

Archival Harm Reduction:
Utilizing Public Health Harm Reduction Concepts for Reconciliatory Power Shifts in Archives

By

Krystal Payne

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of History (Archival Studies)

Joint Master's Program

University of Manitoba/University of Winnipeg

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Copyright © 2021 by Krystal Payne

Abstract

Canadian archives are both generated from and help to maintain white supremacist and settler-colonial frameworks. The 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission's 94 Calls to Action specifically tasked Canadian archival institutions and archivists with working towards reconciliatory archiving. Inequitable archival power relations have contributed to the harms done to Indigenous peoples and communities through the entrenchment of settler-colonialism and participation in extractive colonialism through the processes of archiving, along with the systemic racism that has come along with this. In this thesis I argue that public health harm reduction concepts can be read alongside the Calls to Action and Indigenous scholarship to conceptualize a process for shifting power relationships in archives. This is done through a close reading of selected Indigenous scholarship, including Glen Coulthard, Crystal Fraser, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Zoe Todd, Eve Tuck and archivist Raymond Frogner. Further, an analysis will be done of the Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action, the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, the United Nations Joinet-Orentlicher Principles, the First Nations Principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®) and the *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials*. Lastly, I will examine three archival initiatives: the re-description of the Ida Halpern fonds at the Royal British Columbia Museum, Library and Archives Canada's Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives and the Steering Committee on Canada's Archives Response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce's (TRC-TF) *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives*. I argue that these writings and documents come together to point out that an examination of power relationships is a central theme in reconciliatory archival work. Harm reduction concepts, with power and relationality at their core, draw upon principles relating to meaningfully engaging and shifting power to impacted peoples and communities. Harm reduction concepts remind us that while immediate harms must be addressed, doing so will never be enough unless the structures from which this harm continually flows are also addressed. Systemic power relations around stewardship and decision making over records must be addressed through meaningful community engagement, involvement and power-shifts, illuminated by the fact that we cannot re-describe our way out of white supremacy.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is the result of the support I was given by so many people.

Dr. Greg Bak has been a constant source of encouragement, critical engagement and seemingly unending patience as I slowly wrote my way through this thesis. Dr. Tom Nesmith has been a great supporter and source of inspiration from the very first time we met for coffee to talk about the possibilities for social justice work in archives.

My thesis committee, Dr. Jarvis Brownlie, Dr. Joyce Chadya and Ms. Genevieve Weber, offered critical engagement, supportive feedback and thoughtful suggestions aimed at both celebrating and improving my thesis work.

Dr. Mark Gabbert, Dr. Adele Perry and Dr. Peter Kulchyski challenged me to think deeper and write more clearly. Dr. David Camfield kept me in touch with interesting reading material throughout. Dr. Aynslie Hinds has encouraged me to continue to find ways to bridge community health with archival studies.

Dr. Shelley Sweeney and Mr. James Gorton taught me so much about archival practice as supervisors at my first archival placements.

My classmates helped me to survive the heavy coursework of the first year of studies. Special thanks go out to Coral and Melissa for all of the weekend study dates and check-ins.

My mental health came out intact despite the stress, guilt and imposter syndrome of graduate studies because of the support given by my psychologist Dr. Michael Ellery. May all of us someday have such good access to taking care of ourselves.

My friends have not been too judgemental when I became a little too self-absorbed while concentrating on school these past few years. In particular, Alex has given me lots of tough love, even after he abandoned me for the national capital region, while Samantha has always taken the time to debrief with me about absolutely everything and is most certainly my biggest archives confidant.

Dr. John McKendy was the most patient mentor and friend who taught me a lot about being present for people. I know that we would have had wonderful conversations about dimensions of harm in archives and he is greatly missed.

My Mom, who passed away soon after my acceptance into the program but whose unceasing support I remember often. My Dad, who continues to teach me about resilience as he works to recover from his sudden and life-altering illness.

Finally, Andy and Emby, who have supported me through all of the hardest parts of this degree. To both of you, all of my love.

Dedication

For Emby.

Thank you for putting up with so much distracted mothering over the course of this writing.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Table of Contents.....	ii
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms.....	iii
Introduction: Positionality and Introduction to Harm Reduction.....	1
Chapter One: Critical Insights on Decolonization, Reconciliation and Resurgence	13
Chapter Two: Guiding Documents for Archives and Archivists	32
Chapter Three: Examinations of Archival Power Shifts Through Case Studies	59
Conclusion: Archival Harm Reduction as a Companion Concept.....	88
Bibliography.....	94

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement.....	IRSSA
Intellectual Property.....	IP
Library and Archives Canada.....	LAC
Manitoba Harm Reduction Network.....	WRHA
National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation.....	NCTR
First Nations Principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession.....	OCAP®
Protocols for Native American Archival Materials.....	PNAAM
Records in Context: A Conceptual Model for Archival Description.....	RiC-CM
Royal British Columbia Museum and Archives.....	RBCM
Steering Committee on Canada's Archives Response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce.....	(TRC-TF)
Truth and Reconciliation Commission.....	TRC
Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action.....	TRC Calls
United Nations.....	UN
United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.....	UNDRIP
United Nations Joinet-Orentlicher Principles.....	UNJOP
Winnipeg Regional Health Authority.....	WRHA

Introduction: Positionality and Introduction to Harm Reduction

Margaret Kovach discusses the importance of situating yourself in relation to your work in her book *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*.¹ My background in feminist community health practice has also foregrounded the importance of acknowledging social location and personal biases. In the field of archival studies, Terry Cook, Tom Nesmith and Jennifer Douglas have also called for greater transparency of archivist positionalities and the possible impact of these on the archival work done to records to give archival users a more thorough understanding of who is doing the intervention work of archives: acquiring, describing, preserving and advocating.² With this in mind, I am going to start by explaining who I am and how I came to this work.

I did not grow up here in Winnipeg, which lies on the original lands of Anishinaabeg, Cree, Oji-Cree, Dakota and Dene peoples, and is the homeland of the Métis Nation on Treaty 1 territory. I grew up in Hillsdale, New Brunswick. Barely even on a map, Hillsdale is just outside of Sussex, which is a small town roughly in the middle of the triangle formed by the three most populous cities in New Brunswick: Fredericton, Moncton and Saint John. I did not grow up hearing acknowledgements that my home province is the traditional unceded territory of the Wolastoqiyik (Maliseet), Mi'kmaq and Peskotomuhkati (Passamaquoddy) Peoples or that the land I lived on was covered by the Peace and Friendship Treaties, although I do know this now.³

Both sides of my white, Anglophone family are descendants of Irish immigrants who came to New Brunswick in the mid-1800s. The specifics of why they came are no longer definitively known, although my family say it was to escape famine, whether that be past, present or future. The timeframe and the class position of these late family members indicate that this is probable. Their attempts to make a sustainable life out of small-scale farming was made more or less impossible within a few generations of their arrival as more large-scale farming

¹ Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

² Tom Nesmith, "Reopening Archives: Bringing New Contextualities into Archival Theory and Practice," *Archivaria* 60 (2005): 270-274; Terry Cook, "Archival science and postmodernism: new formulations for old concepts," *Archival Science* 1:1 (March 2001): 24; Terry Cook, "Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives," *Archivaria* 51 (Spring 2001): 28, 34-35 and Terry Cook, "The Archive(s) Is a Foreign Country," *The Canadian Historical Review*. Volume 90, Number 3 (September 2009): 533 and Jennifer Douglas, "Towards more honest description," *American Archivist* 79 no. 1 (2016): 26-55.

³ Canadian Association of University Teachers, *Guide to Acknowledging First Peoples & Traditional Territory*, September 2017, <https://www.caut.ca/sites/default/files/caut-guide-to-acknowledging-first-peoples-and-traditional-territory-2017-09.pdf>.

took hold. Life moved beyond the farms, but many members of my family remained tied to the ongoing use of the land that our family had settled on, with gardening, small-scale farming, hunting, fishing and food gathering continuing as important family activities. As is common for rural families, myself and many of my cousins have since moved on to more urban settings. Many of us continue to take on similar activities when and where we can, growing gardens on balconies and in backyards. Growing food seems to be ingrained in us as a way to build some sort of insurance against future uncertainties.

Growing up in a working-class family is likely what drew me first to social justice and later explicitly anti-capitalist activism and organizing. My undergraduate years were steeped in an involvement in social justice and anarchist organizing that was mainly attuned to white, middle-class issues. My friends and I worked on anti-capitalist activism projects such as opposition to free trade agreements and set up an anarchist bookstore and coffeehouse in Fredericton, NB modelled after the Mondragon Bookstore and Café in Winnipeg. It was through this project that I eventually moved to Winnipeg, having made connections with people here through the worker co-operative movement and my involvement in anarchist organizing. Living in Winnipeg and gaining more exposure to Indigenous organizing helped to solidify the fact that as an uninvited settler it was integral for me to support Indigenous communities in their organizing outside of explicitly anarchist circles.

Part of how I did this was through working with the Winnipeg chapter of the Anarchist Black Cross, raising funds for legal defense and support of political prisoners. Our group discussed our roles as settlers in settler-colonial Canada and decided that a key struggle to support was Indigenous land defence, which set us apart from other Anarchist Black Cross chapters internationally that specifically supported anarchist political prisoners. Amongst our broader political prisoner support work, we also coordinated education and fundraising activities directed towards Indigenous land defence legal support. A particularly formative experience was in 2007 when our group helped to organize a Western Canadian speaking tour about the Tyendinaga Mohawk land defenders who were defending their lands from quarry development. Some of us ended up visiting the quarry blockade while fundraising to support the ongoing activities and legal support of the land defenders. This taught me a lot about the centrality of Indigenous self-determination and land. I will always be grateful for the teachings that the Tyendinaga land defenders extended to “black hoodie kids” like me.

These experiences have informed my ideas of what it means to try to live meaningfully on this land as a settler. This has taught me that I need to think seriously about how I not only benefit from the power structures that exist under settler colonialism, but also how I can reasonably work towards the disruption of these power structures. I am explicitly explaining where I come from and the experiences that have shaped me to expose my biases in order to show why I am interested in examining power relationships and why I am interested in working towards shifting these to something more equitable. I was drawn to archival studies in particular because of the possibilities for justice and accountability. Archives hold the records that detail the violence of colonization, and access to these can help the refrain of “truth, then reconciliation” be realized, cutting through national narratives that so often normalize, rationalize or silence these violent truths. Before applying to the archival studies program I worked in community health for over a decade, employed in positions which were feminist, social justice and harm reduction oriented. My work took me throughout Manitoba, including rural and Northern Manitoba. This is what reinvigorated my interest in the study of history. Through my role working as a health educator with youth around mental health education it became clear to me that Indigenous youth overwhelmingly connected knowing their history and having a connection to their culture to positive mental health outcomes. This sparked an interest in archival access and outreach as one mode of ensuring that youth had access to their histories. As a settler archivist, I can continue to work on applying a social justice and social health perspective to my work by advocating for community involvement in archival records access and stewardship.

My interest in working towards archival decolonization comes from my continued desire to confront and disrupt unequal power structures, as well as an attempt to reckon with my family history being inextricably woven into the ongoing process of colonization as settlers. I also strongly believe the youth who say that their mental health is directly tied to knowing their histories and think that making these histories as widely accessible to the communities as possible is essential work. Helping communities pursue their own cultural heritages is one way that I can continue to support healthy communities, even if I am no longer working in community health. I think that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s Calls to Action can work as a flashpoint in the archival community to advance conversations around ownership, control, access and possession of archival records, and ultimately, about how to reorient the

power structures within archives.

I struggle with whether I am the right person to be doing this work at all but am attempting to do so because I think that as a settler archivist it is important to explore this topic. I am interested in thinking through what it means to be a white archivist working on colonized land and how it is necessary for me to work in ways that are validating of Indigenous rights to (and over) archival records. For me, this means that a serious exploration of my chosen profession as a site of colonial powerholding is worth examining and trying to shift. I chose to write this thesis through an examination of written works rather than engaging in interviews mainly due to my own life circumstances. Just before entering my master's program I unexpectedly and abruptly became a member of the "Sandwich Generation," defined by Statistics Canada as someone caring for both dependent children and elderly parents at the same time.⁴ This drastically cut the amount of time and resources that I had available for study, necessitating a shift towards working from literature rather than working from conversations as I could read at home in between care tasks. The COVID-19 pandemic further restricted my studies, resulting in my needing to take a nine-month pause as I adjusted to taking on all care aspects for my father and my school-aged daughter, including advocating for accessible and equitable schooling during the pandemic and facilitating virtual elementary schooling. I recognize that lived experiences and input from Indigenous community members brought about through interviews and conversation would have added greatly to this work, but this was not possible for me to take on during the pandemic.

Ultimately, I believe that a theoretical shift in archival thinking will go a long way in ensuring that the archives' potential and responsibility for historical accountability can be fully realized. My background means that I am drawing from what I have learned working in community health and in the broader community as a whole to inform my work. As I read for this thesis I was struck by how much of the writing being done by Indigenous scholars around decolonization, reconciliation and resurgence addresses themes of power and relationality. There are connections between these themes and some of the main points in public health harm reduction theory and methodology that are worth considering alongside each other. Bringing

⁴ Government of Canada, Statistics Canada, *The Sandwich Generation*, Clara Williams. Canadian Social Trends, Catalogue No. 11-008, Statistics Canada, Summer 2005. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/11-008-x/2005001/article/7033-eng.pdf?st=Kw7IpyF4>

together harm reduction concepts and archival theory acknowledges from the outset that archives have both done harm and contributed to harm. Archival harm is done within institutions through the systems and structures that are generated from the white supremacist and settler-colonial frameworks on which institutions are built and managed. Archival harm is also done through the broad role that archives have played in furthering white supremacy and settler-colonialism through Canadian national narratives and the colonial pursuit of land and resources.

Harm reduction as a public health policy took hold as a response to the HIV pandemic, particularly in regard to the transmissibility of HIV through intravenous needle drug use. Policies originating from a harm reduction perspective are often described as pragmatic, evidence-based and non-judgemental because at their core they seek to alleviate harms that may come from common human experiences, such as sexual activity or substance use.⁵

In 2010, the International Harm Reduction Association listed the following Principles of Harm Reduction:

- Is client-centered, non-judgemental and facilitative, rather than coercive;
- Targets the causes of risks and harms;
- Is evidence-informed, practical, feasible, effective, safe, and cost-effective;
- Promotes autonomy and dignity;
- Is transparent and accountable. It values meaningful engagement and participation of affected communities in the program and policy decisions that affect them;
- Challenges policies and practices that maximize harm. This includes criminalization, discrimination, abstinence-only services and social inequities.⁶

Harm reduction as a public health policy has evolved in theory and practice in the past decade. While much of the literature around harm reduction continues to relate to safer substance use, similar principles are used to direct the way that health practitioners work around safer sex as well.⁷ Additionally, this evolution has also meant broadening in scope the way that harm is understood. The Winnipeg Regional Health Authority (WRHA) *Position Statement on Harm Reduction* frames harm as being “shaped differently across the power axis of race, social class,

⁵ Winnipeg Regional Health Authority, *Position Statement on Harm Reduction*, Winnipeg, MB. December 2016: 7, <https://wrha.mb.ca/files/public-health-position-statement-harm-reduction.pdf>

⁶ WRHA, *Harm Reduction*, 3.

⁷ Manitoba Health. Healthy Living and Seniors, Office of the Chief Provincial Public Health Officer, *Chief Provincial Public Health Officer Position Statement, Harm Reduction*. January 2016: 1, https://www.gov.mb.ca/health/cppho/docs/ps/harm_reduction.pdf

gender and other categories...[necessitating] working with affected populations to understand the complexity of harms from their perspective.”⁸

The statement further points to the multi-dimensional aspects of harm that may be experienced by Indigenous peoples and communities:

In Canada, one important context is the systematic cultural oppression and marginalization of Indigenous peoples. This legacy has not only contributed to existing social and health inequities, but also continues to profoundly negatively impact the health of Indigenous peoples. Redressing social dislocation, family separation, incarceration, poverty and pain is key to reducing harms. Harm reduction approaches must therefore include Indigenous self-determination and leadership, and must be context specific, locally-informed and culturally-safe.⁹

Additionally, it highlights that “risk is shaped by social, structural, and historic factors...includ[ing] inadequate housing, poverty, unemployment, lack of social support, sexism, racism and colonialism,” and further, “harms are exacerbated by structural determinants such as race, housing status, and employment, and by the invisibility of particular groups in policy arenas.”¹⁰

Using this contextualization of harm, the WRHA underlines the need for public health employees to work as advocates for those who experience structural harms, and for health work to not only address harm at an individual level, but to also seek out and take part in environmental interventions.¹¹ This sentiment is echoed in the 2016 Chief Provincial Public Health Officer *Position Statement: Harm Reduction*, which states that “harm reduction promotes health for the individual, and advocates for broader health and social policy change.”¹²

The literature on environmental risks and interventions is vast, but typically points to harm playing out along physical, economic, social, and policy lines, and at the intersections between these.¹³ Structural violence also has a role to play in the way that harm is enacted, with this being defined as “how social arrangements embedded in the organization of society inflict

⁸ WRHA, *Harm Reduction*, 7.

⁹ WRHA, *Harm Reduction*, 7.

¹⁰ WRHA, *Harm Reduction*, 8-9.

¹¹ WRHA, *Harm Reduction*, 9.

¹² Manitoba Health, *Position Statement*, 1.

¹³ Ryan McNeil and Will Small, “‘Safer environment interventions’: A qualitative synthesis of the experiences and perceptions of people who inject drugs,” *Social Science & Medicine*, Volume 106 (2014): 152. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.01.051>. See also T. Rhodes, “The “risk environment”: A framework for understanding and reducing drug-related harm,” *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 13, 2 (2002): 85–94 and T. Rhodes, “Risk environments and drug harms: A social science for harm reduction approach,” *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 20, 3 (2009): 193-201.

injury upon vulnerable populations.”¹⁴ Speaking specifically to harms associated with substance use, McNeil and Small point out that “[t]hese social arrangements are determined by large-scale forces (e.g., drug criminalization), rooted in historical and economic processes (e.g., colonialism, globalization), and foster disproportionate suffering among drug-using populations.”¹⁵ With this in mind, it becomes clear that public health responses seeking to reduce harms must take into account all of these factors.

The way that the Manitoba Harm Reduction Network (MHRN) conceptualizes harm reduction also stresses the need to implement harm reduction measures beyond the individual. From their website:

Harm reduction is looking at the big picture, to the systems and policies that create harm for people who use drugs, and working to change those systems. Drug policy, criminalization and the war on drugs have been historically harmful, so dismantling those frameworks is a key part of harm reduction. Harm reduction is a process, of engaging with peers, policy makers, health workers, researchers and activists, to build relationships, listen, and create community-driven social change.¹⁶

While much of the literature on harm reduction speaks to safer drug use and sexual practices, it is possible to see harm along many other dimensions. Speaking to the broadening of scope for harm reduction ideas, both the WRHA and the Chief Provincial Public Health Officer *Position Statements* note that what began as a response to substance use can now also be used to guide public health responses to safer sexual practices, responses to sex work and responses to overdoses.¹⁷ As is often pointed out by harm reduction practitioners, the Chief Provincial Public Health Officer *Position Statement* explicitly points out that harm reduction activities are often enacted on a day-to-day basis through the use of seatbelts or sunscreen.¹⁸ To walk through this world means encountering risk, and once risk is understood, we can take reasonable steps in risk reduction, with the understanding that individual and societal factors both play a role in causing or exacerbating harm, and should also be considering factors when seeking to reduce harm.

It is possible to pull out several points from harm reduction practice and literature that is applicable to archives. At the core, harm reduction is a practice and theory that recognizes the

¹⁴ McNeil and Small, “Safer environment interventions,” 152.

¹⁵ McNeil and Small, “Safer environment interventions,” 152.

¹⁶ Manitoba Harm Reduction Network, “Harm Reduction,” Manitoba Harm Reduction Network, <https://mhrn.ca/harm-reduction>.

¹⁷ Manitoba Health, *Position Statement*, 1 and WRHA, *Harm Reduction*, 7.

¹⁸ Manitoba Health, *Position Statement*, 1.

power relationships and imbalances that force some people to have unequal standing in decision and policy making, and seeks to challenge this in an attempt to stem the further entrenchment of harm. Harm reduction seeks to involve those who are harmed in the creation and enactment of policy that will attempt to redress these harms. It is often said that harm reduction sees affected people as the ‘experts in their own lives,’ and this results in moves towards meaningful engagement of affected peoples and communities in the policies and programs that will impact them, as mentioned in the above principles. Harm reduction seeks to be facilitative rather than coercive, which necessitates relationship building. This focus on facilitation also centres another principle of harm reduction: autonomy and dignity. Recognizing this principle means attempting to enter into relationships with affected people as worthy of being part of decision or policy-making processes. Ultimately, harm reduction can be seen as a relational practice and theory. This thesis will argue that harm reduction concepts can be read alongside Indigenous scholarship to help make sense of shifting power relationships in archives, which have done harm to Indigenous peoples and communities through their roles in entrenching settler-colonialism and the systemic racism that has come along with this.

Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, in their article “Decolonization is not a metaphor” discuss what they call settler harm reduction. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter One, but briefly they describe this as a necessary activity in “critical consciousness” but caution that critical consciousness on its own is not the same as decolonization and may in fact “relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility, and conceal the need to give up land or power or privilege.”¹⁹ They are unequivocally clear that control over land and power relations must be shifted in order for decolonization to happen.

With this in mind, I want to be clear that when I draw upon public health concepts of harm reduction as learning opportunities for archives, I am not using the same harm reduction concept as Tuck and Yang. I am using public health harm reduction concepts to describe how it is possible to address immediate harms while also thinking about the shifts that need to happen within systems and structures in order for that harm to eventually cease. I think that archivists can learn a lot from the two-track method of public health harm reduction concepts to keep in mind the need to both address immediate harms while also advocating for bigger structural

¹⁹ Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no.1 (2012): 21-22.

change. To distinguish between these two concepts of harm reduction, I will use the term “harm reduction” to mean “public health harm reduction” and reserve the term “settler harm reduction” for use in the sense developed by Tuck and Yang.

We could move towards a model of archival harm reduction by looking to remedy both immediate archival harms and the bigger structural issues that cause those archival harms in the first place. I am using the term “archival harm reduction” to refer to the application of public health harm reduction lessons to archival theory and practice. Tuck and Yang remind us that structural work around power shifts and land return are central decolonizing work. From the perspective of public health harm reduction practices, it can feel impossible to find the time and resources needed to work on structural advocacy and organizing when addressing immediate harms. It is simply more manageable and seemingly more possible to hand out new needles than it is to convince law-makers that decriminalization of drugs, safe drug supplies, stable housing, steady liveable incomes and mental health supports are necessary to address problematic substance use. These deeper issues persist because they are so much harder to change, and when faced with immediate harms, it is important to address these as quickly as possible. The lesson that I would extend to archivists attempting archival harm reduction work is to watch out for getting caught up in only remedying immediate harms. It is crucial not to lose sight of also planning to ameliorate the primary factors, such as settler-colonial and white supremacist frameworks, that lead to harmful archival practices.

This brings up two important points to keep in mind when thinking about archival harm reduction concepts. Although I am speaking about harm reduction in a very different way than Tuck and Yang, their critical concepts remain crucial in that they provide the reminder that bigger shifts need to be constantly worked towards. Public health concepts remind us that structural shifts are necessary as well. Thus, when planning for archival harm reduction, we should make sure that our plans include the time and resources needed to address structural harms as well as immediate harms so that one does not take precedence over the other.

Further, while harm reduction seeks to address harm that comes about through human activities, the end goal is not to stop all activities that could result in harm. The goal is not to end all drug use or sexual activity, but to give people the tools they need to do these things more safely while at the same time interrogating and addressing the structural factors that drive harm relating to these activities. This is a point from which archival harm reduction would likely

diverge from public health harm reduction in that an end goal of archival harm reduction would be to staunch archival harms. However, another harm reduction lesson can be helpful here. There are rarely safe activities, only safer activities, and rarely best practices but rather promising practices. This indicates that harm reduction is an ongoing activity that requires a constant willingness to learn and adapt. As efforts to address archival harms progress new causes of harm and new enactments of harm will most likely be revealed, requiring a commitment to ongoing examination and action.

Chapter 1 of these thesis will look at how some contemporary Indigenous writers are contextualizing decolonization, reconciliation and resurgence. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang speak to the dangers of turning decolonization into a metaphor; Leanne Betasamosake Simpson tells us about the centrality of relationship; and Glen Coulthard examines power structures and the drawbacks of recognition politics. My reading of these authors, among others, will draw out points that clarify the ways in which archival decolonization necessitates major shifts in institutional control, power and resources in order to ensure that archivists do not merely recreate the existing archival power and control structures. While these ideas are strong on their own, I have found it helpful to think about harm reduction ideas alongside this literature as a way of bridging these thoughts to a body of work with which I have some practical experience. Harm reduction concepts can provide useful tools for imagining change in archival institutions given the attention within the theory and practice to advocacy, relationships and power structures.

Chapter 2 will undertake a close reading of documents that are foundational for addressing Indigenous self-determination in archives. I will first undertake an analysis of the archival implications within the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action (TRC Calls).²⁰ Analyzing the TRC Calls also necessitates examining the archival implications within the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*²¹ (UNDRIP) and the United Nations Joint-Ortlicher Principles²² (UNJOP), as the TRC Calls specifically call on the Canadian government, as well as archival institutions, to fully implement both of these

²⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*, 2015, http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

²¹ United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, (13 September 2007), http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

²² United Nations, Economic and Social Council, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, E.CN.4/2005/102/Add.1 (8 February 2005), <https://undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1>.

frameworks. I will conduct a close reading of both of these documents, paying particular attention in UNDRIP to those instances where Indigenous control over cultural heritage is called for, and in UNJOP examining the way that archives are tasked with collecting, maintaining and making accessible records that will prevent future deniability of human rights violations. I will then explore the First Nations Principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)²³ and the *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* (PNAAM)²⁴ in order to describe two pathways that may be used as a guide for the creation of new archival relationships.

Chapter Three will compare two projects in archives that are focused on working with Indigenous peoples and communities. I will examine Library and Archives Canada (LAC)'s Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives program²⁵ and the descriptions of the Ida Halpern fonds at the Royal British Columbia Museum and Archives (Royal BC Museum).²⁶ Although these projects are different in scale and intent, I will assess how each of them consider questions of Indigenous ownership, control, access and possession of archival records and documentary heritage. Both of these initiatives have invited the greater involvement of Indigenous peoples and communities to their work, and I will be using the work explored in the earlier two chapters to examine the way that these projects attend to power relationships in particular. I will then also look at the Steering Committee on Canada's Archives Response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce's (TRC-TF) *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives*²⁷ to draw out where shifting power in Canadian archives has been recommended. I have placed the TRC-TF initiative in Chapter Three rather than as a document study in Chapter Two because it is not yet clear if it will be adopted as a protocol by the Canadian archival community. The creation of the TRC-TF framework happened in parallel with my research and writing for this thesis, so I

²³ First Nations Information Governance Centre, *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®): The Path to First Nations Information Governance*, The Centre, May 23, 2014, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/ocap_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf. OCAP® is a registered trademark of the First Nations Information Governance Centre (FNIGC). Please see www.FNIGC.ca/OCAP for more information.

