowledge preservation.

With regard to Winnipeg-based archives, our aim should be to strive for a decolonized archive, which I view to be a “culturally safe” archive (spiritually, socially, physically and emotionally). The development of culturally safe institutions was a key theme that I noted in the oral histories collected by PHAID that distinguishes urban Indigenous organizations from settler-run institutions. The creation of culturally safe environments requires each settler-dominated archive to revise its policies and practices. There are endless small projects that can be undertaken to facilitate doable and incremental change. For starters, a necessary move beyond non-urban notions of Indigeneity that considers and includes urban Indigenous populations in archival mandates to ensure that collections management addresses this gap. There is also the issue of misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples in archival collections, which needs to be altered to demonstrate the respect for Indigenous agency, diverse and nuanced experiences of urban spaces, and positive contributions to developing wider society. Humanizing controlled vocabularies, archival descriptions and representations that are more reflective of the urban Indigenous contemporary experience will be useful in demonstrating relationships across collections or institutions. A local model to look to for advice is the Digital Archives of Marginalized Communities (DAMC) led by Dr. Keira Ladner and Dr. Shawna Ferris at Mamawipawin. The DAMC co-develops with community member’s tags that describe collections and enable retrieval of records using respectful language that reflects the perspectives and the identities of the communities whose records are archived by the DAMC.⁵⁷⁸ In addition, relationships between collections and the urban Indigenous community could also be made physically available through user guides that pull together all relevant collections into a single document to be distributed to researchers and community members, such

⁵⁷⁸ Danielle Allard, Shawna Ferriss, Sarah Story, Amanda Linden, Christine Bone, Claudyne Chevrier and Michelle Hughes, “Disrupting sex work subjectivities: Rewriting prostitution subject headings”, poster presented at the 2017 Association of Canadian Archivists Conference in Ottawa Ontario, June 9, 2017.

as a City of Winnipeg Archives guide, “Conducting Research on Indigenous Peoples and History at the City of Winnipeg Archives”. This is a mutually beneficial arrangement that help to ensure that communities can know what exists in archives, whilst increasing use of archival collections and supporting existing archives. There is also vital need to consider publishing listings of back-logged collections, so that communities know what records archives have in their holdings, as there may be collections of relevance to present Indigenous struggles.

Political Level: Recommendations for Policy-Change:

Policies of exclusion are in place at local archives that make it difficult for Indigenous groups who wish to access or preserve their materials. This calls for more flexibility in serving Indigenous groups in our community. It also requires policy change. Policy change is the most effective or substantive act of allyship in archival decolonization. Policy change is above and beyond participation or the implementation of strategies to reflect cultural difference as it allow for structural changes to be facilitated and legal issues of control to be addressed to help Indigenous groups take back control of their knowledge within settler institutions. It generates genuine space for colonized and marginalized peoples to voice their perspectives and implement culturally-responsive archival approaches. It is imperative that every archives in Winnipeg and Manitoba that houses Indigenous records or settler-contributed information about Indigenous peoples work with those communities reflected in archival documentation to establish improved legal agreements and practical strategies for the ethical management of materials. The creation of the LOU at the UM, while it is not perfect, has set a precedent for archives to push their own institutions towards the adoption of new and improved policies of access and stewardship that will respect Indigenous principles and practices of information and knowledge management. In the process, it

is important to remember that settlers can never fully comprehend Indigenous worldviews, perspectives and lived experiences. In order to effectively challenge settler colonialism and to push for meaningful policy change, it is critical that Indigenous people's input is embedded into processes from start to finish. In some cases, archivists will also need to step back and allow for Indigenous groups take up the charge. In others, archivists will need to actively reach out to engage community and specialists for advice in policy related matters to support and advocate the ethical stewardship of Indigenous knowledge.⁵⁷⁹ The key lesson of the PHAID was that while increasing Indigenous participation in archival processing was an important feature of the PHAID, inclusion of those identifying as Indigenous did less to alter the pre-established archival principles and approaches of this settler-run institutional archives or to level the playing field and build trusting relations with community than did the policy change at UM. Policy change carves out a space for Indigenous peoples to fundamentally decolonize archives, and to assert their control over Indigenous information and knowledge by forwarding their own approaches to governance. This is absolutely a necessary change that needs to be made if archives want to adhere to reconciliation.

