CONTINGENT
HORIZONS

The York University Student Journal of Anthropology

Recognizing its inherent contradictions,

yet refusing a duality that understands spaces outside

the academy as more privileged sites of social change,

we call for a fugitive anthropology. A fugitive anthropology is

an anthropology that, grounded in black feminist analysis

and praxis and inspired by indigenous decolonial thinking,

centers an embodied feminist analytics while working

within the contested space of the academy.

—Maya Berry, Claudia Argüelles, Shayna Cordis, Sarah Ihmoud, and Elizabeth Estrada (2017)
"Toward a Fugitive Anthropology: Gender, Race, and Violence in the Field"
Cultural Anthropology 32 (4), 560.

ABOUT CONTINGENT HORIZONS

Contingent Horizons is an annual open-access, peer-reviewed student journal published by the department of anthropology at York University, Toronto, Canada. The journal provides a platform for graduate and undergraduate students of anthropology to publish their outstanding scholarly work in a peer-reviewed academic forum. *Contingent Horizons* is run by a student editorial collective and is guided by an ethos of social justice, which informs its functioning, structure, and policies. *Contingent Horizons'* website provides open access to the journal's published articles.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTINGENCY

Through countless trials and tribulations, the fruition of this journal edition has been a profound lesson in contingency. The title of our journal, *Contingent Horizons*, proves especially fitting in capturing the experiences of uncertainty and perseverance in the work of our authors, but also in the efforts of the editors and all those who gifted their limited free time towards realizing the important mission of giving voice to graduate student scholarship.

There is beauty in the gradual harmony of these contingencies evolving into actualized realities, but this should not obscure the experiences of anxiety and discouragement that such conditions can produce. There is a real struggle in securing unpaid labor from those already pushed to the brink of exhaustion in demanding academic roles that rarely afford moments of respite or financial compensation. As geo-political conflicts persist, costs of living skyrocket, and wages stagnate, increasing precarity and injustices mark our time. From the surge of the Far Right in North America and globally, to the ongoing genocide in Palestine and so many other global crises, sustaining the fragile and contingent eco-system of authors, editors, reviewers, and faculty support grows increasingly difficult.

Against these odds, the publication of this issue feels somewhat surreal, dare we say magical, as we witness such efforts and strides of resilience finally pay off. In the spirit of graduate scholarship, we are pleased to share pieces that embrace innovative anthropological methodologies—autoethnography, digital ethnography, and fictional writing—pushing academic boundaries and offering new perspectives. We hope you are compelled not only by the themes explored but also by the creative and critical approaches of our contributors.

This issue presents dynamic and thought-provoking works that engage with emerging and critical debates in anthropology. The articles challenge dominant narratives by interrogating lived experiences (Garcia, on the intersection of migrant and trans identities), and examining sociocultural perceptions (He, on interpretations of zoo animals), bringing visibility to overlooked perspectives. Together, they contribute to a deeper understanding of the politics of recognition. Further exploring the role of power in shaping realities, articles in this issue also discuss themes of life and death (Headrick) and the impact of colonial influences on earth and in space (Ince), revealing how these forces sustain inequalities beyond the bounds of our world. Additionally, articles in this issue explore the theme of nationalism, examining the challenges of redress and reconciliation with indigenous peoples (Latina), as well as its manifestations in online communities (Serravalle). The issue concludes with two compelling pieces centered on environmental themes: one analyzing biopolitics at the intersection of Indigenous nations, the environment, and government through a review of Pugliese's *Biopolitics of the More-Than-Human* (Weber), and the other, a semi-fictional narrative exploring the experiences of climate migrants (Zamani).

To conclude this editor's note, we invite you to reflect on the many ways contingency shapes the themes explored in this issue. From histories of migration and trans identity to the politics of nationalism, environmental struggles, and colonial legacies reaching beyond Earth, each article speaks to the uncertainties, negotiations, and power dynamics that define our world. In embracing these contingencies, we ask: What does it mean to be contingent in today's age? What does contingency provide or take away from us? Do we have limits to contingency—can we afford to? How do we build trust through contingency? And finally, how do we persevere?

Trans Migrants In Spain: An Interview with Daries about the Ley Trans and More

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This article sheds light on the reality of Daries[1], a migrant trans individual in Spain, while they navigate new laws, policies, and programs meant to aid the trans community as a whole. Similar to how indigenous gender studies distinguish between indigenous experiences with gender in different colonized countries, it is important to distinguish the experiences of trans individuals who are migrating from Latin America to Europe. By sharing Daries' story, this article demonstrates the importance of capturing the heterogeneity that exists among trans communities, especially as it relates to their experiences as migrants abroad. Spain has recently passed the *ley trans,* a law which asserts that all trans identities must be recognized and protected. However, the lived experiences of migrant trans individuals are not fully integrated within the *ley trans* because their stories are not being as extensively shared as those of non-migrant individuals. When trying to understand the experiences of migrant trans individuals, the politics of recognition reveal the limitations faced by trans migrants in having their identities fully recognized. For migrant trans individuals, their recognition from the state is based on their proximity to binary gender identities and citizenship status. Hence, I describe: (1) the exclusions that currently exist among migrants who are trans and living in Spain; (2) the lack of recognition and integration within the new national trans policies being implemented in Spain; and (3) existing citizenship policies that limit a migrant's individual trajectory when they settle in a host country.

KEY WORDS queer migration, trans subjectivities, Spain, transnationalism

> *...Entonces, en mi caso, yo no nací en España, yo nací en otro país, pero yo no puedo renunciar a ser española porque mi mamá es española.*

> ...Then, in my case, I was not born in Spain, I was born in another country, but I cannot give up being Spanish because my mother is Spanish[2].

<div align="right">(Daries, 30 years old, Spanish and Salvadoran)</div>

Introduction to Daries

Who is Daries and why is their Spanish citizenship through their mother highlighted in the quote above? Daries, who identifies as a gender fluid non-binary trans individual, was born and raised in El Salvador. At five, their mother moved them to Spain. As they grew older, Daries returned to El Salvador on occasion. They have the accessibility to return to El Salvador as they hold Spanish citizenship through their mother, who is a Spanish citizen. After living in places like El Salvador and Mexico, Daries believed their

life would be safer and more fruitful in Spain because of economic opportunities and broader gender acceptance in Spain, in contrast to El Salvador where they feared gender violence. Obtaining citizenship through their Spanish-born mother granted Daries many benefits that other newly arrived migrants in Spain do not receive automatically, such as the inability to obtain a work permit or asylum status as soon as they arrive. In addition to the work opportunities and permissibility to stay in the country, their citizenship also gave Daries an opportunity to benefit from, although with some limitations, a new national trans law introduced in 2021 and finalized in December 2022 that promises to extend protection to the trans community at large. Such protections notably include the right to change documentation based on gender self-determination (Álvarez 2021b). Self-determination is the process of using one's perspective of gender identity as the basis for affirmation rather than using a structural basis, like having your gender classified by a medical professional.

By drawing on Daries' story, the following research will explain: (1) the current exclusions that migrant trans individuals living in Spain have to endure; (2) how these exclusions are prevalent in the new national trans policies being implemented in Spain; and (3) how migrant individuals are limited by existing citizenship policies in Spain. These observations can help establish the variability of trans communities and the need to provide more comprehensive descriptions of the heterogeneity that exists within trans communities, especially when writing and establishing laws, policies, and programs that address these communities.

Spain's Immigration System and Trans Communities in Spain

In this section, I will demonstrate how Daries was able to adjust their status in Spain due to their mom's citizenship status. In Spain, a child's citizenship is obtained through their parents' citizenship (Carvalho 2019). This process is called *jus sanguinis*, which has been the primary path for migrants to obtain citizenship in Spain since 1982 (Carvalho 2019). Immigrants who do not have a Spanish citizen parent must follow a different and longer process to become citizens. For example, first-generation immigrants in Spain can only apply for citizenship after:

> a) legal residence for a period of 10 years if candidates originated in countries excluded from the Ibero- American community, b) legal residence for a period of 5 years if candidates hold refugee status, c) legal residence for a period of 2 years if candidates originated in member-states of the Ibero- American community. (Carvalho 2019)

Within these parameters, migrant individuals who are part of the LGBTI+[3] community are left in a limbo state, waiting to become fully recognized as Spanish citizens, which is limited by their documentation status. Daries can be recognized by the State of Spain through the extent of their citizenship, but where does this leave other migrant trans individuals living in circumstances similar or different to those of Daries when their citizenship status varies?

Currently, there are few accurate or comprehensive accounts of migrant trans communities in Spain because of the limited research and ethnographies of their lives. A recent article by Rondón García and Romero (2016) found that there was a consensus on the approximate number of transexual[4] people in Spain, which ranges from 7,000 to 9,000 individuals. This research also found that among the range of transexual individuals "2,826 were immigrants (38.1% of the total population), of whom 84% were living in Madrid and Barcelona and came mainly from Latin America (Equator, Brazil, Colombia, Argentina, Venezuela, Peru, Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama, and the Dominican Republic), although there were also people from Egypt, Nigeria, and Kuwait, which are the most oppressive countries with transsexual people," (Rondón García and Romero 2016, 5).

Although these figures are essential to get an idea of the types of trans communities in Spain, it is important to note that these figures are not exhaustive and they do not fully depict all trans individuals who reside in Spain. Therefore, it is critical to collaborate with the diverse trans communities that exist within trans collectives to get a more accurate description and account of their everyday lives. I use the plural form of *collective* to denote the variability of different trans collectives that reside in home and host countries.

Methods

Daries' experience is one of the many that forms the diverse tapestry of a vibrant trans community in Spain. Daries' experience is critical because it demonstrates the accessibility and recognition that a trans individual may obtain based on their citizenship status. Daries was one of five trans research participants that I interviewed in Spain during July 2021 for my dissertation pilot study. I was fortunate enough to get to interview Daries with the help of a local LGBTI+ organization, which helped me in seeking interviews for my pilot study.

I planned to interview 10 trans individuals during my pilot study, but due to the COVID-19 pandemic, limited accessibility, and the short time there (one month), I was only able to conduct five semi-structured interviews with two trans women, two trans men, and one trans gender fluid non-binary individual. Although all five individuals were currently living in Spain, Daries was the only one who had been born outside of Spain. Although Daries has the privilege of Spanish citizenship, their reflection on the limited rights granted to migrants in Spain speaks of a larger issue that is currently occurring among trans migrants, who experience limited accessibility to the rights and resources granted to trans citizens. I also want to note that the translation of Spanish/Castilian documents into English was conducted by the author.

Out of my interviews, Daries was the only person who identified as a gender fluid non-binary trans individual and was a migrant. A non-binary trans individual can include individuals who are trans because they do not conform to their assigned gender at birth, but identify as non-binary because they may not necessarily conform to the gender binary of a feminine or masculine experience. Because of Daries' unique social location and positionality, this article focuses on their story to help contextualize Spain as an integral site to study the complex lives of trans individuals.

Narrative-based Story Telling

I have chosen to utilize a narrative-based type of storytelling that focuses on the perspective of Daries, in light of the richness of the interview information. Although I only conducted five interviews, the fact that I was able to interview a research participant who belongs to migrant trans communities is key, as these communities are not as easily accessible. In particular, Götsch and Palmberger (2022) share how anthropologists have an interest in narratives because they wish to understand how people "make sense of experience" (2) in their lives and imaginaries through this modality. Similarly, I have implemented narrative-based storytelling to allow Daries to speak on their experiences of embodying their gender while connecting with the trans community in Spain as a citizen. Moreover, my choice to employ narrative storytelling is closely correlated to the work being done to use narratives for more integrative and collaborative research, which incorporates the research participants' efforts and words in a fashion similar to the work carried out by Marianne Horsdal (2012) within education research. It is critical that I as a researcher "aim to be, confidence-inspiring, attentive, and responsive co-constructers of meaning" (76), as Horsdal proposes in their analysis and use of narratives while conducting research.

Through the story of Daries, I will analyze: the existing system of migration in Spain and how this affects migrant individuals whose parents do not hold Spanish citizenship, the binaries implicit in homogenizing policies that do not properly recognize migrant trans individuals, the *ley trans* as a key example of these policies, the harms of homogenization and how to overcome them from an indigenous studies perspective, and the heterogeneity that exists among trans communities. Combined, these analyses will prove that more ethnographic work is needed.

Misrecognizing and Misdefining Trans Migrants by the State

The acceptance and treatment of trans individuals vary depending on their location in the Global North or South, their positionality and subjective experience, and their conformity to binary gender norms. In addition to these factors, a trans individual's social experience varies as it pertains to their legal status. Luibhéid (2020) describes the marginalization and limitations that migrants who are trans and/or queer are subjugated to by the receiving state's migration policies, which have not been created to appropriately recognize and integrate LGBTI+ migrant individuals. Furthermore, as migrants work through the bureaucratic immigration systems they are confronted with more limitations by the receiving country's gendered and colonial regulations (Luibhéid 2020). According to Luibhéid, Sima Shakhsari concludes that:

> Seeking state recognition as an asylum seeker or refugee requires making
> oneself legible within specific legal and social norms of sexuality and gender
> that have been set by powerful others, and that reproduce colonial, racial, and
> class logics. As a result, many migrants become systemically and violently
> "stripped of rights" through a process that claims to uphold their rights. (20)

In other words, for a migrant trans individual or other LGBTI+ migrant to be admitted into a host country, they must fit into normative and hegemonic Western standards and parameters of what it means to embody certain LGBTI+ identities and experiences. For example, if a trans woman seeks refuge and she does not conform to the historically pathologized expectation that all trans individuals want to pursue medical interventions, like wanting gender-affirming surgery or procedures, their trans identity might be questioned and invalidated.

Daries describes some of the limitations that come from being unrecognizable when living outside the binary gendered dynamics of Spanish society. For example, when discussing their gender identity, they discuss how if they had to identify themselves in binary terms they would identify "… as a trans man. But I am not a trans man," as they would identify better with the term "*marica.*" Marica or *maricón* are typically understood in both Latin America and Spain as derogatory and offensive terms that can loosely translate to queer or f*g, although it varies by country and has been reclaimed by members of the LGBTI+ community. When I asked Daries what their preferred identity term is, they shared that they identify better with the term marica "Because even though my gender path tends to go towards trans masculinity… my vital experience gets closer to the feminine aspect." They further elaborate that "It is what in this country [Spain], since immemorial time, has been called *maricón … Mari Carmen*, " which entails being "…in a masculinity that is not a man… because at first one has to claim their masculine identity and then at the same time, one has to reclaim the possibility of performing or living in a feminine spectrum…" Hence, Daries' description of processing their gender identity demonstrates the difficulties in trying to be recognized by the state when laws and regulations, like the *ley trans*, have a limited description and definition of what it means to be trans, especially when a person's identity has intersecting ethnic, racial, and migratory experiences that are understood with non-popularized terms, like the one that Daries identifies with.

The *ley trans,* which became a law on February 16th, 2023, currently requests identity records from trans migrants that are not easy to obtain. Although in the finalized version of the *ley trans*, they added a stipulation in Article 50 section 1 that explains:

> *Las personas extranjeras que acrediten la imposibilidad legal o de hecho de llevar a efecto la rectificación registral relativa al sexo y, en su caso, al nombre en su país de origen, siempre que cumplan los requisitos de legitimación previstos en esta ley, excepto el de estar en posesión de la nacionalidad española, podrán interesar la rectificación de la mención del sexo y el cambio del nombre en los documentos que se les expidan, ante la autoridad competente para ello. A estos efectos, la autoridad competente instará al Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación a que recabe la información disponible en la representación exterior de España que corresponda sobre si en el país de origen existen impedimentos legales o de hecho para llevar a cabo dicha rectificación registral. Dicho Ministerio comunicará la información disponible a la autoridad solicitante en el plazo máximo de un mes.*

Foreign persons who prove the legal or factual impossibility of carrying out the registration rectification concerning sex and, where appropriate, the name in their country of origin, provided that they comply with the requirements of legitimation provided for in this law, except that of being in possession of the Spanish nationality, would like the rectification of the mention of sex and the change of the name in the documents issued to them, before the competent authority for it. For these purposes, the competent authority shall urge the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation to collect the information available from the corresponding foreign representation of Spain on whether there are legal or de facto impediments in the country of origin to carry out such registration rectification. The Ministry shall communicate the available information to the requesting authority within a maximum period of one month.