²⁴ First Archivist's Circle, *Protocols for Native American archival materials*, 2007, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>.

²⁵ Library and Archives Canada, "Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/default.aspx>.

²⁶ Royal BC Museum, "Ida Halpern Collection," BC Archives, <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/bc-archives/what-we-have/indigenous-material/ida-halpern-collection>

²⁷ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives*, Steering Committee on Canada's Archives (blog), https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

have been thinking about it as a response to the TRC Calls to Action. With the framework now released, it may eventually be taken up by the Canadian archival community to become a source of guidance similar to the protocols reviewed in Chapter Two. I will finish by describing how harm reduction can be utilized to guide the work that is necessary to shift power in archival institutions in order to make them more equitable places for collaborative stewardship of archival materials.

Chapter One: Critical Insights on Decolonization, Reconciliation and Resurgence

In this chapter I will review some contemporary critical discussions of decolonization and resurgence work. I will draw on the work of Glen Coulthard, Crystal Fraser, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Zoe Todd, and Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang to identify relevant themes and implications for examination by archivists. I will also look to work done by Raymond Frogner and Jamila Ghaddar on the colonial underpinnings of Canadian archives. Although this thesis could reasonably start by either dissecting the international documents that apply to archives and Indigenous relationships or delving into the works of Indigenous writers, I am purposefully starting with the works of Indigenous writers. In doing so, I hope to centre their words and ideas as the foundation to this exploratory work.

I have chosen to examine these select authors because they represent a modern current in a long line of Indigenous intellectualism and action in decolonization in settler-colonial Canada. The writings that I am working with centre the idea that decolonization necessitates unsettling the current power structures throughout the settler-state, including those structures that are overt as well as those that are obscured. Read alongside Indigenous concepts of resurgence and decolonization, harm reduction concepts may prove to be helpful tools for settler archivists such as myself to use in understanding decolonizing and resurgence work given the attention paid to structural and systemic issues within harm reduction work.

The term 'decolonization' appears across disciplines and can be interpreted rather broadly. The most basic meaning is to reverse or take away the effects of colonization. In Canada, where colonialism continues, this is not necessarily possible. The different experiences of colonialism can also mean that the uses of the term decolonization can be disparate. Tuck and Yang tell us that “[d]ecolonization brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life; it is not a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools.”²⁸ This is the conception of decolonization that I find most compelling on settler-colonial land. I aim to work with this definition to argue that the work that archivists undertake must necessarily consider questions around control of archival records. If we, as archivists, are talking about decolonizing the institutions with which we interact, what is it about our work that is considering repatriation of land and life? How are we working towards the disruption of the current structures of power

²⁸ Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1, no.1 (2012): 1.

that are woven within the issues of ownership, control, access and possession of the archival records that concern Indigenous land and life?

Greg Bak, at the 2019 ACA Conference, brought up the important point that only Indigenous peoples get to decide what decolonization is, which is a central point for settler archives and archivists to work from. Bak also reminds us that reading the literature around decolonization is our due diligence and can help us get to new starting points for building different relationships in the archives.²⁹ It is in this spirit that I am centering the words that Tuck and Yang have written about decolonization by holding onto their points about repatriation and examining the way that power is invoked and maintained in settler-Indigenous relationships on settler-colonial land. As I grapple with these ideas, I am not attempting to speak for Indigenous peoples or communities on what decolonization is; but rather, I am trying to find common threads in the literature that speak to the way that as an archivist, I can begin to re-examine archival power relationships. In addition to Tuck and Yang's work, the work of Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Glen Coulthard, Crystal Fraser and Zoe Todd is integral to my understanding of what decolonization might (and might not) be.

Given the historical context of the land in Canada, it is important to define settler colonialism. The definition put forward by Aimee Carrillo Rowe and Eve Tuck emphasizes the importance of recognizing the centrality of settler possession of land as part of the ongoing colonial project. They assert that settler colonialism is unique when compared to other kinds of colonialism in that it is a societal structure that continues without a defined ending, a definition that has been put forth by Patrick Wolfe.³⁰ This formulation is key to discussions of decolonization, because what decolonization might mean on the land that I am situated on in Winnipeg, Manitoba may be different from the way that decolonization can be interpreted in parts of the world where colonialism did not result in mass long-term settlement. As defined by Rowe and Tuck, settler colonialism is:

The specific formation of colonialism in which people come to a land inhabited by (Indigenous) people and declare that land to be their new home. Settler colonialism is about the pursuit of land, not just labor or resources. Settler colonialism is a persistent societal structure, not just an historical event or origin story for a nation-state. Settler colonialism has meant genocide of Indigenous

²⁹ Greg Bak, "Archival histories and settler responsibilities: Archival decolonization and social justice," ACA 2019: Archival Origins, Toronto, June 5-8 2019.

³⁰ Aimee Carrillo Rowe and Eve Tuck, "Settler Colonialism and Cultural Studies: Ongoing Settlement, Cultural Production, and Resistance," *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies* 2017, Vol. 17(1): 4.

peoples, the reconfiguring of Indigenous land into settler property. In the United States and other slave estates, it has also meant the theft of people from their homelands (in Africa) to become property of settlers to labor on stolen land.³¹

Decolonization in a settler-colonial context can be described as a “constant (re)negotiating of power, place, identity and sovereignty”³² in order to disrupt the structures of ongoing colonization.³³ Looking again to Eve Tuck, this time with K. Wayne Yang, they argue that decolonization centres the importance of land and the connections that flow between land, power and control. They point out that within settler colonialism, land becomes both home and capital for settlers, with connections to land being defined along ownership lines.³⁴ This settlement is a cause of ongoing “epistemic, ontological and cosmological violence”³⁵ against Indigenous peoples. With land relations so central, they warn against turning decolonization into a metaphor, arguing that those who are not emphasizing the repatriation of land and life are missing the most essential point of decolonization.³⁶ For Tuck and Yang, decolonization simply cannot be separated from the repatriation of land.³⁷

They warn us that “[t]he easy adoption of decolonizing discourse by educational advocacy and scholarship, evidenced by the increasing number of calls to 'decolonize our schools,' or use 'decolonizing methods,' or, 'decolonize student thinking,' turns decolonization into a metaphor.”³⁸ They argue that this is due to the way that settler colonialism is enacted, and note that “built upon an entangled triad structure of settler-native-slave, the decolonial desires of white, non- white, immigrant, postcolonial, and oppressed people, [decolonization] can similarly be entangled in resettlement, reoccupation, and reinhabitation that actually further settler colonialism.”³⁹ This tells us that while archivists may be engaging in good and necessary work in attempting to make their institutions less racist places, they cannot automatically consider this to be decolonizing work if they are not also addressing repatriation of Indigenous land and life.

³¹ Rowe and Tuck, “Settler Colonialism and Cultural Studies,” 4.

³² Chadni Desai, Eric Ritskes and Aman Sium, “Towards the ‘tangible unknown’: Decolonization and the Indigenous Future,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1, no.1 (2012): i.

³³ Eric Ritskes, “What is decolonization and why does it matter?,” <https://intercontinentalcry.org/what-is-decolonization-and-why-does-it-matter/>.

³⁴ Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” 5.

³⁵ Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” 5.

³⁶ Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” 7.

³⁷ Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” 7.

³⁸ Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” 1.

³⁹ Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” 1.

While identifying, examining and addressing inequities in archival institutions is necessary work, if this does not lead to shifting power through acts of repatriation or other ways of ceding control, are these actions actually decolonizing? Or are such actions working more along the lines of embarking upon some level of institutional harm reduction that stops short of addressing the systemic and structural issues that formulate harm? To be clear, any actions taken to address inequities in colonial institutions are absolutely necessary, but Tuck and Yang make the case that these actions are not always necessarily decolonial in nature.

Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, a Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg member of the Alderville First Nation,⁴⁰ has written extensively on Indigenous resurgence and can provide useful insights for archivists. Simpson explains that it was Taiaiake Alfred's writings in *Peace, Power and Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* and *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom* that influenced her understanding of the importance of re-centering Indigenous ways of knowing over solely attempting to work for reforms within colonial constructs. She describes this as a "refocus[ing] from trying to transform the colonial outside into a flourishing of the Indigenous inside."⁴¹ Simpson says that this is a process that communities can do for and with themselves, without requesting resources or allowances from governments or settlers. It can be envisioned as a process that works outside of or beyond the colonial constructs.

She envisions this process as one of resurgence that can move communities "beyond resistance and survival"⁴² and towards "flourishment...and an ongoing process of rebirth, renewal, reciprocity and respect."⁴³ For Simpson, this process of resurgence is integral to "ground our peoples in their own cultures and teachings that provide the ultimate antidote to colonialism, which I believe is what Indigenous intellectuals and theorists have been encouraging us to do all along."⁴⁴ She then also explains that for her, the Indigenous intellectuals and theorists that she is talking about include not just those working in academia, but also the "Elders, Faith-keepers, Clan-Mothers, traditional leaders, Grandmothers, Grandfathers, language-keepers and Knowledge holders that are able to interpret our teachings through the language in a way that embodies their Nishnaabeg essence."⁴⁵ This is an important broadening of

⁴⁰ Leanne Simpson, "About," available <https://www.leannesimpson.ca/about/>.

⁴¹ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back* (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2011), 17.

⁴² Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back*, 17.

⁴³ Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back*, 27.

⁴⁴ Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back*, 17.

⁴⁵ Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back*, 27.

the terms 'intellectuals' and 'theorists,' serving to remind us that teachers are not just to be found in formal institutions, but also within communities. This point is integral in recognizing that people are experts in their own lives and communities, which is a pillar of the foundational public health harm reduction concepts that will come up throughout this thesis.⁴⁶

Simpson also relates the importance of seeing reconciliation work as a process of supporting resurgence within communities:

For reconciliation to be meaningful to Indigenous Peoples, and for it to be a decolonizing force, it must be interpreted broadly. To me, reconciliation must be grounded in cultural generation and political resurgence. It must support Indigenous nations in regenerating our languages, our oral cultures, our traditions of governance and everything else residential schools attempted to obliterate. Reconciliation must move beyond individual abuse to come to mean a collective re-balancing of the playing field.⁴⁷

Archives can have many roles in supporting this considering that records which hold valuable information about languages, governance and culture are held within institutional vaults. I am particularly interested in the “collective re-balancing of the playing field” that Simpson writes about, because this is pointing towards the fact that power relationships are key in the work that settlers are to take on. The work that archivists are doing to address individual and collective abuses around racism and white supremacy within institutions is absolutely integral, but so are the steps beyond that, the steps that identify who has the power to make decisions in archival institutions, and how to address balancing these power relations. This once again relates to the harm reduction concept of people being experts in their own lives and communities, which necessitates an examination of who has a voice in decision and policy making. Simpson writes of a concept called *Aanji Maajitaawin*, which she defines as:

the art of starting over, to regenerate. Reconciliation is a process of regeneration that will take many years to accomplish...Canada must engage in a decolonization project and re-education project that would enable its government and its citizens to engage with Indigenous Peoples in a just and honourable way in the future.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ For more information see: Manitoba Harm Reduction Network, “Harm Reduction,” Manitoba Harm Reduction Network, <https://mhrn.ca/harm-reduction>.

⁴⁷ Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back*, 22-23.

⁴⁸ Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back*, 22-23.

This concept can be key to how archivists examine the way relationships with and over records are defined, particularly around how they determine the relationships of ownership and decision making, which are at their core power relationships. Engaging with Indigenous peoples in a way that is honourable and just, as described above, will mean not just examining who has decision-making power, but also shifting the way that archivists recognize ownership and decision-making power, moving to include the Indigenous peoples and communities that the records are about in addition to the person or organizations that created or deposited the records.

Simpson's writing on treaty relationships seems particularly relevant here. She uses what she has learned from breastfeeding her children to explain the similarities in the qualities that are needed to make treaty relationships work. As with a breastfeeding relationship, if a relationship is to work certain things need to be acknowledged. It must be understood that there are mutual benefits for all parties, no one party is in complete control over the resources or the process, time and effort is required for the relationship to come to fruition, and none of this necessarily comes naturally.⁴⁹ Simpson explains that recognizing this situation helps with understanding that treaty relationships are long-term relationships, and that

[t]he relationship comes first above all else, above the pain. It is about commitment and compassion. It is about a love of the land and a love for the people. And it requires the support of your family and your community. Treaties cannot be maintained without the support of your family, your community, and ultimately, the nation.⁵⁰

What Simpson says about relationships here is important because she is describing the hard work that goes into building and maintaining relationships that are beneficial for all involved. She is also speaking to the need to examine the power that exists in relationships, and how power might be reconceptualised to build more equitable relationships. Archivists can learn a lot about how to create partnerships from this writing.

Glen Coulthard, a member of the Yellowknives Dene First Nation and an Associate Professor in both the First Nations and Indigenous Studies Program and the Department of Political Science at the University of British Columbia, also writes on Indigenous resurgence. Coulthard places the importance of rejecting recognition politics as central for Indigenous resurgence in places where settler colonialism is the overarching structure. He does this by

⁴⁹ Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back*, 106-107.

⁵⁰ Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back*, 108.

arguing that the Canadian nation state has moved from the use of outright violence to control Indigenous populations to the use of negotiated recognition. He describes this as a process wherein the state maintains the upper hand and does not endure much loss of control, power or superiority through any agreements that are negotiated.⁵¹

Coulthard calls on the work of Franz Fanon to explain that this type of negotiated recognition does not represent a true avenue to freedom, but instead helps to maintain the continuance of colonial oppression.⁵² Coulthard states that within a settler-colonial structure, there becomes a need for “the production of specific modes of colonial thought, desire and behavior that implicitly or explicitly commit the colonized to the types of practices and subject positions that are required for their continued domination.”⁵³ This argument supports Fanon’s belief that recognition is actually utilized as a “field of power” to ensure that colonial structures and relations do not cease.”⁵⁴ This is why those accommodations that emerge from situations where recognition politics are at play can often be seen as best serving those who already hold the locus of power.⁵⁵ Coulthard identifies this as a hegemonic structural issue and problematizes recognition politics further as that which “promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples’ demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend.”⁵⁶

Coulthard pinpoints the emergence of the politics of recognition in the way that the Canadian government has transitioned from using more violent and overtly racist ways of maintaining control over Indigenous populations to “recognizing and including Aboriginal peoples’ cultural rights within the framework of the Canadian state and its capitalist mode of production.”⁵⁷ He links these politics of recognition as beginning around the time of the 1969 White Paper, which he says would have furthered the assimilation of Indigenous peoples and further impeded their rights regarding self-determination and sovereignty, including over land.

⁵¹ Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 3, 7.

⁵² Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 3 and 7 and Karl Gardner and Devin Clancy, “From Recognition to Decolonization: An Interview with Glen Coulthard,” *Upping the Anti*, Number 19 (2017), <http://uppingtheanti.org/journal/article/19-from-recognition-to-decolonization/>.

⁵³ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 16.

⁵⁴ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 17.

⁵⁵ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 17.

⁵⁶ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 3.

⁵⁷ Gardner and Clancy, “From Recognition to Decolonization,” <http://uppingtheanti.org/journal/article/19-from-recognition-to-decolonization/>.

He explains that while opposition did result in a recognition of Indigenous people's rights, it did not halt the dispossession of Indigenous lands, but instead helped to further continue this dispossession. As recognition emerged, it did so in such a way that continued Indigenous dispossession by allowing for the entrenchment of both capitalist systems of development and settlement.⁵⁸

Coulthard continues to build the idea of recognition politics, spelling out that this also includes the

expansive range of recognition-based models of liberal pluralism that seek to 'reconcile' Indigenous assertions of nationhood with settler-state sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identity claims in some forms of renewed legal and political relationship with the Canadian state. Although these models tend to vary in both theory and practice, most call for the delegation of land, capital, and political power from the state to Indigenous communities through a combination of land claim settlements, economic development initiatives, and self-government agreements.⁵⁹

The locus of power, in this case the Canadian settler state, continues to hold control over the process and this is clearly identified as a central problem with recognition politics. Within this situation, the agreements that are negotiated ultimately end up going only so far as the controlling party can tolerate, which means that the controlling party continues on without much loss of control, power or superiority. Coulthard pinpoints the structural nature of settler colonialism, within which all these negotiations play out, as the reason that agreements based on recognition politics reproduce colonial relations and continue dispossession of Indigenous lands.⁶⁰

The power relationship between the Canadian state and Indigenous communities remains colonial, with much of the power being held by the Canadian nation-state through the ongoing dispossession of Indigenous lands and attempts to thwart Indigenous self-determination.

Coulthard explains that this is necessary for the continuance of settler-colonialism, and that

colonial domination continues to be structurally committed to maintain – through force, fraud, and more recently, so called 'negotiations' – ongoing state access to the land and resources that contradictorily provide the material and spiritual

⁵⁸ Gardner and Clancy, "From Recognition to Decolonization," <http://uppingtheanti.org/journal/article/19-from-recognition-to-decolonization/>.

⁵⁹ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 3.

⁶⁰ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 3 and 7 and Gardner and Clancy, "From Recognition to Decolonization," <http://uppingtheanti.org/journal/article/19-from-recognition-to-decolonization/>.

sustenance of Indigenous societies on the one hand and the foundation of colonial-state formation, settlement, and capitalist development on the other.⁶¹ He uses Patrick Wolfe's scholarship to explain the integral aspect of land possession within settler-colonial structures, stating that "the primary motive [of settler-colonialism] is not race...but access to territory."⁶²

Coulthard then explains that he perceives all of this coming together in the form of dispossession, wherein Marxist theory can be utilized to understand the Canadian settler-colonial situation.⁶³ Coulthard argues that controlling land remains a central theme in the ongoing process of settler-colonialism because the Canadian political economy is still so rooted in natural resource development.⁶⁴ This is seen in the way that Canada pushes through natural resource extraction projects in opposition to Indigenous land and governance self-determination. As Tuck and Yang made clear earlier, land is not only a home, but is also as a source of capital. The state, and those private companies granted access to land from the state, are able to profit off of resource extraction processes.

From this discussion it seems to follow that a critical examination of how archivists undertake decision making over archival records is necessary if decolonization work is to be done. Coulthard's critique of recognition politics urges us to examine the structural balances of power residing within archival institutions, instead of looking at inclusion as the end point. If ways forward are not looking at shifting power imbalances, and are instead staying within the archival power structures that exist, are archivists merely engaging in a process wherein they are redrawing the power lines to their institutional advantage, even if that is not their intention?

⁶¹ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 7.

⁶² Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 7.

⁶³ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 7.

⁶⁴ Andrew Bard Epstein, "The Colonialism of the Present: An Interview with Glen Coulthard," *Jacobin*, January 13, 2015, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/01/indigenous-left-glen-coulthard-interview/>.

Much has been written on archival power,⁶⁵ and archives have long acted as sites for powerholding and narrative-building within colonial states.⁶⁶ Thus, within Canadian archival institutions it is worthwhile to examine how Indigenous peoples, communities and histories are portrayed or silenced in the pursuit of the colonial project. Ultimately, archival holdings of records of the colonial past (and ongoing colonial present) can stand to both prove the harms of the settler-colonial structure while also guarding against any possible future claims of deniability or responsibility for these harms. It is also true that the way that these records are kept can also both represent and continue to reproduce the power relations that exist within settler colonialism, including the dispossession of Indigenous culture, knowledge and language.

Zoe Todd, a Métis Associate Professor at Carleton University who grew up in Edmonton, Alberta, and Crystal Fraser, a Gwichyà Gwich'in Associate Professor at the University of Alberta who grew up in the Northwest Territories suggest an introduction of 'decolonial sensibilities'⁶⁷ in the archives as a way forward. Todd and Fraser argue that 'decolonial sensibilities would acknowledge the colonial past and present of archives, but caution that this will not come simply

⁶⁵ This is a partial list of readings. Terry Cook, Archival science and postmodernism: new formulations for old concepts, *Archival Science* 1 (2001): 3–24, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435636>; Terry Cook, "Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives," *Archivaria* 51 (Spring 2001): 14–35; Terry Cook, "The Archive(s) Is a Foreign Country: Historians, Archivists, and the Changing Archival Landscape," *The Canadian Historical Review*, Volume 90, Number 3 (September 2009): 528. Additionally, Verne Harris' contributions speak directly of archival power and state complicity, see: Verne Harris, *Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective*, (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007); Verne Harris, "Claiming less, delivering more: a critique of positivist formulations on archives in South Africa," *Archivaria* 44 (Fall 1997): 132–141; Verne Harris, *Exploring Archives: An Introduction to Archival Ideas and Practice in South Africa*, (Pretoria: National Archives of South Africa, 2000); Verne Harris, "Featured Commentary: Nelson Mandela, Memory, and the Work of Justice," *InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies*, 8, 2 (2012); Verne Harris, "Jacques Derrida meets Nelson Mandela: Archival Ethics at the Endgame," *Archival Science* 11, no. 1-2 (2011): 113–124; Verne Harris, "On (Archival) Odyssey(s)," *Archivaria* 51 (Spring 2001): 2–13; Verne Harris, "Redefining archives in South Africa: public archives and society in transition, 1990–1996," *Archivaria* 42 (Fall 1996): 6–27. As well, see: Randall Jimerson, *Archives Power: Memory, Accountability and Social Justice* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2009). See also: Hartman, Saidiya. "Venus in Two Acts." *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 1–14, muse.jhu.edu/article/241115. As well, the entirety of *Archival Science* Volume 2 is about archival power, see: Terry Cook and Joan Schwartz (eds.), *Archival Science*, Volume 2, Issues 1–4 (2002): 1–358.

⁶⁶ Crystal Fraser and Zoe Todd, "Decolonial sensibilities: Indigenous research and engaging with archives in contemporary colonial Canada," *Internationale Online*, http://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices/54_decolonial_sensibilities_indigenous_research_and_engaging_with_archives_in_contemporary_colonial_canada.

⁶⁷ Fraser and Todd, "Decolonial sensibilities," http://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices/54_decolonial_sensibilities_indigenous_research_and_engaging_with_archives_in_contemporary_colonial_canada.

from ensuring that more Indigenous archivists are trained or hired, or from more digitization for accessibility.⁶⁸ They bring up three areas that they think are necessary for examination:

how we have benefitted and continue to benefit from the dispossession of Indigenous people; how Indigenous communities continue to be the objects of academic research with little consultation and few partnerships; and how we uphold structures of oppression that privilege white supremacy over fair, just, and lawful relationships.⁶⁹

Once again, the power structures and relationships that are produced under settler colonialism are brought forward as key questions for examination.

Todd and Fraser suggest that ultimately, it may not be possible to decolonize the archives, stating that “to decolonize the archives requires an erasure or negation of the (inherent) colonial realities of the archives themselves.”⁷⁰ They further state that

[m]aking archives friendlier to Indigenous people and pursuits is essential, but given the complex and sometimes troubling history of the Canadian nation state and its draconian and oppressive approach to and relationship with Indigenous peoples, it is essential that we continue to recognise archival spaces, especially state archives, for their original intent: to create national narratives that seek to legitimise the nation state by excluding Indigenous voices, bodies, economies, histories, and socio-political structures.⁷¹

They get to this conclusion by looking at who controls the archives (the institutions and the sometimes restrictive acts that govern access), as well as seeking to understand what is absent in the archives, pointing out what is recorded in archives can still be identified as predominantly

⁶⁸ Fraser and Todd, “Decolonial Sensibilities,”

http://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices/54_decolonial_sensibilities_indigenous_research_and_engaging_with_archives_in_contemporary_colonial_canada and March/April 2018. Dr. Gabrielle Lindstrom also discussed this at a recent Association for Manitoba Archives educational workshop (CITE) wherein she cautioned that attracting Indigenous youth to archival studies means making sure that we are aware of what we can offer them, and that adding Indigenous ways of knowing and being to archival theory will be an essential part of making sure that archives are a safer place for Indigenous peoples.

⁶⁹ Fraser and Todd, “Decolonial sensibilities,”

http://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices/54_decolonial_sensibilities_indigenous_research_and_engaging_with_archives_in_contemporary_colonial_canada.

⁷⁰ Fraser and Todd, “Decolonial sensibilities,”

http://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices/54_decolonial_sensibilities_indigenous_research_and_engaging_with_archives_in_contemporary_colonial_canada.

⁷¹ Fraser and Todd, “Decolonial sensibilities,”

http://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices/54_decolonial_sensibilities_indigenous_research_and_engaging_with_archives_in_contemporary_colonial_canada.

“biased and one-sided.”⁷² Their call for decolonial sensibilities in light of the above-mentioned questions is incredibly interesting because examining power relations remain central.

Raymond Frogner has also examined the underpinnings of colonialism in Canadian archives. In a recent piece, Frogner, the Director of Archives at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR), writes about how archives are “armories of colonial power” in that they hold the records that provide a legal basis for settler claims to legitimacy, while also acting as the site of “the historical documentary resources for the conceptual dispossession of Indigenous identity.”⁷³ Frogner’s earlier work also points to the ways that archives have forwarded Canadian settler colonialism. His 2010 piece “Innocent Legal Fictions” examines the ways that archives have played a role in the erasing of Indigenous oral histories that are not as well represented in the textual-dominated archives.⁷⁴ Using the North Saanich Treaty as an example, he works through the ways that Indigenous memory of the decision-making process around the Treaty has been omitted from the archive even though oral narratives do exist, meaning that an important “counterbalance” to the colonial record is missing.⁷⁵ Frogner proposes that Indigenous viewpoints can be added alongside colonial records to add more contextual understanding, with the records being linked together. This would allow for a better understanding of Indigenous contexts and histories, while also ensuring that the context of colonial records making and keeping is not made invisible through re-description practices.⁷⁶ This would also help to show the multiple layers and types of ownership and control that may apply to existing records.

In the 2015 article “Lord, Save Us from the Et Cetera of the Notary” Frogner examines the way that archival theory and practice has perpetuated the idea that textual records are the most valid sources of evidence.⁷⁷ Frogner states that “[t]raditional, modernist concepts of trustworthy records, built on enfolding, statist conceptions of uniform sovereignty and textual

⁷² Fraser and Todd, “Decolonial sensibilities,”

http://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices/54_decolonial_sensibilities_indigenous_research_and_engaging_with_archives_in_contemporary_colonial_canada.

⁷³ Raymond Frogner, “Implementing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in Public Archives in Canada,” (2020), unpublished essay provided by the author. Quotation from pages 3-4.

⁷⁴ Raymond Frogner, ““Innocent Legal Fictions”: Archival Convention and the North Saanich Treaty of 1852,” *Archivaria* 70 (October 2010): 46, 49.

⁷⁵ Raymond Frogner, ““Innocent Legal Fictions,”” 81.

⁷⁶ Raymond Frogner, ““Innocent Legal Fictions,”” 46, 88-89.