Recommendations for Future Study:

This wide-ranging study touches on a score of topics for further consideration. The most important is a need for analysis of local and urban Indigenous notions of stewardship. Archivists around Turtle Island need to consider conducting their own local studies so comparative analyses are possible to enable wider dialogue about the appropriate stewardship of Indigenous records in settler repositories. Questions must be raised in regard to who has authority to consult in the absence of a single authority or when there are multiple identities and cultural protocols or systems

⁵⁷⁹ For example, long-term and ethical care of audio-visual recordings documenting land-based traditions requires special attention and could be greatly improved at the direction of Indigenous knowledge keepers and experienced Indigenous historians working with oral histories.

of governance to consider. It is also important to understand what response is required when the rights of urban Indigenous organizations conflict with the rights of the Indigenous communities that they have been mandated to serve. The issues that I covered in chapter four speak to a need to reframe the conceptualizations of access with Indigenous notions of sharing and consider what sorts of responses this could produce to inform us on how to handle Indigenous information and ensure urban contemporary Indigenous cultural expressions are appropriately protected.

Another area of study is what I proposed in the original ethics submission, which was to conduct a functional analysis of a selection of different urban Indigenous organizations to help determine the structures, functions and types of records generated so culturally responsive record keeping systems could be developed for urban Indigenous organizations without core funding. In undertaking a review of literature on the subject of records management, I found that this is also an under-documented area of scholarships for archival practitioners and records managers to address. Personally, I would like to move forward with this work and develop a collaborative team of Indigenous frontline workers and scholars, archivist, records or information managers to begin the work of developing local strategies. As done in this thesis, sharing learning about the processes of developing these systems is critical to as others that can learn from these experiments to avoid making similar mistakes and to build upon the strengths.

The work of PHAID and this study has also demonstrated that there is also a need for further historical scholarship to be produced on urban Indigenous organizations and urban histories of Indigenous development in Winnipeg and elsewhere in Canada. PHAID's efforts to recover, record and centralized urban Indigenous people's histories have resulted in a valuable collection of documentation that can give foundational support to this research. The UMASC needs to work with scholars at its institutions to share these records with students who are interested in Indige-

nous topics. Indigenous analyses of this history has power to influence narrative shifts that will reveal new perspectives on our collective history and challenge settler narratives that continue to stereotype and harm Indigenous peoples. It also needs to be recognized that historical narratives are shared in ways other than writing, but they are no less legitimate. Whether they access these stories through written or other forms of media, urban Indigenous histories will give those youth and other residents without a sense of their history and identity a chance to see themselves and their ancestors reflected in history as empowered agents and contributors of change and innovation who have been working to rebuild a better city for everyone. Further to this, a better understanding the Indigenous conceptualizations of “urban” and foregrounding the notion of Winnipeg as having always been an Indigenous urban space could help legitimize the long history of urban Indigeneity and invite a rethinking about the narratives that claim non-urban Indigenous peoples are more culturally qualified or legitimate historians and residents than Indigenous people’s.

Personally, I hope that one day stories of allyship will be shared by settler and Indigenous archivists throughout Turtle Island who have been working together in their communities. There are many brilliant traditional knowledge keepers and archivists and information managers who have not been published in scholarly archival journals and who have a world of practical experience and knowledge expertise to share with the profession. Canada’s leading archival educators or educational facilities need to consider facilitating the creation of more accessible and interactive spaces for those working with community to share ideas and experiences, such as that developed by Active History. Doing community work is time consuming and underpaid work without the same benefits of government or university archivist positions, yet it is equally as valuable and community-based practitioners of archives needs venues to facilitate the sharing of their personal stories about what works, what does not, and why. Not everyone has the writing skills or energy

to engage in time-consuming, exclusive, competitive, and rigorously peer-reviewed formats. Yet, it is these individuals who are not in the elite of the profession that could generate fresh ideas to be taken up and expanded by other scholars and professionals with the means to do so. It would be particularly useful to hear from Indigenous and settler activists who are challenging the settler colonial archive, archiving their own materials, or who have lived experiences of enacting anti-colonial approaches to allyship, or who have personal stories about how they have come to better understand themselves through their archival endeavors. Bringing these voices to the fore could be mutually beneficial. And like other archival scholars and students, they should be encouraged to share their positionality and personal stories in publications. This is ethical research practice in which few archivists engage. The truths of our shared and distinct histories, and how we are each implicated in histories and ongoing processes of oppression or resistance can inform our research processes, and reveal new and unexpected insights about decolonization.