(Gobierno de España 2023)

Hence, the authority figure overseeing the case of a migrant individual will rely on the knowledge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the European Union, and those serving as the correspondent foreign representative of Spain, to stipulate and explain within a month if there are current limitations in the law of the corresponding country of origin to make any changes to the name or sex on the documents. These types of records are typical in other circumstances. However, for trans communities, these requirements are sometimes impossible to obtain or the process is not as straightforward as it may seem. According to the article "Manifesto on the Draft Bill for the Real and Effective Equality of Transgender People and for the Guarantee of the Rights of LGBTI People Law in Spain," Kif-Kif, a local NGO serving the Moroccan LGBTQ community in Spain, describe how in an earlier draft of the *ley trans,* "Article 44 of the proposed bill requires trans migrants to prove that they have initiated administrative procedures to change their gender identity in their countries of origin," (Kifkif 2022). Yet, this required step is not feasible for many migrants who have not been able to obtain assistance or recognition from their home country. In addition to not being able to get the proper documentation, many migrants who are trans discuss the misgendering that occurs when attempting to obtain proper legal documentation or when detained by immigration authorities during their arrival to host countries (Villeda 2020).

For many migrants, proving their self-determined identity is difficult because the only documentation they have might only show their assigned sex at birth (Cerezo et al. 2014, 176). Thus, the required documentation and process of recognition already sets barriers for many migrants who are trans, leaving them without legal protection. Although it is important to recognize that the *ley trans* is helping the needs of some Spanish trans individuals, it is important to also understand that the new law is not addressing the needs of all trans individuals in a comprehensive and intersectional manner. For instance, the needs of migrant trans individuals are not being fully addressed because their cultural, migratory, and socioeconomic perspectives are not being considered, which is evident when Spain demands documentation from their country of origin. Typically, what is considered and acknowledged globally when it comes to trans communities are stipulations derived from Western countries' norms of

who makes up the LGBTQ+[5] community. As this is the case, countries in the Global North have a massive influence on the strategies being used to recognize, address, and integrate trans communities.

Although Daries did not share their experience of trying to obtain documentation, other research participants shared how they had difficulties with changing their national documentation. Kai[6], a trans woman research participant, shared that although she had been given a local identification card from the autonomous community of Valencia, which was an identification that was available in the community for trans individuals, she sometimes had difficulty making legal changes because her DNI still had her assigned gender and name, as she still did not qualify to get them changed in the national registry.

7

What is the Ley Trans?

The *ley trans* has been praised for its inclusive changes made for the trans community, like granting individuals over the age of 16 the ability to legally change their name and gender in their identity documents based on self-determination rather than medical interventions (like hormone therapy). Another positive aspect of the *ley trans* is not having to be medically classified as having gender dysphoria, which was a previous requirement for attaining change in the gender identity classification of their DNI (Álvarez 2021a). I recently conducted a data analysis on three article summaries of the *ley trans* based on summaries published before the *ley trans* was passed (June 1st, 2021), the day when the draft of the law was passed (June 29th, 2021), and a day after the *ley trans* passed (June 30th, 2021). I analyzed and coded the top three summaries of the Google search using the Spanish version of Google search (www.google.es). The three sources are from *Onda Cero* (a radio station), *Diario Sur* (a local newspaper from Málaga, Spain), and *La Vanguardia* (A Catalonian newspaper). Although all three sources discussed the legal, medical, and political stakeholders involved in the summaries of the *ley trans*, there is no mention of its effects on migrant trans populations, with the implication that the community being discussed is non-migrant trans individuals. Although I have not followed up on this research, I plan to continue this analysis during my post-dissertation work.

The absence of nationality or legal status when discussing the law is very much indicative of how the experiences of migrant trans individuals in Spain are not part of the public discussion. Instead, the summaries focused on the medical procedures required to change a gender identity on DNIs, the specific non-migrant trans individuals that would get services (minors and adults), the legal overview of the draft of the law, and which political stakeholders and organizations were for and against the law. The analysis and coding of the summaries also brought forth the importance of the bureaucratic results that the new ley trans would provide for non-migrant trans minors and adults, like the process of obtaining documentation, waiting periods for legal procedures, and seeking medical services and support.

Access to medical services can be essential to many trans individuals' gender identity affirmation. Yet similar to how the new *ley trans* overlooks migrants and non-binary individuals in the new draft, existing policies on laws for obtaining medical services are also restrictive. As Daries explains:

> *Porque el entorno médico en España principalmente solo entiende en binarismo…Quiero decir, si yo quiero entrar a una terapia de reemplazo hormonal, yo tengo que fingir ante el sistema que yo soy un hombre trans. Si no, no puedo acceder a ese sistema de reemplazo hormonal por el sistema público de salud…. Yo no puedo acceder si no me someto a el proceso por fases dictaminado por la ley.*

> Because the medical environment in Spain mainly only understands in binarism… I mean, if I want to go into hormone replacement therapy, I have to pretend before the system that I am a trans man. If not, I cannot access that hormone replacement system through the public health system…. I cannot access it if I do not submit to the process in phases dictated by the law.

Hence, for Daries to receive GAC, they would need to claim to be a trans man and not share their true identity of being a gender fluid non-binary trans individual. This is because this type of gender identity has not been extensively researched, described, or depicted within the medical and government sectors or academic research. Thus, it is not easily recognized or acknowledged as that of a binary trans identity. Daries explains during their interview that one way that they try to confuse the systems and norms in place is by choosing a name that does not have a specific masculine or feminine connotation.

Intersecting Factors of Exclusion

Daries' interview brought to my attention the importance of how a trans individual's migration status can substantially affect their access to national resources. This observation of limited rights was very much the reality for many migrant trans individuals after the new draft of the *ley trans* was introduced in Spain. An article published by Equipo Editorial right after the draft approval of the *ley trans* details how two asylees from Morocco and Colombia living in Spain were disappointed with the *ley trans* as it did not "contemplate its application in the migrant population in Spain or to non-binary people" (2021). This exclusion is disappointing considering that Spain is commonly viewed as a safe haven for trans communities. For instance, Daries shared how they decided to move back to Spain and not return to El Salvador or Mexico (where they had resided) because they believed "Spain was a safe environment." Therefore, it is important to emphasize that even though a country may present itself as inclusive,

welcoming, and protective of trans communities, this does not mean that all members of the country are being protected and addressed. It is imperative to understand that even though this law is meant to include and provide more rights, services, and recognition to trans individuals, it refuses to address the needs of migrant trans individuals who need access to medical services, paths to occupations, and legal recognition of their self-determined gender identity. It should be noted that in the latest September 2022 revision of the *ley trans*, migrants are mentioned. However, the protocol regarding how the communities should be addressed is not fully clear, besides the description of Article 50 previously mentioned.

Moreover, during the past couple of years, there has been a rise of trans exclusionary rhetoric from some sectors of feminist movements, which have been referred to as TERFs (Trans Exclusionary Radical Feminists)[8], and various political New Right groups within the Global North that have exacerbated the situation for trans communities by trying to delegitimize the experiences of trans individuals (Lewis 2019). This rise reflects the ongoing hegemonic colonial power of states in the Global North who continue to try to erase certain queer communities in the pursuit of what Velasco considers to be the continuity of "State violence" (2020, 244). However, this rise of anti-trans rhetoric seems contradictory to the prevalence of new trans laws being recognized, presented, and passed within the Global North and South (Platero 2020; Corrales and Pecheny 2010). Nevertheless, the various political movements actively trying to delegitimize the experiences of trans individuals are evident (Obst et al. 2020; Pearce et al. 2020). Thus, it is important to understand how trans individuals' varied experiences and positionalities, especially that of migrant trans individuals, should be understood, described, and addressed with the implementation of new trans inclusionary laws and policies in countries which aim to be known for their inclusive and integrative approach of trying to help the trans communities, like Spain. This becomes particularly important when anti-trans movements are becoming more prevalent in Spain, despite the passing of trans friendly legislation. For instance, Daries shares how "…Since a few years back, you are seeing the rise of fascist parties, etc. I do feel much more tension, social conflict." This conflict and tension are indicators of the underlying limitations that exist when trans identities are homogenized in binary terms without emphasizing the heterogeneity of trans identities and ethnic communities that make up various trans collectives in Spain.

Learning From Other Homogenized Groups

It has been imperative to describe trans communities in the plural form in this article to depict trans communities as varied by positionalities of race, gender, class, and ethnicity, and to portray trans gender identities as varied within the trans umbrella term. Therefore, it is important to note that trans communities are neither homogenous in a global nor local sense because there are intersecting variables that distinguish each person's experience. The ways in which this heterogeneity is overshadowed by homogenized notions, labels, and descriptions placed upon groups,

especially those of Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) communities, are similar to how indigenous communities' identities in the United States are depicted as a singular experience, when this is not the case. For instance, Baldy (2018) and McKegney (2014) describe variances in how indigenous identities are embodied and enacted, especially the indigenous femininities and masculinities that exist within and across indigenous groups. In addition to there being variances among these groups, these femininities and masculinities differ from Western hegemonic gender identities that exist within traditional feminist discourse.

Similar to how Vicenti (2021), an indigenous studies scholar, describes how the term transgender excludes some indigenous identities, it can be argued that in the *ley trans*, the homogenization of the trans community as one collective group that struggles with the same barriers, limitations, and processes, causes gaps in understanding the needs of trans individuals who have migrated to Spain. Therefore, identity formation and solidification, like in the trans community, comes with limitations. For instance, Danielson (2009) discusses the complexity that arises from identity formation, especially as it pertains to the experience of queer Latina writers, performers, and artists. This complexity is applicable to the former discussion of the limits created when identities become recognizable, especially under the law. When definitions "...emerge from a union of language and ideology," there are some individuals who are excluded (Danielson 2009, 11). Danielson brings up the double-edged sword created when identity labels are "invoked" or "abandoned" (ibid). When an identity is invoked, limitations are enacted, but when labels are abandoned, "communities and subjectivities" are also lost, along with the "justice" that is needed and sought, especially among people of color (ibid). This leads to the question of how to address the bind created when identity is recognized but also restricted.

This terminological bind also raises questions on authenticity. Danielson (2009) discusses the struggle with authenticity that Michelle Serros expresses in her book, Chicana Falsa [Fake Chicana], as her "authenticity and authority as a Chicana is perceived as damaged by her inability to wield the language inextricably tied to this identity by the Latinos who criticize her" (ibid, 174). Serros' experience is reminiscent of the constant subjugations trans individuals go through when their identity expressions are denied and invalidated because they are constantly being asked to prove themselves. Proving themselves entails fitting into the boxes, descriptions, and rules that are placed by society to validate and encapsulate their experience (ibid). Although legal validation is meant to provide a path to public recognition, in the end, trans individuals' realities must be understood through their various words, experiences, and expressions that exist within heterogeneous trans communities. This seems to be the best path to understanding, embracing, and validating their lived realities. I think Daries said it best when sharing that in addition to implementing bureaucratic systems, access to services in these bureaucratic systems must also be implemented because "the problem is that the trans population, by definition, is precarious, it has no access to work like the rest of the people, it has no access. Then there are many documents that you need to justify a name change, for example..."

Call for More Ethnographic Work

Similar to how Vicenti (2021) encourages "…the study of first-person narratives as the best way to comprehend the multiple terms used to express the diverse and sometimes contradictory identities an individual can embody" (427), I believe it is of equal importance to describe and distinguish the experiences of migrant trans individuals and how they navigate bureaucratic systems and limitations to that of non-migrants.

Additionally, transferring the authority for describing the experiences of trans individuals from the anthropologist to the community allows them to add to their stories and provide a more comprehensive account of their lives. This can be done through the distribution and sharing of anecdotes and ethnographies that depict the lived realities and experiences of migrant trans communities directly from the community members, as they are the experts on their embodied experiences. In a recent issue of the journal, *Transgender Studies Quarterly,* Emmertt Harsin Drager and Lucas Platero (2021) discuss the need to bring back the terms transsexual and transvestite as they, along with *travesti*, cross-dresser, and other "idiomatic iterations," have historically been "… understood (especially in mainstream and cisgender contexts) as not fully actualized transgender. They are imagined to be stalled, trapped in the wrong time or the wrong place, oppressed by cultural conventions…" (418), by the hegemonic proliferation of the term transgender and its attachment to experiences of individuals of the Western and Global North . What Drager and Platero seem to be indicating is the need to bring nonnormative trans terms back to reflect the existence of varied gender identities that do not neatly fit the universal use of the term, trans. For example, they allude to this in their conclusion when they state:

> …we hope to inspire the desire to toss aside the "umbrella" of trans and transgender, instead encouraging trans studies to pivot toward more specific (historically, geographically, linguistically) identities and categories. In doing so, we want to contest the imposition of a proper and correct way to enunciate ourselves, encouraging the act of listening and learning from those that often are not at the center of trans studies. Being able to talk about what is materially and symbolically different about being transsexual or transvestite versus transgender or nonbinary allows us to more fully account for a heterogeneity of gender experiences. There is a lot to be gained from having an abundance of terms to differentiate between specific trans positionalities and embodiments.
>
> (Drager and Platero 2021, 423)

Refocusing trans identities and experiences to include a more culturally relativistic and situational approach is in line with work currently being done within indigenous gender studies (Thomas 2005; Wilson 1996), immigrant activism research (Escudero 2020; Zepeda- Millán 2016), and decolonial literature (Pihama 2020; Poupart 2010). I seek to apply this to my own research by focusing on the diversity of trans experiences in Spain by differentiating migrant trans individuals and their experiences from those of non-migrant trans individuals.

Concluding Thoughts

It is important for migrant trans individuals' epistemologies and experiences to be understood within their own parameters in order to differentiate them from Western trans identities that are more easily recognized and acknowledged. Highlighting these distinctions allows the stories, experiences, and lived realities of individuals like Daries and other migrant trans individuals with intersecting identities, to come through so that their voices are included in the creation of national, state, and local trans policies meant to address the needs of trans communities. For instance, within the *ley trans* and other policies or programs attempting to serve trans communities, it is critical to stipulate the specific steps and processes needed to assist these communities. The ways in which the current *ley trans* is written does not suffice in addressing the needs of migrant trans members, as the current phrasing of the law only indicates that there will be a committee to investigate the case of migrants by inquiring into the bureacratic processes in home countries rather than the bureacractic processes in Spain. A more appropriate law could entail, for example, specifying what the investigation process will require and the documentations that Spain will find and collect to help migrant individuals, along with alternatives if the government of Spain does not attain said information.

The existing exclusions of migrant trans individuals residing in Spain depend on (1) the restrictive citizenship laws that limit their access to Spanish citizenship (2) the minimal description of their experiences in the *ley trans* and (3) the expectation of a homogeneous and singular trans community by the state of Spain. As the field of indigenous gender studies has already highlighted and established the positive impacts of distinguishing non-normative gender identities, it would be best for the field of anthropology to also follow suit in implementing this type of distinction to better understand migrant trans identities.

In order to provide a broader and more comprehensive understanding of how these migrant trans individuals are handling red tape that begins in their homeland and continues as they migrate to outside countries, it is imperative that more ethnographic work is conducted. This would entail obtaining more first-hand accounts of how various migrant trans individuals are experiencing, handling, and working through exclusive laws in Spain. Understanding this maneuvering could add to the current work being done in trans and queer migration studies, like the work by Luibhéid (2020) who discusses how migrant trans individuals attempt to maneuver heteronormative Western borders, law enforcement, and international policies and systems.