⁷⁷ Raymond Frogner, ““Lord, Save Us from the Et Cetera of the Notary”: Archival Appraisal, Local Custom, and Colonial Law,” *Archivaria* 79 (April 2015).

paradigms of evidence, cohere poorly with the unwritten and communal cultural testimony – the songs, ceremonies, artwork – of Aboriginal traditions.”⁷⁸ These traditional archival concepts have meant that archival theory has not adequately dealt with the appraisal, preservation and referencing of non-textual records that could provide a narrative of Indigenous experiences, instead focusing on the types of records that uphold settler jurisdiction. Frogner states that the result of this deficit in archival theory means that “much of the Indigenous-related recordkeeping of the colonial era concerned the surveillance, control, and eradication of these indigenous social and political systems.”⁷⁹ Frogner goes into the impact that this has had on the modern legal system, wherein oral histories were not admitted as evidence until after the 1982 Constitution Act; even thereafter, questions remain as to how such oral records should be best recognized within courts.⁸⁰ In a yet unpublished piece, Frogner goes on further to say that in fact archivists must begin to see the juridical value of records pertaining to Indigenous peoples and communities rather than stopping at the cultural value of records.⁸¹ By weaving together legal and archival history, Frogner offers a compelling description of how these systems have worked together for the formation and continuance of the Canadian settler state wherein archives have helped to concentrate state power.

Jamila Ghaddar, a non-Indigenous scholar, has similarly explored the role that archives have played in concentrations of state power in her recent article on the total archives approach in Canada that wherein she described how archives have functioned as part of the very architecture of Canadian imperialism.⁸² She writes that much of the information pertaining to Indigenous peoples and communities within Canadian archival institutions was collected and made available without consent, and moreover that archives in Canada have been key to nation-building and thus also key to the erasures of Indigenous people on this land.⁸³ Douglas Brymner, who was in charge of the first national archives in Canada, stated that an archivist is “the

⁷⁸ Raymond Frogner, “Lord, Save Us from the Et Cetera of the Notary,” 126.

⁷⁹ Raymond Frogner, “Lord, Save Us from the Et Cetera of the Notary,” 122 and 131.

⁸⁰ Raymond Frogner, “Lord, Save Us from the Et Cetera of the Notary,” 145.

⁸¹ Frogner, “Implementing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,” 13.

⁸² I first heard Jamila Ghaddar discuss these ideas at the 2019 Association for Canadian Archivists annual conference (J.J. Ghaddar, “Archival histories and settler responsibilities: Archival decolonization and social justice,” *ACA 2019: Archival Origins*, Toronto, June 5-8 2019). These ideas have since been published and can be found here: J.J. Ghaddar, “Total archives for land, law and sovereignty in settler Canada,” *Archival Science* 21 (2021): 59–82. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-020-09353-w>. She writes about archives as architecture of imperialism on page 4.

⁸³ Ghaddar, “Total archives,” 4, 6.

pioneer, whose duty is to clear away obstructions; the cultivated fields will follow.”⁸⁴ Ghaddar points out that this talk of archivists and archives as pioneers is not just a figure of speech, but instead speaks quite directly to the clearing of the land and erasure of Indigenous history as necessary for the building of the colonial state.⁸⁵ Ghaddar advances the concept of archival fictions to illuminate how the total archives approach that has been used since early in Canadian archival existence, often lauded as inclusive, can instead be seen as a way to write the national story of the settler state of Canada.⁸⁶ As such, it can be seen as another form of assimilation with the goal of capturing land and resources, an approach that downplays the genocide that took place and makes invisible the violence needed for the creation of the Canadian nation-state.⁸⁷

Ghaddar’s work reminds us that white and settler supremacy is embedded into the very structures of archives, meaning that supremacy shows up in both systemic and systematic ways. Similar to Fraser and Todd, Ghaddar states

Coming to terms with this colonial history and the archival fictions that emerge from it is a necessary step in responding to the TRC’s Calls to Action and of considering how that same Canadian national archival system that developed at the service of settler colonialism can be at least partially reimagined, restructured, undone and redone into an instrument for symbolic and material decolonization, the reclamation of Indigenous knowledges and lands, and Indigenous resurgence and resistance. For the archives cannot be decolonized so long as the land is colonized.⁸⁸

When it comes to recognizing ties to land and language, we archivists can keep in mind the many ways that archives are tied to the land that they are on. This includes the way that archives have served to uphold and perpetuate colonialism as described above by Ghaddar, as well as considering the physical form in which history and memory is kept, from the buildings that records are stored in, to the materials records are composed of, to the power sources that keep the vaults at the appropriate temperatures and host the storage clouds. This is not to mention the resources that go into archivists processing these records for use and preservation.⁸⁹ Ultimately, the work examined so far indicates that power relationships are key aspects of

⁸⁴ Ghaddar, “Total archives,” 13.

⁸⁵ Ghaddar, “Total archives,” 13.

⁸⁶ Ghaddar, “Total archives,” 17-18.

⁸⁷ Ghaddar, “Total archives,” 19-20.

⁸⁸ Ghaddar, “Total archives,” 21.

⁸⁹ See Anna Reading, “Seeing red: a political economy of digital memory.” *Media, Culture & Society*, 36, no. 6 (2014): 748-760 for more information on the materiality of the resources needed for archival preservation and use.

settler-colonialism; thus, the power relationships within archives and archival institutions situated on settler-colonial land are worthy of being examined more closely.

Moves towards shifting power in archives may involve participatory processes and/or ceding control and ownership over certain records if the recommendations in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action, the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* and the United Nations Joint-Ortlicher Principles are to be fully realized as discussed in the next chapter. How do we avoid turning decolonization into a metaphor as Tuck and Yang implore us not to do? How do we honour the points that decolonization is linked to land restitution when speaking to an archival context? Ultimately, can we avoid implementing what stops just short of the worst-case scenario form of what Tuck and Yang call "settler harm reduction?"⁹⁰

Settler harm reduction is described by Tuck and Yang as "the curricular project of critical consciousness...crucial in the resuscitation of practices and intellectual life outside of settler ontologies."⁹¹ They adapt this term from a 2009 Master's thesis written by Anna Jacobs in which she describes white harm reduction as attempting to "reduce the harm that white supremacy has had on white people, and the deep harm it has caused non-white people over generations," with Jacobs further identifying that white supremacy is at the core of many public health issues.⁹² Tuck and Yang go on to explain that while settler harm reduction is required, it "does not inherently offer any pathways that lead to decolonization."⁹³ This is written just after they request that the reader

consider how the pursuit of critical consciousness, the pursuit of social justice through a critical enlightenment, can also be settler moves to innocence – diversions, distractions, which relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility, and conceal the need to give up land or power or privilege.⁹⁴

Thus, critical consciousness is an integral part of starting to deal with the harms that have been inflicted through settler colonialism, but it can never be enough to actually stop the harms because issues of land, power and privilege are not addressed.

⁹⁰ Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization," 21-22.

⁹¹ Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization," 21.

⁹² Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization," 21.

⁹³ Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization," 22.

⁹⁴ Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization," 21.

I completely agree with the limitations of settler harm reduction as described by Tuck and Yang, in that focusing on critical consciousness is unlikely to shift any power imbalances, create systemic change, or lead to the repatriation of land. Indeed, if the focus is to remain on educational initiatives, it is entirely possible that this approach could actually delay fixing the root causes of these harms, and that harm might be perpetuated indefinitely. That being said, I think that a core element of public health harm reduction is missing from their analysis. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, public health harm reduction works to alleviate and prevent immediate harms, while also advocating for systemic change that would address the root causes of harm in the first place. The fact that there are two layers to this work is helpful for conceptualizing change in archives – the immediate harms of white supremacy must be addressed, but this can only ever be a bandage solution unless the roots of this harm are also addressed. This may also be likened to the "broken stair analogy"⁹⁵ wherein people get so used to a problem (a broken stair) that they learn to jump over it to avoid injury. The issue is that without the broken stair actually getting fixed, people are left vulnerable to further and repeated injuries. The stair needs to be fixed to prevent more immediate harm taking place, and systems also need to be put into place to ensure that future broken stairs are less likely to occur. To address the root cause of harm in archives, the white supremacy that comes about within the overarching system of settler colonialism, power relations must be examined and changed.

To use substance use as an example, harm reduction may mean that new needles and safer drug use supplies are made readily accessible, while at the same time ensuring that there are ongoing advocacy campaigns against the criminalization of drugs and for safe drug supplies guided by the meaningful engagement and involvement of impacted populations. Harm reduction could happen in several ways in archives as well. For archival descriptions, for example, this may mean re-description that addresses racist language and ideology, while ensuring that the original descriptions are kept so that past societal and institutional racism cannot be erased. This approach would address harm in an immediate way but does not necessarily shift the uneven power structures that led to racist description practices; as such, it only represents part of the work that needs to be done.

⁹⁵ For an explanation of the broken stair analogy see Cliff Pervocracy, "The Missing Stair," The Pervocracy, <http://pervocracy.blogspot.com/2012/06/missing-stair.html>.

To address power inequities that led to racist descriptions in the first place requires questions such as: who wrote the descriptions, and who was consulted to make sure that the information was correct? How were the people and communities that the records were about consulted and involved in description and access decisions? What are the better ways to build relationships with the people and communities that the records depict in order to consult on the most appropriate way for these records to be described or accessed moving forward? How have our Euro-Canadian settler archival traditions impacted who has access, control, ownership or possession over the records and decision-making processes related to them, and how can archivists work to shift these power imbalances so that their processes are more equitable? Learning from public health harm reduction, it is possible to see that addressing immediate harms is never the full solution because of the underlying factors that contribute to the harm coming about. In order to truly reduce harms, it is necessary to look at both the systematic ways that harm is inflicted and enforced, as well as the systemic issues that drive this. Given that harm reduction seeks to address both immediate harms and the underlying factors that drive harm, thinking of the work ahead as archival harm reduction can help guide us.

This is not to say that public health harm reduction provides a perfect example of doing two-track work. In some ways, public health harm reduction concepts can be viewed as both a beacon and a warning sign for the archival harm reduction work to be done. While structural change and shifting power relationships are core to public health harm reduction concepts, it is obvious that drug criminalization and poverty have not yet ended. The theory of shifting bigger structural issues is there in harm reduction concepts and it is obvious to those aware of the social determinants of health that structural shifts are needed to truly end harm. However, this more systemic advocacy work has not yet succeeded in all contexts and places. It may be the case in archives as well that the more immediate harms will be more easily addressed operationally, but one of the biggest lessons from public health harm reduction concepts may be that structural change is harder to achieve but still something that is necessary to work towards. There is also the issue that often public health harm reduction activities can be put forth as protecting society at large, rather than the most impacted populations themselves, perhaps in order to make harm reduction concepts more palatable to those who have moral misgivings toward them. If you cannot convince someone that people who use drugs deserve new needles for their own health and dignity, you may be able to convince them that new needles are better for everyone because

there will be less spread of viruses and the financial impact on the health care system will be lessened. This is not to say that these reasons are not also true, but it shifts the thrusts of the programming away from the most impacted towards those who are lesser impacted. We need to be clear about who is actually being harmed by the activities we are looking to change, and who the harm reduction activities are ultimately aimed at.

In archives, we may be able to conceptualize harm reduction principles by acknowledging that addressing the racism that shows up through descriptions or policies is one of the steps that seeks to address immediate harm deriving from a greater framework of white supremacy that exists under settler colonialism. However, to truly address racism and white supremacy, archivists must also look to changing the structures and systems, indeed the power relationships, that allow these to take up space in the first place. To address the harms caused by these structures, both the bandages that help to address the immediate and apparent wounds, as well as the tools to address that which causes the continual opening of wounds, are necessary. As discussed by the Indigenous thinkers in this chapter, this cannot be done if we stop short of shifting the power relationships that exist within archives under settler colonialism. Tuck and Yang's critique of settler harm reduction is warning settler archivists that we cannot re-describe our way out of racism and white supremacy; we must also get to doing the work of evening out existing power relations and addressing control both within archives and over archival records. Learning from public health harm reduction concepts, we would be wise to plan for the time and resources needed to do more systemic advocacy work at the institutional and professional levels to address structural harms.

As has been argued, a decolonized archive may not be an achievable endpoint given the origins of Canadian archives and ongoing settler colonialism, but a process of archival decolonization wherein archivists are committed to continually working towards decolonial sensibilities and archival harm reduction can be an achievable goal. Introducing decolonial sensibilities and archival harm reduction can help set in motion the processes for flattening the existing archival power structures in order to address the inherent colonialism in archival operations. The addition of Indigenous social memory counterbalances to the archive, as discussed by Frogner above, will also help towards the introduction of decolonial sensibilities and an ongoing process of archival decolonization. Importantly, harm reduction practices remind us to involve community as much as possible in decisions guiding harm reduction work. This

chapter has mainly relied on academics or people working within academic institutions to come to a determination of what decolonization or reconciliation might look like. In order to ensure that archival harm reduction suits the needs of as many community members as possible, the relationality aspect of harm reduction must be kept at the forefront of planning.

It is also imperative that archivists find ways to do this that do not erase how archives have been complicit in the upholding of colonial power since their beginnings on settler colonial land. In my next chapter, I will look at the archival implications within the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action (TRC Calls), the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) and the United Nations Joint-Ortlicher Principles (UNJOP).⁹⁶ In doing so, I will analyze how archives are being called to examine and shift the power relations within archival institutions and the profession, as well as how archives are tasked with ensuring that records are kept that will guard against future deniability of the harms of colonialism. The First Nations Principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)⁹⁷ and the *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* (PNAAM)⁹⁸ will then be examined as potential pathways for guiding future work.

⁹⁶ United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, (13 September 2007), http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf; United Nations, Economic and Social Council, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, E.CN.4/2005/102/Add.1, (8 February 2005), <https://undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1> and Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action* (2015), http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

⁹⁷ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®): The Path to First Nations Information Governance*. The Centre (May 23, 2014), fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

⁹⁸ First Archivist's Circle, *Protocols for Native American archival materials*, 2007, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>.

Chapter Two: Guiding Documents for Archives and Archivists

This chapter will examine a variety of principles-based documents in order to draw out how archives are being directly and indirectly tasked with changes to their practices. I will do this mainly by undertaking a close reading of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) Calls to Action (TRC Calls), which are the foundation of this chapter as they directly put forth recommendations for Canadian archival institutions in calls 69, 70, 77 and 78.⁹⁹ Having said this, it is particularly significant that the TRC Calls specifically require the full implementation of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP), which also make some weighty recommendations for archives to take into consideration.¹⁰⁰ The United Nations Joint-Orientlicher Principles (UNJOP), another principles document referred to in the TRC Calls, requires archives to ensure that those records which document human rights abuses are kept in such a way that they will prevent future impunity, and so must also be addressed here, considering the past and ongoing colonial abuses perpetrated against Indigenous peoples and communities.¹⁰¹ Although not directly speaking to archives and instead focusing on research data governance, the First Nations Principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®) can also be looked to as a guide for building information governance systems in conjunction with Indigenous communities,¹⁰² while the *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* (PNAAM)¹⁰³ can be examined as a document speaking directly to archivists and community members.

When surveying the Indigenous literature surrounding decolonization and reconciliation discussed in the first chapter, it is possible to pull out some commonalities. For many of those thinkers, relations with the land are central for decolonizing and reconciliation projects, and to not discuss land is to miss an integral concept of decolonization. The terms 'decolonization' and

⁹⁹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*. 2015, http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

¹⁰⁰ United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, (13 September 2007), http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

¹⁰¹ United Nations, Economic and Social Council, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, E.CN.4/2005/102/Add.1, (8 February 2005), <https://undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1>.

¹⁰² First Nations Information Governance Centre, *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®): The Path to First Nations Information Governance*, The Centre (May 23, 2014), fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

¹⁰³ First Archivist's Circle, *Protocols for Native American archival materials*, 2007, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>.

'reconciliation' become ripe for possible (and most likely unintentional) misuse when balances of control and sovereignty are not being critiqued and plans are not being made to shift these towards a recognition of Indigenous sovereignty. Archives are not immediately in control of land, but archives are institutions that hold the documents which record and authorize land ownership in settler societies. Historically archives have also had a role in upholding the veracity of the written record over the oral record, which has been used since time immemorial in Indigenous communities as a way of maintaining information.¹⁰⁴ Written records, as discussed by Frogner in the previous chapter, were clearly used as a tool for Indigenous land dispossession and continue to be used to maintain the ongoing settler control over land.¹⁰⁵

It is also important to remember the materiality of archives and digital archives. Archives are situated on physical land bases and use natural resources to keep the lights on, the vaults climate controlled, and the servers spinning; in Manitoba, the electricity needed to power all of this often comes from disrupted or dispossessed Indigenous communities where this resource extraction/exploitation takes place.¹⁰⁶ As Ramona Neckoway writes:

For those down here in the south, exposure to hydro (and hydro issues) is limited to a flick of the switch, switches that heat the homes and provide the electricity so crucial to the livelihoods of many. The story of the hydro era in Manitoba is largely unknown. Instead, hydroelectric power is promoted as “clean and green” energy; “renewable”. What was meant to be a new and brighter future came to fruition for some, particularly for those in the south, a promising start. For those in the north who occupied the land since time immemorial, the hydro era opened a dark page in their history.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Adele Perry, “The Colonial Archive on Trial: Possession, Dispossession and History in *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*,” In *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, edited by Antoinette Burton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

¹⁰⁵ Raymond Frogner, ““Innocent Legal Fictions”: Archival Convention and the North Saanich Treaty of 1852,” *Archivaria* 70 (October 2010): 45-94, Raymond Frogner, ““Lord, Save Us from the Et Cetera of the Notary”: Archival Appraisal, Local Custom, and Colonial Law,” *Archivaria* 79 (April 2015): 121-58 and Raymond Frogner, “Implementing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in Public Archives in Canada,” (2020), unpublished essay provided by the author.

¹⁰⁶ See the work done on the impacts of the Grand Rapids Generating Station and hydroelectric development in Northern Manitoba by Ramona Neckoway: Peter Kulchyski and Ramona Neckoway, “The town that lost its name: the impact of hydroelectric development on Grand Rapids, Manitoba,” Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives - Manitoba, August 2006, https://ccednet-rcdec.ca/sites/ccednet-rcdec.ca/files/grand_rapids.pdf and Ramona Neckoway, “Where the Otters Play,” “Horseshoe Bay,” “Footprint” and Beyond: Spatial and Temporal Considerations of Hydroelectric Energy Production in Northern Manitoba, PhD Diss., *MSpace*, University of Manitoba, 2018, <https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1993/33466/WTP-FINAL-Revised-RN.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.

¹⁰⁷ Kulchyski and Neckoway, “The town that lost its name,” 18, https://ccednet-rcdec.ca/sites/ccednet-rcdec.ca/files/grand_rapids.pdf.

Archives also control another valuable resource: information. While acknowledging that there are some major issues in further commodifying information resources and records, particularly those that are coming from or about Indigenous communities that may not recognize the individual or commodified nature of Western-derived systems of recordkeeping, it would be remiss to not also acknowledge that this commodification may already be taking place. Western archival systems typically recognize the creator of records as being the person or institution who wrote them down, or who deposited them into the archive, even when the knowledge or subjects within the records come from someone else, or another group of people. This happens in direct and indirect ways: in the way that Intellectual Property (IP) law is created and enforced; and in the way that ownership and creatorship is assigned in archival descriptions. Archival institutions also receive funding to care for the records that are currently in their possession, thus receiving funding to steward the records that are within the institutional holdings, even if other peoples or communities might be detailed in the records and/or hold a community claim to the records. If archives are planning to work on self-proclaimed 'decolonizing work' or attempting to be more responsive to Indigenous peoples and communities, it will be crucial that these institutions and practitioners also evaluate how much they are willing or able to share or hand over control of the records that they hold in regard to the access, control, ownership, possession and stewardship of such records. The frameworks discussed in this chapter can highlight ways to conceptualize how archivists can move forward, although a key takeaway from the previous chapter is to highlight that this work is relational: the frameworks can provide a starting point, but ultimately cannot be used effectively without extensively work towards building relationships.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established as part of the 2006 Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA)¹⁰⁸. The IRSSA outlined five outcomes to help address the impact of Residential Schools: a Common Experience Payment (CEP) for all eligible former students of Indian Residential Schools; an Independent Assessment Process (IAP) for claims of sexual or serious physical abuse; measures to support healing such as the Indian Residential Schools Resolution Health Support Program and an endowment to the

¹⁰⁸ Government of Canada, "Indian Residential Schools," Crown Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100015576/1571581687074>.

Aboriginal Healing Foundation; commemorative activities; and the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).¹⁰⁹

The functions of the TRC are laid out in Section N of the IRRSA.¹¹⁰ The TRC was tasked with fulfilling 9 responsibilities:

To employ interdisciplinary, social sciences, historical, oral traditional and archival methodologies for statement-taking, historical fact-finding and analysis, report-writing, knowledge management and archiving; to adopt methods and procedures which it deems necessary to achieve its goals; to engage the services of such persons including experts, which it deems necessary to achieve its goals; to establish a research centre and ensure the preservation of its archives; to have available the use of such facilities and equipment as is required, within the limits of appropriate guidelines and rules; to hold such events and give such notices as appropriate. This shall include significant ceremonies as the Commission sees fit during and at the conclusion of the 5 year process; to prepare a report; to have the report translated in the two official languages of Canada and all or parts of the report in such Aboriginal languages as determined by the Commissioners; to evaluate commemoration proposals in line with the Commemoration Policy Directive (Schedule “X” of the Agreement).¹¹¹

In March 2009, three commissioners, Justice Murray Sinclair, Dr. Marie Wilson and Chief Wilton Littlechild, were appointed to lead the TRC after the original three appointees resigned soon after the commission started.¹¹² The TRC collected over 7000 statements between 2009-2015 at events across Canada, while also collecting over 5 million archival documents from the government and churches.¹¹³ As Ry Moran notes, despite many institutions readily giving over documentation, the TRC had to compel compliance in court in five separate instances.¹¹⁴ The TRC completed its mandate in 2015, and the records detailing residential school experiences that were collected are now held at the National Centre for Truth and

¹⁰⁹ Government of Canada, “Indian Residential Schools,” <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100015576/1571581687074>.

¹¹⁰ Residential Schools Settlement, “Schedule N: Mandate for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/SCHEDULE_N.pdf.

¹¹¹ Residential Schools Settlement, “Schedule N,” http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/SCHEDULE_N.pdf.

¹¹² Canadian Geographic Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada, “The Road to Reconciliation,” Canadian Geographic, <https://indigenouspeoplesatlasofcanada.ca/article/the-road-to-reconciliation/>.

¹¹³ Canadian Geographic, “The Road to Reconciliation,” <https://indigenouspeoplesatlasofcanada.ca/article/the-road-to-reconciliation/>.

¹¹⁴ Ry Moran, “Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” The Canadian Encyclopedia, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/truth-and-reconciliation-commission?gclid=EAIaIqobChMItdSg2ra45wIVR9bACh3tmwAREAAAYASAAEgI2vvD_Bw.

Reconciliation at the University of Manitoba.¹¹⁵ The TRC also published a final report,¹¹⁶ and 94 Calls to Action.¹¹⁷

Given that many of the archives in this country contain records that are about or created by Indigenous peoples and communities, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action (TRC Calls) clearly require dedicated engagement from Canadian archivists and archival institutions to move towards some form of archival decolonization. While Library and Archives Canada (LAC) and the NCTR are named and tasked specifically, the TRC Calls do not just pertain to these two institutions. As Greg Bak notes, the TRC Calls highlight unique archival challenges in working with these records that bring up issues of consent and sovereignty, as well as issues of access and control over the records themselves.¹¹⁸

Call 69 specifically calls on LAC to apply the principles within UNDRIP and UNJOP, to ensure that any residential school records are made accessible to the public, and to commit more of its programming and educational resources to residential school information dissemination.¹¹⁹ While UNDRIP will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, it is important to note that UNDRIP specifically calls for Indigenous communities to have control over their own cultural heritage. As such, compliance with UNDRIP should include a shifting of control over records to those Indigenous communities that they are about.

Call 70 tasks the “Canadian Association of Archivists”¹²⁰ to be given funding from the federal government so that they may begin a review of current archival policies and practices which will interrogate the rate to which archival institutions are currently complying with the recommendations within UNDRIP and UNJOP. The result of this investigation is to be a report

¹¹⁵ Government of Canada, “Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,” Government of Canada, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1450124405592/1529106060525>.

¹¹⁶ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Final Report*, 2015, Volumes 1-6, <http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.807830/publication.html>.

¹¹⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Calls to Action*, http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

¹¹⁸ Greg Bak, Tolly Bradford, Jessie Loyer and Elizabeth Walker, "Four Views on Archival Decolonization Inspired by the TRC's Calls to Action," *Fonds d'Archives* [Online], 1 (14 July 2017) : 4, <https://fondsdarchives.ca/index.php/fondsdarchives/article/view/3>.

¹¹⁹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Calls to Action*, 8, http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

¹²⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Calls to Action*, 8, http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf. This is the text from the TRC Calls, although it appears to be a typo as there is no organization of this name. There is the Association of Canadian Archivists, as well as the Canadian Council of Archives.

which will provide recommendations for archives to use as a reconciliation framework moving forward in compliance with both UNDRIP and UNJOP.¹²¹ Currently the Steering Committee on Canada's Archives has undertaken the creation of a reconciliation framework through the Response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce (TRC-TF).¹²² Their recommendations will be discussed in more detail in the third chapter, but I will quickly note here that their report provides recommendations but does not measure archival compliance with UNDRIP and UNJOP.

Calls 77 and 78 form the basis for the establishment of the NCTR and detail what the NCTR is tasked with implementing.¹²³ While the NCTR is to collect those records that are pertinent to residential school history and impacts, all archival institutions in Canada are expected to collaborate and cooperate with the identification and compilation of these documents. The federal government is requested to provide the funds needed to undertake this work, and to also provide communities with adequate funding to produce their own community research and histories of residential schooling history and impacts, and to take part in healing in the wake of this history.¹²⁴

Additionally, records and recordkeeping form an underlying importance throughout the TRC Calls. Bak points this out by saying that the recordkeeping logic is

sometimes implicit (as in Call 1, addressing child welfare, which requires the monitoring and assessment of investigations of neglect) and sometimes explicit (as in Call 2, also on child welfare, which requires annual reporting on various aspects of children-in-care systems across Canada).¹²⁵

The fact that records and recordkeeping would be fundamental to the TRC is also illuminated in the responsibilities laid out in Schedule N of the IRSSA. One of the goals of the TRC mandate was to “identify sources and create as complete an historical record as possible of the IRS system and legacy. The record shall be preserved and made accessible to the public for future study and

¹²¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Calls to Action*, 8, http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

¹²² “Response to the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce,” *Steering Committee on Canada's Archives* (blog), February 17, 2017, <https://archives2026.com/response-to-the-report-of-the-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-taskforce/>.