Final words

There is no singular, simple or straightforward way to decolonize settler archives, but it must involve rewriting of Eurocentric archival systems and shifting the foundations of archival practice. In imagining the decolonized archive, Rosa-Linda Fregoso invites us to move beyond understanding the coloniality of the archive to re-conceptualize ways to transform it into a space of “creative possibilities, contingencies, iterations, and adaptations of the archive, the making of a counter-memory of the archive, a counter-archive, that occupies that same time-space of settler colonialism.”⁵⁸⁰ In other words, reimagine the archive in its entirety. In 2013, Terry Cook had responded similarly to a question about the ethical duty of this generation of archivists when he

⁵⁸⁰ Rosa-Linda Fregoso, “Brief response to ‘Indigeneity and the colonial work of the archives’”, Special Feature on Settler Archives, *Settler Colonial Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (2015): 159.

told UM archival students that it is our responsibility to “Blow up the archive and reinvent it.”⁵⁸¹

This thesis gives a nod to Fresogo’s call for reimagining and Cook’s call to radically change the archive. And it replies to Verne Harris’s call to take responsibility to respond with openness and in the good spirit of community by and for community. “Yes. Without prescript or blueprint, but with solidarity. Yes, yes!”⁵⁸²

I believe that by listening to Indigenous voices in our own communities who are pointing the way forward that we will be able to heed the TRC’s call to decolonize archives. As a result, I conclude this study with a quote by Leslie Spillett, a well-respected urban Indigenous leader in Winnipeg who was interviewed for the PHAID. I believe Spillett’s offering of insight provides a solid starting point for archivists who are serious about decolonization. In speaking about her experiences in settler institutions in Winnipeg, Spillett gets to the heart of the genuine systemic change needed to fundamentally shift power relations between settlers and Indigenous peoples:

It is about a system. I am not saying that (settler) people are bad people. They are products of their conditioning; and products of their ego, and products of their history. Which is about entitlement and power over. In this whole narrative that runs through their history is that they have to change Aboriginal people, help Aboriginal people, heal Aboriginal people. So after 500 years of taking our culture away, now they are trying to give us back our culture? What kind of culture are they giving us back? They have no idea. Nobody wants to deconstruct those kinds of behaviours and attitudes. The reality is that in a colonized relationship that they’re always in power and we are always beneficiaries of their superiority. We are always going to be in need of their whitening - and that is wrong. That whole relationship is wrong and colonized. Residential School doesn’t exist anymore, but residential school mentality, attitudes, behaviours and relationships haven’t skipped a beat. It is all patterned into these institutions. It’s not about people. It’s about systems.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ Terry Cook, *Presentation to Master’s of Archival Studies Program*, St. John’s College, Winnipeg, MB., 2013.

⁵⁸² Verne Harris, “Antonyms of our remembering”, *Archival Science*, Vol. 14 (2014): 229.

⁵⁸³ Leslie Spillett, interview by Darrell Chippeway. This is an incredible interview I recommend for all archivists.

Appendix 1

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Research Project Title: “Developing Records Strategies and Building Relationships to Ensure a Future Inner City Archive in Winnipeg, Manitoba”

We invite you to participate in a research study conducted by the Principal Investigator is Sarah Story (Graduate Student in the Joint Master’s Program in Archival Studies and History at the University of Manitoba). Sarah can be reached at (email). Sarah’s research supervisor, Greg Bak, can also be reached by email at (email). As part of the research for a master’s thesis, presentations, publications, and a report to the Manitoba Research Alliance (MRA) and Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA-MB), your participation in a 1 to 2 hour interview is requested. You will be asked several questions about your memories, experiences, and perspectives in relation to Indigenous organizational recordkeeping and archival practices, and histories. You may be asked to participate in a follow-up interview.

Interviews will be audio recorded with your consent. You have the option to be anonymous. If you provide consent, a copy of the interview audio clip will be stewarded at the University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, according to the “Letter of Understanding”. If you wish to place restrictions on access to the audio clip, please provide either a written explanation on the “Letter of Understanding”, or a verbal explanation during the interview.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the interview or study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation. Please note that your participation is voluntary and there will be no monetary remuneration. This research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at (204) 474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Please check one: I **agree to participate** in the study as described above.
 I **do not agree to participate** in the study as described above.

Please check one: I **grant permission** for the interview to be recorded.
 I **do not grant permission** for the interview to be recorded.

Please check one: I **grant permission** for the use of my real name.
 I **wish to remain anonymous**.

Please check one: **The organization** that I am representing grant permission to use of its real name.
 The organization that I am representing wishes to **remain anonymous**.

Please check one: I agree to deposit at UM Archives **without restrictions**.
 I agree to archival deposit at UM Archives **subject to restrictions**.
 I **do not agree** to archival deposit at the UM Archives.