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Notes

1. This alias was assigned to protect the identity of the research participant.
2. The author completed the English translation for the interview quotes which were originally in Spanish/Castilian.
3. I chose to use the acronym that I've seen utilized most recently and frequently in academic literature that addresses the LGBTI+ collective in Spain as it is more culturally relativistic. When I use other acronyms, like LGBTQ+, it is because I am using terms that are utilized within that specific literature. There are other variations that exist, among the literature published to describe the experience of similar communities in the U.S., like LGBTQ+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and other identities), LGBTQIA (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual, and more), and LGBTIQQA (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer, Questioning, and Allies). Please see Stryker (2017) for a discussion of the variability of terms.
4. Please see Platero (2011) for more clarification on the use of the term in Spain.
5. LGBTQ+ acronym was used here to refer to the popular acronym used by the U.S.
6. This alias was assigned to protect the identity of the research participant.
7. This alias was assigned to protect the identity of the research participant
8. The term TERF has been claimed as a slur by many anti-trans feminists and some prefer to be called "gender critical," but radical feminist who wanted to differentiate themselves from this feminist sector (which was anti- trans) coined the term around 1970s to distinguish them from the rest of the radical feminist communities (Burns 2019).

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Exploring Tourist Narratives about the Animals in the Shanghai Zoo

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Based on ethnographic research conducted in the Shanghai Zoo during the first quarter of 2021, this report will explore how tourists' interpretations of the zoo animals are shaped by sociocultural contexts beyond the zoo border, which is, in turn, triggered by the zoo settings. The research involves 20 hours of participant observation, three short interviews with some visitors encountered in the zoo, and three more extended interviews with some friends who had visited the zoo with the author. This research confirms that tourists in the zoo interpret the zoo animals through broader sociocultural contexts beyond the zoo border based on their expectations and experiences of how animals are presented in the zoo. It is further argued that the tourists' desire to interpret the animals is related to the search for authenticity necessitated by encountering both the familiar and unfamiliar. The analysis of these interpretations focuses on reproducing meanings through one's familiar experience in scientific, cultural, and living domains. Built on existing research on the socioculturally inscribed meanings about animals, the search for authenticity in nature, and the projection of personal experience on animals, this report looks specifically at the role of zoo settings and the interplay of the "familiar," "unfamiliar," and "real" in the Chinese sociocultural context.

KEY WORDS   authenticity, meaning, interpretation, zoo animal, Shanghai, China

This ethnographic report is based on fieldwork research conducted in the Shanghai Zoo about how tourists talk about zoo animals situated in the zoo setting. This research is oriented to focus on how the tourists' interpretations of zoo animals reflect broader sociocultural understandings of the relationship between the human and the animal. Previous anthropological examinations and ethnographic research regarding the tourist experience in urban zoos have explored a vast number of topics, such as the politics of the tourist gaze (Braverman 2011; Walsh, Johns, and Dale 2019), framing of nature (Grazian 2012; Colléony et al. 2017), and reproduction of social norms such as gender (Garner and Grazian 2016). Most of the research is grounded in the North American context; some explore other places such as the Melbourne Zoo in Australia (Howell, Mc Leod, and Coleman 2019), London Zoo, Bristol Zoo, and Paignton Zoo in Britain (Reed 2017; Reed 2021), Menagerie of the Jardin des Plantes and the Paris Zoological Park in France (Colléony et al 2017), and Ishikawa Zoo in Japan (Yasuda 2013).

Studies on zoos in China, however, including those examining issues related to the Shanghai Zoo, tend to focus on topics surrounding the tourist industry, urban planning, and biological or environmental studies using quantitative methods (see, for example, Shi, Liu, and Ye 2021; Li, Chen, and Yan 2021; Liu et al. 2021). Although many of the studies in a Western or Japanese context reflect the curatorial structures of the zoo, they tend to focus on how such structures lead and control tourist perspectives and experiences (see Grazian 2012; Colléony et al 2017; Yasuda 2013). Based on my research, I argue that tourists are also conscious and sometimes critical of such structures, reflecting on the zoo animals as unnaturally or ill-situated. The structured space of the zoo is thus not to be seen as merely a source of authority and power but through added layers of meaning produced in the zoo that are, in turn, subject to tourist interpretations based on cultural contexts and knowledge systems beyond the border of the zoo.

Context

The main field site of this research is the Shanghai Zoo. It is an urban zoo located at the center of a modern city, Shanghai, surrounded by busy traffic, modern neighbourhoods, and all sorts of public and commercial facilities. Except being free for some specific groups of people, such as people with disabilities and servicemen, the ticket for the zoo is 40 RMB (about 8 CAD) for adults and 20 RMB (about 4 CAD) for students, which is relatively low compared to most other public recreation places that are not free in Shanghai. It opens from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. from March to October, and closes half an hour earlier from November to February. The zoo covers an area of some 74 hectares and is said to have more than 5,000 precious[1] wild animals of more than 470 species (Shanghai Zoo, n.d.). It is also a public institution affiliated with Shanghai Landscaping & City Appearance Administrative Bureau (Shanghai Forestry Bureau). The zoo's official social media accounts are operated on platforms including WeChat and Weibo, where people actively interact with the zoo through commenting on or sharing posts about zoo animals. An examination of discussions in these online spaces then provides an additional angle for analyzing tourist interpretations of zoo animals. Animals in the zoo are generally classified and divided into different sections according to biosystematics, but some of the animals are also brought together because they are supposedly more "common" or because they are "native" to Shanghai. Most of the animals are either caged or kept in semi-open areas bounded by fences. Each of these sections includes display panels and other educational technologies, such as multimedia equipment and cartoon animal characters, displaying scientific "facts" on the one hand and advocating for animal protections in reference to local laws or international pacts. In particular, many of the scientific "facts" are explained in relation to normalized human physical appearances, such as size, or normalized human capacities, such as intelligence or memory.

My research is focused on tourists in the Shanghai Zoo with a particular interest in animals. Most of these tourists are supposed to be urban residents with little real exper-

ience with wild animals. Participants of this research include three such tourists I encountered in the zoo, and three friends who accompanied me to the zoo. The research also briefly touches on people who discuss topics related to zoo animals through the official social media accounts of the zoo on WeChat and Weibo. New situations brought about by COVID-19 have had an impact on people's choice to visit the zoo. The general emotion of fear, health policies on inter-provincial as well as international travel, and the zoo's restrictions on the number of hourly visitors have limited people's access to the zoo. This has reduced the number of tourists coming to the zoo, especially those from places outside of Shanghai. Specific groups of people, such as elders, who are identified as vulnerable to the virus, may also be discouraged from entering the zoo as a public gathering place. Technological requirements also complicate zoo access for certain people, such as those without access to smartphones or the Internet, which is needed for making appointments and showing the health code necessitated by the local health policy[2].

Methods

I started this research with the following central question: How are zoo animal behaviours used as metaphors for human life experiences in tourist narratives, as produced through the tourists' experiences of, reflections on, and interactions with the zoo structures, as well as the animal knowledge learned both within and beyond the zoo boundary? Animals situated in urban zoos were of particular interest to me because I conceptualized the zoo as a place where the boundaries between the imagined dichotomy of "nature" and "civilization" have been blurred. Bearing this in mind, however, things started to be unsettled and confusing when I actually started my fieldwork with intensive field notes and reflections. Instead of interpreting the zoo animals as metaphors used by tourists, I found it is more appropriate to see them as objects through which the tourists connect what they see with what they have learned and experienced elsewhere. Meanwhile, the tourist narratives are not necessarily oriented to human life experiences but, in turn, informed by broader sociocultural contexts such as the representations of animals in popularized forms of zoology (and science in a broader sense), in popular cultures such as films and video games, and in cultural traditions such as the Chinese zodiac. I also found that other than just talking about animal behaviours, tourists were also reflecting on the appearances, names, and environments of the zoo animals. I, therefore, started to focus on how tourists' interpretations of the zoo animals are related to sociocultural contexts beyond the zoo border and whether this is influenced by settings within the zoo.

From January 30, 2021, to March 8, 2021, I visited the Shanghai Zoo five times and did about twenty hours of participant observation. Taking field notes and reflecting on my own experience as a tourist, I paid close attention to the animals, physical spaces, and curatorial structures in the zoo and my experience of such encounters and immersions. I also used drawings to record my sense of places and views triggered by a particular feeling of a division between the human spectators and the animals as spect-

acle. I then also related my experience to other tourists and observed their behaviours and narratives. Reflections on these conversations and actions in relation to what was going on in the zoo, particularly settings, scenes, or spots, were noted in accompaniment with both my own observations in the zoo and my observations of other tourists. Bearing in mind the idea of working from the data toward theories, I was as critical as possible in this stage about everything presented in front of me, as well as my preconceptions about things, unsettling and defamiliarizing such commonplace knowledge (Boas 2012). Sometimes it was overwhelming in terms of which exact things to record, but in general, I focused on both repetition and variation to understand the patterns of tourist narratives and how the particular interest and experience of each of them also played a part (Murchison 2010). Such observation thus helped me to both further my immersion in the zoo and explore my connections with other tourists, highlighting the commonplace reactions and understandings in the zoo that can be further explored in relation to some shared aspects of a cultural context.

To further my understanding about how tourists view and interpret zoo animals, I took one of my friends with me during the latter three visits to the zoo. I was grateful for them to accept my request and asked them to not worry about the research project, and just have fun like the way we always do together, through which interesting conversations about the zoo or zoo animals were continuously being generated. Although I still took field notes, much of my experiences or reflections had been "translated" right away into conversations about interesting discoveries, analytical speculations, or judgemental claims. This sheds light on the way interpretations of animals in the zoo are, to a great extent, produced through social interactions with a shared basis of knowledge, interest, and feelings of relationship. After each journey, I then had a semi-structured interview with my friend someplace outside the zoo, distanced from the immersive view of the zoo. The first interview was conducted right after the journey in a fast-food restaurant. Considering the awareness of being in a public setting and feelings of exhaustion after the journey, for the next two interviews, I tried to interview people online, with both of us sitting relaxedly in each of our homes. However, this allowed my friends to postpone the interviews. When one of the interviews was conducted several days after the journey, I felt my friend's memory became vague, and thus could not talk a lot about it. His memories of different journeys to the zoo were also mixed together.

Besides using hanging out with my friends as a method, I also interviewed three random tourists in the zoo who showed their interest in a specific scene of zoo animals by staying a long time and looking at them. I asked them several open-ended questions developed through previous participant observation and interviews with my friends. I also took field notes about both what I had been told and the physical settings where interviews were conducted. I intended for more interviews at the beginning. However, some circumstances in the field changed my plans. On the one hand, I was concerned about interviewing tourists with companions for longer and deeper conversations because any companions may affect what people may choose to say and whether they may be concerned about the companions looking or waiting for them. In fact, I interviewed a tourist I thought to be alone but was actually not. When his companion

appeared and asked about what was going on, I felt that his answers became very short in the hopes of finishing the interview as soon as possible. The atmosphere also became quite awkward and embarrassing. On the other side, just a couple of days before I actually started my research, several residents were tested positive for COVID-19 in Shanghai. Although the zoo was still open to the public, the public address system of the zoo was continuously advocating against gathering in the zoo. I also felt that there was a sense among people of what the media had depicted as "the second wave" of the pandemic. Thus, I thought that trying to talk to strangers at this point was inappropriate and might cause anxiety. As a result, I postponed these interviews until the very end of the whole data collection process, when people sometimes started to feel free to take their masks off in the zoo. Still, these interviews provided supplementary information about people's views on zoo animals with the immersion in particular zoo settings. The alternation between sole participant observation, and hanging out and interviews, then helped me negotiate the gaps between my interpretations of what I observed and how tourists interpreted their narratives themselves, furthering the situation of common grounds.

During the research process, I was concerned about my own subject position in the field. Originally, I was thinking of taking field notes in the rest area or in unsuspicious ways so that this would not make other people feel annoyed. However, I later found this difficult because I could easily lose information without taking notes right away. I then became aware of how I was presenting myself in the zoo in the way I took field notes. I started to wonder what kind of identity could be performed in the zoo and what was considered the "normal" behaviour in the zoo. Tourists may be easily identified as animal lovers if they walk alone and devote a lot of time to each of the animals. The equipment of the tourists also plays an important role. People with professional cameras, for example, present themselves as professional photographers and are thus understood as going to the zoo for work or practicing photographic skills. Since I need to take field notes constantly, my equipment is a notebook. Though I had no intention of hiding my identity as an anthropology student doing participant observation, it was more likely for other tourists to interpret me as some sort of zoologist observing animals.

This notion led me to reflect on Vincent Crapanzano's description of the field encounter, where both the ethnographer and the people in the field see each other with each of their own preconceptions (Crapanzano 2012). Gerald Berreman further suggests that how the people in the field perceive the ethnographer determines the ethnographer's access to data (Berreman 2012). Seeing me as someone empowered by some "professional" knowledge about animals may then result in a reluctance to talk about the scientific aspects of animals in front of me. This perception changed when I started to interview some of them. I presented myself as a Chinese student studying anthropology at a Canadian university and gave out my name cards with my affiliation and my email. As far as I know, anthropology is a little-known subject in China, so people might be confused about what I was looking for from them. Though all of the interviewees accepted the interviews quite easily, most of them provided short answers

and seemed quite nervous. Only with one of them did I have a longer and more comfortable conversation. In contrast, my friend-interlocutors were all willing to provide much more detailed answers and reflections because of both our existing close relationship and my subject position as not focusing on my research more than the experience of being with them. However, my presence, in turn, did have an impact on my friends' experiences. One of them said he came to be more conscious and reflexive of what he was seeing in the zoo after learning about my research project. Again, this shows how the tourist interpretation of animals in the zoo is shaped by perceptions of social relationships, oftentimes attending to what is supposed to be appreciated by the listener.

Two scenes aroused my moral awareness during my participant observation. The first was about the Gorilla house in the zoo, which was structured and depicted in an exotic way that speaks to the sense of the "primitives" and evolutionist models through totems, cave paintings, and cottages. The second one happened around the monkey enclosures, where tourists kept feeding the monkeys for fun, violating the rules of the zoo. Such behaviour is commonly understood as harmful to monkeys' health because of the uncertainty of food security and the monkeys' nutritional requirements. These scenes made me aware of how the way people perceive animals in relation to humans and human societies (as the same being of "uncivilized" people or an entertainment object to be interacted with) can have real and sometimes violent consequences.

Finally, I also observed some of the posts of the zoo on WeChat and Weibo and people's comments on them. These posts are expected to frame the zoo animals in specific ways in accordance with the curatorial structures desired by the zoo. Such framings and resulting interactions were then compared with the observations made in the zoo. Specifically, I focused on a series of the zoo's posts on WeChat and Weibo about celebrating the Chinese New Year of the "Niu (牛/Ox)" in the Chinese zodiac.

Observations

Thinking through why tourists choose to stay and watch specific animals, I started to recognize patterns and variations in what tourists expect to see in the zoo and how this is related to the way they talk about specific zoo animals. I also recognized patterns in settings where tourists expressed their surprise. The way tourist narratives reflect broader sociocultural contexts can be further divided into three general categories, which are the scientific view, the cultural view, and the personal view. Although why each tourist comes to the Shanghai Zoo varies, they share some common views about what they were expecting from the zoo animals. I heard many times in the zoo when someone in a group expressed the uninterestingness of a zoo animal and suggested visiting another supposedly more preferable animal instead. Most of my friend-interlocutors also expressed their preference to see the "common" or "famous" animals such as pandas, tigers, and bears. The expectations of seeing something familiar were then destabilized when seeing the real animals. One of my interlocutors expressed his shock when seeing the elephants. According to him, he had never thought

of the elephants being so vivid with wrinkled skin and big ears, which changed the flat images of elephants in his mind. Behaviours of a familiar animal also seemed more likely to trigger a sense of discovery and novelty. Many tourists in the zoo showed their surprise and excitement when animals were moving or started to move. Two of my friend-interlocutors shared the sense that even when seeing animals just walking or eating, it was very surprising and exciting. I shared the same sense. Movement sometimes also means discovery. One of my interlocutors said that he was unconscious of a bird before it moved. The idea of discovering something then made him excited. Scenes recognized as fighting or "performing" are also obvious triggers for surprise and excitement among tourists. On the other hand, such a sense of astonishment also happened when the tourists encountered some "unfamiliar" animals. These animals were commonly referred to as "ugly" or "weird," but in turn, triggered a sense of excitement about their "rareness" or "exoticness." Some tourists related the unfamiliar animals with some familiar ones. One of the tourists, for example, said that the masked civets resembled mice. Two of my interlocutors, in turn, identified that the unfamiliar animal names alone could trigger a sense of novelty.