¹²³ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Calls to Action*, 9, http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

¹²⁴ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Calls to Action*, http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

¹²⁵ Bak, Bradford, Loyer and Walker, “Four Views,” 5.

use.”¹²⁶ Thus, a foundational function of the TRC is to guide the creation and preservation of a historical record of the experiences of Indian Residential Schools, and this shows throughout the TRC Calls themselves.

If these calls were not enough push for those working in archival reconciliation to engage with UNDRIP and UNJOP, it is important to remember that Calls 43 and 44 call for federal, provincial, territorial and municipal governments to use UNDRIP as a framework for reconciliation, and for a national action plan to be developed in order for this work to move forward.¹²⁷ This means that every governmental archive in Canada is tasked with complying with UNDRIP due to their placement within the government structure. Even if archives were not specifically singled out as an important and integral piece in the reconciliation puzzle by the TRC Calls, they would still be included within the overarching national picture of the work that needs to take place because of the way that the TRC Calls invoke UNDRIP. This examination shows us the underlying importance of UNDRIP which is woven throughout the TRC Calls. UNDRIP upholds that Indigenous peoples have the right to control their own cultural heritage while UNJOP, also invoked in the TRC Calls, asserts that there is a duty for those records that document human rights violations to be kept and made accessible in such a way that the records can help to prevent future denials of human rights injustices.¹²⁸ In the case of the TRC, UNJOP would apply particularly to the records pertaining to residential schools. Considering the harms and human rights violations that have been inflicted on Indigenous peoples and communities through the ongoing colonization of this land, these principles could also be extended to include just about any records that document Indigenous life in Canada so as to guard against the deniability of the violence and harms of the colonial project in general.¹²⁹ Accordingly, Bak observes that complying with all of the recommendations discussed thus far “will require years of attention to how we arrange, describe and provide access to our existing holdings, as well as the records that we acquire in the future.”¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Residential Schools Settlement, “Schedule N,” http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/SCHEDULE_N.pdf

¹²⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Calls to Action*, 44-45, http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

¹²⁸ United Nations, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, <https://undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1> and United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

¹²⁹ Michelle Caswell talks about the importance of seeing records detailing human rights abuses as community records that deserve community input here: Michelle Caswell, “Toward a survivor-centred approach to records documenting human rights abuse: lessons from community archives,” *Archival Science* 14 (2014): 307-322.

¹³⁰ Bak, Bradford, Loyer and Walker,” *Four Views*,” 6-7.

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

UNDRIP came about through decades of work by Indigenous peoples. Beginning in 1982 as a document which would work towards minimum standards for the protection of Indigenous peoples, UNDRIP was not adopted by the United Nations (UN) community until 2007. An explanation about why it took so long for UNDRIP to be adopted can likely be attributed to the fears presented by state powers who were concerned about what exactly was meant by self-determination, particularly in regard to natural resources and traditional lands. When this vote occurred in the UN General Assembly, there were four dissenting votes from settler colonial states: Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States, all of which have since reversed their positions.¹³¹

UNDRIP, put simply, lays out the right to self-determination for Indigenous communities, including rights to control cultural heritage, education, land and resources.¹³² Considering the archival role of storing historical records, there are vast archival implications around how these rights can be enacted, and for the need for more consultation and cooperation around how to best steward these records. Before moving forward, I will examine some pertinent articles in detail, namely articles 11-13, 15, 18-19 and 31.

Articles 11 states that Indigenous peoples have the right to “maintain protect, develop and use the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures,” and that

[s]tates shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples,¹³³ with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs.¹³⁴

Article 12 has a similar intent, focusing on spiritual traditions, customs and ceremonies, with the right of maintenance, protection and access to sites and the use and control over ceremonial objects, as well as the need for repatriation.¹³⁵

¹³¹ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Indigenous Peoples. “Historical Overview | United Nations For Indigenous Peoples,” <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples/historical-overview.html>.

¹³² Arthur Manuel and Grand Chief Ronald Derrickson, *The Reconciliation Manifesto: Recovering the Land, Rebuilding the Economy* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., Publishers, 2017), 52-55.

¹³³ UNDRIP does not capitalize the word Indigenous within the document.

¹³⁴ United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 6, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

¹³⁵ United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 6, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

Article 13 speaks to revitalizing, using and transmitting histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, as well as retaining names for communities, places and persons, with the provisions that

[s]tates shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.¹³⁶

Article 15 addresses Indigenous peoples having the right to their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations being appropriately reflected in education and public information, and that

[s]tates shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society.¹³⁷

Article 18 states that Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision making which involves these rights, and Article 19 establishes that states shall consult and cooperate with Indigenous peoples before “adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them.”¹³⁸

Article 31 asserts that

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions,

and that “[i]n conjunction with indigenous peoples, States shall take effective measures to recognize and protect the exercise of these rights.”¹³⁹

¹³⁶ United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 7, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

¹³⁷ United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 7, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

¹³⁸ United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 8, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

¹³⁹ United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 11, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

The right of Indigenous control over cultural heritage as discussed in these articles has serious implications for those working in archives, as archival institutions hold many records about Indigenous peoples, communities and histories. UNDRIP has specific connections to archives, as Greg Bak argues, and a key challenge with its implementation relates to the way archivists currently view ownership – Articles 13 and 31 specifically entail the troubling of traditional archival theories of ownership and creation based on mono-lineal provenance, and privileging non-Indigenous peoples and institutions in those respects.¹⁴⁰ The other articles discussed above are also relevant for archives considering the roles that archives have in preserving memory and in shaping understandings of history. This impacts modern perceptions of Indigenous peoples and communities due to what has and has not been deposited into archives and the way that these records have been utilized.

If these articles were to be implemented, it would mean that Indigenous peoples and communities would need to be involved in the control of those records that are already held in archival institutions which are pertinent to their communities. Implementing UNDRIP would also open up the potential for an expansion of what an archive is and what types of records an archive is able to hold, as well as how these would be stored and accessed. An implementation of UNDRIP could also include communities opting out of using traditional archival holdings as a way to preserve records.¹⁴¹ Where oral records, material objects, or land-based knowledge fit into the framework of western archives, especially if UNDRIP were to be implemented, is not yet fully determined.¹⁴²

Of particular interest with respect to the implications of UNDRIP is whether or not

¹⁴⁰ Bak, Bradford, Loyer and Walker, “Four Views,” 4.

¹⁴¹ Bak, Bradford, Loyer and Walker, “Four Views,” 4.

¹⁴² There is a growing literature on some of the impacts that UNDRIP may have on archives and the use of intellectual property frameworks here in Canada as well as in Australia and New Zealand. See: M. Gooda, “The practical power of human rights: how international human rights standards can inform archival and record keeping practices,” *Archival Science* 12 (2012): 141–150, <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s10502-011-9166-x>; L. Iacovino, “Rethinking archival, ethical and legal frameworks for records of Indigenous Australian communities: a participant relationship model of rights and responsibilities,” *Archival Science* 10 (2010): 353–372, <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s10502-010-9120-3>; Terri Janke and Livia Iacovino, “Keeping cultures alive: archives and Indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights,” *Archival Science* 12, no. 2 (2012): 151–171; S. McKemmish, Faulkhead, S. & Russell, L., “Distrust in the archive: reconciling records,” *Archival Science* 11 (2011): 211–239, <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s10502-011-9153-2>; B.W. Morse, “Indigenous human rights and knowledge in archives, museums, and libraries: some international perspectives with specific reference to New Zealand and Canada,” *Archival Science* 12 (2012): 113–140, <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s10502-011-9165-y> and Tomoko Shida, “Copyright Law and Indigenous Intellectual Property Rights for Canadian Archivists and Records Managers,” ARMA Canada Region, 2021, <https://armacanada.org/home/sagesse-2021-02-copyright-law-indigenous-intellectual-property-rights/>.

information and the records that contain information can be considered a resource. If information can be considered a resource, Articles 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 32 referring to Indigenous self-determination and control of resources could also be interpreted as applying to archival records as well.¹⁴³ It is important to note that the OCAP® principles do consider information to be a resource, which I will discuss shortly.¹⁴⁴ While many Indigenous people have asserted that Indigenous culture is not available for commodification, the records that are held in archival institutions do not necessarily have any protection from commodification. Archives do benefit from the records that they hold, including their revenue and monetary compensation through the operational funding they receive – public archives receive this funding from government sources, while corporate archives receive theirs from private sources. These financial benefits can also open up the implications of UNDRIP for cultural heritage records in a much larger way in that it problematizes who can or should be receiving monetary compensation for archival records.

The potential reach of UNDRIP is also important to understand. Within international human rights agreements, conventions allow for legal remedies to be sought and implemented, whereas declarations do not have this type of enforcement to back them up; some scholars consider them a type of “soft law.”¹⁴⁵ This means that nation-states have no obligation to provide legal mechanisms that would allow for enforcement or implementation of what is laid out in a declaration even if they have signed on to one. Article 46 particularly reduces much of the leverage that UNDRIP could have had, stating that nothing in the Declaration should be “construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States.”¹⁴⁶ This means that the statements around self-determination over cultural heritage and resources are non-binding. A pessimistic view would see these statements as lacking legal teeth, while an optimistic view would see them as aspirational and open to interpretation.

¹⁴³ United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 10-12, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

¹⁴⁴ First Nations Information Governance Centre, *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, 12-13, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

¹⁴⁵ Brenda Gunn, *Understanding and Implementing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: An Introductory Handbook* (Winnipeg: Indigenous Bar Association, 2011), https://www.indigenousbar.ca/pdf/undrip_handbook.pdf.

¹⁴⁶ United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 14, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

Indigenous self-determination at both the international and state levels remains a fraught subject, with arguments around how self-determination can be best sought: within existing state structures or through secessionist or separatist moves.¹⁴⁷ UNDRIP itself cautions that it is not angling for secessionist or separatist moves, and that it is not meant to go against the state governance that already exists.¹⁴⁸ The implications of this type of clause in settler-colonial states where legal systems have been built around governments having near total control over land and resources may seriously hamper the impact of a document such as UNDRIP. UNDRIP can thus be best seen as an aspirational document that outlines the types of rights that have been brought forward by a consensus of Indigenous peoples and communities as rights deserving of advocacy efforts, regardless of whether it can be considered binding or not.

The adoption of UNDRIP in Canada at the federal level is multi-faceted, but ultimately has so far appeared to be more about showing face than taking the implications of UNDRIP seriously. As mentioned, Canada voted against the adoption of UNDRIP at the UN when it was first presented in 2007. In 2010, the Conservative government led by Stephen Harper endorsed UNDRIP, stating that

after careful and thoughtful consideration, Canada has concluded that it is better to endorse the UNDRIP while explaining its concerns, rather than simply rejecting the overall document. Although the UNDRIP does not reflect customary international law or change Canadian laws, Canada believes that the UNDRIP has the potential to contribute positively to the promotion and respect of the rights of indigenous peoples around the world.¹⁴⁹

Despite this endorsement, the document continued to be seen as “aspirational...and would be interpreted ‘in a manner that is consistent with our Constitutional and legal framework.’”¹⁵⁰ In 2016, the Canadian Liberal government led by Justin Trudeau became a “full supporter of the declaration, without qualification...intend[ing] nothing less than to adopt and implement the

¹⁴⁷ Rodolfo Stavenhagen, “Making the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Work: The Challenge Ahead,” in *Reflections on the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, eds. Stephen Allen and Alexandra Xanthaki, Portland: Hart Publishing, 2011, 160-163.

¹⁴⁸ Stavenhagen, “Making the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Work,” 160-163. See also United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 14, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

¹⁴⁹ CBC News, “Canada endorses indigenous rights declaration,” *CBC News*, November 12 2010, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/canada-endorses-indigenous-rights-declaration-1.964779>.

¹⁵⁰ APTN National News, “Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould says adopting UNDRIP into Canadian law ‘unworkable,’” *APTN National News*, July 12, 2016, <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/justice-minister-jody-wilson-raybould-says-adopting-undrip-into-canadian-law-unworkable/>.

declaration in accordance with the Canadian constitution.”¹⁵¹ Shortly thereafter, Jody Wilson-Raybould, the Justice Minister at that time, clarified that UNDRIP as it stands is not workable with current Canadian law.¹⁵² In 2020 the Government of Canada did start the legislative process of implementing UNDRIP, calling it “an important step in moving Canada’s relationship with Indigenous peoples forward” and “a key building block in fully recognizing, respecting, protecting and fulfilling the rights of Indigenous peoples.”¹⁵³

Time has shown that endorsing or even implementing UNDRIP has so far done little to change the way that Indigenous communities are consulted by government, at least in regard to natural resources. The province of British Columbia implemented UNDRIP in 2019,¹⁵⁴ yet the Trans Mountain pipeline cleared legal hurdles in 2020 despite opposition from Indigenous communities. The Federal Court of Appeal ruled that the federal government had fulfilled its role in consulting with Indigenous communities that will be impacted by the pipeline route from Alberta through to the BC coast. While it may be noted that some Indigenous communities support this project, it is also important to note that many Indigenous peoples do not support this type of natural resource development.¹⁵⁵ Under colonial systems of governance the provincial and federal governments most often consult with those representing the Elected Chief and Band Council System. Therefore, it is important to note that there are critiques of this system of representation, including those who think that this system of governance was put into place so that traditional modes of governance could be undermined and assimilated.¹⁵⁶

Speaking specifically about the Coastal GasLink construction injunction on Wet’suwet’en land in British Colombia, Wilson-Raybould notes that

¹⁵¹ Tim Fontaine, “Canada officially adopts UN declaration on rights of Indigenous Peoples,” *CBC News*, May 10 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/canada-adopting-implementing-un-rights-declaration-1.3575272>.

¹⁵² APTN National News, “Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould says adopting UNDRIP into Canadian law ‘unworkable,’” <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/justice-minister-jody-wilson-raybould-says-adopting-undrip-into-canadian-law-unworkable/>.

¹⁵³ Government of Canada, “Implementing the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* in Canada,” <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/declaration/index.html>.

¹⁵⁴ British Columbia, “B.C. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act,” <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/indigenous-people/new-relationship/united-nations-declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples>.

¹⁵⁵ Chris Hall, “One Step Forward, Another One Back: What the Trans Mountain Ruling Means for Trudeau,” *CBC News*, February 5 2020, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trans-mountain-pipeline-trudeau-kenney-1.5451926>.

¹⁵⁶ Indigenous Corporate Training Inc., “Indian Act and Elected Chief and Band Council System,” Working Effectively with Indigenous Peoples® (blog), June 25 2015, <https://www.ictinc.ca/blog/indian-act-and-elected-chief-and-band-council-system>.

[t]he legal reality is that band councils are a creature of the colonial Indian Act and have limited delegated authority tied to reserves. They do not have inherent authority, nor are they self-governing or an expression of self-determination. They cannot simply represent the proper rights holder – the broader group that shares a common language, culture or tradition – and typically there is more than one band within a given territory of an Indigenous people. As part of nation and government rebuilding, Indigenous peoples may self-determine to adopt aspects of the band council system or have them represent the peoples with respect to title and rights – but that is up to them. This is not a choice for government or industry.¹⁵⁷

One has to then wonder what meaningful consultation is when a government that has stated that it will implement UNDRIP, which urges free, prior and informed consent, continues to push through resource development that is opposed by local communities. Further, if this is the example that Canadian archival institutions and archivists are given about how to undertake meaningful consultations, what model is there to follow for enacting actual meaningful engagement and to follow through on what comes from this? How do archivists best navigate who is most able to represent the Indigenous communities that they seek to work with? This can be a fraught issue, especially given that Indigenous communities have their own systems of governance and decision-making processes. The *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* suggest contacting the elected office of the community as a starting point for navigating communities, and to also reach out to the cultural centre, library, archives or cultural preservation office if these exist.¹⁵⁸ Similar to what Jody Wilson-Raybould lays out above, these different sources of authority may have different positions on how to best steward records. Knowing this, it is important to ensure that any community engagements consider the different sources of authority within a community, including sources of authority and leadership outside of and beyond elected officials.

United Nations Joint-Orentlicher Principles

The TRC Calls also refer to the necessity of implementing the United Nations Joint-Orentlicher Principles (UNJOP). The first iteration of UNJOP was written by Louis Joinet, Special Rapporteur for the Commission on Human Rights, and was submitted in 1997. This

¹⁵⁷ Jody Wilson-Raybould, “Who speaks for the Wet’suwet’en people? Making sense of the Coastal GasLink conflict,” *The Globe and Mail*, January 24 2020, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-who-speaks-for-the-wetsuweten-people-making-sense-of-the-coastal/>.

¹⁵⁸ First Archivist’s Circle, *Protocols for Native American archival materials*, 5, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>.

report came as a response to dealing with human rights violations in a way that would prevent future deniability. As detailed by Nathan Mnjama, these principles

focused on the right to know, the duty to remember, the victim's right to know, measures for the preservation of archives, measures for facilitating access, cooperation between archives departments and the courts and extrajudicial commissions of inquiry, specific measures relating to archives containing names and to specific measures relating to the management of archives during restoration or transition to democracy and/or peace.¹⁵⁹

These principles were updated in 2005 by Diane Orentlicher in order to keep pace with international law and practice in a way that could also be relevant to states at a national level.¹⁶⁰ The revised principles are titled *Updated Set of Principles for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights Through Action to Combat Impunity*, although the document is more commonly known as the United Nations Joinet-Orentlicher Principles, reflecting the two authors of the document.¹⁶¹

While much of UNJOP applies to archives and recordkeeping, there are some highlights that are especially important for archivists. Principle 3, The Duty to Preserve Memory is particularly pertinent on settler-colonial land such as Canada.¹⁶² Much of the national narrative that exists about Canada has been created through the records that exist in its archives. As discussed by Ghaddar in the previous chapter, archives are an integral part of the architecture of imperialism, wherein early records collection within Canada was undertaken from any source available among settlers which could contribute to national narrative building. Ghaddar posits that the centralization of archival records into a national repository helped to solidify the bureaucratic structure of the state, noting that this type of archival backstory can be seen as another form of assimilation, and one that provides yet another tool for the capture of land and resources.¹⁶³ This argument forms a very solid connection between archives and the land that

¹⁵⁹ Nathan Mnjama, "The Orentlicher Principles on the Preservation and Access to Archives Bearing Witness to Human Rights Violations," *Information Development*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (2008): 215, DOI: 10.1177/0266666908094837.

¹⁶⁰ Mnjama, "The Orentlicher Principles," 215.

¹⁶¹ United Nations, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, <https://undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1>.

¹⁶² United Nations, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, 7, <https://undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1>.

¹⁶³ I first heard Jamila Ghaddar discuss these ideas at the 2019 Association for Canadian Archivists annual conference. These ideas have since been published and can be found here: J.J. Ghaddar, "Total archives for land, law and sovereignty in settler Canada," *Archival Science*, Fall 2020. She writes about archives as architecture of imperialism on page 4.

they are on; on settler-colonial land, a nation can only be built through the elimination and oppression of the Indigenous peoples that were already here, and on settler-colonial land this oppression is something that continues. The way that this oppression did and continues to play out must be preserved. Can archivists find a way to break free of being agents of imperialism and describe, preserve and make accessible records not just for a national narrative, but also for a national reckoning with the past?

Beyond this, Principles 14 through 18 speak specifically to archives. Principle 14 calls for archives to be preserved and calls for penalties if archives are removed or tampered with. Principle 15 calls for access to archives to be facilitated so that those who were harmed have access, not just those who are implicated in harmful behaviour. Access is also to be provided for historical research. Principle 16 calls for archives to ensure access to the records for courts and non-judicial inquiries. Principle 17 gives specific instructions to those archives that contain names of individuals, including the right to know if one's name is included in an archive, the right to challenge the information, and for this challenge to not only be recorded, but also made available whenever the original document is requested. Principle 18 goes on to give specific instructions for archives and archival records when there is a restoration or transition to democracy or peace, including instructions for third countries.¹⁶⁴

To date there is not much archival literature on UNJOP.¹⁶⁵ However, the spirit of UNJOP can be seen in the way that Residential School records are being stewarded at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR) in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The NCTR was established in fulfillment of one of the mandates of the TRC found in Section N of the IRSSA: to establish a research centre and ensure the preservation of its archives.¹⁶⁶ The NCTR describes itself as

a place of learning and dialogue where the truths of Residential School Survivors, families and communities are honoured and kept safe for future generations. The

¹⁶⁴ United Nations, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, 12, <https://undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1>.

¹⁶⁵ These two articles briefly discuss UNJOP and archives in an Australian context: L. Iacovino, "Rethinking archival, ethical and legal frameworks for records of Indigenous Australian communities: a participant relationship model of rights and responsibilities," *Archival Science* 10 (2010): 353–372, <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s10502-010-9120-3> and S. McKemmish, Faulkhead, S. & Russell, L., "Distrust in the archive: reconciling records," *Archival Science* 11 (2011): 211–239, <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s10502-011-9153-2>. While not specific to UNJOP, Michelle Caswell has written on human rights abuses and archival records. See Michelle Caswell, "Rethinking inalienability: trusting nongovernmental archives in transitional societies," *The American Archivist* 76, no. 1 (2013): 113–134 and Michelle Caswell, "Toward a survivor-centred approach to records documenting human rights abuse: lessons from community archives," *Archival Science* 14 (2014): 307–322, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-014-9220-6>.

¹⁶⁶ Residential Schools Settlement, "Schedule N," http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/SCHEDULE_N.pdf.

NCTR educates Canadians on the profound injustices inflicted on First Nations, Inuit and the Métis Nation by the forced removal of children to attend residential schools and the widespread abuse suffered in those schools. We preserve the record of these human rights abuses, and promote continued research and learning on the legacy of residential schools. Our goal is to honour Survivors and to foster reconciliation and healing on the foundation of truth telling.¹⁶⁷

Although neither the IRSSA nor the NCTR reference UNJOP explicitly, preserving and making accessible the records of human rights abuses, and ensuring that these records exist in order to guard against future deniability of human rights abuses is certainly in line with what UNJOP is calling for.

First Nations Principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession®

The documents described so far in this chapter come together to describe what will amount to a massive shift for archives, but this does not mean that it would be impossible in practice. It also does not mean that there is a need to work completely from scratch. One document that may be useful when working with First Nations peoples and communities is the First Nations Principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®). This document provides justifications and strategies for Indigenous ownership, control, access and possession of information that is drawn from Indigenous peoples.¹⁶⁸ OCAP® was created to address the fact that Western ideas of data and information governance emphasise individual and institutional ownership and rights rather than community ownership and rights. OCAP® originally began as an initiative of the National Steering Committee (NSC) of the First Nations and Inuit Regional Longitudinal Health Survey which would later become the First Nations Information Governance Centre in 2009 at the direction of the Assembly of First Nations.¹⁶⁹

OCAP® is described by Jennifer Epey as “a political response to colonialism and the role of knowledge production in reproducing colonial relations.”¹⁷⁰ OCAP® specifically points out that information

is a resource and has value...In a practical sense, information can be used to advise policy and decision-making...In the context of research, information can lead to academic prestige and advancement...First Nations information also has

¹⁶⁷ National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, “About,” <https://nctr.ca/about/>.

¹⁶⁸ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

¹⁶⁹ First Nations Information Governance Centre, “The First Nations Principles of OCAP®,” <https://fnigc.ca/ocap-training/>.

¹⁷⁰ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, 6, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

financial value to entities such as pharmaceutical companies, resource development companies, and others... Yet the same information can also harm a community... First Nations themselves are the only ones that have the knowledge and authority to balance the potential benefits and harms associated with the collection and use of their information. First Nations principles of OCAP® rose from this context.¹⁷¹

Further, as also seen in UNDRIP, the OCAP® principles are firm on the rightful ownership of the information that flows from Indigenous knowledge, stating:

First Nations own their information – therefore, First Nations govern their information in the same way that jurisdiction is exercised over First Nation lands. When First Nations information is viewed as a resource, with value to both First Nations and non-First-Nations, it is easier to see that the governance of that resource is part of a First Nation’s inherent right...[which] implies having the requisite jurisdictional authorities to enact laws and implement governing structures, institution and processes...¹⁷²

These are forceful statements for archival institutions and archivists to grapple with. If settler colonialism is built on the dispossession of Indigenous lands because of the very resources that they contain, it follows that archivists are complicit in the continual dispossession of Indigenous resources if information resources about Indigenous peoples are not under Indigenous control. In an era where archives may be making choices to monetize some records through access agreements with private companies,¹⁷³ and data mining is becoming increasingly common, where will archival institutions and archivists stand in regard to who has ownership over the records that are by and about Indigenous peoples? Will Indigenous peoples and communities be consulted before decisions about records regarding their lives and communities are made?

OCAP® is clear that repatriation of data back to communities is the ideal solution but recognizes that in some cases other agreements may be reached between Indigenous communities and outside institutions if that is what it will take to best govern the information resources.¹⁷⁴ OCAP® also stresses the importance of developing relationships with Indigenous

¹⁷¹ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, 12-13, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

¹⁷² First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, 12-13, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

¹⁷³ Roxanne Gregory, “Library and Archives Canada Deal with Ancestry.ca Leaves Personal Information Vulnerable,” *The Georgia Straight*, March 7, 2013, <https://www.straight.com/news/359091/library-and-archives-canada-deal-ancestryca-leaves-personal-information-vulnerable>.

¹⁷⁴ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, 13, 47, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

communities, as “[w]hat works for one community may not be appropriate for another.”¹⁷⁵ OCAP® states that institutions that fall under the *Access to Information Act* and the *Library and Archives Act* are faced with legislative barriers that “prevent First Nations from exercising control over the use and disclosure of First Nation-identifying data or information,”¹⁷⁶ which means that they cannot work in accordance with OCAP®. This is identified as the “greatest barrier to the practical application of OCAP® principles for data within the control of any federal government institution...No agreement or understanding amongst First Nations and any federal department can avoid the application of this legislation. The statute will supersede any agreement.”¹⁷⁷ OCAP® lists options to deal with this, such as changing legislation (which the document says is unlikely), repatriating data, and changing stewardship.¹⁷⁸ Despite the issues with access and privacy legislations, working in conjunction with Indigenous communities to create governance agreements may help archivists to come up with the types of agreements that can help with the regulation of information in a way that is more sensitive to the needs of Indigenous communities if the information is staying within the institution.¹⁷⁹

Overall, the OCAP® principles provide some practical ways to move forward with data governance, and highlight important points for archivists to keep in mind. While they are First Nations specific, they provide an example of a compelling course towards relationship building with Indigenous communities that is ripe with possibilities for archival practice. While they were written with health data in mind, when applied to archival records these principles insist that archivists explore with Indigenous communities how to best steward both the records that are already held in archives and those that may be deposited into archives in the future. This will inevitably lead to discussions of how archivists might best determine creatorship, access restrictions and preservation practices.¹⁸⁰ Most importantly, the OCAP® principles centre and

¹⁷⁵ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, 32, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

¹⁷⁶ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, 27, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

¹⁷⁷ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, 30, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

¹⁷⁸ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, 31, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

¹⁷⁹ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, 13, 42, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

¹⁸⁰ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf and Margaret Kovach,

necessitate relationship building with those the records involve in order to follow the spirit of the recommendations laid out, as the types of decisions discussed therein around information governance cannot be made by archival institutions alone.¹⁸¹ Without cooperative agreements, and barring repatriation, the ultimate decision over how to govern archival materials by and about Indigenous peoples and communities could be left to archivists and archival institutions alone, without meaningful engagement and input from those most directly implicated in the records.