Name (please print): _____

Signature: _____

Researchers Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 2

Letter of Understanding

I/We Insert Name here am/are the current steward(s) of the material to be transferred, or the authorized representative(s) of the steward(s), and have full authority to enter into this agreement. We are not restricted from making the promises in this agreement by any other agreement, nor do we require the consent of any other person(s).

I/we agree to transfer and assign all rights to the outlined materials (see attached transfer schedule) (the “Materials”) to The University of Manitoba and its Archives & Special Collections, (the “University”) which will act as the new steward of these materials for the use absolutely of the larger community subject to this agreement. We will respect Indigenous archival principles. Any desired access or other restrictions must be agreed upon between the person(s) transferring and the University prior to the transfer.

It is the University’s intention to archive and hold these Materials in order to preserve them, yet the University is not obligated to retain the Materials indefinitely. The University may transfer or dispose of the Materials according to standard archival principles. For example, the University may transfer a portion or all of the Materials to another archive if they feel the records would be more appropriate to be housed at the other facility.

The current steward(s) will indemnify the University for any claims relating to the steward’s/stewards’ stewardship of the Materials and right to transfer the Materials to the University.

Steward’s Name: Insert Steward’s name here.

Address: Insert address here.
 (City) Insert city here.
 (Province) Insert province here.
 (Postal code) Insert postal code here.

Telephone Insert telephone number here. (Organization) Insert organization here.

Date Insert date here. Signature _____

The University of Manitoba

Per: Insert per: here.

Schedule "A"

Donor agreement

From Insert donor's name here. to the University of Manitoba

The following records are transferred to the University of Manitoba as of (date): _____

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

(Witness signature)

(Donor's signature)

Donor's Name: Insert donor's name here.

Appendix 3

List of Completed PHAID Interviews*

Marileen Bartlett, Jim Bear, Darlene Black, Yvonne Black, Barbara Bruce, Lucille Bruce, Ann Callahan, Glen Cochrane, Ivy Chaske, Louise Champagne, Louise Chippeway, Mary Courchene, Mary Guilbeault, Elaine Cowan, Dennis Daniels, Janet Fontaine, Lena Friesen, Dan Highway, Josie Hill, Damon Johnston, Jackie Joss, Eric Robinson, Cyril Keeper, Linda Keeper, Joe Keeper, Myra Laramée, Barry Lavalée, Jackie Lavalée, Marg and Jules Lavalée, Kathy Mallett, Stan McKay Jr., Albert McLeod, Norm & Thelma Mead, Marion Meadmore, Ovid Mercredi, Larry Morrissette, Verne Morrissette, George Munroe, Ruth Murdock, Barb & Clarence Nepinak, Don Robertson, Francis Roesler, Bill Shead, Leslie Spillett, Murray Sinclair, Jim Westasacoot, Doris Young, Ken Young, and Flora Zaharia.

*Note: There were additional names on the original draft of potential interviewees that were not interviewed during the project. Stories about many urban Indigenous organizations were named during these interviews with several mentioned in a single interview. A list of organizations that were documented was not compiled as the complete set of these records were unavailable to me at the time of writing this thesis.

Appendix 4

A Retelling of the Beginning Story of the Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata Centre

*Please note: the following five paragraphs were taken from the final draft of the presentation for my thesis defense on June 26, 2017. The PHAID interviews used to reconstruct this story included the following: Louise Chippeway, Kathy Mallett, Larry Morrissette, and Leslie Spillett.

Snapshot one: In the early Eighties it became starkly evident to Indigenous organizers at the “We Care, We Share” Conference hosted by the Winnipeg Indian and Metis Friendship Centre of the need to actively respond to state-sanctioned child welfare policies stealing away their children. Too few had been untouched by the racist system harming their communities and jurisdictional disputes over the statutory responsibility for child welfare resulted in a denial of the same level of child welfare supports given to settler families to keep children in their home communities. These state policies resulted in death, including the drowning of a Metis child in a foster home bathtub in this same year. The child’s mother had been healing at the Native Women’s Transition Centre and was not notified for several days after the death. This horrific news generated community-wide outrage. Organizers interviewed for PHAID recalled this death as the last straw, or the catalyst of a local movement. In response, the “Urban Aboriginal Coalition on Child Welfare” was formed that comprised of six local Indigenous organizations as well as community members impacted by the system.