Expectations of the tourists also included the living conditions of the zoo animals' environments. One common assumption is that the animals in the zoo are caged or at least kept in a bounded area. Though tourists generally shared an empathetic view about caged animals being limited and unfree, they, in turn, wondered if animals would "flee away" when the physical restrictions, such as a fence, were seemingly insufficient. Similarly, such assumptions were also reflected when people talked about safety when looking at the supposedly "ferocious" animals such as tigers and bears. When I was visiting the zoo with my friends, jokes about whether the supposedly "ferocious" animals would "suddenly" and "abnormally" attack the tourists were common topics. Though there was indeed a possibility, none of us really thought it could happen. One of my friend-interlocutors talked about the sense of seeing the animals closely but "safely" in the zoo, which was an important reason for him to visit the zoo. As a result, the "ferocious" animals could be, in turn, seen as "docile" or "lovely". One of the interlocutors I encountered in the tiger area referred to the tigers as "big cats" and discussed how they looked like a warm and sweet family. She then concluded that the tigers in the zoo have little sense of "wilderness." The comparison between animals in the zoo and how they supposedly are in the wild was repetitively brought up by the tourists in the zoo. Most of my interlocutors shared the view that the zoo provided a limited, small, and undesired environment for the animals. One interlocutor argued that animals should not be kept in a bounded place, just like humans would not want to be limited in such a place. Another interlocutor considered the zoo facilities poor in comparison with the natural environment. He argued that the zoo was possibly not treating the animals properly because humans can only understand what the animals need from a human perspective, which is not necessarily what the animals truly need.

One common way of reflecting on the animals in the zoo was by referring them to some scientific or biological definitions, knowledge, or meanings. For example, most of my interlocutors talked about animals using words such as "habits," "Felidae,"

"distribution," and "embryonic age." One interlocutor argued that by arranging facilities and things like poles, tires, and ropes, the zoo was forcing the animals to perform all their habits to the tourists. He referred to such displays as "stripping them [the zoo animals] from nature" like in a laboratory, which means the animals are displayed in a way where their interactions with zoo facilities are perceived as the essential scientific principles and laws being clearly put in front of the people, stripping the animals from their simple, primitive, and free but unpredictable nature. It is thus, for example, not monkeys that climb poles, but climbing poles IS the monkey as a manifestation of its potential. However, when a hamadryas baboon repeatedly sprang up and did a backflip, another interlocutor argued that this is unnatural and they only do this because baboons can get food from the tourists through this "performance" (as he calls it). This suggested that the hamadryas baboon's backflip is a result of human intervention. I then noticed that the display board advocating for no feeding indicated that hamadryas baboons will fight each other to compete for food as a result of feeding. However, to most tourists, fights among the zoo animals were interpreted in relation to competing for territories or the right to mating. On the other side, my interlocutors were also in general uninterested in the information provided by the display boards. One of my interlocutors argued that this "popularization of science" was not professional and was only for children. Many interlocutors shared a sense that they went to the zoo for fun, and this scientific information was nothing fun for them. They sometimes, in turn, referred to what they saw in a famous popular science TV program called "animal world." One of my interlocutors also noted that he would like there to be some artificial skeletons of animals instead of the scientific panels because skeletons seem to be more straightforward in displaying scientific facts.

Another common way of describing zoo animals involved relating them to cultural meanings and images. This involved expressing cultural understandings of animals as being ferocious, kind, or "foxy." One of my interlocutors referred his expectations about pandas eating bamboo to images in primary school textbooks and children's books. My interlocutors also frequently brought up popular images of the animals. For example, one of the interlocutors relates the lions to an "elder form" of Simba (*The Lion King*) and his children. Another interlocutor noted that he was just unconsciously reflecting on anthropomorphic animal characters in video games such as *Arknights*. I also had some images in my mind when seeing certain animals, such as kangaroos in relation to boxing, and parrots in relation to pirates. Similar to the popularization of science, none of my interlocutors reflected on or were even aware of the zoo's promotion of some traditional folklore about animals. Tourists, including myself, also tended to call out the names of the animals, whether being informed by the display boards or not. Occasionally the animal names were connected to some idioms or proverbs with these names or similarly pronounced words. One of my interlocutors suggested that animal names were of particular interest to him because the names enabled him to trace the relationships between an "unfamiliar" animal and the "familiar" animal.

Besides, zoo animals can also be interpreted from one's own living experience. Tourists, especially those seemingly with family members, tended to explain a group of

animals according to familial themes. In these narratives, animals of the same species in different sizes were always interpreted as being nuclear families. For example, one adult tourist explained a bigger monkey removing lice from a smaller monkey as a mother helping her son. Many of my interlocutors also expressed a sense of aesthetic pleasure related to animals, which was mostly centred on loveliness. One of my interlocutors then identified herself as an animal lover, while another one, in turn, identified herself as a felid lover. Sometimes tourists just related the way zoo animal behaved to themselves. One of my friend-interlocutors said he just thought of himself sleeping during the day when seeing the pandas sleeping. I sometimes spoke of whether certain animals were outside their house, using phrases like "at work" and "off work."

Discussion

These findings speak to the sense that tourists interpret the zoo animals through broader sociocultural contexts beyond the zoo border based on their expectations and experiences of the way the zoo structures present animals. The urban zoos, as argued by Irus Braverman (2011) and David Grazian (2012), juxtapose modern urban life with a nature that is only sensible from a framed, sanitized, controlled, and censored view. With the artificial simulation of natural environments created through human labour, such as husbandry practices, nature is reproduced as a pure entity separated from humans. This explains why tourists do not see the animals as purely living beings but also as something that needs to be interpreted, which then reproduces the frameworks they have learned about how to understand animals. Part of this desire to interpret is related to the search for authenticity. Greg Dash and Carl Cater argue that the search for authenticity is "not proposed as one of tourist desire but of necessity, as a part of becoming through which [one] is able to make sense of the world" (Dash and Cater 2015, 278). To tourists in the zoo, the need to interpret is then necessitated by either seeing what is entirely new or what conflicts with their original expectations.

The expectations and preconceptions of zoo animals being familiar or not can create a conceptually close relationship between them and the familiar animals, and vice versa. The sense of familiarity enables the tourists to see particular animals with pre-conceptualized images, which can trigger a sense of knowledge being confirmed when such expectations are met. Based on her research on Ishikawa Zoo in Japan, Hiroko Yasuda also found that certain animal behaviours and appearances are expected by the visitors, which is informed by media depictions of animal behaviours that are understood as "natural" and "species-specific" (Yasuda 2013, 109). According to Yasuda (2013), failure to meet such expectations can trigger emotional expressions of disappointment. However, a sense of astonishment can also be triggered when tourists discover something beyond their expectations. For example, the details of a familiar animal provided in the zoo could trigger a sense of novelty. The animals are thus seen as somehow more vivid, authentic, and true. In terms of the unfamiliar animals, similar senses of astonishment and excitement then lead people to try to explain the "unfamiliar" part of what they saw with familiar experiences, and sometimes, to think

critically about their expectations and preconceptions. The zoo settings play an important role in these dynamics of expectations and realities. From the tourist perspective, the zoo animals are inseparable from the enclosures they live in. The concept of zoo animals "fleeing away" suggests them as first and foremost kept in certain areas of the zoo, enabling tourists to imagine animals as being somehow "unfit" compared to them in the wild. The expectation of the enclosure further supports the idea of safety, which makes it possible for people to challenge the preconception of certain familiar animals being "ferocious." The ways in which the zoo arranges exhibits and facilities may also tend to direct the ways in which tourists interpret animal behaviours in the zoo as the performances of its habits and instincts as directed by the zoo. By conceptualizing the zoo in relation to science and laboratory settings, animal behaviours in the zoo are easily taken as scientific facts about specific species. However, these expectations can also be challenged when zoo animals are viewed as performing for human audiences.

Moreover, through expressing an awareness of the zoo as an undesired place for animals, the sense of laboratory settings can, in turn, enhance the sense of the unsettledness of zoo animals, leading to questions about whether the zoo can take good care of animals or distort their nature. Still, such contests over what is considered the animals' true behaviour or nature again falls into a desire for authenticity and a sense of control over certain knowledges or essential meanings about animals. This explains why tourists are always keen on calling out the animals' names, which may be understood as a way to manifest one's "knowing" of the animal. These knowledges and meanings are then associated with specific sociocultural contexts and systems. It is important to note that the sense of familiarity and unfamiliarity with animals are, to a great extent, culturally inscribed since most of the animals perceived as "familiar," such as tigers and lions, are in no way close to the lives of city residents.

Previous studies have discussed the culturally inscribed meanings of animals in relation to emotions and language use in Western countries (Nolan et al. 2006; Rakusan 2004). I, in turn, find that the Chinese language plays an important role in tourists negotiating familiar and unfamiliar animals with animal names. For example, in contrast to English, where the word "antelope" looks far from "goat" or "sheep," in Chinese, the words for "antelope," "goat," and "sheep" are respectively called "Ling Yang (羚羊)," "Shan Yang (山羊)," and "Mian Yang (绵羊)." The same character, "Yang (羊)," here suggests that they are somehow related in a cultural sense. Interestingly, though these animals, called "Yang" in Chinese, all belong to the family Bovidae according to biosystematics, zoo tourists and people who commented on the zoo's posts online generally showed their difficulties in understanding it. Since the year 2021 is the year of the "Niu" in the Chinese zodiac, the zoo was promoting a new understanding of "Niu" in relation to the term "Bovidae." This then involved associating the "Yang" in relation to the year of "Niu" both within the zoo and through the zoo's official social media accounts. Though "Bovidae" is translated to "Niu" in China, the Chinese character "Niu" is a name originally assigned to animals such as cows, buffalos, or oxen. There is thus a conceptual separation between "Yang" and "Niu" in Chinese culture.

The general disinterest in the scientific or cultural information provided by the zoo and the tourists' active reflections on sociocultural resources outside the zoo borders can fit into Gwyneira Isaac's (2006) discussion of the various kinds of meanings that can be produced from an exhibition. Based on his observation and examination of meanings created by visitors and media with regard to the exhibits at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., Isaac argues that meanings produced in such exhibitions are not "co-constructed within and limited to an engagement between curator, visitor, and an exhibition" but also include "layers of co-existing meanings" across different knowledge systems (Isaac 2006, 592). Using the analogy of a riverbed, Isaac argues that such layers are like underlying layers of a riverbed, contrasted and separated from each other but "mutually dependent in shaping the riverbed" (Isaac 2006, 592). This is precisely what I have found in my study. It is particularly manifested when personal experiences and identities are involved in the tourist explanation of the zoo animals. Like how Adam Reed (2017) found elders in the London Zoo projecting their feelings about time onto the zoo animals, thus creating a close relationship with these animals, tourists in the Shanghai Zoo also frequently interpret animal behaviours in relation to their own life experiences, using metaphorical codes of family roles or careers. Such ways of reproducing social and cultural norms coincide with Betsie Garner and David Grazian's (2016) observation of visitors at "City Zoo" in the northeastern United States, where adults identify and interpret how zoo animals perform culturally normative gender roles to their children, which is further informed by child-centred media and popular culture beyond the border of the zoo. Such reproduction of norms in relation to animals, such as the depiction of primitives at the Gorilla house or the comparisons drawn between animals and humans on the didactic panels, then have further impact on turning the zoo into what Cornelius Holtorf calls "a realm of [cultural and genetic] memory," where collective pasts and lineages are re-produced and re-assured (Holtorf 2013, 102, 106). A shared cultural context over animals might also be re-assured through the zoo by reading out the animal names that are not common-sense knowledge, for example.

Overall, the findings of this research show that the tourists in the zoo interpret the zoo animals based on previous experiences with scientific and cultural knowledge systems as well as life experiences in reference to the zoo settings. Moreover, meanings produced in the zoo, in turn, have an impact on how people figure out norms and shared senses regarding animal knowledge as well as social life. Interpreting animals in the zoo is thus the place where meanings are not only produced but shared and reconfigured in unconscious ways.

Notes

1. There are at least three terms used to conceptualize animals that are endangered in the Chinese context. Words that can be literally translated in English are "稀有动物 (rare animals)" and "濒危动物 (endangered animals)", while the term used frequently in describing such animals in Shanghai Zoo was "珍稀动物", which means animals that are rare and (thus) precious or should be cherished, I thus used "precious animals" here with regard to this term.

2. Alternatively, one may use their identity card if they do not have access to the health code, but it usually takes much longer time for the security guards to check and document the ID cards compared with simply taking a look at one's smartphone screen.

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The Body Political: Political Symbolism of Human Remains

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The ways in which different cultures treat human remains are a potential goldmine for information concerning the structures of power that influence people in life and death. Cultural anthropology is often considered a social science wholly concerned with the living, often in opposition to the work with human remains that physical anthropology undertakes. However, human remains also have a place in sociocultural anthropology and are particularly pertinent to political anthropology. This paper explores the political structures of the Western world, particularly those within Europe and post-settler colonial contact with North America, as they affect and are reflected in the post-mortem treatment of the human body. The main focus of this paper is the cultural meaning attributed to putrefaction and decay, the historical origins of the moralization of post-mortem preservation, and the role of human remains in maintaining political power. As such, the tradition of the incorrupt saint is traced from its origins in miraculous preservation to examples in recent history wherein politicians are deliberately preserved and displayed to allow them to maintain a degree of the power in death as they had in life.

KEY WORDS Political Anthropology, Human Remains, Power, Religion, Cultural Anthropology

T he physical human body is not something that can be completely separated from the person that inhabits it. Throughout one's life, every person participates in a larger culture and society by which they are influenced and that they influence in return. There exists an interconnectedness between the physical body, the social role of human beings, and the culture one inhabits. These all manifest in such a way that nobody can be conceived of as a solely biological object. Upon death, the body transitions to inhabit a unique category in which it is no longer a person but not quite an object; it no longer acts but continues to be acted upon and is still part of the society and culture in which it resides (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 19). The cultural traditions which dictate how human remains are to be treated are all indicative of the beliefs and values that a given culture holds, from funerary rites and grieving ceremonies that celebrate the life and mourn the loss of the deceased to the physical treatment of the body such as embalming, display, cremation, and burial. Human remains are cultural symbols which become vehicles and representations of cultural ideas, and as such, the corpse can also become a symbol of political ideas and ideology.

The particular positionality between the person and object the deceased occupies allows human remains to be used for political means. The idea of the body, the person that once inhabited it, and the ideas the person/body represents or represented in a given culture are constructed deliberately, using existing cultural ideas to transform the corpse into a political symbol that transcends the life of the person it once was.

This paper will examine human remains as political symbols and cultural objects in the Western world by discussing the ongoing history of the politicization of human remains from an anthropological framework. Next, the political 'life after death' that occurs when human remains are invoked in discourses and the role of embalming techniques and exhumations in this process will be examined. Finally, this paper will analyze the contemporary political preservation and display of politicians and the connection between the religious preservation of rulers and secularized government systems. This analysis is particularly relevant to an intersection of physical, cultural, and political anthropology. It aims to situate the cultural practices surrounding the treatment of human remains in the Western world as a process entrenched in political tradition.

Methodology and Research

Several examples of politically implemented corpses are used to illustrate the politicization of human remains. They are analyzed largely chronologically by the time of death and have been chosen specifically due to the circumstances of their post-mortem existences. The first case study is St. Cuthbert, chosen to represent the tradition of the incorrupt saint. St. Cuthbert was chosen specifically due to several attributes, including the age of his corpse, his age at death, and his sustained relevance after death. One of England's best-known and perhaps most popular saints, initially buried in the early medieval period, makes St. Cuthbert a prime candidate for illustrating that the politicization of human remains has a long but continuously relevant history. Additionally, St. Cuthbert did not achieve sainthood through martyrdom or lifetime accomplishments. The fact that his body appeared to remain undecayed for such a long period elevated him to sainthood and made him a treasured relic of the community he was buried by and, eventually, the greater English community.