Protocols for Native American Archival Materials

The *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* (PNAAM), which were developed by both Indigenous and settler archivists, have been endorsed by the Society of American Archivists and have had the most uptake within the United States. PNAAM is a practical document which can be used to outline how archives may move forward with attempts at righting relationships with Indigenous peoples and communities.¹⁸² As with OCAP®, this document underlines the importance of building relationships as having a central role in the stewardship of records, as the importance of creating and maintaining mutually beneficial relationships between archives and communities is woven throughout the document.¹⁸³ Jennifer O’Neal, an enrolled member of The Confederated Tribes of Grande Ronde in Oregon and a University Historian and Archivist at the University of Oregon, attributes the critique that has emerged over PNAAM within the American archival community to disagreements on those guidelines which discuss how access, use and repatriation may be best guided.¹⁸⁴

Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

¹⁸¹ First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf and Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 144-145. For an in-depth discussion of the history and usefulness of OCAP® see Brian Schnarch, "Ownership, control, access, and possession (OCAP) or self-determination applied to research: A critical analysis of contemporary First Nations research and some options for First Nations communities," *International Journal of Indigenous Health* 1, no. 1 (2004): 80-95.

¹⁸² First Archivist’s Circle, *Protocols for Native American archival materials*, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>. Greg Bak specifically points to the usefulness of PNAAM, see: Bak, Bradford, Loyer and Walker, “Four Views,” 5. Additionally, while PNAAM was authored mainly by people based in the United States, Kim Lawson, based in BC, is listed as an author.

¹⁸³ First Archivist’s Circle, *Protocols for Native American archival materials*, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>.

¹⁸⁴ Jennifer O’Neal, “‘The Right to Know’: Decolonizing Native American Archives,” *Journal of Western Archives*, 6, 1 (2015): 14.

She asserts that PNAAM is not out of step with what is already being discussed and undertaken in the archival realm, stating that “the Protocols actually support archival theory and practices through the theoretical concepts of the post-custodial model for participatory and community archives, with a deep foundation in the model of social justice archiving.”¹⁸⁵ Referring to the “archival turn,” wherein it is argued that Western perspectives on archival theory need to be expanded to meet the needs of more communities, O’Neal states that archival theory and practice must continue to progress towards being able to work with communities around the administration of records about them, while recognizing that our ways of managing records currently in use may not work particularly well for all types of records or for all types of communities.¹⁸⁶

PNAAM represents a useful guide for both Indigenous communities as well as archives and archivists working toward new ways of stewarding the records within their care.¹⁸⁷ The document underscores that this work will take time to develop, and time must be given for relationships to develop and collaboration to take place.¹⁸⁸ PNAAM specifically provides “guidelines for action” for archives and libraries as well as “Native American communities guidelines for actions” for communities.¹⁸⁹ The framing of these separate but aligned duties shows that archives and Indigenous communities both have responsibilities in developing these new relationships. This also immediately sets up a collaborative approach to doing the work.

Before moving on, I want to acknowledge that both OCAP® and PNAAM present pathways that are First Nations specific. Inuit and Métis peoples make up the other Indigenous

¹⁸⁵ O’Neal, “The Right to Know,” 14.

¹⁸⁶ O’Neal, “The Right to Know,” 14.

¹⁸⁷ There is a growing literature on the usefulness of PNAAM. See Kimberly, Christen, “Opening Archives: Respectful Repatriation,” *The American Archivist*, Volume 74 (Spring/Summer 2011): 185-210, Elizabeth Joffrion and Natalia Fernandez, “Collaborations Between Tribal and Nontribal Organizations: Suggested Best Practices for Sharing Expertise, Cultural Resources and Knowledge,” *The American Archivist*, Volume 78, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2015): 192-237 and Kay Mathiesen, “A Defense of Native Americans’ Rights over Their Traditional Cultural Expressions,” *The American Archivist*, Volume 75 (Fall/Winter 2012): 456-481.

¹⁸⁸ First Archivist’s Circle, *Protocols for Native American archival materials*, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>, specifically see the section on “Building Relationships of Mutual Respect.”

¹⁸⁹ First Archivist’s Circle, *Protocols for Native American archival materials*, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>. Case studies from institutions implementing PNAAM are also available, see: Brian Carpenter, Archival Initiatives for the Indigenous Collections at the American Philosophical Society, Case Studies on Access Policies for Native American Archival Materials, Society of American Archivists, February 2019. https://www2.archivists.org/sites/all/files/Case_1_Archival_Initiatives_for_Indigenous_Collections.pdf and Jonathan Pringle, Northern Arizona University’s Cline Library and the Protocols, Case Studies on Access Policies for Native American Archival Materials, Society of American Archivists, February 2019. https://www2.archivists.org/sites/all/files/Case_2_NAU_Cline_Library_and_Protocols.pdf.

groups in Canada. It is my understanding that research principles specific to Métis peoples may be under development by the Manitoba Metis Federation.¹⁹⁰ The Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), a national organization representing those residing in *Inuit Nunangat* (Inuvialuit Settlement Region [Northwest Territories], Nunavut, Nunavik [Northern Québec], and Nunatsiavut [Northern Labrador]) have published a *National Inuit Strategy on Research*.¹⁹¹ Although I am not going to go into great detail about this document, it is important to note that power relations in regard to data and information are addressed throughout the document, and it does contain a specific objective on access, control and possession in its Priority Area 4: Ensure Inuit access, ownership, and control over data and information.¹⁹² This objective describes the critical importance of building relationships with Inuit to steward data and information involving their communities in a collaborative way that takes into account the unique knowledges, languages and norms of Inuit, as well as ensures Inuit ownership of data.¹⁹³

While I focus on OCAP® as a guiding document throughout this thesis, it is crucial to remember that OCAP® is a First Nations framework, and not an Indigenous framework, and therefore will not necessarily be appropriate for all Indigenous communities. Again, a central tenet of public health harm reduction reminds us that communities are their own best experts, and that our work should always be tailored to best fit the needs of the communities. Working with the community, and with the research principles and protocols that best represent their interests will require specific approaches that cannot be universal. This being said, it is possible to begin thinking about how we might shift power relations within archives by referring to documents such as the *National Inuit Strategy on Research*, OCAP® and PNAAM while keeping in mind that these are not universal documents.

These ways of looking at ownership, control, access and possession that I have explored also inevitably include an examination of Intellectual Property (IP) rights as they currently exist. Archives regularly deal with issues of IP rights and interpretation of copyright law. Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains that at present, IP rights frameworks work at commodifying knowledge

¹⁹⁰ This information comes from discussions that took place in a Fall 2018 course: “Methodology and Research Issues in Native Studies,” NATV 7230, University of Manitoba, September-December 2018.

¹⁹¹ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Strategy on Research*, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2018, https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/ITK_NISR-Report_English_low_res.pdf.

¹⁹² Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. *National Inuit Strategy on Research*, 32, https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/ITK_NISR-Report_English_low_res.pdf.

¹⁹³ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. *National Inuit Strategy on Research*, 32, https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/ITK_NISR-Report_English_low_res.pdf.

and information that does not consider the way that Indigenous knowledges are often considered to be collectively owned by communities, rather than in a hyper-individualistic way.¹⁹⁴ Archives are a part of upholding this IP regime, and, as discussed previously, also tend towards ascribing provenance and therefore ownership rights in a very individualistic way. This observation by Tuhiwai Smith is a reminder that there is a necessity for archivists to question these types of regimes, and to engage in the activist-archivist work that South African archivist Verne Harris asserts is actually an ethical responsibility of archivists, and that Jennifer O'Neal argues can be incorporated into their everyday work.¹⁹⁵

Therefore, advocating for IP laws that make sense in Indigenous contexts is something that archivists can do within the realm of their work, always in conjunction with and with guidance from Indigenous communities. As archivists, we can take the time to examine those policies that do not best respond to the unique needs that come up around the creation, form, access and preservation of records by and about Indigenous peoples. We can use our role as stakeholders to advocate and agitate for change to IP laws whenever consultations and updates take place. We can also learn from some of the work that is being done in Australia to develop ways of incorporating Indigenous ways of being into IP and property rights, as described by Terri Janke and Livia Iacovino from Australia. They suggest, amongst other things, examining what exactly constitutes a record, how ownership is determined and how research data is stewarded; they also note that an organization such as a National Indigenous Cultural Authority centre could help to keep track of ownership of cultural materials and to facilitate appropriate access and use, as well as to promote community ownership and provide guidance to archives and libraries.¹⁹⁶ Ultimately, they stress that what is needed is a

shift of the power relationship to one that is more collaborative as archivists and their institutions work in true partnerships with Indigenous communities, in observation of free, prior and informed consent and empowering Indigenous people to use their cultural assets for reclaiming culture, and economic benefits.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Second Edition (London: Zed Books, 2012), 108-109, 123, 221.

¹⁹⁵ Verne Harris, "Jacques Derrida meets Nelson Mandela: Archival Ethics at the Endgame," *Archival Science* 11, no. 1-2 (2011): 113-124 and O'Neal, "The Right to Know," 14-15.

¹⁹⁶ Terri Janke and Livia Iacovino, "Keeping cultures alive: archives and Indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights," *Archival Science* 12, no. 2 (2012), 151-171.

¹⁹⁷ Janke and Iacovino, "Keeping cultures alive," 168.

Locally, the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation has written a submission for the most recent review of the Canadian Copyright Act proposing that IP be extended to include community ownership of Indigenous knowledge and culture and that a reconciliation category be added to fair dealing.¹⁹⁸

Archives are being tasked with creating new relationships in records stewardship. Whenever archivists are designing decolonizing or reconciliation projects and building relationships with Indigenous peoples and communities, it is crucial to be transparent about how the information that is and may be deposited is governed and be clear on how much control they are actually able to cede within the governance structures of their institutions. With records that have already been deposited wherein outsiders created records about Indigenous peoples and communities, it is crucial to find ways to work with the people and communities to figure out the best ways for these records to be stewarded moving forward. Through this, it may be possible for an institution to build enough trust that they could be relied on to also steward future Indigenous created records about Indigenous peoples and communities. It may also be that other institutions might constitute a better fit for particular types of agreements that communities are interested in pursuing, and in cases such as these institutions should endeavor to help find a more appropriate institution for referral. In this vein, actively working on building capacity within communities could be pivotal, including educational opportunities and advocating for the funding necessary to have archival institutions or institutional support placed within communities. We should do this work while keeping in mind the monetized and non-monetized value that is held within information and records.

With these more equitable relationships in mind, a structural shift that upends power balances in archives may centre around the repatriation of records to Indigenous communities for governance or using creative stewardship agreements wherein archivists are acting less as gatekeepers and more as collaborators who are willing and able to share the resources that they already hold through virtue of being part of funded institutions. Shared stewardship agreements are described in a policy document from the Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, detailing why and how the institution has committed to including the peoples and

¹⁹⁸ This submission written by the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation has been reviewed and approved by the University of Manitoba legal office, and has been submitted to the committee reviewing the Canadian Copyright Act.

communities detailed in their records in the governance of said records, citing both UNDRIP and PNAAM as foundational documents.¹⁹⁹ Shelley Sweeney, from the University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections, describes a shift towards a type of donor agreement that will:

follow Indigenous best practices, where the institution would not force Indigenous people to give up their rights over their materials, whether they had created them or whether they were featured in them. The agreement also allowed Indigenous people transferring the materials to ask for them to be moved somewhere else in the future, i.e. to an Indigenous run institution, if they so desired. This “archiving project donor agreement” was a significant commitment by the University to change its practices.²⁰⁰

Another example of shared stewardship comes from the governance of the Witness Blanket, in which artist Carey Newman and representatives from the Canadian Museum for Human Rights entered into an agreement for the Witness Blanket to be housed at the museum, documented by Ceremony, along with both oral and written records. The agreement is described as “draw[ing] both Kwakwaka’wakw traditional legal orders and Canadian Common Law into collaborative engagement.”²⁰¹

It is also possible to examine how to expand current archival management systems to display information about records in different ways. Mukurtu is an example of an online platform designed to help communities make their own materials accessible, describing itself as “an open source platform flexible enough to meet the needs of diverse communities who want to manage and share their digital cultural heritage in their own way, on their own terms,” with core features of traditional knowledge labels, cultural protocols determining access and community records allowing for many points of knowing.²⁰² Linked open data, as described in the International Council of Archives “Records in Context: A Conceptual Model for Archival Description” (RiC-CM) may expand description in a way that would be able to showcase

¹⁹⁹ An example policy document on Shared Stewardship Agreements can be found through the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, see: Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, *Shared Stewardship of Collections*, <https://folklife-media.si.edu/docs/folklife/Shared-Stewardship.pdf>.

²⁰⁰ Shelley Sweeney, “Academic Archivists as Agents for Change,” *Comma* (2018 1/2), 65–76. doi:10.3828/comma.2018.6.

²⁰¹ Rebecca Johnson, “Implementing Indigenous Law in Agreements – Learning from “An Agreement Concerning the Stewardship of the Witness Blanket,”” Reconciliation Syllabus, <https://reconciliationsyllabus.wordpress.com/2020/01/31/implementing-indigenous-law-in-agreements-learning-from-an-agreement-concerning-the-stewardship-of-the-witness-blanket/>.

²⁰² Mukurtu, “About,” <https://mukurtu.org/about/>.

multiple relationships of ownership, control and access of records held within an archival institution in a way that the current hierarchal description technologies cannot.²⁰³

Although the discussion presented in the first chapter by Indigenous scholars around resurgence, decolonization and reconciliation may not necessarily be written with archivists in mind, there are points which archivists can take into their work. Without providing prescriptive action for archivists in particular, this work can still be read alongside the frameworks examined in this chapter to imagine how archivists might begin to move towards reconciliatory or decolonizing relationships with communities and records. The TRC Calls set the foundation for archival change in response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission findings, while also referring to UNDRIP and UNJOP as necessary documents for implementation. UNDRIP is a document created by Indigenous peoples, and as such can be seen as providing an accessible starting point for thinking about the importance of integrating Indigenous guidance into archives as the long-term task of relationship building begins. UNJOP stipulates that information documenting human rights abuses is kept in perpetuity so as to prevent future deniability of the wrongs that have come with the ongoing Canadian colonial project, while UNDRIP calls for a shift of control towards Indigenous people in regard to their culture, land and resources. There are some general recommendations on how to take practical steps forward found in the First Nations specific OCAP® principles, as well as in PNAAM. In many ways, these frameworks are addressing many of the same issues as those brought forward by Coulthard, Simpson and Tuck and Yang in that they are urging collaborative records stewardship wherein archival power will need to be addressed and shifted. In order to fulfill these frameworks, archivists will need to do the hard work of building relationships and partnerships, while necessarily going beyond recognition to shift archival decision-making power to address archival dispossession.

While none of these constitute binding documents, they do provide a foundation from which archivists can begin shifting the way that they do their work. While we are in an era where reconciliation is often put forth as something performative, or more akin to forgiveness on a personal level, we can look to the critical discussions led by Indigenous scholars and frameworks created by them to remind us that reconciliation work is actually relational work that can connect

²⁰³ International Council on Archives, *ISAD(G): General International Standard Archival Description*, Second edition, 2011, <http://www.ica.org/10207/standards/isadg-general-international-standard-archival-description-second-edition.html>.

us with the structural changes needed to move us past the re-creation of the same old power structures. Further, all of these writings and documents come together to drive forward the importance of shifting archival power and ensuring the incorporation of Indigenous self-determination into records stewardship rather than stopping short at mere recognition. Archival harm reduction, with the emphasis on community involvement, advocacy and power shifting can help to move us beyond recognition in the archives.

Chapter Three: Examinations of Archival Power Shifts Through Case Studies

In the previous chapter I examined various principles-based documents that speak to archives, as well as two documents that provide guidance for archives on how to enter into more equitable relationships with Indigenous peoples and communities. In this chapter, I will be analyzing three archival initiatives. In particular, I will assess whether these projects are examining questions of Indigenous ownership and control when it comes to the records in question. I will do so by revisiting the ideas of archival harm reduction discussed in Chapter One, while keeping in mind the warnings issued by Tuck and Yang through their concept of “settler harm reduction”²⁰⁴ in order to examine initiatives that are shifting power structures. I argue that shifting power is a necessary piece of undertaking archival harm reduction that seeks to address the deficits that Tuck and Yang identify in their concept of settler harm reduction. Inevitably the First Nations Principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®) will come in as an avenue for initiating and examining harm reduction and power shifting in regard to archival records.

I am interested in the linkages between land dispossession and cultural heritage dispossession, and the way that archives and archivists produce and reproduce this dispossession to varying degrees. As discussed in the introduction and first chapter, public health harm reduction practice provides useful tools to help adapt and progress archival theory to be more responsive to Indigenous peoples and communities. Here it is imperative, as also discussed in the first chapter, that harm reduction be conceptualized to the fullest extent to deal with immediate harms while also recognizing that deep policy work and advocacy will need to be done to address the structures from which harm initially flows in the first place. With this in mind, I believe that archival harm reduction projects must unavoidably look to addressing and shifting power relations within archives. Archival harm reduction in the archives can (and should) be explored in relation to all four core archival functions – acquisition and appraisal; preservation; description; advocacy and outreach – as none of these will remain untouched. I am primarily analyzing archival power structures by looking at ownership, control, access and possession; I am particularly interested in looking at how the way records are described and creatorship and

²⁰⁴ Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (September 8, 2012), 9-28.

ownership are assigned can impact our understandings of who has the right to make decisions about the care of archival records.

I look at three different initiatives in this chapter. The first is the description of the Ida Halpern fonds at the Royal British Columbia Museum and Archives and the second is the Library and Archives Canada's Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives program.²⁰⁵ I will proceed with a close reading of the documentation around the projects to investigate instances where ownership, control, access and possession are discussed. I also look at an initiative that arose in response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action (TRC Calls), the Steering Committee on Canada's Archives Response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce's (TRC-TF) *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives* (2020) document.²⁰⁶ This document provides recommendations to archival institutions on how to respond to the TRC Calls. I will do a close reading to draw out whether or not the recommendations are aimed at shifting who has control over records by and about Indigenous peoples and communities in archives.

The Ida Halpern Fonds

The Ida Halpern fonds are held by the Royal British Columbia Museum and Archives (RBCM). The fonds includes a vast array of records from Halpern's career as an ethnomusicologist on the West Coast of Canada from the mid-1940s until around 1980. The fonds was donated in three accessions and in 2018 added to the UNESCO Canada Memory of the World Register.²⁰⁷ It includes audio recordings that Halpern collected from Kwakwaka'wakw, Nuuchahnulth, Haida and Coast Salish Elders, as well as textual records comprised of Halpern's notes and analyses of the musical recordings, along with other research and

²⁰⁵ Royal BC Museum, "Ida Halpern Collection," BC Archives, <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/bc-archives/what-we-have/indigenous-material/ida-halpern-collection> and Library and Archives Canada, "Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/default.aspx>.

²⁰⁶ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives*, Steering Committee on Canada's Archives (blog), https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

²⁰⁷ Royal BC Museum, "The Canadian Commission for UNESCO reveals the first inscriptions to the Canada Memory of the World Register," BC Archives Release (March 27 2018), <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/about/our-work/publications-news/latest-news/canadian-commission-unesco-reveals-first-inscriptions>; Royal BC Museum, "Ida Halpern Collection," BC Archives, <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/bc-archives/what-we-have/indigenous-material/ida-halpern-collection> and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Canada Memory of the World Register," Canadian Commission for UNESCO, <https://en.ccunesco.ca/our-priorities/memory-of-the-world/canada-memory-of-the-world-register>.

photographs. These audio recordings were mostly created in the 1940s and 1950s.²⁰⁸

The RBCM website provides various layers of information about the fonds. There is a summary page which gives an overview of the records²⁰⁹ in addition to the archival description of the fonds²¹⁰ and the detailed finding aid from 1990.²¹¹ Although the finding aid is now dated and contains outdated language²¹² it is rich in detail about the records that are included in the collection itself. Much of the information is replicated in the archival description as well, but one can see the change that has come over time, particularly in regard to language and additions to the context of the songs.

The summary page on the RBCM website states that “[m]any elders recorded by Halpern were willing to offer songs, naming ceremonies and other musical heritage because they recognized a generational decline in the common practice of their Indigenous culture,”²¹³ however, the series level descriptions also point to the discomfort that some felt recording the songs despite their thoughts that it was important that they not be lost.²¹⁴ A 1967 CBC interview with Halpern hosted on the RBCM site offers the view that Halpern was told by the Elders that many of these are secret, sacred and ceremonial songs, and that they were allowing her to record the songs to preserve them.²¹⁵ Halpern identifies the way that songs are passed down from one generation to the next, noting that not all people are allowed to sing these songs, and not even all children of someone with a song are necessarily able to sing the songs, but once a song is in someone’s possession it is considered to be theirs.²¹⁶ This interview provides great contextual information about the records’ creation.

²⁰⁸ Royal BC Museum, “Dr. Ida Halpern Collection Inventory,” BC Archives, 1, https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/Document/Finding_Aids_Atom/PR-0501_to_PR-1000/PR-0847.pdf.

²⁰⁹ Royal BC Museum, “Ida Halpern Collection,” <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/bc-archives/what-we-have/indigenous-material/ida-halpern-collection>.

²¹⁰ Royal BC Museum, “Fonds PR-0847 – Ida Halpern fonds,” BC Archives Collection Search, Accessed December 6 2019, https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/ida-halpern-fonds?_ga=2.43794789.1384951035.1575644158-957031668.1573057610.

²¹¹ Royal BC Museum, “Dr. Ida Halpern Collection Inventory,” https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/Document/Finding_Aids_Atom/PR-0501_to_PR-1000/PR-0847.pdf.

²¹² For example, the names of Indigenous communities do not match the names that appear on the summarizing page of the website.

²¹³ Royal BC Museum, “Ida Halpern Collection,” <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/bc-archives/what-we-have/indigenous-material/ida-halpern-collection>.

²¹⁴ Royal BC Museum, “Sub-series MS-3195.A – Billy Assu Recording Sessions,” BC Archives Collection Search, <https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/billy-assu-recording-sessions>.

²¹⁵ Royal BC Museum, “Ida Halpern Interviewed by CBC, 1967,” Royal BC Museum, <https://soundcloud.com/royalbcmuseum/ida-halpern-interview>.

²¹⁶ Royal BC Museum, “Ida Halpern Interviewed by CBC, 1967,” <https://soundcloud.com/royalbcmuseum/ida-halpern-interview>.

The Ida Halpern fonds represent a great example of community consultation and involvement in stewardship over the records, although this is difficult to see from the fonds description alone. In order to truly gain an understanding of the work that went into engaging with the community it is necessary to consult media sources wherein the community work is explained. This shows some major issues with descriptive standards and practices, and what archival interventions are not surfaced through standard descriptive practices. Before describing the Ida Halpern fonds descriptive information in more detail, I will provide an overview of descriptive standards.

Rules for Archival Description (RAD) is the Canadian standard for archival description, with a first edition published in 1990 and a second edition published in 2008.²¹⁷ Another descriptive standard, the General International Standard Archival Description (ISAD(G)), Second Edition (adopted in 1999) states that it is not meant to supplant national descriptive standards such as RAD, but rather to be used alongside them.²¹⁸ Accordingly, the level of detail required for ISAD(G) description is relatively minimal when compared to the level of detail required for a RAD compliant description.²¹⁹ Given the role that Canadians played in the creation of ISAD(G), much of what is included in RAD can also be incorporated into an ISAD(G) compliant description.²²⁰

Richard Dancy, an archivist at Simon Fraser University Archives and Records Management, describes the success of RAD, which is based on bibliographic descriptive practices adapted to meet the unique needs of archival description, as moving Canadian archives towards consistency in archival descriptions.²²¹ RAD is described by Dancy as playing an integral role in the formation of the Canadian archival community as RAD standards grew out of a community-based process. Dancy cautions us that “without change, RAD slowly stagnates” in the face of changing archival standards and theory.²²² The Ida Halpern fonds provide an excellent example of how this descriptive standard is lacking.

²¹⁷ Richard Dancy, “RAD past, present and future.” *Archivaria* 74 (2012): 10-11.

²¹⁸ International Council on Archives, *ISAD(G): General International Standard Archival Description*, Second edition, 2011, 7, <http://www.ica.org/10207/standards/isadg-general-international-standard-archival-description-second-edition.html>.

²¹⁹ Dancy, “RAD past, present and future,” 18.

²²⁰ Dancy, “RAD past, present and future,” 14-15, 17, 18.

²²¹ Dancy, “RAD past, present and future,” 8, 13.

²²² Dancy, “RAD past, present and future,” 8-9.

Pertinent to this case study, Dancy writes that an issue with RAD is that it does not allow for a description that includes multiple creators, stating:

There is no formal element in RAD that corresponds to ISAD(G) 3.2.1, Name of creator(s), which would allow multiple creators with links back to separate administrative histories. Instead, RAD still seems to work on the principle ‘one description, one administrative history,’ whether that administrative history resides in a separate authority file or not.²²³

Terry Cook also explains why this represents a deficit in descriptive practice:

If the fonds is first and foremost a concept linked to the creator, then obscuring the act of multiple or complex creation by assigning records physically and intellectually to a single fonds during archival arrangement and subsequent description distorts provenance, and therefore undermines a central purpose of description – to say nothing of the evidential character of archives.²²⁴

Dancy calls upon the work of Geoffrey Yeo, who has written that as technology has improved and continues to improve there should be more moves towards relational models of description which would be able to show the relationships between records and multiple actors throughout time and in different contexts.²²⁵

Further, we can also examine how RAD does not work particularly well with ideas of societal provenance that have been detailed by Tom Nesmith. Nesmith has recommended that archivists should be both aware and transparent about the societal contexts of records creation and management.²²⁶ Nesmith uses records from the North West Company in the early 1800s as an example, questioning whether one employee, Johann Steinbruck, and the North West Company, can really be considered the only sources of provenance, given that

[a] great deal of information in such records...was obtained from Aboriginal people...The archives of their knowledge helped to create the archives of the Europeans they encountered...Steinbruck quotes Aboriginals, describes their day-to-day actions, and information he receives from them. The journal originates, in part, in this Aboriginal information.²²⁷

²²³ Dancy, “RAD past, present and future,” 27.

²²⁴ Terry Cook, “The concept of the archival fonds in the post-custodial era: theory, problems and solutions,” *Archivaria* 35 (1993): 31.

²²⁵ Geoffrey Yeo, “Continuing Debates about Description,” in *Currents of Archival Thinking*, Second Edition, eds. MacNeil, Heather and Terry Eastwood. Santa Barbara, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2010. Dancy brings this up in “RAD past, present and future,” 39.