Snapshot two: The Winnipeg Police Service showed up as a group of Indigenous women boarded their rental bus, each carrying a brown-bagged lunch prepared by volunteers at the Native Women’s Transition Centre. Upon their escorted arrival at the Marlboro Hotel, the women filed into an AGM of the Children’s Aid Society where they were greeted by a frantic host who asked them to sit at seats spread throughout the room. The women refused and chose to sit in a collective to demonstrate their unity. The coalition had met earlier with the CAS to negotiate for fair representation on its board. These lobby efforts resulted in very limited success despite the fact that the CAS had played a lead role in the removal of the disproportionate numbers of First Nations and Metis children out of their communities. As one concession, the CAS increased its singular Indigenous representation by adding one additional rep. During the AGM, it announced the appointment of Jackie Lavallee to its board. Supported by the coalition of women who stood with her, Lavallee got up to the mic and denounced the CAS for unjustly stealing Indigenous children. In an interview that I conducted with Kathy Mallett who was there that day, she recalled watching these events broadcast on the national evening news: the CAS workers sitting at linen-lined tables eating veal cutlets juxtaposed to the Indigenous women sitting on the floor with their brown-bagged lunches. She contented that this broadcast generated more public attention to the issue of Indigenous children in care than had been shared previously.

The organizers called for reform to child welfare practices harming Indigenous families and communities and mobilized a grassroots campaign that contributed to province-wide change. The CAS was eventually disbanded by an NDP Provincial Government that fired its entire board, including its lead director who interviewees stated had demonstrated a lack of will to address their concerns. In its place, an interim board was created that included members of the coalition. Another outcome of these efforts was the creation of an urban Indigenous organization dedicated to the planning, development and delivery of child welfare services specific to Indigenous children and families. It was named the “Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata Centre” by the community, which translates to “we all work together to help one another”. During this time in history, this family resource centre was viewed as an enormous achievement, particularly since few Indigenous-led initiatives existed in urban centres that were dedicated to addressing the child welfare issue.

Its creation was not without a struggle. Debates ensued between Indigenous organizers and two camps formed - one in support of a mandated organization and one in support of a non-mandated organization. While the latter approach was taken, it took years for divisions to heal. It also took several years for the new staff and board members of the Centre to agree on the way to imbed Indigenous values into its structure and programming since there were varying visions on how to best serve the community. They unsuccessfully experimented with a flat structure prior to converting to a hierarchical organizational structure. Yet, years of dialogue and experimentation led to the provision of effective service delivery to a diverse, growing urban Indigenous population. Since 1984, the Centre has grown from a dozen staff to over two hundred. It remains the “go to” non-mandated organization on child welfare in Manitoba. Fully staffed by Indigenous workers, it has not replicated colonial models of taking children out of their communities, instead working to provide supports that enable families and the community to raise healthy children.

The Jackie LaValle fonds is currently stewarded at the University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections as a result of the efforts of the PHAID Project. This collection consists of a solitary record: the letter of invitation sent to LaVallee to join the Children Aid Society’s board. The significance of this letter is easy to overlook. However, the oral histories of Kathy Mallett, Larry Morrissette, Louise Chippeway, and Leslie Spillett, who were all directly involved in challenging the child welfare system during the Eighties contextualize the letter and its creation. One can only imagine the stories that could be told or the lessons that could be learned from the history of the Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata Centre if its institutional records were made available to the public through an archive or the institution itself; or if Indigenous scholars were to analyze and make public the histories of this local organization and others. The Centre’s beginning story represents one strand of historical knowledge in a wider and interconnected mesh of social memory revealing insight into a host of personal and collective processes of a multi-generational decolonizing grassroots movement which has been challenging structures and processes of settler colonialism since the mid-twentieth century - as well as memories that move beyond the city and into a more distant past - stories of the mothers and grandmothers that came before the interviewees and the documentary evidence; stories of a long continuum of resistance, community building, innovation, courage and strength. These stories of Indigenous contributions to local society and community building are slowly beginning to be shared with a broader public, but sel-

dom are the records created by Indigenous peoples themselves reflected in local archives. In lieu of an Indigenous-controlled archive in Winnipeg, PHAID became the first collaboration to actively document and preserve this important aspect of our city's history.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸⁴ Sarah Story, "Offering our Gifts, Partnering for Change: Decolonizing Experimentation in Winnipeg-based Settler Archives Master's thesis defense", University of Winnipeg Oral History Centre, Winnipeg, MB, June 28, 2017.

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Jesse Boiteau, photo of Larry Morrissette at the PHAID feast, Thunderbird House, October 2014.

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