King Edward I was explicitly chosen to illustrate the politicization of human remains as he did so deliberately, including stipulations in his end-of-life plans for properly implementing his corpse as a political symbol and tool. The fact of he being an English monarch in the time of the divine right of kings allowed King Edward I to act as a bridge between the religious sensibilities that guided the actions and roles of royalty and the deliberate invoking of political power through the corpse.

The other examples of Pope Formosus, Abraham Lincoln, and Vladimir Lenin, who have been politically invoked after death, are chosen for similar reasons: select combinations of notoriety after death that surpasses or eclipses their living actions, long-term preservation, and sustained cultural relevance. Though these cases may not be representative of the treatment, physical or cultural, of other remains, they are specifically relevant in illustrating the greater political and cultural schemas argued.

The Incorrupt and Undecayed

The tradition of the corpse becoming a political symbol has roots in many cultures across history, but possibly most notably in the West in the religious tradition of the incorrupt saint (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 19). In medieval Europe, death was an intimately known part of daily life, far from the degrees of separation that one enjoys in many societies today. The process of decay a corpse undergoes is a fact of death, but it was believed that one could become immune from disease and degradation even in death if one had gained favour with God by living a life of purity and virtue (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 19). Thus, the incorruptible saint remains as clean and pristine after death as they had been in life (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 19). Disease, decay, filth, and rot were considered unclean spiritually and physically. The sanitary pitfalls of medieval life became entangled with morality so that the unclean and diseased were not only considered 'harmful' as unsafe, unsanitary and possibly contagious but also considered 'harmful' as sinful (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 19). The incorrupt saint can be considered the cultural idea of the time, which entangled power and corpses. From the body decaying and putrefying and the dangers associated with disease and decay, cultural ideas ascribing power to these processes or lack thereof become naturalized and a discourse is produced that functions as truth (Foucault 2003, 23). From this discursive truth, the tradition of the incorruptible saint became an ingrained part of medieval European culture. However, the incorrupt saint is set apart from other preserved remains in that its state of non-decay is supposedly inexplicable by preservation techniques, either deliberate or natural such as those observed in ancient Egyptian mummies or bog bodies. Accounts of incorrupt corpses claim intact bodies and ones that retain living qualities such as soft flesh and flexible joints (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 20-21).

It must be noted that accounts of saints remaining undecayed must be taken with a degree of skepticism. Indoor interment, humidity, temperature, and many micro factors which influence insect and bacterial cultures all impact rates of decay (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 14-15). Accounts of incorruptibility must also be examined as politically motivated. Scientific methods that might have rigorously examined the supposed incorrupt corpse did not exist to be employed in medieval times. Yet, some investigated the bodies of saints without the approval of the Catholic church. However, inquiries into the true nature of supposedly incorrupt saints' remains are just as entangled in the religious politics that governed the culture of the time and place.

Saints are revered for their accomplishments in life and the circumstances of their martyrdom, but St. Cuthbert is perhaps best known for his post-mortem accomplishments. St. Cuthbert was not martyred, as he died of illness in the year 687, and was initially buried in Lindisfarne by monks of the area who convinced him to consent to this burial location rather than his initial choice of the location of his hermitage on Farne Island (O'Brien 2016, 236). When Cuthbert was exhumed eleven years later in 698 to be moved to a new shrine, it was then that he was discovered to be "as fresh and intact as if he were still alive" (O'Brien 2016, 236). Several exhumations

were performed in the centuries following, initially to move the remains along with other precious relics to new locations and eventually purely to observe whether the body remained intact and undecayed. In 1104 the body was examined and declared to be in the same condition as it had been four centuries ago. Once again, another four centuries later, in 1542, even after the shrine had been destroyed during the Henrician reformation and St.Cuthbert had been disentombed resultantly (O'Brien 2016, 237). It was not until the nineteenth century that exhumations of St. Cuthbert yielded different results.

The investigation of the shrine of St. Cuthbert in 1827 revealed that the once immaculate corpse had been reduced to bones (O'Brien 2016, 237). Though a saint doesn't need to remain undecayed forever (or even for the entire body to remain pristine) to be declared incorrupt, in this case, a body that was previously a symbol of faith became a symbol of the church's power over not only life and death the discourses surrounding life and death that religious doctrine dominated. When St. Cuthbert's shrine was investigated in 1827, the saint, said to have flexible joints and still-growing hair and nails, was not inside the coffin. In St. Cuthbert's shrine, the investigators found what was later revealed to be the bones of several people in the well-preserved regalia of a bishop (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 23-24). This discovery was declared to "completely disprov[e] that tale of centuries, invented for interested purposes in a superstitious age" (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 23-24), and thus St. Cuthbert became not only a religious symbol of God's power over death but a political symbol representing the discursive power harnessed by the church. It is possible that St. Cuthbert's coffin was opened throughout the centuries between his first reburial in A.D. 698 and the unofficial investigation in 1827 and that the original saint was steadily replaced with body parts of the more recently deceased to upkeep the appearance of ceasing to decay. Still, were it not for a politically driven investigation, it would not have been revealed that this occurred. Power is produced and reproduced in every interaction, and that includes interactions with the dead as those deceased are no longer able to act and yet are still acted upon: they have become an object of culture, a symbol that stands for what those living have decided to ascribe to the remains (Foucault 1978, 93). This case illustrates that human remains, incorrupt or otherwise, are symbols of political ideology; in death, St. Cuthbert represented the death-defying power and authority of God and the Catholic church, and even later in death St. Cuthbert (or the lack thereof) represented that like his own remains, the power of the church is subject to erosion over time. Where there is power, there is resistance, and as the corpse is a symbol of maintaining power, it can also become a symbol of power that is counter to what it once stood for (Foucault 1978, 95).

The Divine Right to Preservation

Though the incorruptibility of a saint was supposed to be the result of a miracle and proof of God's power over life and death, the symbology of remaining intact after death became far more important than the actuality of any such divine intervention. Though some remains were likely delayed in decomposing due to fortuitous burial

l circumstances, human intervention (such as in the case of St. Cuthbert) is required to keep up the appearance of remaining intact and undecayed after death. The practice of embalming has existed in some form for the majority of human history, and once it became culturally ingrained that being favoured by God and holding divine influence was related to not decaying after death, embalming in Europe was on track to become as widespread a practice as Christianity itself (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 25). The divine right of kings dictated that sovereign rule was the result of God appointing a person by having them born into the line of descent for the throne. Thus the miraculous preservation of the saints trickled over into the treatment of royal remains to similarly assert and maintain the ultimate interrelated authority of God and kingship (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 26). The sovereign ruler is allowed the legitimate exercise of life-ending decisions, is able to execute subjects or send them to war, and thus holds an indirect rule over life and death. As such, in death, the treatment of their body reflects the power they wielded during life (Foucault 1978, 135). Royal remains were so symbolically powerful that, for a church, being able to claim a corpse and bury a King in a specific abbey or cathedral was a great privilege. As such, different sects of Christianity competed to claim corpses throughout the twelfth century (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 26).

Though embalming was initially primarily a practical measure to allow the bodies of the elite and powerful to be transported before burial or stave off decay long enough that lengthy funerals could take place, this was not without political potential (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 26). The power of the sovereign is not divine in actuality, but rather, the power kings wield derives from the continued participation of those ruled to uphold the system of rule exercised from every point of society and in every interaction. As such, interactions with the corpse of a ruler are merely another avenue in which symbolic power is ingrained in societal interactions (Foucault 1978, 94). Though a deceased ruler can no longer exercise power or govern, their body can still symbolize domination and uphold societal power structures (Foucault 2003, 27).

King Edward, I was a ruler who exercised power beyond his lifespan. Born in 1239 as the heir to a kingdom in the midst of unrest and uncertainty, King Edward I bore great responsibility from the moment he was born (Morris 2015, 43). This responsibility later manifested in the fact that King Edward I's England was at war for a great portion of his adult life, and when his health began to fail him in the early 14th century, his end-of-life planning had to consider the fate of the invasion of Scotland that was underway (Morris 2015, 376-377). When King Edward I died in 1307, he requested that his body be carried by the English army battling Scotland until victory was secured, refusing to be buried until England secured victory. Though he was aware that carrying a corpse would provide no tactical advantage for his troops, there was a tacit understanding that the symbolic power in his remains would be powerful (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 27). Thus, the use of the remains of royals in military and political endeavours illustrates that power is not merely or even mostly the ability to exert force to maintain domination but that power is primarily a symbolic domain that is upheld by the willing participation of those dominated. Domination was carried out by King Edward I beyond the grave as those who served under him not only consented but weaponized the domination he represented against those they fought.

Post-Preservation Politics

Though embalming and artificial preservation techniques were still in relative infancy in Europe at this time, techniques using herbal salves and the removal of organs were enough to ensure that the remains of the powerful and royal would be in good enough condition to last their symbolic tenure as a sovereign corpse. However, like the once supposedly incorrupt St.Cuthbert, there is an expiry-after-expiration date on all bodies, no matter how beloved or powerful. When the tomb of King Edward I was opened in 1774, his body was not nearly as intact as the royal garb and jewelry he was adorned in, an expected result of being dead for 467 years even after being embalmed and wrapped tightly in cloth (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 28). Though it may be expected that even a king's corpse is not expected to remain politically relevant forever and thus decay can be accepted as it is expected, the possibility of exhumation adds a wrinkle to the process of remains being used politically and eventually retired to decay in peace. Once a coffin is reopened, the remains inside re-enter the political and social climate and begin another symbolic life after death (Harries 2021, 220). Power is ever-changing, and the powers that dominate a culture may be combated in such a way that a once revered corpse becomes a political object with a very different meaning than it initially had when first embalmed and laid to rest (Foucault 1978, 96).

The remains of the powerful and influential are not merely bodies but exist as a sort of reversal of the body politic; rather than a state being represented as a physical body, the physical body is represented as an extension of a state or power. In this sense, the corpse as an object of political symbolism is the body political. As the body political may be resurrected to be invoked at any time, the physical body must exist in some form to be exhumed to facilitate this symbolic resurrection. The exhumed body occupies a dual role, remaining representative of both what it was at the time of death and what it became by being brought back into society as a physical link to the world of the past. The conflict of inevitable decay and the desire to display human remains is a politically entrenched conundrum that has motivated much of the corpse-altering practices throughout European history.

Perhaps one of the most comically exaggerated examples of a corpse being politically invoked is the infamous dead pope trial of A.D. 897, in which the deceased Pope Formosus was exhumed nine months after burial on the order of his successor Pope Stephen VII to stand trial, propped up wearing full pontifical vestments and represented by an appointed deacon (Muhammad and Tubbs 2016, 141). This event came at a time period in which the traditional authority of the papal position was changing, and papal authority was burdened with power over and dependence on the secular crown. The ceremony in which a new royal authority is ordained by the reigning Pope at the coronation was an important symbolic act at the time, representing the flow of power from God to the church to the divinely appointed line of royal descent (Muhammad and Tubbs, 2016, 140). The trial of a dead pope both broke precedent and was somewhat of a logical conclusion to the bio-power instilled in the delineation of religious and secular powers: though the position of being Pope is intended to be immune from condemnation, Stephen VII condemned the former Pope most flamboyantly and opened

himself to condemnation in return (Muhammad and Tubbs 2016, 141). The line of power from God to the Pope, to the sovereign ruler, and to the people is intended to be a top-down structure, but the resulting condemnation of Stephen VII's actions illustrates the irregular bottom-up nature of power structures. Once the crack in the structure of domination is revealed, the consent of those subjugated is able to be withdrawn or, at the very least, can no longer be guaranteed (Foucault 1978, 94-95). The late Pope was found guilty of perjury, coveting the papal throne, violating the laws of the Catholic church, and was subsequently penalized by having the three fingers he used to conduct blessings removed, being stripped of his title and vestments, and being reburied as a commoner (Muhammad and Tubbs 2016, 140).

Additionally, all actions he took in an official papal capacity during his life were declared illegitimate (Muhammad and Tubbs 2016, 140). Though the late Pope's new grave was unmarked, theoretically rendering him politically null, his posthumous trial gave him a new political life and symbology that survives in some form to this day. Though Stephen VII intended to disgrace Formosus and condemn him to obscurity, in actuality, he guaranteed Pope Formosus' immortality. However, Formosus is not so much a symbol of papal power and more a symbol of how power can be rendered absurd and made obsolete when taken to extremes. It was the absurdity of Stephen VII's actions that were the cause of his downfall. The posthumous trial was considered shameful in Rome, and those that followed Formosus and had been ordained under his authority rebelled against Stephen VII, who was stripped of his title and imprisoned as a result (Muhammad and Tubbs 2016, 140). Thus, it is not enough to uphold and exercise authority and power. Those in power must act in accordance with the cultural precedent and, in effect, answer to the human remains that came before them.

Politicians and the Political Body

The European tradition of the preserved and displayed symbolic corpse is rooted in religion and the authority of both God and the crown, but in many ways, these traditions have persisted largely unaltered in more recent secular history. Embalming became a common practice in America as a means of preserving the remains of soldiers killed in the Civil War so that the bodies could be transported by train to be received by their families, and by this time, embalming was far more advanced than it had been in the times of King Edward I (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 31). The embalming process of draining the blood and filling the circulatory system with preservative chemical cocktails began in this time period, and the widespread embalming of soldiers' bodies may have been what normalized chemical embalming in North America and rooted it as traditional in the modern funeral industry.

The line of power that dictated the treatment and preservation of royal and holy corpses was interrupted in the founding of the American empire. No longer did a King rule by divine right, but a president was appointed by democratic vote to serve the people for a period of time before being replaced by retiring or being voted out. This political system was precedent-breaking, not only in the obvious departure from monarchies but in the change in bio-power that came with it. The American Civil War

was not waged in the name of the sovereign and protecting the power of the throne but rather on behalf of an entire population and the future of the nation (Foucault 1978, 137). The power over life and death was once considered solely within the domain of God and those appointed to represent the will of God, such that even taking one's own life was a crime as it was usurping the power of God and the representative sovereign to decide death (Foucault 1978, 138). Though the president may have the power to start wars and make the country participate, the firm grip over life and death a king had through divine right was loosened by the democratic process, and American culture surrounding death and preservation was changing as a result.

Abraham Lincoln is perhaps one of the best-known presidents in American history. During his tenure as president during the American Civil War, 1867 saw both the end of the war and Lincoln's infamous assassination, both events which shocked the nation and have since been immortalized in history. Though the processes of life and death had been somewhat democratized, the traditions of the old were still thoroughly woven into the fabric of democratic politics. President Lincoln's body was embalmed and displayed in the White House and Capitol, and then taken on a twelve-day train journey to his hometown in Illinois in a similar fashion to the transportation of the bodies of fallen soldiers (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 31). However, unlike the soldiers of the recently ended war, Lincoln's body was taken off the train in many cities for elaborate funeral ceremonies and viewings for thousands of mourners across the United States (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 31). While this long and elaborate affair may have been expected and even planned for, it did not end when Lincoln's body was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery. Lincoln was exhumed for the construction of a memorial and moved to a temporary vault, at which point the coffin was opened to verify the corpse's identity during transfer, and the corpse was viewed for this purpose once more in 1871 when reburied (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 32-33).

Though the American empire is one that is often defined by its departure from the traditions of monarchies as of its independence in the 18th century, the treatment of the first assassinated head of state indicates that there was not as strong a cultural departure as there was a political one. The corpse is capable of being a powerful political symbol, and even more so when the person it once was was a political symbol or occupied a political role in life; when a population is constantly reminded of a corpse's presence through its display or its tomb, coffin, or grave being aesthetically prominent, the corpse and its political associations live on in current memory more successfully than remains that are not commemorated and made visible as such (Harries 2021, 223).

The contemporary political symbology of the corpses of the powerful is perhaps best illustrated by possibly the most famous embalmed politician of the last hundred years: Vladimir Lenin. Lenin held a great amount of power during his life, and much of it was symbolic, as his likeness is one of the most propagandized icons of the Soviet era, along with the hammer and sickle flag. The USSR was a notably secular state and denounced religion as an institution that stood against Marxist principles. However, contention over how to best utilize Lenin's body began in the months before his death, and his embalming and display as a replacement for the religiously relicized corpse was proposed by members of his political party (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 33).