²²⁶ 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*. 6 (2006): 351-360.

²²⁷ Tom Nesmith, “The concept of societal provenance,” *Archival Science*. 6 (2006): 353.

What Nesmith is doing through this example is illuminating the way that the societal contexts of records creation are not always seen through the ways that archivists describe records. In this case, the records are deeply informed by Indigenous knowledge, and in many ways Indigenous peoples in the area that Steinbruck is working in can be seen as co-creators of the record. Dancy, Cook, Yeo and Nesmith all clearly identify that descriptive practices are lacking in regard to presenting a full picture of records creation.

As detailed above, the RBCM provides layers of information regarding the Ida Halpern fonds. There is a plain-language summary page, a detailed archival description providing information about the records at the fonds, series, sub-series and item level,²²⁸ and a finding aid. The RBCM has clearly identified the fonds as vitally important, as can be seen from the level of detail in the archival description all the way down to the item/file level, a level of detail that is typically not possible for every fonds due to the amount of work it requires.

The summary page on the RBCM website specifically affirms that the families and communities hold the intellectual rights to the songs and the ceremonies that Halpern recorded.²²⁹ The archival description states that researchers are to consult with an archivist for access rights, as well as for use, reproduction and publication rights.²³⁰ It would be helpful in terms of transparency around the archival intervention work done while describing these records to see more information about the access restrictions and why they exist. Raymond Frogner, who worked previously as an archivist at the RBCM, shared during a class lecture that this was done in consultation with community members who knew which songs should not be public and which should only be accessed by certain people according to community traditions.²³¹ Being transparent about this process would indicate to researchers why these restrictions were placed, as well as serve to highlight the community consultation process as an important part of the way that the records are being stewarded. Seeing this in a more transparent way would further highlight the good community involvement work that was done on this collection. It would also

²²⁸ Royal BC Museum, "Fonds PR-0847 – Ida Halpern fonds," https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/ida-halpern-fonds?_ga=2.43794789.1384951035.1575644158-957031668.1573057610.

²²⁹ Royal BC Museum, "Ida Halpern Collection," <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/bc-archives/what-we-have/indigenous-material/ida-halpern-collection>.

²³⁰ Royal BC Museum, "Fonds PR-0847 – Ida Halpern fonds," https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/ida-halpern-fonds?_ga=2.43794789.1384951035.1575644158-957031668.1573057610.

²³¹ Raymond Frogner, class notes, HIST 7382, Archiving in the Digital Age, October 27, 2017.

highlight the rights that Indigenous peoples and communities have over their cultural heritage, and the way that the RBCM has respected those rights in regard to access restrictions.

Despite the families and communities holding the intellectual rights to the song records, Halpern is consistently listed as the creator of the records and the scope and content notes are also consistently about her involvement with the records. The community members and people that shared the songs are not listed as creators but are instead listed as “name access points” as “subjects” of the records on the various levels of description from the fonds level down to the item level. The “titles proper” for the records are supplied by Halpern, while “parallel titles” appear to be provided by the families and community members of those who shared the songs.²³² Within the item-level descriptions it is noted in the “title notes” field when additional title information comes from interviews with specific people. I am aware that community consultations took place because of what was shared by former RBCM archivist Raymond Frogner in the above-mentioned class lecture, as well as from reading external media sources noted below, although from the “title notes” field alone it is not clear if the cited interviews happened as a part of community consultations.²³³ In a similar descriptive practice, the Names and Knowledge Initiative of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives,²³⁴ which seeks to identify unnamed Inuit peoples in photographic records, also clearly records which information was provided by community members at the file listing level.²³⁵ Listing the community members who provide information is a much more transparent way of describing records, and shows that community input was received and/or sought out.

As Frogner notes in a 2014 piece in *Curious* magazine about the Ida Halpern fonds, much of these issues with description likely flow from the way that our Euro-Canadian descriptive practices have evolved and settled.²³⁶ The Indigenous people who offered the songs for recording are attributed as the subjects of the records rather than being the creators. The community

²³² Royal BC Museum, “Item AAAC3219-011 - Song for Big Dance at Potlach, Very Old,” BC Archives Collection Search, <https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/song-for-big-dance-at-potlach-very-old>.

²³³ Raymond Frogner, class notes, HIST 7382, Archiving in the Digital Age, October 27 2017

²³⁴ Hudson's Bay Company Archives, “The Names and Knowledge Initiative,” Archives of Manitoba, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/names_knowledge/index.html.

²³⁵ Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba. “Hudson's Bay house Library photograph collection subject files,” 1987/363-E-210/1-141 Eskimos: Eastern Arctic – Children, [ca.1890]-1967. See 1987//363-E-210/12 for an example of the community member who supplied the naming information being acknowledged.

²³⁶ Frogner, Raymond. “The Ida Halpern Records and the Archival Depiction of Indigenous Culture and Identity.” *Curious* (Winter 2014). <https://curious.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/the-ida-halpern-records-and-the-archival-depiction-of-indigenous-culture-and-identity/>.

process that has taken place in order to restrict those songs which should be restricted, to add more context to the descriptions or to provide titles other than those which Halpern supplied might not be immediately obvious to users, even with the interviews with specific people being cited in the “title notes” field. Even the centering of Halpern's titles as “titles proper,” while those provided by the community members are listed as “parallel titles,” could be viewed as prioritizing the information provided by Halpern over the information provided by the Indigenous family and community members. It is very possible to blame current description standards for this, but it is also possible that more information about the consultation process could be included in a notes field available to the public to explain if the interviews cited in the “title notes” field were done as part of a community consultation process. Using the notes field could be another step toward making visible the important work that was done in the consultation process, even while keeping in mind Richard Dancy's observation that “the Note area is the main place in RAD that can incorporate new descriptive practices and elements; but they can only be tacked on to what becomes over time an undifferentiated list.”²³⁷ The notes field does provide an opportunity for expanded areas of description, but ultimately is a work-around for a standard that does not necessarily work for all archival records.

It is also possible to find publicly available information about this collection from media sources. Genevieve Weber, an archivist at the RBCM, has done media interviews and commentaries as well as written an academic article in which access rights of the Ida Halpern records are addressed. In an interview with the *Times Colonist*, Weber specifically discusses the way that the Royal BC Museum is collaborating with the communities at the centre of the recordings to determine context as well as access rights.²³⁸ The consultation process with the communities that the songs originate from is described, and it is stated that the RBCM is working on a song-level basis with these communities to determine which songs are of a sacred or spiritual origin and who should be able to have access to the songs. The article makes it clear that the RBCM has reached out to both the Indigenous government structures and family descendants for consultation as in many cases the songs are subject to hereditary ownership. Additionally, the museum is also working to ensure that any descendants of those who made the

²³⁷ Dancy, “RAD past, present and future,” 27.

²³⁸ Genevieve Weber, “Historian Captured Sounds of First Nations,” *Times Colonist*, February 18, 2018, <http://www.timescolonist.com/historian-captured-sounds-of-first-nations-1.23177962>.

recordings are given digital copies free of charge.²³⁹ In her 2018 article, Weber describes the community consultations around the role of the RBCM with the Ida Halpern records as an ongoing process.²⁴⁰ I have not been able to find any mention of whether the community has been offered or asked for the original records but it does appear that the archiving institution remains open to working with the communities to figure out how to best steward the records in a respectful way.

In this case study, the tension is palpable in that Halpern was named as creator of these records, when in reality what she was doing was recording songs that were the responsibility of the person who was doing the sharing. Many of these songs were also passed down generationally and had been the responsibility of others in the past. RAD compliant descriptions do not necessarily allow for a different, more nuanced formulation of this context of creation however.

The Ida Halpern fonds provide an example of a record set that problematizes standards such as RAD that do not explicitly allow for multiple creators and contexts of creations, and instead places Indigenous people who are providing knowledge, in this case directly through song in their language, as the subject of the record, rather than the main force of the record itself. The fonds also presents an example of Indigenous peoples making records under a certain societal distress – many of the ceremonies in which these songs would be used had been made illegal by the colonial government and the Elders were worried that the songs (and the language) would be lost to future generations.²⁴¹ This consent under duress is noted in the scope and contents at the series and sub-series levels, but is there also room in the descriptive standard to include more contextual information about why this consent took place under duress and what this means for the records?²⁴² How and where do we best describe the pressures of colonialism that led to people sharing their songs in ways that they would not typically do?

Elizabeth Yakel discusses the need for archivists to recognize that description and

²³⁹ Weber, "Historian Captured Sounds of First Nations," <http://www.timescolonist.com/historian-captured-sounds-of-first-nations-1.23177962>.

²⁴⁰ Weber, Genevieve Marie. "From Documents To People: Working Towards Indigenizing the BC Archives." *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* 199 (2018): 107.

²⁴¹ Royal BC Museum, "Ida Halpern Collection," BC Archives, <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/bc-archives/what-we-have/indigenous-material/ida-halpern-collection>.

²⁴² Royal BC Museum, "Sub-series MS-3195.A – Billy Assu Recording Sessions," <https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/billy-assu-recording-sessions> for examples of consent under societal duress being described in the scope and content note.

arrangement are ongoing processes, and that descriptions need to be able to reflect that.²⁴³ She also states that as a profession, archivists have not yet reached a “dynamic point where archival arrangements and categorizations for access and collection management are transparent, flexible, and effective tools for both users and archivists.”²⁴⁴ Yakel also notes that finding aids are descriptive documents that cannot be distanced from the author of the description, and that the author has the ability to “reveal and conceal, making finding aids political statements.”²⁴⁵ She then emphasizes that it can be important for a user to know the background of the interventions that have taken place on the records, which includes appraisal decisions and who is creating the descriptions. Knowing this background of the records “is essential contextual information for researchers in evaluating the authority and perspective of the finding aid.”²⁴⁶ RAD as it currently stands does not necessarily allow for the full context of the description or the history of the records (as per Cook, Nesmith, Yakel and Yeo’s suggestions) to be described fully. There are also no mandatory public facing fields that require the documentation of any archival interventions, such as the removal or rearranging of materials. The work that RBCM archivists have done to add a deeper contextualization to the work, as well as to name those community members that provided this information, is commendable. If this consultation were to be highlighted in a way that brought the community engagement front and centre, it would be a way of showcasing this work in a way that might inspire other archives to address some of their records flowing from Indigenous knowledge in a similar way.

As stated previously, archivists can use the notes section as a catch-all to address some of the issues with description, but it is certainly not an ideal solution. Beyond the overloading of a certain section, Ala Rekrut, a conservator at the Archives of Manitoba, has also addressed the use of mainly optional fields; when discussing the separation of the Physical Description area from the Archival Description area, she cautions that “by relegating materiality to mainly optional fields and by separating physical description from description of the records' contexts of creation and use, RAD represents the physical qualities of records as distinct from and of less significance

²⁴³ Elizabeth Yakel, "Archival representation," *Archival Science* 3, no. 1 (2003): 4.

²⁴⁴ Yakel, "Archival representation," 5.

²⁴⁵ Yakel, "Archival representation," 20.

²⁴⁶ Yakel, "Archival representation," 20.

than their ‘archival’ nature.”²⁴⁷ Further, as Jennifer Douglas notes, within RAD “the inclusion of information about archival processing in a note area rather than in content and structure area suggests that such information is of secondary importance or stature.”²⁴⁸ While ISAD(G) does not necessarily imply this same relegation due to placement, Douglas calls on Heather MacNeil to note that the level of detail within the ISAD(G) elements on archivist treatment is too vague, and that the explanation should be made clearer so that “archivists might begin to include more extensive accounts of their treatment of archives and of their impact on them.”²⁴⁹ Douglas also engages with Cook and Nesmith (as well as Yakel, although she is not specifically mentioned), wherein there is a call for more archival accountability by linking information about the archivists who have worked on the records, appraisal reports detailing decisions, and explanations of descriptive practices, so that a fuller accounting of archival intervention can be made clear to those who are using the archives.²⁵⁰

The Ida Halpern fonds descriptions make it clear that current descriptive practices do not allow for the presentation of a full contextual understanding of Indigenous records, especially when it comes to creatorship and the intellectual and access rights that are most often connected to the creator (as defined in typical archival practice) of the records. In particular, the descriptive standard does not provide an obvious place to highlight the community consultation process around access restrictions and the addition of further contextual information, which is exactly the good work that I am hoping to highlight here. Although it is possible to piece together that a community consultation took place from the note fields in combination with other sources, it would be beneficial to see this written explicitly in the description itself. To do so could help other archivists to see the value and importance of embedding this information publicly, as well as the necessity of this work being done. It would also allow for every user to understand the involvement of the community and to know that their access to the records is authorized. What does it tell us about descriptive standards that the information that can be found in media sources is more explicit about the archival interventions that have been done in response to consultation with community around access restrictions and adding context?

²⁴⁷ Ala Rekrut, “Connected Constructions, Constructing Connections: Materiality of Archival Records as Historical Evidence,” in *Archival Narratives for Canada: Re-telling Stories in a Changing Landscape*, edited by Kathleen Garay and Cristl Verduyn (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2011): 148.

²⁴⁸ Jennifer Douglas, “Towards more honest description,” *American Archivist* 79 no. 1 (2016): 47.

²⁴⁹ Douglas, “Towards more honest description,” 47.

²⁵⁰ Douglas, “Towards more honest description,” 38.

When viewed through a description lens, so much of the context and good archival intervention work is left out of sight, and it is difficult to fully perceive the good work that has been done in regard to adding context and addressing ownership and access rights in a transparent way. There are hints, but it is mostly opaque, which could be due to the way that archival systems are designed. The archivist is a mediator of the record, a role that has traditionally been seen as objective, with the subjectivity of the descriptive work being obscured in favour of putting forth the image of the archivist as objective and neutral. This belies the many decisions that an archivist, who is of course not without their own biases, makes when working with records.²⁵¹

When examining this project with OCAP® in mind, this case study shows an attention to involving the community as meaningful stakeholders in the stewardship of the records. Ownership and intellectual rights are being addressed and tackled, and the involved community is making these decisions and being respected by the archiving institution; moreover, intellectual and property rights are in the domain of the originating community. This case study shows a way that an archiving institution can work with a community to steward records that are already held within their institutions more collaboratively, rather than maintaining complete control. RBCM engaged with and addressed ownership, control and access. In the future it would be interesting to see if possession of the records has ever been brought up, or if the original records were ever offered back to the community.

It is hard not to be both overwhelmed and excited about the possibilities around description leading to a fuller contextual understanding of records. There is a lot of work to be done, but if successful, descriptions will only be better for it, as will archival practice. Throughout this thesis I have been thinking a lot about Nesmith's reminder that "archiving...should be seen as an ongoing process or action."²⁵² While it is difficult not to be dismayed by the overwhelming amount of considerations to make around creating a more responsive descriptive standard, archival work is constantly evolving, and with that in mind, the necessity of changing descriptive standards can be treated as a positive marker of progression within the profession. I am not convinced that we will ever achieve perfection in a single

²⁵¹ Douglas, "Towards more honest description," 26-55.

²⁵² Tom Nesmith, "Reopening Archives: Bringing New Contextualities into Archival Theory and Practice," *Archivaria* 60 (2005): 262.

descriptive standard, because we will always have to be ready and willing to respond to the next stages of critique arising from the experiential learning processes of doing the work both on the ground and conceptually.

Library and Archives Canada Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives

Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Canada's national archives, holds a great deal of records that involve First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples and communities. This fact is currently highlighted on their website on an Indigenous Heritage page, which provides information about LAC's offices across Canada, including different ways to access the records in the holdings.²⁵³ Particularly relevant to this thesis are their Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives, which include two new projects LAC is undertaking to increase access to and preservation of Indigenous records. Information on these initiatives can also be found on their website, pointing to two projects – "We are Here: Sharing Stories" and "Listen, Hear our Voices" – while also describing to users to how LAC is being guided in their work regarding truth and reconciliation.²⁵⁴

"We are Here: Sharing Stories" focuses on the work that will be done to make the already existing government, private and published records relating to content about First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples digitized and accessible online. Unfortunately, the webpage about the project does not at this time contain much information as the project is ongoing and not yet complete.²⁵⁵ For now, the user is pointed back to the main Indigenous Heritage webpage. "Listen, Hear our Voices" is described as a project that "aims to help digitize and preserve First Nations, Inuit and Métis Nation culture and language recordings."²⁵⁶ LAC hired seven archivists to be based throughout Canada to work with communities around digitization and preservation as well as to help with applications for funding through this initiative.²⁵⁷

The project appears to be twofold. There is a free digitization service that can apply to already existing recordings relating to Indigenous culture and language, with LAC stating that

²⁵³ Library and Archives Canada, "Indigenous Heritage," June 3, 2013, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/Pages/introduction.aspx>.

²⁵⁴ Library and Archives Canada, "Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives," November 28, 2018, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/default.aspx>.

²⁵⁵ Library and Archives Canada, "Discover Indigenous Heritage Content at LAC," November 29, 2018, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/stories.aspx>.

²⁵⁶ Library and Archives Canada, "Preserve Indigenous Culture and Language Recordings," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/default.aspx>.

²⁵⁷ Library and Archives Canada, "Preserve Indigenous Culture and Language Recordings," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/default.aspx>.

“there is no transfer of ownership, copyright, or intellectual property with this service. All rights remain with you.”²⁵⁸ The webpage further states that “organizers, individuals, collectors and creators”²⁵⁹ are eligible to apply for this service, and that original and digital copies will be returned to participants once digitization is complete.²⁶⁰ LAC is also willing to provide server space for those that are not able to store their own files, and will return any records that are stored during the course of this project if requested.²⁶¹

LAC can also provide funding for organizations to undertake capacity building in regard to learning how to digitize and preserve their own materials. Projects that are eligible for funding are those that work with language and cultural recordings that already exist, not those that are seeking to create new records. Funding can be used towards the digitization of the existing recordings, including preparation, whether that is done by the applying organization or a separate entity; the training of staff to do the digitization; and the purchase or repair of the equipment needed to undertake digitization. Funding for staffing, travel and honorarium funds is allowed but items such as day-to-day expenses, employer costs or any prior expenses are not eligible. The applications are reviewed by an independent review committee made up of Indigenous people from across Canada and two observers from LAC’s Indigenous Advisory Circle. They evaluate the projects based on criteria such as urgency, cultural importance, feasibility and the benefits that will come from funding.²⁶²

The funding cycle for this project is now closed, but to apply for funding, an organization had to be an Indigenous not-for-profit or a partner collaborating with an Indigenous organization as the primary applicant. There are three tiers of funding based on the length of the project, with non-incorporated organizations only being eligible for the first tier of funding up to \$25000 and nine months of time or less.²⁶³ The website notes that there is help available for those who wish

²⁵⁸ Library and Archives Canada, “Receive Digitization Services from LAC,” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/digitization-services.aspx>.

²⁵⁹ Library and Archives Canada, “Receive Digitization Services from LAC,” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/digitization-services.aspx>.

²⁶⁰ Library and Archives Canada, “Receive Digitization Services from LAC,” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/digitization-services.aspx>.

²⁶¹ Library and Archives Canada, “Receive Digitization Services from LAC,” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/digitization-services.aspx>.

²⁶² Library and Archives Canada, “Apply for Listen, Hear Our Voices Funding: Step 1. Overview,” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/funding1.aspx>.

²⁶³ Library and Archives Canada, “Apply for Listen, Hear Our Voices Funding: Step 2. Who Can Apply,” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/funding2.aspx>.

to apply through LAC. As mentioned, there are seven archivists available to help with applications who are based in traditional territories, although unhelpfully, it is not listed where these people are located.²⁶⁴ LAC also lays out the way that the funding will be disbursed and reported on, timelines for project progression and completion, as well as their responsibilities in how this will be done, such as providing templates for reports, and the responsibilities of the receiving organizations.²⁶⁵ Contact information is clearly listed, as is information about the webinars that are available. The webinars are listed as being available in both English and French, but do not appear to be available in any Indigenous languages.²⁶⁶

It should be stated that these are two incredible initiatives wherein LAC is providing expertise to organizations in order for them to be able to digitize the records that they already have. It is incredible that LAC is doing this not as an acquisition project but rather as a project which will keep the records with the organizations that already have them while also building the capacity for these organizations to continue to be able to do this in the future. To use institutional resources with no requirement to acquire is commendable. Offering deposit without acquisition or control over a record is also commendable and could be seen as a tentative step towards supporting some of the principles outlined in OCAP®.

This being said, I think that the way that LAC's current holdings are ascribed ownership, control, access and possession rights should also be addressed within the context of examining these newer programs. LAC's current "Guiding Principles to Reconciliation and Indigenous Rights," which are meant to inform the way that LAC conducts programming towards Indigenous peoples, lists eight principles: Flexible, Collaborative, Transparent, Respectful, Accessible, Informed, Networked and Sustainable.²⁶⁷ Within these, despite the focus on collaboration, access and staff training, there is no discussion about shifting any ownership, control or possession of current archival holdings relating to Indigenous communities to the Indigenous communities that are involved in the records. Similarly, in the Indigenous Heritage Action Plan, which directly points to the way that UNDRIP and UNJOP are meant to apply to

²⁶⁴ Library and Archives Canada, "Apply for Listen, Hear Our Voices Funding: Step 3. How to Apply," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/funding3.aspx>.

²⁶⁵ Library and Archives Canada, "Apply for Listen, Hear Our Voices Funding: Step 4. Available Funding," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/funding4.aspx>.

²⁶⁶ Library and Archives Canada, "Apply for Listen, Hear Our Voices Funding: Contact Us for Help," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/contact-help.aspx>.

²⁶⁷ Library and Archives Canada, "Library and Archives Canada's Guiding Principles to Reconciliation and Indigenous Rights," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/principles.aspx>.

archives, there is plenty of discussion of increasing access through many means, including collaboration and digitization. The need to move toward culturally appropriate descriptions is highlighted, with Project Naming and Co-Lab being named as initiatives that allow for non-archivist crowdsourcing of information towards a deeper contextualization of the records. These projects have the potential to address information that has typically been left out of descriptions, such as names of Indigenous people, or providing for translations of descriptions and records. LAC also states its commitment to ensuring that records relating to Canada's colonial past are accessible in the wake of the TRC.²⁶⁸

The action plan also discusses the ways that LAC will undertake institutional change, engagement and collaboration, promotion and support, and managing records that are already in the collections. There is no specific mention of repatriation of records anywhere in these sections. In 5.3, the section on the management of records already in the collection, point 22 states:

LAC will assist in building archival and library capacity in First Nations, Inuit and Métis Nation communities and will also provide preservation storage to communities who do not yet have such capacity, without transferring ownership to LAC. We will also collaborate with First Nations, Inuit and the Métis Nation to ensure that non-governmental archival records from their communities are preserved according to their preferences, whether at LAC or locally.²⁶⁹

Section 5.3, point 23 states: "LAC will prioritize the preferences of First Nations, Inuit and Métis Nation communities when handling and caring for sensitive material created by or about their respective communities."²⁷⁰ The language here is interesting, because in point 22 regarding the preservation according to Indigenous community preference it looks like this is only relating to those materials that are being brought into LAC without a transfer of ownership. It is unclear whether or not this applies to the records that are already at LAC or will be acquired moving forward. Point 23 is also interesting, because 'prioritized' can mean so many things, and does not mean that Indigenous people's preferences (which is itself a less forceful word than something like requirements) will definitely be upheld.

²⁶⁸ Library and Archives Canada, "Indigenous Heritage Action Plan," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/actionplan.aspx>.

²⁶⁹ Library and Archives Canada, "Indigenous Heritage Action Plan," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/actionplan.aspx>.

²⁷⁰ Library and Archives Canada, "Indigenous Heritage Action Plan," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/actionplan.aspx>.

As mentioned in the second chapter, working on building archival capacity within communities is a necessary step. This can include creating educational opportunities and advocating for or providing the funding necessary to build and provide institutional archival support within communities. The moves being taken by LAC in their Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives can be seen as steps toward a more collaborative relationship around stewarding records by and about Indigenous peoples and communities, with some tangible shifts in power relations through the provision of resources directly to communities.

This being said, I think that it would be useful to keep in mind how the Yellowhead Institute's recent "Calls to Action Accountability: A Status Update on Reconciliation" draws out what Justin Trudeau has said about the requirements around Duty to Consult and obtaining Free and Prior Informed Consent: "Indigenous peoples do not have a veto over pipelines, over projects like this. They need to be consulted, they need to be engaged with, they need to be heard and listened to, and there has to be significant efforts to accommodate, to build partnerships — but there is no veto."²⁷¹ The language of consultation, engagement and collaboration without discussion of consent, decision making or repatriation that is seen in some of these LAC documents can be seen as similar, although much less blunt, language. This is perhaps not too surprising considering LAC's role as a federal government institutional archive. The writers of the "Calls to Action Accountability" specifically point out public interest, paternalism and structural racism as things which are slowing our abilities to respond to the TRC Calls.²⁷² In particular, we need to be cautious of how viewpoints such as those described above may weaken our abilities to imagine a way for Indigenous communities to be seen as stakeholders in more than just consultation on how to deal with existing records, recognizing them as people who also have a position of power in the way that these records are managed. This caution being noted, I think that the texts available from LAC on their Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives and their "Guiding Principles to Reconciliation and Indigenous Rights" signal a willingness to move forward more collaboratively with communities on both new and already deposited records.

²⁷¹ Eva Jewell and Ian Mosby, "Calls to Action Accountability: A Status Update on Reconciliation," *Yellowhead Institute* (blog), <https://yellowheadinstitute.org/2019/12/17/calls-to-action-accountability-a-status-update-on-reconciliation/>.

²⁷² Jewell and Mosby, "Calls to Action Accountability," <https://yellowheadinstitute.org/2019/12/17/calls-to-action-accountability-a-status-update-on-reconciliation/>.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce's *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives*

The Steering Committee on Canada's Archives created the Response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce (TRC-TF) to create a set of recommendations that will help Canadian archives move forward in the wake of the TRC towards addressing some of the Calls. The first step undertaken was a scan of what current practices are, as well as to determine what may stop the profession and institutions from responding to the TRC Calls that apply to archives. Using this research, the committee, made up of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous archivists from across Canada, published a draft form of the *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives* in July 2020.²⁷³

The document strongly puts forward 6 declarative principles:

1. All Canadian archivists accept the responsibility of proactive respectful engagement led by Indigenous community priorities.
2. The Canadian archival community acknowledges that this work requires sustained investments in human and financial resources. The equitable sharing of such resources is essential to building capacity in Indigenous and archival communities.
3. The Canadian archival community commits to, and advocates for, shifting institutional priorities to respond to the needs of Indigenous communities.
4. The Canadian archival community supports future generations by working collaboratively with Elders and Youth in the revitalization of Indigenous memory, knowledge, governance and legal systems.
5. The Canadian archival community acknowledges that Indigenous peoples - First Nations, Inuit, and Métis - are diverse, distinct and sovereign nations.
6. The Canadian archival community is committed to reconciliation and relationship building guided by the principles of *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, and *United Nations Joint-Orentlicher Principles* and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's *Calls to Action*.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "A Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives," *Steering Committee on Canada's Archives* (blog), https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

²⁷⁴ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "A Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives," *Steering Committee on Canada's Archives* (blog), 5, https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

The document also lists 7 objectives: Relationships of Respect, Responsibility, Relevance and Reciprocity; Governance and Management Structures; Professional Practice; Ownership, Control and Possession; Access; Arrangement and Education.²⁷⁵

The first objective is mainly about building relationships and provides strategies on how to do so. The second objective speaks to the need for sustainable funding to be able to undertake partnerships with Indigenous communities; to develop partnerships that can be integrated into the administration of archival functions, to develop policies that are specific to holdings of Indigenous materials and to ensure that human resources recognizes how to work toward adding more Indigenous staff. The third objective talks about the need to acknowledge how archives in Canada are colonial institutions, to ensure that Indigenous professionals can take part in professional opportunities, to integrate trauma-informed practices into archives and to take part in education and advocacy.²⁷⁶

The objective on Ownership, Control and Possession forcefully states:

Recognizing Indigenous Peoples' intellectual sovereignty over archival materials created by or about them means ensuring that protocols and guidelines pertaining to the collection, protection, use, and sharing of such materials privilege the documented Indigenous community's understandings of ownership, control and possession. This requires:

- Understanding the relationship of Indigenous Peoples to their cultural knowledge, data and information as one in which "a community or group owns information collectively in the same way that an individual owns his or her personal information".
- Ensuring that Indigenous communities have full control over all aspects of archival processes that involve their cultural heritage.
- Respecting that Indigenous communities have the right to full possession over their documented heritage.²⁷⁷

This objective calls for the application of OCAP®: for all records about Indigenous communities to be identified and their acquisition examined to determine if repatriation is desired or appropriate; to ensure that the ownership and possession of records is examined in the

²⁷⁵ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "A Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives," *Steering Committee on Canada's Archives* (blog), 3, https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

²⁷⁶ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "A Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives," *Steering Committee on Canada's Archives* (blog), 6-9, 10-13 and 14-16. https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

²⁷⁷ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "A Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives," *Steering Committee on Canada's Archives* (blog), 17, https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

context of the affected community; and to work with the community on issues around how to steward the records.²⁷⁸ It is interesting here that the TRC-TF calls upon OCAP® to address records about Indigenous communities without identifying that there are specific Inuit protocols available in the form of the *National Inuit Strategy on Research*²⁷⁹ or that Métis research protocols are under development. This being said, they may address this at least partially in their second point which states that OCAP® is not prescriptive but instead points toward the necessity of valuing individual community involvement in the stewardship decisions of records.²⁸⁰

The objective on Access states specifically that Indigenous communities must be informed of what records are in archival holdings and how to access them, that communities should be consulted around who should have access to the records and how they can best be accessed, and that archival institutions should work to make sure to reduce barriers for the community to access the records. The objective on Arrangement and Description speaks to the need for Indigenous input into archival arrangement and description, specifically that communities should be involved, and that descriptive practices and standards should be expanded to ensure that information relevant to Indigenous communities is included. The Education objective speaks broadly to the need to involve Indigenous peoples in the development and delivery of archival education, to provide relevant information, to provide support for Indigenous students, and to broaden outreach efforts and the ways that archival education is done.²⁸¹

Notably, the document calls for the application of OCAP® and provides some examples of how this might be practically applied. Again, there may be an exclusionary danger in the calling for an exclusively First Nations approach within a document that is addressing Indigenous records without the addition of concepts within the *National Inuit Strategy on Research* or the acknowledgment that Métis specific protocols do not exist in a similarly

²⁷⁸ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "A Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives," *Steering Committee on Canada's Archives* (blog), 17-19, https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

²⁷⁹ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Strategy on Research*, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2018, https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/ITK_NISR-Report_English_low_res.pdf.

²⁸⁰ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "A Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives," *Steering Committee on Canada's Archives* (blog), 18, https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

²⁸¹ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "A Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives," *Steering Committee on Canada's Archives* (blog), 20-21, 22-24 and 25-27. https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

generalized document. This does not mean that the recommendations bringing up the importance of reconsidering traditional settler concepts of creation, acquisition, ownership, control, possession, intellectual property rights and moral rights, access, preservation and repatriation are not useful. I believe that this does signal that archivists should keep in mind the importance of not relying on a one-size fits all document to guide their work and should instead use these in conjunction with engagement with the communities involved in the records.

Despite its declarative tone, this document, much like others discussed in this paper, cannot compel an institution or individual to change the ways that they do things. However, an archival harm reduction that moves us towards shifting our professional practices in a very real structural fashion does square with the ideas that are brought forward in this document. I think that given its reliance on OCAP® it does not function best as a stand-alone document, but rather a document to read alongside OCAP®. As well, I would urge archivists to also read this alongside the *National Inuit Strategy on Research* and to integrate Métis research protocols when they are in place. PNAAM can also offer some valuable insights.

I think that this document has value in that it represents a piece of collaborative work undertaken by Indigenous and non-Indigenous archivists from across Canada in an attempt to respond at least partially to Call 70 of the TRC Calls. As discussed in Chapter Two, Call 70 reads:

We call upon the federal government to provide funding to the Canadian Association of Archivists to undertake, in collaboration with Aboriginal peoples, a national review of archival policies and best practices to:

- i. Determine the level of compliance with the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* and the *United Nations Joint-Orientlicher Principles*, as related to Aboriginal peoples' inalienable right to know the truth about what happened and why, with regard to human rights violations committed against them in the residential schools.
- ii. Produce a report with recommendations for full implementation of these international mechanisms as a reconciliation framework for Canadian archives.²⁸²

The work done by the TRC-TF has certainly provided a reconciliation framework, but it does not provide a response to the first part of Call 70 which describes the need for something to be

²⁸² Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*, 2015, 8. http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

developed which can measure compliance with UNDRIP and UNJOP. As such, the TRC-TF cannot be seen as fully answering Call 70 and there is still work to be done in order to measure archival compliance with UNDRIP and UNJOP. We might also ask why the focus of the group was to create a new framework when frameworks such as the *National Inuit Strategy on Research*, OCAP®, PNAAM, UNDRIP and UNJOP exist, some of which the TRC Calls particularly point towards using as frameworks. Why was the focus of the group not instead to create a tool to measure archival compliance with UNDRIP and UNJOP?

This is not to negate the value in the creation of a Canadian-specific reconciliation framework that comes about by way of cross-country collaboration but given limited time and resources it would be helpful to know why this was the focus. While the suggestions within the document point toward shifting archival power, caution is needed to ensure that we spend our often scarce time and resources on actionable projects that push forward decolonizing work in the archives. We can do this without replicating work that may already be sufficiently done while being aware of avoiding the “diversions, distractions, which relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility”²⁸³ that Tuck and Yang caution us about. With this document now done, action must be taken to ensure that reconciliatory archiving, as called for in the TRC Calls, takes place.

Stanley Griffin, a Lecturer in the Department of Library and Information Studies, University of West Indies, has noted that many Caribbean archives are often in no position to take on the preservation of all of the colonial records relating to their countries due to environmental, financial and structural factors. Griffin has stated that a form of colonial reparations could be implemented for former colonial states to be charged with preserving and making accessible these records to those that were colonized in perpetuity.²⁸⁴ In a forthcoming work, Griffin goes on to describe the issues that come about when these types of shared heritage agreements are restricted to colonial documents or enacted in an unequal way, noting that:

Restricting shared heritage support to conserving, digitizing and making accessible Eurocentric items without seeking to improve the total infrastructure for managing and preserving heritage materials is to further wield hegemony over the content and effectiveness of the memory practices of formerly colonized peoples.²⁸⁵

²⁸³ Tuck and Yang, 21.

²⁸⁴ Stanley Griffin, Class Lecture, Archiving in the Digital Age from University of Manitoba, February 9, 2018.

²⁸⁵ Stanley Griffin, “Value Displaced, Value Re/Claimed: Musings on Shared Heritage, Reparations, and Caribbean Archives,” ed. James Lowry, *Archives Displaced*, Routledge, expected publication date: November/December 2021, 20 of 25.

Griffin explains that shared stewardship is often not enough to equalize power relations in colonial contexts, and that it is important to also build infrastructure within communities for sustained recordkeeping of both textual and non-textual records as well.²⁸⁶

To help address the fact that many Indigenous communities may not at this time have the time or resources to undertake traditional archival work in light of competing priorities, such as the need to advocate for clean water or lack of financial resourcing, it is possible that institutional archives could help preserve those records that are identified as important to community, culture and history, in a form of partnered stewardship rather than ownership, even when or if it goes against the typical acquisition and access policies. This type of partnership is demonstrated in the Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives at LAC, as well as mentioned in the TRC-TF's *Reconciliation Framework in Canadian Archives*.²⁸⁷ While stewardship can represent steps towards more equal relationships, it would be wise to keep Griffin's cautions around unequal recordkeeping in mind. These cautions call to attention the need for more thorough examinations of how power is being shared within such agreements.

As discussed in the first chapter, there are many writings on archival power, and the ways that archives in Canada have had a stake in silencing Indigenous peoples, communities and histories in pursuing the colonial project. Ultimately, archival holdings of records of the colonial past (and ongoing colonial present) can stand to prove the harms of this structure, guarding against any possible future claims of deniability, as discussed in UNJOP.²⁸⁸ As Zoe Todd and Crystal Fraser suggest, it may not be possible nor desirable to decolonize the archives because "to decolonize the archives requires an erasure or negation of the (inherent) colonial realities of the archives themselves,"²⁸⁹ as such, Todd and Fraser suggest that it may be best to look to

²⁸⁶ Stanley Griffin, "Value Displaced, Value Re/Claimed: Musings on Shared Heritage, Reparations, and Caribbean Archives," ed. James Lowry, *Archives Displaced*, Routledge, expected publication date: November/December 2021.

²⁸⁷ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "A Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives," *Steering Committee on Canada's Archives* (blog), https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

²⁸⁸ United Nations, Economic and Social Council, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, E.CN.4/2005/102/Add.1 (8 February 2005), <https://undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1>.

²⁸⁹ Crystal Fraser and Zoe Todd "Decolonial sensibilities: Indigenous research and engaging with archives in contemporary colonial Canada," *Internationale Online*, http://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices/54_decolonial_sensibilities_indigenous_research_and_engaging_with_archives_in_contemporary_colonial_canada

involving decolonial sensibilities in the archives rather than attempting to decolonize the archive.²⁹⁰

This is where I think harm reduction can be helpfully applied to archival theory. Harm reduction, as discussed in the Introduction and Chapter 1, is a robust field for archivists to learn from. Good, full harm reduction work seeks to change those structures that may drive risk-taking behaviour, advocating for policy change that reduces harm. So, how can harm reduction practice translate to archives? The principles of harm reduction, as listed by the International Harm Reduction Association, can add to how we undertake archival harm reduction work moving forward.²⁹¹ Especially pertinent for archival harm reduction is the principle of meaningful engagement and participation of affected communities in the program and policy decisions that affect them; in this case, recognizing Indigenous peoples and communities as the experts on records by and about them.²⁹² I would also say that the harm reduction concept of meeting people where they are at can also apply here, encouraging us to get out of our archives and consult with communities on their terms and in their places. The concept of compensating and recognizing people for their work also applies. Ultimately, a harm reduction approach would shift archival power by engaging meaningfully with Indigenous peoples and communities and addressing power differentials in the archive.

There could be as many ways to undertake archival harm reduction as there are records. While not wanting to be prescriptive, I have a few ideas. We may examine those policies that do not consider how to best respond to the unique needs around the creation, form, access and preservation of records by and about Indigenous peoples. This would involve examining the IP rights frameworks that are currently aimed at commodifying knowledge and information in a highly individualistic way that does not necessarily respect the cultural context from which Indigenous knowledges come.²⁹³ Advocating for changes in IP law to more adequately suit

²⁹⁰ Fraser and Todd, “Decolonial Sensibilities,”

http://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices/54_decolonial_sensibilities_indigenous_research_and_engaging_with_archives_in_contemporary_colonial_canada.

²⁹¹ Winnipeg Regional Health Authority, *Position Statement on Harm Reduction*, Winnipeg, MB. December 2016: 3, <https://wrha.mb.ca/files/public-health-position-statement-harm-reduction.pdf>.

²⁹² Winnipeg Regional Health Authority, *Position Statement on Harm Reduction*, Winnipeg, MB. December 2016: 3-4, <https://wrha.mb.ca/files/public-health-position-statement-harm-reduction.pdf>.

²⁹³ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Second Edition (London: Zed Books, 2012), 108-109, 123, 221. See also Camille Callison, Lorie Roy, and Gretchen Alice LeCheminant, eds. *Indigenous notions of ownership and libraries, archives and museums*, IFLA Publications Series 166, Berlin/Munich: De Gruyter Saur, 2016.

Indigenous contexts where knowledge is often not seen as individual is something that archivists can do within the realm of their work, in the spirit of what Verne Harris calls the ethical responsibility of archivists to work to create change toward systems that work better.²⁹⁴

Following this, an examination and revision of our descriptive standards would go a long way in addressing the fact that those records which flow from Indigenous knowledge may not be best described if conforming to our current descriptive standards. Looking at deeper historical contexts and parsing out ways to develop ideas of co-creatorship would help to address some parts of this.

OCAP®, PNAAM and the TRC-TF's *Reconciliation Framework in Canadian Archives*, along with the *National Inuit Strategy on Research* can all be used as guides for relationship building with Indigenous communities that could influence archival practice in a few ways. Applied to archival records, these protocols compel archivists to explore with Indigenous communities how to best take care of the records that are both already held in archives, as well as those which may be deposited into archives in the future. This will bring up discussions of how archivists apply creatorship, access restrictions and best practices in preservation.²⁹⁵

It is possible to say that the work being done at the Royal BC Museum with the Ida Halpern fonds and the work that is being done through LAC's Indigenous Cultural Heritage Initiatives can be seen as archival harm reduction work. Both look to engage and connect with communities, and to increase access and control to cultural heritage. The Royal BC Museum is doing this in a way that works with records that were already acquired, moving to allow for access and control rights to be determined in an ongoing consultative way with the communities of origin. LAC does not mention these rights in regard to records that they already hold but is seeking to engage with communities to do capacity building for preservation outside of LAC, to do preservation at LAC without transferring ownership, and to increase access to already deposited records through digitization. These are both useful, albeit different, approaches. There are ways to move these projects further along as well. The RBCM could go beyond current

²⁹⁴ Verne Harris, "Jacques Derrida meets Nelson Mandela: Archival Ethics at the Endgame," *Archival Science* 11, no. 1-2 (2011): 113-124.

²⁹⁵ First Nations Information Governance Centre, *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®): The Path to First Nations Information Governance*, The Centre, May 23, 2014, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/ocap_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf and Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 144-145.

archival description standards in order to provide documentation around the community consultations that they undertook and the decisions that were made around control and stewardship of the records. LAC could look at what is already in the institutional holdings to examine how Indigenous peoples and communities can be invited to be more meaningfully involved in the stewardship of the records about their communities. Harm reduction concepts can also be seen throughout the recommendations within the TRC-TF *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives*.

Is it possible to square archival harm reduction with archival decolonization? Tuck and Yang caution that while settler harm reduction measures, such as critical consciousness, are necessary to reduce harms done by settlerism, these actions are “do not inherently offer any pathways that lead to decolonization,” if the central issue of land and power is not addressed.²⁹⁶ It would be right to heed the caution given by Tuck and Yang to avoid turning decolonization into a metaphor. In this regard, we can also look to the recent Yellowhead Institution “Calls to Action Accountability: A Status Update on Reconciliation” document wherein it is stated that the demonstrably slow movement towards achieving progress towards the TRC Calls to Action is highlighted by “hard work on the symbols, while avoiding the substance.”²⁹⁷

With this in mind, I think archives could learn from harm reduction practice as we attempt to answer the TRC Calls and the associated principles documents UNDRIP and UNJOP. As mentioned before, good, full harm reduction not only seeks to mitigate immediate harms, but also seeks to challenge those structures that cause harm. Archival harm reduction may be different than archival decolonization, but in my experience as a former community health practitioner who both trained other health providers on harm reduction principles and implemented harm reduction strategies for populations pushed into risk and marginalization, once you start doing harm reduction work, it quickly becomes clear that addressing the symptoms will never be enough, and that structural change must also be a main goal. In archives, as in public health harm reduction, we will need to work on addressing immediate harms as well as do the longer-term work of addressing those larger structures that allow for harm to happen.

²⁹⁶ Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization is not a metaphor.” 21-22.

²⁹⁷ Jewell and Mosby, “Calls to Action Accountability,” <https://yellowheadinstitute.org/2019/12/17/calls-to-action-accountability-a-status-update-on-reconciliation/>.

Striving to make archives a friendlier and more responsive place for Indigenous peoples is a much-needed project and must necessarily involve addressing the power structures that exist within archives. I believe that Tuck and Yang have made a compelling argument around what is decolonizing, and who owns land is an integral and powerful part of that. If we are not addressing issues such as ownership, control, access and possession over records, we cannot be said to be decolonizing. Virtual or digital repatriation is often used as an example of how archival institutions can return records or increase access. This may certainly hold true for increasing access for some communities but keeping an original record does not necessarily do much to shift the possession, control or ownership of the original record. Further, Robin Boast and Jim Enote argue that the creation and sharing of digital records made from community records held within institutions cannot be repatriation, because “[t]hese digital objects and data originate both from the collecting institutions and from the academy. Therefore, though data sharing is taking place, there is no restitution or repatriation.”²⁹⁸ I think that good, full archival harm reduction could be used to get us collectively to a better spot, but harm reduction mechanisms in and of themselves should not be the endpoint. These mechanisms should provide experience with the unsettling discomfort that is necessary if we are to move forward in addressing what is laid out for us to do in the TRC Calls to Action, UNDRIP, UNJOP, OCAP® and the TRC-TF report. Archival harm reduction approaches may help to propel us as archivists towards doing this type of relational work that seeks to get outside the settler colonial structures we are currently operating within.

Undertaking those activities that seek to address the way colonialism and racism continue to impact policies might involve examining how we have described and provided access to records as well as how racism and colonialism influences issues such as access, ownership, control and possession. Archival harm reduction will certainly address those activities wherein harm is done but must also look to address those policies that enact structural damage through the way we have ascribed things like creatorship, who gets to access to records, who gets to decide permissions, who gets to decide ownership and stewardship policies, and how records are stewarded or even given back to communities. This is the type of policy and advocacy work that would move archives towards real structural change in which the limits to the current way in

²⁹⁸ Robin Boast and Jim Enote, “Virtual Repatriation: It is Neither Virtual nor Repatriation,” In *Heritage in the Context of Globalization*, vol 8 (2013). https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-6077-0_13.

which ownership and creatorship is determined can be recognized, along with the limits of archival practice as it stands on settler colonial land.

Righting relationships, moving towards relations based on original concepts of treaty and the responsibilities that flow from this implore us archivists within settler institutions to examine the small ways that we can make changes within our individual institutions, as well as the ways that we can make changes to the field of archival practice. I see description as an excellent starting point, because if we open up the ways that we do description to recognize that often times the colonial subjects of records are in fact co-creators of the records, it gets a lot harder to see ownership as being as simple as the person who collected, deposited or wrote the record. From this could flow a real change to the way that we assign ownership, access, possession and control, ensuring that we are working in relationship with the originating communities of the records to make sure the records are stewarded in the best possible way. Repatriation is simply not always going to be possible or desirable for a variety of reasons such as (but not limited to) competing claims of ownership, lack of resources and the need to ensure that records are preserved and made accessible so as to guard against any future deniability of the harms of settler-colonialism. Collaborative records stewardship, which may include actions such as sharing or giving over decision-making power, may represent the best possible solution where repatriation is not possible nor desired by the originating community.

The literature on relationships and resurgence from Leanne Simpson is helpful here in that it can help us understand the hard work that will need to be undertaken in order to build these collaborative partnerships. Glen Coulthard's work on recognition and dispossession is also important because it can help us to understand how to move beyond recognition politics and ensure that we are addressing dispossession in the archives. And of course, Tuck and Yang's insistence that we remember not to turn decolonization into a metaphor is an important reminder to keep at the forefront of any planning that we do. As well, the parallel with harm reduction is made clear in that improving descriptive standards and practices is a way of immediately addressing harms that are done in the archives, but from this work it will become clear that issues around ownership, control, access and possession will also need to be addressed. Addressing these issues will help to shed light on the way that knowledge dispossession has happened in the archives. This is not to shy away from the way that land has been dispossessed, but rather

something that our field can work toward alongside and in support of the current land repatriation discussions.

Conclusion: Archival Harm Reduction as a Companion Concept

The close readings that I did of writings by Indigenous scholars, of the Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action,²⁹⁹ the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*,³⁰⁰ the United Nations Joint-Ortlicher Principles,³⁰¹ the First Nations Principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®),³⁰² the *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials*³⁰³ and the Steering Committee on Canada's Archives Response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce's (TRC-TF) *Reconciliation Framework in Canadian Archives*,³⁰⁴ along with the investigation of the Royal BC Museum's Ida Halpern fonds description³⁰⁵ and the Library and Archives Canada's Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives³⁰⁶ proves the necessity of Canadian archives to work towards more equitable relationships with Indigenous communities. I believe that harm reduction concepts can be utilized when looking for ways to shift power in archival institutions. An understanding of full harm reduction concepts wherein disrupting and equalizing power relationships is central to addressing the roots of what causes harm may provide space for the opening of both Fraser and Todd's decolonial sensibilities and ensuring that archival decolonization does not become a metaphor as per Tuck and Yang.

Chapter 1 examined works by Glen Coulthard, Crystal Fraser, Leanne Simpson, Zoe Todd, and Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang to draw out what these authors say about decolonization. Coulthard's writing on the pitfalls of recognition politics, Simpson's writing on

²⁹⁹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*, 2015, http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf

³⁰⁰ United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, (13 September 2007), http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

³⁰¹ United Nations, Economic and Social Council, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, E.CN.4/2005/102/Add.1 (8 February 2005), <https://undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1>.

³⁰² First Nations Information Governance Centre, *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®): The Path to First Nations Information Governance*, The Centre, May 23, 2014, fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/ocap_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf.

³⁰³ First Archivist's Circle, *Protocols for Native American archival materials*, 2007, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>.

³⁰⁴ Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives*, Steering Committee on Canada's Archives (blog), https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.

³⁰⁵ Royal BC Museum, "Ida Halpern Collection," BC Archives, <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/bc-archives/what-we-have/indigenous-material/ida-halpern-collection>.

³⁰⁶ Library and Archives Canada, "Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/default.aspx>.

resurgence and relationships and Tuck and Yang's writing on decolonization come together to identify that land, resources and the power relations around these are key when talking about decolonization. Fraser and Todd, along with Jamila Ghaddar and Raymond Frogner speak specifically to the colonial underpinnings of power within Canadian archival institutions. These writings work together to pinpoint the centrality of power relations in archives wanting to do something along decolonizing lines. It is here that I identify that the way that harm reduction seeks to address both immediate harms and advocate for better policies to prevent harm in the first place through meaningful engagement with those impacted can provide helpful concepts on how to address unequal power structures that cause harm in the archives. By committing to working towards flattening power structures, we may be able to avoid stopping at recognition in the archives and change the course of cultural dispossession.

Chapter 2 provides an examination of the TRC Calls, UNDRIP, UNJOP and OCAP®. The determination made is that once again the identification and shifting of unequal power relationships are integral in developing more equitable relationships with Indigenous communities. The TRC Calls make it clear that UNDRIP is to be utilized as an aspirational document for how to move forward. UNJOP provides the view that archives have a role to play in preventing future deniability of past and ongoing colonial harm to Indigenous peoples and communities. It is fair to say that archives can also use this document as a reminder to ensure that their own colonial past is not erased as new relationships are developed, making sure that the structures that have supported white supremacy and colonialism are made visible. OCAP® and PNAAM provide a strong way forward in how to work with documentary records in collaboration with the communities that they are about and from where they are from.

Chapter 3 looks at two archival projects and the TRC-TF's recent *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives*. The Ida Halpern fonds provide a commendable community collaboration effort, and one which makes stark the ways that archival descriptive standards lack the ability to involve communities in a recognizable way, proving that descriptive standards must be updated and changed in order for us to make clear the ways that communities can be brought in to collaboratively steward archival records. Library and Archives Canada's Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives are also commendable in the way that resources are being shared with Indigenous communities to help preserve cultural heritage. However, these initiatives do not seem to come along with a commitment to examining those records about and

by Indigenous peoples and communities that are already held in the National Archive to determine if communities may be able to collaborate around the stewardship of these already deposited records. The TRC-TF's *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives* does indicate that UNDRIP and OCAP® are guides for archives as they move forward and provides some practical strategies for utilizing these. That being said, it is less of an application guide and more of an aspirational document as it is not able to compel archival institutions to act.

While I tried to avoid generalizations and coming off as too prescriptive, archival harm reduction does lend itself to some specific archival activities and areas. Archival harm reduction recognizes that harm is done within archives, and attempts to lessen this in ways that address both immediate and structural harms. A very much non-exhaustive working list of archival harm reduction activities that borrows heavily from community-based work is listed below:

- Rethinking archival spaces as sites of stewardship rather than sites of ownership, giving the donor or the involved community the chance to share decision-making power around designations of ownership.
- Collaboratively reviewing descriptions for racist and violent language and re-describing with community involvement.
- Collaboratively writing descriptions and adding in contextual details as determined by the involved people or community.
- Adding Indigenous social memory records to counterbalance to the archival record, as discussed by Raymond Frogner.³⁰⁷ Importantly, these counterbalances should come in the format that the community thinks is best, opening up archival records to include more non-textual materials and forms of memory.
- Collaboratively deciding access restrictions.
- Staying open to the possibility of repatriation at later dates.
- Recognizing that an archive might not be the ideal place for all records, and working in partnership with communities to build their own archives or otherwise care for their own records, sharing the skills that we have built as archivists.
- Common harm reduction practice is to compensate peers and community members for their engagement and labour. This can look different across organizations and even for

³⁰⁷ Raymond Frogner, "'Innocent Legal Fictions': Archival Convention and the North Saanich Treaty of 1852," *Archivaria* 70 (October 2010).

individuals. Some people might prefer monetary compensation, while others might prefer non-monetary compensation. Non-monetary compensation might include acknowledgment for information shared, the ability to take part in trainings or workshops in order to gain skills in archival functions, or the stewardship of the involved records in a safe archival space without the expectation that ownership rights will be transferred to the institution.