Like Lincoln, Lenin had hoped for a simple burial, but the symbolic political power both men represented eclipsed their identities and wishes. This led to both Lincoln and Lenin being 'temporarily' embalmed for a display to allow mourners to view the body of the beloved leaders (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 33-34). Unlike Lincoln, however, Lenin never got his burial. Despite the fact that his widow and close friends opposed his public display and that he was beginning to show signs of decomposition after a few weeks on public display, his remains are still an attraction almost 100 years after his death (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 35). The tireless efforts to maintain Lenin's corpse require a laboratory dedicated solely to his preservation and a team of professionals that are tasked with taking care of the crumbling corpse to the best of modern scientific capabilities. These extreme methods to preserve Lenin for yet another generation would not be continuing into the 21st century if it were not for the power of political tradition.

Though knowledge is assumed to refer to that which is objectively and demonstrably true, there are many forms of knowledge, some of which are subjugated and others which become dominant in part due to their usefulness as political instruments of power (Foucault 2003, 10). In this sense, knowledge is a process of tradition that affirms structures of domination, which in turn legitimizes the knowledge that they produce and produces them in a cyclical fashion. Within this wheel of knowledge and power, the corpse is stuck between the spokes as a means of securing power in death, if not for an individual, then for a system. Lenin's preservation is a departure from the assertion of the incorrupt saint: there is no case made on behalf of his corpse that divine power has preserved him, but his preservation is very much in line with other aspects of the religious preservations of history. By the time Lenin lived and died, the links between corpse preservation, power, and remains having power beyond their mortal abilities or accomplishments had already become woven into the cultural fabric of the Western world (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 37). The extended preservation and display of corpses became popular funerary rituals for communist leaders in the 20th century after the precedent set by Lenin's body, and the trend took off precisely because of the power in doing so. For a politician with a cult of personality, post-mortem preservation is a means of continuing to reign in the hearts and minds of a people after succumbing to the eventuality of mortality (Chamberlain and Pearson 2001, 39).

Applications and Implications in Contemporary Anthropology

Current research in anthropology is exceptionally broad, bridging the physical and sociocultural sides of the discipline in many ways. However, many of the recent anthropological inquiries into the political implications of human remains concern the direct results of political conflicts, such as victims of war or genocide, or the politics of repatriation or exhumation of remains to belong to specific groups who lay claim to often ancient remains (Harries 2021, 220). To specifically connect theoretical anthropological ideas of interference in political systems after death with the actuality of the preservation of the remains of the powerful is a potentially under-realized area of study. That being said, the political power of specific human remains is beginning to draw attention in anthropology, as despite the secularization of the Western world, the

symbolic power of religious figures still holds power for many. In 2011 an effigy of Saint John Paul II was toured to 92 dioceses in Mexico as a means of easing tensions brought about by the war on drugs (Norget 2021, 357). Though the effigy only held a small vial of the saint's blood and was otherwise constructed of wax, this tour was a direct political response to unrest using human remains as a political tool. Tours and pilgrimages remain popular well into the 21st century as the remains of saints are popular not only for personal and religious motivations but as actions with political designs. Despite the motivations of any individual viewing the remains of a saint, the remains are part of larger political and religious schemas ((Norget 2021, 359).

Just as the choice to display human remains may be politically motivated and implemented, the choice not to display human remains is similarly political. To remove human remains from the public sphere is often to remove them from public discussion, a contentious occurrence when remains are politicized (Harries 2021, 220). Hence, ownership and control over remains have recently become a relevant topic in anthropology, bridging the sociocultural and the archaeological with the political. The intent in adding to these discussions and the body of anthropological work on the subject is to draw in aspects of the theoretical discussion of the political role of human remains and to connect the histories of politicized remains chronologically to better illustrate the transformative role of religion in the preservation and politicization of human remains in the Western world. As anthropology becomes further concerned with the convergence of the physical, archaeological, political, and sociocultural, there can be no shortage of work that examines how these concepts are relevant to an ongoing history of preservation, display, and resulting power. Though there may be limitations presented by this specific focus, there remains value in indicating how and where the anthropological, theoretical, and political meet in terms of the preserved corpse.

In Conclusion

Though strides have been made to scratch the surface of the worldwide and historically ongoing processes of preserving and displaying the dead for political purposes, there remains much that can be examined. From ancient remains to the modern open-casket funeral, the processes surrounding death cannot be assumed to be apolitical and must be regarded as part of a larger sociocultural and historical context. Some human remains are more politicized than others, such as the bodies of the powerful and influential. However, processes of power and domination are so ingrained that not even in death is a person exempt from having a place in the interactions and power dynamics of any given society, even centuries post-mortem. In this way, there truly is a life after death as even if buried for hundreds of years, at a moment's notice, a corpse may be exhumed and rediscovered and thus brought into the world anew to be interpreted and used in any number of political discourses. This is a cultural aspect that ought to be analyzed and critiqued as it will surely continue in one form or another in any number of societies. As the current time period is one often anthropologically characterized as defined by the rapid spread of culture and information, it is possible we have yet to see

corpses that have global cultural impacts that the likes of St. Cuthbert could not have striven to. As time goes on, the popularity of various eco-friendly post-mortem solutions has risen dramatically, and many people, including those of influence and status, are voluntarily opting to be surrendered to the earth in ways that even archaeologists may not be able to recover in the centuries and millennia to come. Only time will tell how the political life after the death of preserved bodies will continue, but the cultural impact of the politicization of human remains will likely persist in some form long into the foreseeable future.

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Space Enthusiasts, Power, Kinship and Unpredictability: The Human Journey to the Cosmos and Outer Space Ethics

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Humans and their robotic emissaries are launching into space in ever greater numbers. While the technological aspects of these missions are prioritized and ongoing, the social aspects and ramifications of this movement into a new arena of exploration and exploitation leave questions unanswered. How does this look from the perspective of those interested in space, and are people interested in the quest to travel to space or is it a small privileged few whose voices dominate? These lead me to ask through the use of interviews how people feel about space, and if obligations to act ethically override other factors (scientific, financial, cultural as examples) for going there? Will humanity learn lessons from other historical instances of exploration and colonization on Earth that led to genocidal harm as we travel away from it and move into new areas, or perpetuate elitist, nationalistic and/or capitalist paradigms that prioritize the business or country over the human, and sociocultural beliefs? Or can humans work more inclusively, and collaboratively, to include the social sciences as part of this process, and in so doing, continue the work of decolonization? So called "space colonization" is an arena that could benefit from an increase in regulatory oversight and collaboration.

KEY WORDS colonization, environmental protection, hegemony, outer space, regulation, sky culture

When we think of humans going to space, we might think of Neil Armstrong taking that first step for humanity on the Moon in 1969. Or a scene from science fiction; a Star Trekesque captain warping off into space to perform acts of derring-do, encountering alien life that also somehow has two arms, two legs and one head. However, right now nations and private spaceflight companies are taking steps towards a human off-world existence, turning the theoretical and fictional into the actual. While most people may not be aware of this new area of exploration, it affects every person on the planet, and our global environment. Humanity and the social sciences need to become more involved in the planning and implementation of this action, learning from our history of colonization, to prevent future social and ecological harm, and solicit input from a multitude of diverse cultures.

Focus

For the purposes of this short-term research project (one academic semester, or approximately three months), interlocutors were solicited from a Canadian astronomy

club and charitable organization with a mandate in astronomy education and citizen science; the RASC (Royal Astronomical Society of Canada) and CosmoquestX, a United States based educational and citizen science organization produced out of the Planetary Science Institute, a 501(c)3 non-profit "dedicated to exploring our Solar System and Beyond"[1].

To maintain privacy, interlocutors are assigned star name pseudonyms in this ethnographic report (Albireo, Mira, Sirius, Procyon, Polaris, Castor, Deneb, Rigel, Pollux, Canopus, Capella, Antares and Betelgeuse) in interviews that were performed online.

The following questions were asked. "Please tell me your space story" as a general warm up. Follow up questions were "Does the human journey into space interest you?", "Do you think about how humans use the sky/outer space? Followed by "Do changes in its appearance bother you?" "Do you think about groups not represented in space/in the space industry (for example, racialized people, working class, non-English/Russian speakers)?", "Do we need regulations to protect people/the environment in space industries?" and ultimately "Is going to space an inevitable step in future human evolution?"

Liftoff

"I believe that space exploration in our expansion of our knowledge has had positive societal benefit. A lot of things would not have been developed had it not been for our desire to develop these things for space exploration", says Sirius. We've known each other for many years. We're friends, and we've had many astronomy adventures together; we've seen two shuttle launches together, so I know he's interested in human spaceflight. However, what he said shortly after wasn't what I expected. "I think we really should be having a hard look at what we're doing on our spending that money to clean up our climate and do the right things, so we don't have a need to expand beyond Earth."

Canopus says that "one that learning about astronomy ...has taught me is that what really is out there is not what we think it is whenever we look and find; the personal touch makes a better experience when the humans go (to space)." Deneb has a "concern about space exploration (and its) use of resources". Betelgeuse likewise questions current motivations in a new era of private spaceflight. "Is this to make already rich people, richer, or to better humanity?" Polaris describes humans going to space as "desirable, because there's a ton that we can learn from doing space. Whenever we push the edges of what humans are capable of going, we learn a great deal". Pollux says, "I always felt like a Martian who was just here among other humans, and we're somehow related, but I can't quite figure out how...didn't we all come from space?"[2]

We'd come a long way from that time, in 2008, when Sirius and I along with two other friends traveled from wintry Toronto to sunny Florida to watch humans launch into space. The mission of STS-122 involved using the shuttle, and its large cargo bay,

Image by author, 2008 Feb. 7, Causeway Kennedy Space Centre, just before the launch of the shuttle Atlantis STS-122. The rocket is circled in red, just before liftoff. The orange external tank attached to the rocket is just visible. [3]

to deliver the European Space Agency's Columbus module to the International Space Station (ISS). Many geopolitical and environmental events have occurred since then, and of course we're older. 38% of my interlocutors described being inspired by existing space missions as a reason they became interested in space.

Watching the shuttle from the causeway at the Kennedy Space Centre was a sensory experience that has the potential for many unpredictable events. Rockets explode occasionally, usually without people on them, but the Challenger accident from 1986, when all seven crewmembers died during launch, is seared into my memory; that tragic, lumpy, bifurcated uncontrollable contrail that denoted disaster. Ditto the shuttle Columbia disaster in 2003, when all astronauts died upon re-entry at the end of their mission (these are not the only spaceflight related deaths). Scrubs (when a launch is temporarily delayed) can also happen unexpectedly (technical issues, weather issues, range issues such as a boat too close to the launch area). Hence, if I see a rocket launch (regardless of nation), I hold my breath. As I re-listen to the audible cues from that countdown (the shuttle program was retired in 2011) and it sends me back in time, to relive that moment in Florida when I saw seven humans in a human built machine rise from sea level to low earth orbit (approximately four hundred kilometres altitude in this case) in 8 minutes.

The causeway at the Kennedy Space Centre (KSC) is a strip of land situated in the Merritt Island National Wildlife Refuge[1] on Florida's Atlantic coast (this refuge would not exist without the space program). We faced the launchpad, and in between us and the rocket was a manatee and alligator occupied estuary. It's a moment of incongruity and the antithetical. The natural, and the technological. These things don't always coexist well, but here they do. Buses bought us from the KSC exhibit area to the causeway, and the noise of these buses was omnipresent. Bus engines stayed on for the purposes of air conditioning. Should an explosion of the rocket occur, toxic materials would be released. While the main external tank of the shuttle contained non-toxic liquid hydrogen as fuel, the strap on Solid Rocket Boosters (SRB) which provided 85% of the thrust at liftoff contained toxic ammonium perchlorate (oxidizer) and atomized aluminum powder (fuel). Once the SRB's light, they cannot be shut off. In the case of an accident, people would be swiftly ushered back onto the buses for their safety.

Wildlife officers were seen prowling along the waterfront, to keep an eye out for alligators or people getting close to the shore. It takes hours for a countdown to transpire, with many steps and built in holds along the way. Would we see the launch that day? No one knew for sure. Everything had to go right. With a couple of hours to go until launch, we settled in to wait. We could hear the com checks from the control room to the astronauts in the vehicle, being broadcast over the loudspeakers. They had been strapped in their seats; they were checking communications. The launch director told the crew that they were not working any issues and they "are a go for launch". Launch countdown resumes. They finish fueling the rocket, the flurry of acronyms that leads to the "candle" (rocket) being lit are read aloud. Anticipation continues to build. We are all prowling now, albeit in our heads as we all stare at the rocket.

At two minutes to launch, the nose cap on top of the external tank rotates away. Launch is getting closer. If they were going to scrub, it's likely they would've done so by now. Already, it's the last minute of the countdown. Everyone around me is silent, staring, waiting. The sound suppression water system kicks in, flooding the area underneath the rocket with over a million litres of water in 41 seconds; this helps to absorb acoustic energy generated by the launch, while also creating the very large smoke plume we will shortly see at liftoff. We're waiting for the last ten seconds. They read aloud "ten, nine, eight……", "Go for main engine start", "main engine ignition" "three, two, one… liftoff!" One of my friends has ear protection on, concerned about the sound from the rocket launching ten kilometres away. It takes a few seconds for the shockwave to hit us, light traveling faster than sound. We see the liftoff before we hear it; the human made rocket on the human made cloud, rising upward, with humans on it. I cannot speak. People around me are whooping and hollering, but I just look up through my binoculars, not wanting the moment to end. I look briefly at another friend – he is smiling at me, with his hand on his head – he cannot believe it either.

The shockwave of launch hits my body (a very tangible feeling of vibration) and then a few short minutes later Atlantis became smaller, and smaller as she rose into space. There are people on that little dot; I wonder what they are feeling. I see the solid rockets fall away from the main rocket to eventually fall in the ocean (later to be retrieved), and then she was lost to my eyes.

Humans can do amazing things when they set their mind to something. Putting a human on the Moon, rovers on Mars, creating a vaccine for a life-threatening pandemic in record time, the discovery of electricity, genome editing, to name but a few scientific discoveries that have improved life for the better. Sirius saw this launch with me, and yet is now is more ambivalent about human spaceflight. Perhaps this is the "psychosocial resilience" that Howell and Peterson speak of in terms of healthy ageing (2020, 113). Perhaps he's wiser now.

There was a wistful nostalgia of fun times in the past, and also a bittersweet feeling of my naiveté in that moment before private spaceflights, before the war in Ukraine, before anthropogenic climate change was fully taking hold, before this horrible Covid-19 pandemic changed all our lives. I really felt spaceflight was for the betterment of our species, due to the positive uses of much of the spin off technology and research being done on the ISS that directly affects human health (research on infections, bone density issues, cancer, vision issues; it is a long list[5]). I still feel the net effects to human society from spaceflight have been positive, but now that spaceflight has moved from the governmental (representing the people) to private companies (representing profit but more flexibility in decision making), I fear the motivations have changed. If, however, private space companies are doing this also for the betterment of our species, they need to include more of our species in decision making processes.

Impact

While doom scrolling recently, Space Theoretician Dr. Natalie B. Treviño's tweet succinctly said what I had been struggling to find the words to say about a prevalence of colonialist knowledge and worldview that is prioritized over an Indigenous worldview. Non-Indigenous people seem slow to learn the lessons that Indigenous people have been teaching for millennia (if only everyone would listen), including the popular concept in space studies called the overview effect, whereby astronauts report being transformed by their sight of the Earth into space. Ambivalent one moment, ardent environmentalist the next. They realize how precious the Earth is, and from that vantage point notice there are no borders, and that our little problems are insignificant. Dr. Treviño says "With all due respect, can we stop with this bullshit? Why do white dudes need to be shot into space to understand what Indigenous peoples have been saying since forever?"[6]

In Minnesota, Dr. Annette Lee of the Native Skywatchers teaches astronomy education (in many cases online, accessible to anyone who wants to see it[7]), carrying on the work of elders who have passed away in some cases. She seeks to "remember and revitalize indigenous star and earth knowledge, promoting the native voice as the lead voice" (Lee 2019, 1). The key word here is "lead", insofar as whose voice is heard in colonized communities. Hegemonically, Indigenous communities don't always get to lead; they've been forced to adapt and follow while under threat of genocide. In Canada,

decolonialization and reconciliation are important concepts in society and anthropology. Albireo mentions that "Indigenous communities have been so under threat". However, as Mira says, "nobody is talking to each other".