- Interrogating descriptive standards and adapting these to be more responsive to the addition of social memory counterbalances, allowing for multiple creators of records to be explicitly named, and ensuring that community involvement is noted explicitly for researchers to see. Descriptive standards could also be re-imagined to be less hierarchal in design, allowing for the inter-relations of records and their counterbalances to be more easily connected, visualized and understood.
- Incorporating the principles of trauma-informed archival practice as recently detailed by Nicola Laurent and Kirsten Wright working from Australia: safety, trust and transparency, choice, collaboration and empowerment.³⁰⁸
- Incorporating elements of emotional care into archival education, helping archivists to understand the emotional impact of records and how to support researchers who may benefit from emotional assistance. This could come in the form of archivists learning crisis counselling skills, having Elders on staff or within nearby communities to be called upon for assistance, knowing mental health resources in your area, or other such activities as necessary. An important dimension of this would also be knowing how to recognize signs that you might need some support yourself and how to seek this out in order to be present for these emotional aspects of the work.
- Advocating for funding for interested communities to develop their own archival programs, including funding for education and infrastructure.
- Building in the time and budget needed to develop relationships in interested communities, allowing archivists to spend time with community members before the work begins and once the bulk of the work is done to maintain relationships. This could happen in the form of non-work-task related visits in order to spend time letting the

³⁰⁸ Kirsten Wright and Nicola Laurent, "Safety, Collaboration, and Empowerment: Trauma-Informed Archival Practice," *Archivaria* 91 (June 2021), 38-73. <https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/13787>.

community get to know you in their own contexts. In one of my past community health positions we would often show up before presentations or meetings to attend community events as a way of letting people see our faces and get to know us before the work began in an attempt to build up some comfort for the journey ahead.

- Developing community support plans when working with records that involve trauma and violence (such as Indian Residential School records), such as identifying formal and informal community support people and working collaboratively with them to guide how the work can be done in the best possible way. Harm reduction reminds us that there is often no safe way of doing things, only safer ways of doing things and that this changes and shifts over time with learning. Ideally these support people would be involved from the outset of project and program planning.
- Incorporating all of these activities into institutional structures and policies so that they become and remain part of the day-to-day work.
- Finally, each of these activities could be evaluated to determine if the activity is actually shifting power to ensure that power relations are not simply being replicated.

As stated above, this list is not exhaustive nor is it definitive. This list would best be used as a starting point for archivists and community members to build upon. These suggested activities comprise of things that can be used to address immediate causes of harm (such as re-description to address racist terminology) and things that address more structural causes of harm (shifting decision-making power to level out archival power imbalances through both advocacy and institutional change). These types of activities can also be done pro-actively with new records coming in, or with records that are already held within the institution.

I suggest archival harm reduction as a concept to be read alongside ideas such as decolonial sensibilities not because I think it teaches anything better or even necessarily very different than what the above sources point toward. In fact, I think that the value of harm reduction concepts comes from the fact that they can be read alongside and bolster the above Indigenous scholarship, principles documents and archival case studies as allied concepts. This is because these sources all draw upon the same principles of meaningfully engaging people and communities to be involved in areas that impact their lives in ways that actually shift power through the understanding that impacted people have the right to be involved in policy and decision-making processes. Power and relationality are central in all of these works as well as in

harm reduction concepts. In this way, harm reduction concepts open up yet another field for archivists to learn from and from which to borrow and adapt ideas. These concepts provide an understanding that while immediate harm must be alleviated, structural issues must also be shifted if harm is to truly be reduced in any sustainable way. In this way, public health harm reduction concepts also provide a reminder to archivists that advocating for structural change does not necessarily result in structural change, therefore our archival harm reduction planning should include the time and resources to work towards these structural goals in actionable ways. Harm reduction reminds us that the work we must do is twofold, not only individual but also structural, and that our best results will come from getting out of our institutions and into communities where a whole other body of expertise resides.

Bibliography

- APTN National News. "Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould says adopting UNDRIP into Canadian law 'unworkable.'" *APTN National News*, July 12, 2016. <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/justice-minister-jody-wilson-raybould-says-adopting-undrip-into-canadian-law-unworkable/>.
- Bak, Greg, Tolly Bradford, Jessie Loyer and Elizabeth Walker. "Four Views on Archival Decolonization Inspired by the TRC's Calls to Action." *Fonds d'Archives* [Online], 1 (14 July 2017), <https://fondsdarchives.ca/index.php/fondsdarchives/article/view/3>.
- Bak, Greg. 2019. "Archival histories and settler responsibilities: Archival decolonization and social justice." *ACA 2019: Archival Origins*, Toronto, June 5-8 2019.
- Bak, Greg, Danielle Allard, and Shawna Ferris. "Knowledge Organization as Knowledge Creation: Surfacing Community Participation in Archival Arrangement and Description." *Knowledge Organization* 46, no. 7 (2019).
- Boast, Robin and Jim Enote. "Virtual Repatriation: It is Neither Virtual nor Repatriation." *Heritage in the Context of Globalization*, vol 8 (2013). https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-6077-0_13.
- British Columbia, "B.C. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act," <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/indigenous-people/new-relationship/united-nations-declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples>.
- Callison, Camille, Lorie Roy, and Gretchen Alice LeCheminant, eds. *Indigenous notions of ownership and libraries, archives and museums*. IFLA Publications Series 166, Berlin/Munich: De Gruyter Saur, 2016.
- Canadian Association of University Teachers. *Guide to Acknowledging First Peoples & Traditional Territory*. September 2017. <https://www.caut.ca/sites/default/files/caut-guide-to-acknowledging-first-peoples-and-traditional-territory-2017-09.pdf>.
- Canadian Geographic Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada. "Litigation and Courts." Canadian Geographic. <https://indigenouspeoplesatlasofcanada.ca/article/litigation-and-courts/>.
- Canadian Geographic Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada. "The Road to Reconciliation." Canadian Geographic. <https://indigenouspeoplesatlasofcanada.ca/article/the-road-to-reconciliation/>.
- Carpenter, Brian. "Archival Initiatives for the Indigenous Collections at the American Philosophical Society." *Case Studies on Access Policies for Native American Archival Materials*. Society of American Archivists (February 2019).

https://www2.archivists.org/sites/all/files/Case_1_Archival_Initiatives_for_Indigenous_Collections.pdf

Caswell, Michelle. "Toward a survivor-centred approach to records documenting human rights abuse: lessons from community archives." *Archival Science* 14 (2014): 307-322.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-014-9220-6>.

CBC News. "Canada endorses indigenous rights declaration." *CBC News*, November 12, 2010.
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/canada-endorses-indigenous-rights-declaration-1.964779>.

Christen, Kimberly. "Opening Archives: Respectful Repatriation." *The American Archivist*. Volume 74 (Spring/Summer 2011): 185-210.

Class lectures. NATV 7230 Methodology and Research Issues in Native Studies. University of Manitoba. September-December 2018.

Cliff Pervocracy. "The Missing Stair." The Pervocracy.
<http://pervocracy.blogspot.com/2012/06/missing-stair.html>.

Cook, Terry and Joan Schwartz (eds.). *Archival Science*, Volume 2, Issues 1-4 (2002): 1-358.

Cook, Terry. Archival science and postmodernism: new formulations for old concepts. *Archival Science* 1 (2001): 3-24. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435636>.

Cook, Terry. "The concept of the archival fonds in the post-custodial era: theory, problems and solutions." *Archivaria* 35 (1993): 24-37.

Cook, Terry. "Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives." *Archivaria* 51 (Spring 2001): 14-35.

Cook, Terry. "The Archive(s) is a Foreign Country: Historians, Archivists, and the Changing Archival Landscape," *The Canadian Historical Review*. Volume 90, Number 3 (September 2009): 497-534.

Coulthard, Glen. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

Dancy, Richard. "RAD past, present and future." *Archivaria* 74 (2012): 7-42.

Desai, Chadni, Eric Ritskes and Aman Sium. "Towards the 'tangible unknown': Decolonization and the Indigenous Future." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no.1 (2012): I-XIII. <https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/18638>.

Douglas, Jennifer. "Towards more honest description." *American Archivist* 79 no. 1 (2016): 26-55.

- Epstein, Andrew Bard. "The Colonialism of the Present: An Interview with Glen Coulthard." *Jacobin*, January 13, 2015. <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/01/indigenous-left-glen-coulthard-interview/>.
- First Archivist's Circle. *Protocols for Native American archival materials*. 2007. <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>.
- First Nations Information Governance Centre. "The First Nations Principles of OCAP®." <https://fnigc.ca/ocap-training/>.
- First Nations Information Governance Centre. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®): The Path to First Nations Information Governance*. The Centre, May 23, 2014. fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/OCAP_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_final.pdf
- Fontaine, Tim. "Canada officially adopts UN declaration on rights of Indigenous Peoples." *CBC News* (May 10, 2016). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/canada-adopting-implementing-un-rights-declaration-1.3575272>.
- Fraser, Crystal and Zoe Todd. "Decolonial sensibilities: Indigenous research and engaging with archives in contemporary colonial Canada." *Internationale Online* (February 14, 2016). http://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices/54_decolonial_sensibilities_indigenous_research_and_engaging_with_archives_in_contemporary_colonial_canada.
- Frogner, Raymond. Class lecture. HIST 7382 Archiving in the Digital Age. University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB. October 27, 2017.
- Frogner, Raymond. "The Ida Halpern Records and the Archival Depiction of Indigenous Culture and Identity." *Curious* (Winter 2014). <https://curious.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/the-ida-halpern-records-and-the-archival-depiction-of-indigenous-culture-and-identity/>.
- Frogner, Raymond. "'Innocent Legal Fictions': Archival Convention and the North Saanich Treaty of 1852." *Archivaria* 70 (October 2010): 45-94.
- Frogner, Raymond. "'Lord, Save Us from the Et Cetera of the Notary': Archival Appraisal, Local Custom, and Colonial Law." *Archivaria* 79 (April 2015): 121-58.
- Frogner, Raymond. "Implementing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in Public Archives in Canada." (2020) Unpublished essay provided by the author.
- Gardner, Karl and Devin Clancy. "From Recognition to Decolonization: An Interview with Glen Coulthard." *Upping the Anti* Number 19 (2017). <http://uppingtheanti.org/journal/article/19-from-recognition-to-decolonization/>.

- Genovese, Taylor. "Decolonizing Archival Methodology: Combating hegemony and moving towards a collaborative archival environment." *Alternative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* Vol 12, Issue 1 (2016).
- Ghaddar, J.J. "Archival histories and settler responsibilities: Archival decolonization and social justice." *ACA 2019: Archival Origins*, Toronto, June 5-8 2019.
- Ghaddar, J.J. "Total archives for land, law and sovereignty in settler Canada." *Archival Science* 21 (2021): 59–82. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-020-09353-w>.
- Gooda, M. "The practical power of human rights: how international human rights standards can inform archival and record keeping practices." *Archival Science* 12 (2012): 141–150. <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s10502-011-9166-x>.
- Government of Canada. "Indian Residential Schools." Crown Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada. <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100015576/1571581687074>.
- Government of Canada. *The Sandwich Generation*. Clara Williams. Canadian Social Trends, Catalogue No. 11-008. Statistics Canada, Summer 2005. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/11-008-x/2005001/article/7033-eng.pdf?st=Kw7IpyF4>
- Government of Canada. "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada." Government of Canada, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada. <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1450124405592/1529106060525>.
- Gregory, Roxanne. "Library and Archives Canada Deal with Ancestry.ca Leaves Personal Information Vulnerable." *The Georgia Straight* (March 7, 2013). <https://www.straight.com/news/359091/library-and-archives-canada-deal-ancestryca-leaves-personal-information-vulnerable>.
- Griffin, Stanley. Class lecture. HIST 7382 Archiving in the Digital Age. University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB. February 9, 2018.
- Griffin, Stanley. "Value Displaced, Value Re/Claimed: Musings on Shared Heritage, Reparations, and Caribbean Archives." ed. James Lowry. *Archives Displaced*. Routledge. Expected publication date: November/December 2021.
- Gunn, Brenda. *Understanding and Implementing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: An Introductory Handbook*. Winnipeg: Indigenous Bar Association, 2011. https://www.indigenousbar.ca/pdf/undrip_handbook.pdf.
- Hall, Chris. "One Step Forward, Another One Back: What the Trans Mountain Ruling Means for Trudeau." *CBC News* (February 5, 2020). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trans-mountain-pipeline-trudeau-kenney-1.5451926>.

- Harris, Verne. *Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective*. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007.
- Harris, Verne. "Claiming less, delivering more: a critique of positivist formulations on archives in South Africa." *Archivaria* 44 (Fall 1997): 132-141.
- Harris, Verne. *Exploring Archives: An Introduction to Archival Ideas and Practice in South Africa*. Pretoria: National Archives of South Africa, 2000.
- Harris, Verne. "Featured Commentary: Nelson Mandela, Memory, and the Work of Justice." *InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies*, 8, 2 (2012).
- Harris, Verne. "Jacques Derrida meets Nelson Mandela: Archival Ethics at the Endgame." *Archival Science* 11, no. 1-2 (2011): 113-124.
- Harris, Verne. "On (Archival) Odyssey(s)." *Archivaria* 51 (Spring 2001): 2-13.
- Harris, Verne. "Redefining archives in South Africa: public archives and society in transition, 1990-1996." *Archivaria* 42 (Fall 1996): 6-27.
- Hartman, Saidiya. "Venus in Two Acts." *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 1-14.
muse.jhu.edu/article/241115.
- Hudson's Bay Company Archives. "Hudson's Bay house Library photograph collection subject files," 1987/363-E-210/1-141 Eskimos: Eastern Arctic – Children, [ca.1890]-1967.
- Hudson's Bay Company Archives. "The Names and Knowledge Initiative." Archives of Manitoba. https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/names_knowledge/index.html.
- Iacovino, L. "Rethinking archival, ethical and legal frameworks for records of Indigenous Australian communities: a participant relationship model of rights and responsibilities." *Archival Science* 10 (2010): 353–372. <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s10502-010-9120-3>.
- Indigenous Corporate Training Inc. "Indian Act and Elected Chief and Band Council System." Working Effectively with Indigenous Peoples® Blog (June 25 2015).
<https://www.ictinc.ca/blog/indian-act-and-elected-chief-and-band-council-system>.
- International Council on Archives. *ISAD(G): General International Standard Archival Description*. Second edition. 2011. <http://www.ica.org/10207/standards/isadg-general-international-standard-archival-description-second-edition.html>.
- International Council on Archives. Experts Group on Archival Description. *Records in Contexts: A Conceptual Model for Archival Description*. Consultation Draft v0.1. September 2016.
<http://www.ica.org/en/egad-ric-conceptual-model-ric-cm-01pdf>.

- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. *National Inuit Strategy on Research*. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2018.
https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/ITK_NISR-Report_English_low_res.pdf.
- Janke, Terri and Livia Iacovino. "Keeping cultures alive: archives and Indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights." *Archival Science* 12, no. 2 (2012): 151-171.
- Jewell, Eva and Ian Mosby. "Calls to Action Accountability: A Status Update on Reconciliation." *Yellowhead Institute* (blog).
<https://yellowheadinstitute.org/2019/12/17/calls-to-action-accountability-a-status-update-on-reconciliation/>.
- Jimerson, Randall. *Archives Power: Memory, Accountability and Social Justice*. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2009.
- Joffrion, Elizabeth and Natalia Fernandez. "Collaborations Between Tribal and Nontribal Organizations: Suggested Best Practices for Sharing Expertise, Cultural Resources and Knowledge." *The American Archivist*. Volume 78, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2015): 192-237.
- Johnson, Rebecca. "Implementing Indigenous Law in Agreements – Learning from "An Agreement Concerning the Stewardship of the Witness Blanket."” Reconciliation Syllabus.
<https://reconciliationsyllabus.wordpress.com/2020/01/31/implementing-indigenous-law-in-agreements-learning-from-an-agreement-concerning-the-stewardship-of-the-witness-blanket/>.
- Kovach, Margaret. *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Kulchyski, Peter and Ramona Neckoway. "The town that lost its name: the impact of hydroelectric development on Grand Rapids, Manitoba." Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives - Manitoba, August 2006. https://ccednet-rcdec.ca/sites/ccednet-rcdec.ca/files/grand_rapids.pdf.
- Library and Archives Canada. "Apply for Listen, Hear Our Voices Funding: Step 1. Overview." <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/funding1.aspx>.
- Library and Archives Canada. "Apply for Listen, Hear Our Voices Funding: Step 2. Who Can Apply." <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/funding2.aspx>.
- Library and Archives Canada. "Apply for Listen, Hear Our Voices Funding: Step 3. How to Apply." <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/funding3.aspx>.

Library and Archives Canada. “Apply for Listen, Hear Our Voices Funding: Step 4. Available Funding.” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/funding4.aspx>.

Library and Archives Canada. “Apply for Listen, Hear Our Voices Funding: Contact Us for Help.” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/contact-help.aspx>.

Library and Archives Canada. “Co-Lab home.” <https://co-lab.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng>.

Library and Archives Canada. “Discover Indigenous Heritage Content at LAC,” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/stories.aspx>.

Library and Archives Canada. “Indigenous Documentary Heritage Initiatives,” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/default.aspx>.

Library and Archives Canada. “Indigenous Heritage.” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/Pages/introduction.aspx>.

Library and Archives Canada. “Indigenous Heritage Action Plan.” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/actionplan.aspx>.

Library and Archives Canada. “Library and Archives Canada’s Guiding Principles to Reconciliation and Indigenous Rights.” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/principles.aspx>.

Library and Archives Canada. “Preserve Indigenous Culture and Language Recordings.” <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/default.aspx>.

Library and Archives Canada. “Project Naming.” <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/project-naming/Pages/introduction.aspx>.

Library and Archives Canada. “Receive Digitization Services from LAC,” <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/listen/Pages/digitization-services.aspx>.

Lindstrom, Gabrielle. Beyond Indigenous Awareness: A Discussion with Dr. Gabrielle Lindstrom. January 20, 2021. Winnipeg, Zoom. <http://mbarchives.ca/event-4087266>.

Manitoba Harm Reduction Network. “Harm Reduction.” Manitoba Harm Reduction Network. <https://mhrn.ca/harm-reduction>.

Manitoba Health. Healthy Living and Seniors. Office of the Chief Provincial Public Health Officer. *Chief Provincial Public Health Officer Position Statement: Harm Reduction*.

- January 2016. https://www.gov.mb.ca/health/cppho/docs/ps/harm_reduction.pdf.
- Manuel, Arthur and Grand Chief Ronald Derrickson. *The Reconciliation Manifesto: Recovering the Land, Rebuilding the Economy*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., Publishers, 2017.
- Mathiesen, Kay. "A Defense of Native Americans' Rights over Their Traditional Cultural Expressions." *The American Archivist*. Volume 75 (Fall/Winter 2012): 456-481.
- McKemmish, S., Faulkhead, S. & Russell, L. "Distrust in the archive: reconciling records." *Archival Science* 11 (2011): 211-239. <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s10502-011-9153-2>.
- McNeil, Ryan and Will Small. "'Safer environment interventions': A qualitative synthesis of the experiences and perceptions of people who inject drugs." *Social Science & Medicine*, Volume 106 (2014): 151-158. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.01.051>.
- Mnjama, Nathan. "The Orentlicher Principles on the Preservation and Access to Archives Bearing Witness to Human Rights Violations." *Information Development*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (2008): 213-225. DOI: 10.1177/0266666908094837.
- Moran, Ry. "Truth and Reconciliation Commission." The Canadian Encyclopedia. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/truth-and-reconciliation-commission?gclid=EAIaIQobChMItdSg2ra45wIVR9bACh3tmwAREAAAYASAAEgI2vD_Bw.
- Morse, B.W. "Indigenous human rights and knowledge in archives, museums, and libraries: some international perspectives with specific reference to New Zealand and Canada." *Archival Science* 12 (2012): 113-140. <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s10502-011-9165-y>.
- Mukurtu. "About." <https://mukurtu.org/about/>.
- National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation. "About." <https://nctr.ca/about/>.
- Neckoway, Ramona. "Where the Otters Play," "Horseshoe Bay," "Footprint" and Beyond: Spatial and Temporal Considerations of Hydroelectric Energy Production in Northern Manitoba. PhD Diss. *MSpace*, University of Manitoba, 2018.
- Nesmith, Tom. "The concept of societal provenance and records of nineteenth-century Aboriginal-European relations in Western Canada: implications for archival theory and practice." *Archival Science*. 6 (2006): 351-360.
- Nesmith, Tom. "Reopening Archives: Bringing New Contextualities into Archival Theory and Practice." *Archivaria* 60 (2005): 259-274.

- O'Neal, Jennifer. "'The Right to Know': Decolonizing Native American Archives." *Journal of Western Archives*. 6, 1 (2015): Article 2.
- Perry, Adele. "The Colonial Archive on Trial: Possession, Dispossession and History in *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*." In *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, edited by Antoinette Burton. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Pringle, Jonathan. "Northern Arizona University's Cline Library and the Protocols" *Case Studies on Access Policies for Native American Archival Materials*. Society of American Archivists. (February 2019).
https://www2.archivists.org/sites/all/files/Case_2_NAU_Cline_Library_and_Protocols.pdf.
- Reading, Anna. "Seeing red: a political economy of digital memory." *Media, Culture & Society*, 36, no. 6 (2014): 748-760.
- Residential Schools Settlement. "Schedule N: Mandate for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission." http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/schedule_n.pdf.
- Rekrut, Ala. "Connected Constructions, Constructing Connections: Materiality of Archival Records as Historical Evidence," in *Archival Narratives for Canada: Re-telling Stories in a Changing Landscape*, edited by Kathleen Garay and Cristl Verduyn, 135-157. Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2011.
- Rhodes, T. "The 'risk environment': A framework for understanding and reducing drug-related harm." *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 13, 2 (2002): 85-94.
- Rhodes, T. "Risk environments and drug harms: A social science for harm reduction approach." *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 20, 3 (2009): 193-201.
- Ritskes, Eric. "What is decolonization and why does it matter?" *Intercontinental Cry*.
<https://intercontinentalcry.org/what-is-decolonization-and-why-does-it-matter/>.
- Rowe, Aimee Carrillo and Eve Tuck. "Settler Colonialism and Cultural Studies: Ongoing Settlement, Cultural Production, and Resistance." *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, Vol. 17, 1 (2017).
- Royal BC Museum. "The Canadian Commission for UNESCO reveals the first inscriptions to the Canada Memory of the World Register." BC Archives Release (March 27 2018).
<https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/about/our-work/publications-news/latest-news/canadian-commission-unesco-reveals-first-inscriptions>.
- Royal BC Museum. "Dr. Ida Halpern Collection Inventory." BC Archives. https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/Document/Finding_Aids_Atom/PR-0501_to_PR-1000/PR-0847.pdf.

- Royal BC Museum. "Fonds PR-0847 – Ida Halpern fonds." BC Archives Collection Search. https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/ida-halpern-fonds?_ga=2.43794789.1384951035.1575644158-957031668.1573057610.
- Royal BC Museum. "Ida Halpern Collection." BC Archives. <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/bc-archives/what-we-have/indigenous-material/ida-halpern-collection>.
- Royal BC Museum. "Ida Halpern Interviewed by CBC, 1967." Royal BC Museum. <https://soundcloud.com/royalbcmuseum/ida-halpern-interview>.
- Royal BC Museum. "Item AAAC3219-011 - Song for Big Dance at Potlach, Very Old." BC Archives Collection Search. <https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/song-for-big-dance-at-potlach-very-old>.
- Royal BC Museum. "Series MS-3195 – Sound Recordings." BC Archives Collection Search. <https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/sound-recordings-2>.
- Royal BC Museum. "Sub-series MS-3195.A – Billy Assu Recording Sessions." BC Archives Collection Search. <https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/billy-assu-recording-sessions>.
- Schnarch, Brian. "Ownership, control, access, and possession (OCAP) or self-determination applied to research: A critical analysis of contemporary First Nations research and some options for First Nations communities." *International Journal of Indigenous Health* 1, no. 1 (2004): 80-95.
- Shida, Tomoko. "Copyright Law and Indigenous Intellectual Property Rights for Canadian Archivists and Records Managers." ARMA Canada Region, 2021. <https://armacanada.org/home/sagesse-2021-02-copyright-law-indigenous-intellectual-property-rights/>.
- Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. "About." <https://www.leannesimpson.ca/about/>.
- Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. *Dancing on our Turtle's Back*. Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2011.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Second Edition. London: Zed Books, 2012.
- Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, "Shared Stewardship of Collections," <https://folklife-media.si.edu/docs/folklife/Shared-Stewardship.pdf>.
- Stavenhagen, Rodolfo. "Making the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Work: The Challenge Ahead," in *Reflections on the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, eds. Stephen Allen and Alexandra Xanthaki. Portland: Hart Publishing, 2011.

- Steering Committee on Canada's Archives. *Reconciliation Framework for Canadian Archives*. Steering Committee on Canada's Archives (blog). https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/reconciliationframeworkforarchives_july2020_en.pdf.
- Steering Committee on Canada's Archives. "Response to the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Task Force." *Steering Committee on Canada's Archives* (blog). <https://archives2026.com/response-to-the-report-of-the-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-taskforce/>.
- Sweeney, Shelley. "Academic Archivists as Agents for Change." *Comma* (2018 1/2): 65–76. doi:10.3828/comma.2018.6.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*. 2015. Available: http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Final Report*. 2015. Volumes 1-6 Available: <http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.807830/publication.html>.
- Tuck, Eve and K. Wayne Yang. "Decolonization is not a metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no.1 (2012): 1-40. <https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/18630>.
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Indigenous Peoples. "Historical Overview." United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Indigenous Peoples. <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples/historical-overview.html>.
- United Nations, Economic and Social Council. *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*. E.CN.4/2005/102/Add.1 (8 February 2005). <https://undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1>.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. "Canada Memory of the World Register." Canadian Commission for UNESCO. <https://en.ccunesco.ca/our-priorities/memory-of-the-world/canada-memory-of-the-world-register>.
- United Nations, General Assembly. *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. (13 September 2007). http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.
- Weber, Genevieve Marie. "From Documents To People: Working Towards Indigenizing the BC Archives." *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* 199 (2018): 95-112.
- Weber, Genevieve. "Historian Captured Sounds of First Nations." *Times Colonist*, February 18,

2018. <http://www.timescolonist.com/historian-captured-sounds-of-first-nations-1.23177962>.

Wilson-Raybould, Jody. "Who speaks for the Wet'suwet'en people? Making sense of the Coastal GasLink conflict." *The Globe and Mail*, January 24, 2020.

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-who-speaks-for-the-wetsuweten-people-making-sense-of-the-coastal/>.

Winnipeg Regional Health Authority. *Position Statement on Harm Reduction*. Winnipeg, MB. December 2016. <https://wrha.mb.ca/files/public-health-position-statement-harm-reduction.pdf>.

Wright, Kirsten, and Nicola Laurent. "Safety, Collaboration, and Empowerment: Trauma-Informed Archival Practice." *Archivaria* 91 (June 2021): 38-73.

<https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/13787>.

Yakel, Elizabeth. "Archival representation." *Archival Science* 3, no. 1 (2003): 1-25.

Yeo, Geoffery. "Continuing Debates about Description," in *Currents of Archival Thinking*, Second Edition, eds. MacNeil, Heather and Terry Eastwood. Santa Barbara, California: Libraries Unlimited, 2010.