Helen Sawyer Hogg was a twentieth century astronomer and a RASC member; "The Stars Belong to Everyone"[8] was the title of her popular book on observational astronomy. And the general assembly of the RASC in 2021 had a logo of the same name. It sounds egalitarian at first glance, but it doesn't fit everyone's worldview. For example, as University of Toronto Mi'kmaq astronomer and invited speaker Hilding Neilson explained to attendees, in his culture, the skies belong to no one (not everyone). He was working twice as hard than other speakers at his presentation. That is, he gave his talk, and then also educated us about his culture. Further, he has taken it upon himself to speak up for the rights of other Indigenous peoples (Neilson 2019, 312) while also undertaking his work as an astronomy professor. Decolonization has not yet occurred in astronomy, or in society, if this small example is any indication. And yet, the sky is being claimed by billionaires for the use that they, alone, prescribe, in the same way that colonizers took the land they claimed hundreds of years ago. One does not have to look far to see commercial spaceflight as a place of capitalist neoliberal colonialist patriarchy and the use of power.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith's "Decolonizing Methodologies" argues that the impetus for this western positioning of the superiority of Western knowledge began during the European Enlightenment which "provided the spirit, the impetus, the confidence, and the political and economic structures that facilitated the search for new knowledges... Whilst imperialism is often thought of as a system which drew everything back into the centre, it was also a system which distributed materials and ideas outward". Knowledge was "extracted" and "appropriated" (Smith 2012, 58). During colonization, Indigenous people were objectified and dehumanized, "classified alongside the flora and fauna" while samplings of various materials were dutifully collected and returned to the mother country for study and display in museums, and knowledge became "commodities of colonial exploitation" (Smith 2012, 59).

That western knowledge was centred and prioritized, and more than that, imposed. While Smith writes of experiences in New Zealand, the brutal legacy of residential schools (that sought to extinguish Indigenous culture in favour of a western Christian mindset) is documented in Canada by the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)[9]. In 2021, approximately two hundred graves were found at a residential school in Kamloops, British Columbia, announced by the Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc First Nation. This tragic discovery opened the floodgates to other graves found near other residential schools in other places in Canada.

The brutal, violent and racist legacy of the residential schools that survivors endured intergenerationally, and continue to suffer the effects of today, needs to be completely bought to light, and discussed, to understand, to help survivors and, hopefully in time, incorporate an Indigenous centred solution (that could start by reading and enacting the TRC's suggestions). Perhaps then, the positioning of where knowledge is centred can be renegotiated. Mira says "we haven't really embraced other cultures the way we

should when we explore a place". More than that, we haven't even begun to explore the cultures where we live. Western colonizers stole culture and lives during their invasion; are they willing to listen, and more than that, restore some of the knowledge that was erased? Can trust be restored between those who have been victimized, and those who are part of a group that perpetrated great harm? The TRC Calls to Action report has suggestions to aid businesses in how a collaborative relationship might look.

> 92. We call upon the corporate sector in Canada to adopt the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a reconciliation framework and to apply its principles, norms, and standards to corporate policy and core operational activities involving Indigenous peoples and their lands and resources. (2015, 10)

Canopus states, "I really think it goes back to the respect for the Earth and the world and nature that we don't have, and I think that's one of the things we can learn from First Nations."

While imprisoned for criticizing Benito Mussolini and fascism in Italy in the early part of the twentieth century, Marxist intellectual Antonio Gramsci wrote political theory. He's known for his ideas on cultural hegemony which describes how the state and ruling classes maintain power in capitalist societies (n.b. not all places sending rockets into space are purely capitalist or democratic; China, Russia and Iran have space programs run by the state. China is classified as a socialist dictatorship politically, but is part of a capitalist world order due to their production role. Iran is classified as having a semi developed economy by the United Nations, and is theocratic. Russia is currently a dictatorship). A group establishes its supremacy of another not only by physical force but also through a "consensual submission of the very people who [are] dominated" (Litowitz 2000, 518). That is, through persuasion by establishing the systems people have come to depend on where the dominant group can share their values (schools, pop culture, and so on). The patriarchal hegemony in the commercial space industry, like elsewhere in society, is mainly, but not completely, middle aged white males, some of them billionaires, such as Elon Musk, Jeff Bezos and Richard Branson.

Antares says "unfortunately you know that the rocket industry was kind of started by white males". He goes on to remind me of how slow-moving governments can be, and how private space companies are taking initiatives in technological and social ways faster, with less bureaucracy. He says "a lot of the advancement in making space accessible right now is being funded privately". As an example, he mentions how Jeff Bezos's Blue Origin flew Wally Funk to space[1] (an aviator denied travel to space during the Mercury era because she's a woman, she was part of the so-called Mercury 13, or FLAT's, or First Lady Astronaut Trainees during the early 1960's).

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62% of interlocutors said they think about underrepresented groups in astronomy and space industries (non-English or Russian speakers, women, racialized people). Castor informs me "out of more than six hundred, only four black women" have been to space. That's less than 1% (0.67%). The idea that space is for "rich white dudes" and for people they know was repeated frequently. Polaris mentions that part of his role as a teacher "was to recognize what culture someone was coming from" in order to better engage with that person as their teacher.

One of the first things that Capella said to me were her thoughts on how "selective" this new era of private spaceflight is. That and "white privilege". "You have to be rich to be able to do it, it's not open to everybody", and wondered "did they actually have an interest in space, or do they just want a notch on their belt?" "Space is for the rich", echoes Rigel. Deneb elaborates, "That would definitely be a concern for me about who would be going like would it just be people who are able to pay for the ticket to space like it's currently happening, or would it be like a truly diverse representation of humanity." Specifically related to private spaceflights such as those that Virgin Galactic and Blue Origin are undertaking, Clara Moskowitz echoes this sentiment. "All their flights did was give the impression that space—historically seen as a brave pursuit for the good of all humankind—has just become another playground for the 0.0000001 percent" (Moskowitz 2022).

100% of interlocutors interviewed agreed that regulations are needed for the use of outer space, and everyone was also concerned about changes in the appearance of the night sky (due to light pollution). Technological innovation generally precedes social development and regulations. In time, societies adapt to their changing worlds, although this process is generally rife with inequity. This hegemonic process has occurred time and time again since the Industrial Revolution, with no thought given to the consequences for the subaltern (who is everyone on Earth outside of the upper echelons of those in the spaceflight industry in this case, both governmental and private industry), or those outside the technological innovation process. The same is true regarding the journey of humanity into space, where regulations are slow to impede the process of thousands of sky-changing satellites into LEO (Low Earth Orbit). Like garbage and space debris that falls into the ocean, we likewise treat the sky with distain. This not only has environmental consequences, but scientific ones too. My interlocutor group was aware of changes in the appearance of the night sky over time, but didn't think that the general population shared that concern, because as Deneb states, "our daily life is hugely impacted so I can't necessarily bite the hand that feeds. Having internet and everything like those satellites are super helpful and GPS I don't know how anyone got anywhere without Google Maps.". Telecommunication satellites allow for transportation, communication, entertainment to name but a few ways in which they're firmly ensconced in daily modern life.

What people may be less aware of are the risks that an unlimited number of satellites pose as part of satellite constellations (satcons), as well as the ensuing light pollution and space debris that accompany them; they're a recent phenomenon so we must be open to unpredictability regarding consequences. Space debris is a broad category that includes objects large and small. They're not just floating; they're generally traveling at around 27,000 km/hr (the speed at which they were deposited there, to stay in orbit) and can be hazardous if they encounter other objects (especially tin-can-like pressurized places like the ISS that contain humans that require a nitrogen oxygen atmosphere to survive). Some of this debris will eventually burn up in Earth's atmosphere on its own, some of this debris will potentially stay in orbit a long time unless removed. The map of the debris is catalogued, and in flux. Alice Gorman describes this debris. "Satellites that work, satellites that don't work, the rocket stages

that delivered them, bolts, canisters, fairings, exploded fragments, flecks of paint, shrapnel, tools, fuel, and possibly, a remnant of organic waste from human spaceflight missions (yes I mean space poo)" (Gorman 2019, 120).

Anthropogenic light pollution from the ground from things like streetlights has negative human health consequences that has long been known (for us and for other species, see Ouyang et al 2017)). However, now we are seeing light pollution from the sky, and with an increase in the number of satellites, this will only worsen. Sky glow from satellites is not regional, like light pollution from the ground. Skyglow from satellites is global; everywhere and inescapable, even in the most remote location. Light reflects off satellites (and their solar panels) and creates a background glow on the night sky. 77% of interlocutors mentioned light pollution as a concern. (Pollux, Castor, Antares, Capella, Canopus, Albireo, Mira, Rigel, Polaris and Procyon). Pollux's thoughts about why this effect have gone mostly unnoticed is due to how gradual it is. That is "it's maybe a bit of the frog in the boiling water".

SpaceX's constellation of Starlink satellites is but one company (albeit the main company in this field) competing for bandwidth. Their "megaconstellation" "of circa 12,000 Starlink Internet satellites would dominate the lower part of the Earth orbit, below 600 km… (which are) acting as sources of reflected sunlight affecting ground-based (and in some cases even space-based) observations" (McDowell 2020,9). That number may rise to about 65,000 satellites, including other companies like OneWeb and Kuiper. Amazon is getting involved in this, the Chinese have their own plans to launch their own satcons, and in Canada local start-up company Kepler is getting in on the act. [11] They're changing how the sky looks from the ground. Sometimes this means a few more floating points of light that few will notice, other times they can interfere with astronomical work. As Lawler et al says, "These satcons will have negative consequences for observational astronomy research, and are poised to drastically interfere with naked-eye stargazing worldwide should mitigation efforts be unsuccessful." The chances of dying by asteroid are very small, but that's probably small consolation to the lifeforms that died during the impact event that hit Earth sixty-five million years ago that wiped out most of the dinosaurs.
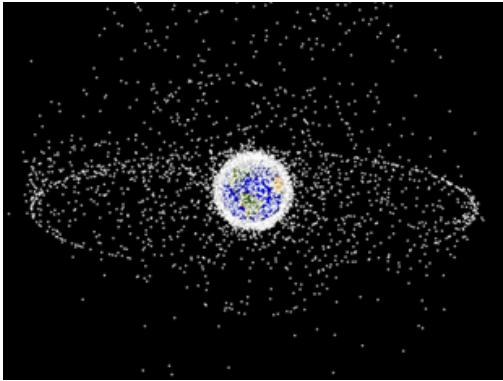
(Public Domain image of an ever-changing representation of orbital
debris from humans; courtesy NASA)

Our planet's history includes asteroid impacts time and time again; it might be nice to know if there's an asteroid coming our way that we could potentially do something about. Outer space, like land, oceans and air, is now an arena to be stockpiled and used, before others do, in the imperialist colonial style. Those with the most resources will grab the most, in this continuation of the process of colonization that has captivated powerful nations for hundreds of years. When countries (or in this case, private companies with less oversight) explore new areas with a goal of financial success and resource exploitation, will negative processes of colonization be repeated, or will humans learn from that and aim for equality? Do people know or care about space colonization, or is just the arena for a privileged few?

Outer space is not a lawless place, however the Outer Space Treaty, bought into effect by the United Nations, governing the use of space, was ratified in 1967[12]. A lot has happened since then. In late 2021, 54 years after the Outer Space Treaty came into effect, the United Nations formed a working group to further discuss the use of space and "to promote international cooperation and study legal problems arising from the exploration of outer space. It lacks any ability to enforce the principles and guidelines set forth in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty or even to compel actors into negotiations" (Hanlon and Autry 2021). The pace of spaceflight development is obviously outpacing regulations to keep up with it. We now have increasing risks of debris from space, the weaponization of space and threat of the Kessler Effect occurring in due course, whereby space debris crashes into other space debris, causing more space debris, causing problems for anyone planning to launch anything into orbit.

The sky is a shared global entity and cultural space, and yet only a small hegemony of space leaders decides what to do with it, in the same way that political leaders made decisions regarding exploration and exploitation beginning centuries ago.

Scientists depend on being able to analyze images from space to look for threats to Earth like asteroids, but the streaks of light from many of these satcons prevent it, or severely corrupt data. Lawler et al continues, "Without drastic reduction of the reflectivities, or significantly fewer total satellites in orbit, satcons will greatly change the night sky worldwide" (Lawler et al 2022, 1).

Some of the effects from these satcons are unpredictable and not yet known, but we're already discovering they are impacting us. Humans have looked to the night sky for millennia, seeking truth and wisdom in their everyday lives, searching for scientific knowledge, wondering when to plant crops, weather prognostication or exploring our own consciousness. It has generated thought, imagination and art; people still appreciate Van Gogh's "The Starry Night" after all, or delve into archaeoastronomy to look at millennia old cave drawings of astronomical phenomena and realize we're been looking up for a very long time the world over. For example, in the Southern United States (Chaco Canyon petroglyphs showcasing the ancient Chacoan civilization's interpretation of a supernova[13]) or cave art in Australia that was created thirty thousand years ago, like the Sun engraving at Ngaut Ngaut, South Australia (Norris and Hamacher 2010, 99). However, we're now reaching a point, due to anthropogenic causes, that means the appearance of the sky is changing and less accessible than it has

ever been in human history. What effects will this have on future artists, scholars or amateur astronomers?

In space, it's frequently said that there's a place for everyone in the space industry, although that's not generally observed in the workforce which should include more social scientists and artists. If space needs everyone, a more diverse workforce is needed with people who listen to each other and respect other cultures and beliefs is required while, or before, we continue our human space journey.

Conjunctions

There was a common theme of familial connection that was an unexpected part of the interview process. The interview questions did not include questions of family, and yet they spontaneously arose with almost all the interlocutors when asked to describe their space origin stories, or how they got interested in space. Sirius describes going on a trip to the Yukon with his wife and mother-in-law to see the aurora borealis (northern lights), and during that trip "she was out of the back deck in the middle of the night early morning hours, pointing up constellations and telling me stories about those constellations. That's what hooked me."

Capella talks about her husband as being her gateway into astronomy. "You know he was such an enthusiastic guy about it. And, you know, I kind of got drawn in from him." It later became a family activity, involving their three children, and how they call participated in family outings to their astronomy club's observatory.

Capella's daughter Deneb says "my dad sort of like leads everything but I've always found it really interesting too, especially like with a telescope and when you're young to see everything, and just to realize that there really is something else out there."

Betelguese recalled family support early in childhood during the Apollo 11 lunar landing. " I always remember the, the moon landing. We were camping as a family. And I insisted that my parents bring along this small black and white TV. So... I was watching that thing in our tent. And it was pouring rain outside and my dad run this electrical cable from the battery of the car into the tent to power this thing ... And you know how a grainy the images were..."

Canopus's space family connections were also Moon inspired. "When I was a teenager, I guess maybe not even quite that Mom and Dad got me a telescope for Christmas, and it was what you might expect a small refractor on a wobbly mount with crap eye pieces ...and it was of course, following the moon landings of people out there and so perhaps that was why they got me the telescope." Albireo says "my Mom being school teacher... she was trying to help you know at home, get me sort of more enthused and get my marks up and stuff like that. So she was making a kind of a concerted effort, getting me to read more finding things that I was interested in, stuff like that. And she found that I sort of took an interest in science fiction... I'm just a just a product of the space race, you know, my parents were watching the TV broadcast with Walter Cronkite, and they pump me down in front of a TV and I guess maybe I don't clearly remember it."

Pollux has early memories of his father and a comet. "It was either Comet Kohoutek or comet West, that was coming by. And my dad had a little tabletop. You know, type telescope. And we went out to vacant lot near the house...to look at and see if we could see the comet."

Polaris's story was a conjunction of a trip to the Grand Canyon as a small child, being curious, and playing with enabling siblings. "How did I become a scientist. Okay. And as far as I can tell, it's innate personality trait for me, whether that's nature and nurture I really couldn't tell you. But since I was three, I've been asking annoying questions like even before I knew how to articulate them, that by the way is my distinction of what makes a scientist versus everybody else. Everybody asks questions, scientists ask annoying questions." After the Grand Canyon trip, he took what he learned there and attempted to replicate the processes that created the Grand Canyon in his yard. At age three. "When I got home, I dug myself a little channel in the front yard that went right up to the spigot on one side and a big hole in the ground on the other side, turned on the water and waited... It didn't work. So, I grabbed a bucket and started bailing out of the hole, so it would keep going for longer because they said it took a long time, still didn't make buttes, but I didn't get covered in mud and in fact I was having such a good time doing it my siblings joined in and we had a bucket brigade of dumping muddy water all over the front yard."

A connection to space may begin as part of kinship at home, and then develops. Kinship is a large part of the space community in a field which is usually rather insular, within an activity that can be done solo. Introverts abound. They look through telescopes alone, but it is much more fun to say "Hey, come look at this; how many of Saturn's moons do you see?" to confirm an observation, or to have someone to keep us company, or to chat to, or ask "is that a coyote?" when hearing rustling in the bushes nearby, followed shortly thereafter by the coyote's startling communicative howl. These kinship ties may begin with the family we're genetically related to, or the family we've acquired through association and friendship; a chosen family. As part of the wider global family of homo sapiens who all share the same sky.
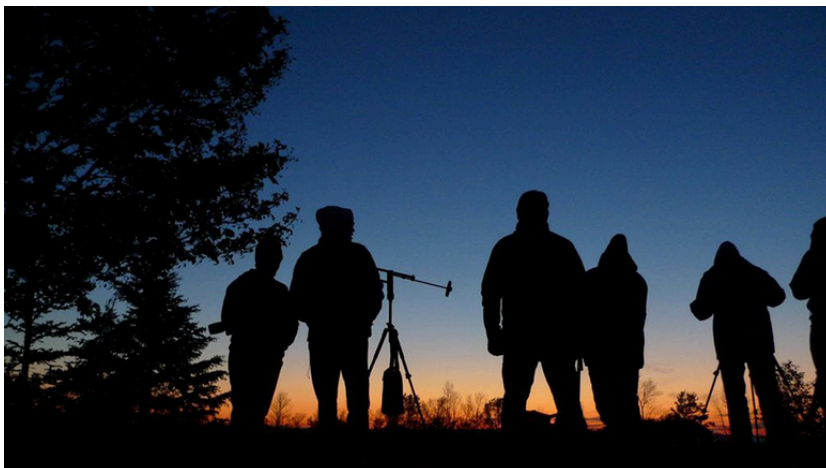

Image by the author, 2013 May 23, Toronto RASC's Carr Astronomical Observatory (CAO), anticipation waiting for darkness; what unpredictable moments would we face? We're in it together

Orbital Motion

Humans have an urge to explore; multiple interlocutors mentioned this. We're curious creatures. We want to see what is behind a door, beyond the next hill, over the next ocean. For example, Procyon says "I think people will explore, wherever they can get to go, you know, and if they can figure out how to go and dive into a lava flow, they will". Rigel goes on to say that to meet our full potential we need to both explore robotically and in person. She equates it to doing a virtual tour of a museum. "You can sit in your living room at your computer desk and see the Mona Lisa… but until you have boots on the ground and can look at it, you can't truly appreciate it".

While we analyze past actions, the future is much more unpredictable since current collaborative partnerships are unraveling for geopolitical reasons. I won't offer a crystal ball to gaze into. Ritzer and Dean concur that "the social sciences… prognostications about the future are notoriously weak" (2015, 440). However, I've witnessed time and time again that, once in space, the country of origin appears less important than the person. Astronauts frequently collaborate, share meals, help each other out. Politics becomes less important when you're working together, isolated in a harsh environment.

Public domain image courtesy NASA. From left: astronauts Christina Koch, Luca Parmitano, and Nick Hague with cosmonauts Alexey Ovchinin and Alexander Skvortsov, representing three space agencies (NASA, ESA, Roscosmos), They're having a space pizza party 2019. What is more human than to share food while collaborating on a project?

Humans have been continually residing on the International Space Station for over twenty-one years. Expedition 1, with a crew of three humans, docked at the fledgling orbiting human-built home on November 2, 2000, and over two decades[14] and many long duration spaceflights later with multiple rotating crews from many countries, we stand at Expedition 66.

From an anthropological perspective, fieldwork of an archaeological nature was recently undertaken in space to study "space culture" (Walsh and Gorman 2021, 1331). Wherever humans go they leave artifacts. Astronauts are being used to collect data for this project, as they have done data collection in many areas of research before; that is something they're used to. They'll be "carry (ing) out an archaeological survey of the interior of the ISS" (Walsh and Gorman 2021, 1338). Does the presence of gravity determine how a society works, and how humans interact? Stay tuned.

During the process of interviewing interlocutors, this research evolved from purely interrogating the act of colonization into the relatively new arena of space (based on historical instances) and morphed towards questioning why this activity (humans going to outer space) should be happening at all, which was not an expected response given the pro-space nature of these groups. Unpredictability was added as an event common not only for the interlocutors, but was something that connected all levels hierarchically; it even included the researcher. From government or leaders in industry, to the people involved in decision making processes, to the engineers and workers and the possibility of technical challenges, right through to the citizen scientists and amateur astronomers, there were instances of unpredictability.

RUD's (Rapid Unscheduled Disassembly)

At the time of writing, Russia has shocked the world by invading Ukraine, perpetrating acts of war against its neighbour country. Russia has been a partner in many space activities, which depends so much on collaboration between nations. Until SpaceX started ferrying astronauts from the United States to the International Space Station (ISS), and since the retirement of the Space Shuttle, the Russian Soyuz was the only reliable way to get humans to space. More than that, Russia is a partner in the collaborative consortium of countries who operate the ISS together, which used to be a source of great pride among space enthusiasts. That is, countries that used to be at war with each other (the United States, Japan, Russia, Canada, the European Union) moving beyond past enmity, working together towards a greater good. At least, that is what we had hoped. There is so much grief being felt in the space community, not only worldwide at the trauma occurring to the Ukrainian people, but at the unraveling of this community of cooperation. CosmoQuest's Dr. Pamela Gay did a deep dive into this recently[15], trying to put together all the moving parts.

It's emotional on a number of levels, not the least of which is the idea that space is my happy place, the place I've turned to during times of emotional upheaval, to try to make sense of life, to be my emotional port in a storm. Well, now the storm has moved into space, and is an intrusion; my happy space is not so happy any more.

Spaceflight rockets are close cousins to weapons of mass destruction (North Korea is currently being observed testing intercontinental ballistic missiles on the Korean peninsula[16]). The United States probably wouldn't have landed a person on the Moon in 1969 if it hadn't been for a former World War II Nazi aerospace engineer Wernher von Braun testing the V2 rocket; a weapon of mass destruction that wrought havoc during WWII and caused countless deaths. Von Braun's later legacy is supposed to erase

V2 rocket. Image by author, August 30, 2016 Smithsonian, Air and Space Museum Washington, D.C.

his earlier one, one supposes. The United States took a war criminal and turned him into a Disney television star.[17] One only has to visit the Smithsonian's Air and Space Museum in Washington, D.C. to see a V2 rocket displayed near an Apollo lander.

Observing

A long-time space nerd, astronomy and space science has been my emotional port in the storm of life; I turned to it during times of tumult. Looking up into a dark sky and thinking about the age of the universe and the immensity of space puts my too-short life and little problems into perspective while reaping the benefits of being in the great outdoors. My shoulders drop, by jaw unclenches and I take a deep breath; I'm so lucky I live in a time when photons of light traveling from galaxies millions of lightyears away end their journey at my retina after traveling through my telescope and eyepiece; a multitude of telescope equipment is relatively inexpensive and accessible this century, unlike most of human history to date[18]. There's a connection of light between myself and the universe. In recent years, however, internal conflicts and defacements of the sky have emerged causing guilt and concern.

A conflict exists between learning about the wonders of the cosmos, recognizing the preciousness of life on Earth, seeing the amazing things that humans can do in the spa-

pace industry (that put humans on the Moon, sent rovers to Mars and landers to Titan, former enemies collaborating as partners on the ISS and so on) but all the while the possibility exists that humans will not learn lessons from the past. Humans don't always treat other humans well when push comes to shove, especially when economic pressures intrude, or when humans decide to start to live in a new place where they didn't previously. This internal conflict, between my love of space and how others are coopting it for profit and ruin, does not just concern me. What was unpredictable was how many interlocutors shared these concerns. It wasn't just me, the "woke" person.

Setting

We're all astronauts exploring our place in the universe. We're collaborative lifeforms on a rock in space moving through the cosmos in the only place in the universe where life exists, that we know of. Environmental, familial and equity themes were noted by the interlocutors. The late Carl Sagan once wrote "We are not yet ready for the stars. But perhaps in another century or two, when the solar system is all explored, we will also have put our planet in order…What we do with our world in this time will propagate down through the centuries and powerfully determine the destiny of our descendants and their fate, if any, among the stars" (Sagan 1980, 212). Not everyone is going to be aware of, or like, or have knowledge of, everything, even if it affects them and their environment.

Within my interlocutor group, 85% agreed that going to space was part of future human evolution. There's uncertainty in when, and how, this might happen. Even if groups who are interested in the use of outer space for scientific, not exploitative, purposes cannot agree on how to proceed in our journey outwards towards space, then perhaps billionaires need to slow down and not continue their path of speaking for our species without more consultation with different cultures and astronomical groups. They should consider collaboration and seek out different voices. There can be no globalization without a globe; our whole world and all the humans that inhabit it. Humans cannot say they're going to decolonize and not do the work and learn from it moving forward. This education has not been completed, and not all voices are heard. One thing that humans and outer space have in common, is that we're susceptible to unpredictable events but we move inexorably onward, or upward.

Notes

1. https://cosmoquest.org/x/about-cosmoquest/
2. The answer is yes https://www.universetoday.com/132791/confirmed-really-star-stuff/
3. NASA official launch video of STS-122 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jqGUco8zzPs
4. https://www.fws.gov/refuge/merritt-island/about-us
5. https://www.nasa.gov/mission_pages/station/research/news/iss-20-years-20-breakthroughs
6. https://twitter.com/nat_geo_theory/status/1497223309922025483
7. https://www.nativeskywatchers.com/
8. https://www.rasc.ca/helen-hogg
9. https://nctr.ca/records/reports/
10. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/19/science/wally-funk-jeff-bezos.html
11. https://kepler.space/
12. https://www.unoosa.org/oosa/en/ourwork/spacelaw/treaties/outerspacetreaty.html
13. https://earthsky.org/human-world/chaco-canyon-nm-rock-art-supernova-pictograph/
14. https://www.nasa.gov/sites/default/files/atoms/files/iss20_celebrating_20_years.pdf
15. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gtiKRASHOu0
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Redress and Reconciliation for Indigenous Peoples in the Form of Apologies: An Inadequate and Abysmal Procedure that Supports Settler Colonialism

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To reach redress and reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples, establishments such as the Catholic Church as well as the Canadian Government decided to issue "apologies;" however, these attempts are unauthentic as they support settler colonial ideals, and further promote the marginalization of Indigenous Peoples. This paper critiques current attempts of redress and reconciliation for Indigenous Peoples by contending these "apologies" are insincere. Drawing on various frameworks provided by scholars such as Borrows, Palmater, Corntassel and Holder, as well as Tavuchis and James, this paper analyzes apologetic attempts made by the Catholic Church, former Canadian Prime Minister, Stephen Harper (2008), and Pope Francis (2022) to argue that "apologies" are not only inadequate forms of reconciliation, but also insinuate absolute disregard and disrespect towards all Indigenous Peoples. Most importantly, this paper claims that the Canadian Federal Government must implement strategies of reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples by including them in policy-making decisions.

KEY WORDS apologies, reconciliation, redress, settler colonialism, two-spirit

T he Prime Minister of Canada and its other institutions, such as the Catholic Church, appear to seek reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples. One of the most common ways this is manifested is through "apologies," statements that are generally intended to address unjust actions and promote reconciliation (Blatz, Schumann, and Ross 2009, 229). It is worth noting that reconciliation and redress are not simple or easy tasks—neither is the act of an authentic apology. Apologies are arguably a minor first step forward towards redress and reconciliation; thus, given the implementation of federal legislation such as the *Indian Act*[1] one would assume the task of creating an authentic apology is of the utmost importance for the Canadian Federal Government. However, due to the entrenchment of settler colonial ideals[2] in the policies and practices of the Canadian Federal Government (Lawrence 2003), many attempts to reconcile with Indigenous Peoples in the form of apologies have been unsuccessful, as they do not align with the criteria associated with authentic apologies (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 468-9). This paper begins by providing a brief explanation of Canada's attempts to erase Indigeneity, Settler colonial ideals refers to practices of

"assimilation through elimination" of Indigenous people by the Canadian Federal Government. This includes, but is not limited to practices of enfranchisement, forceful citizenship, "bleeding out the native" through Blood Quantum, and creating "Indian Reserves" (Lawrence 2003). followed by the history of residential schools to highlight the areas in which the Canadian Federal Government continuously fails to address the experiences of Indigenous Peoples and Two-Spirit Indigenous identities. The second part of this paper identifies the characteristics of an apology and compares them to expressions of sympathy in order to provide a basis for an authentic apology. This analysis will thereafter be applied to an apology articulated by the former Prime Minister of Canada, Stephen Harper (2008), representing his insincere effort (on behalf of the Federal Government of Canada) to reconcile with Indigenous Peoples. Considering that the Catholic Church was an institution directly involved in the operation of residential schools (NPR 2022), this section will also discuss (the rejection of) Pope Francis' 2022 apology.

Finally, attempts of redress through apologies will be critiqued as it enforces settler colonial ideals. Overall, I argue that apologies are inadequate forms of reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples that support settler colonialism through carefully formatted syntactic and semantic properties. Most importantly, since attempts of "authentic apologies" insinuate absolute disregard and disrespect towards Indigenous Peoples, this paper challenges the Federal Government of Canada to not only adopt policies that include them in the processes of reconciliation and redress, but in policy-making decisions as well.

Background: Canada's Heinous Attempts of Erasing Indigeneity

An apology is defined as "an admission to blameworthiness and regret by the actor" (Bruce and Barry 1981, 272). Apologies allow the actor to admit blameworthiness in hopes of obtaining a pardon from the targeted audience (Bruce and Barry 1981, 272). In the context of state and institutional apologies, these are "issued for historic wrongs: incidents and abuses in the distant (and not so distant) past for which acknowledgement has never been given and redress never made..." (MacLachlan 2015, 442). Since the "wrongs in question damage our trust in specific institutions, and also shake our trust in government oversight and regulation of those institutions" (MacLachlan 2015, 442), the state's purpose in delivering these apologies is to mend the relationship between the public and the state. According to Blatz, Schumann, and Ross, some scholars believe that apologizing for historical injustices is "necessary to heal the wounds caused by pass harms" (2009, 229). However, apologies are less effective when the concerns of the victimized group are ignored (Blatz, Schumann, and Ross 2009, 237). For example, when considering Germany's apology as redress for Nazi atrocities towards Jewish victims, those pertaining to the LGBTQ2S+ community and other marginalized categories such as Romany people are often excluded due to political pressure (Blatz, Schumann and Ross 2009, 236). Similarly, past Canadian

apologies have neither directly recognized the diverse experiences of Two-Spirit Indigenous Peoples, nor addressed the present impact of rampant homophobia in most Indigenous communities in Canada (Ristock et al. 2019, 770). Thus, these types of apologies are likely to be less effective as they exclude people that have been negatively impacted by the actions of the individual or government body attempting to apologize.

Before further analyzing apologies, it is essential to address how the Canadian government tries to erase the presence of Indigenous Peoples: *what is Canada's involvement in eradicating Indigenous peoples' presence in society?* This is an important question to consider as the Canadian government and the Catholic Church are seeking to (inadequately) apologize for one of the more egregious atrocities inflicted upon Indigenous Peoples: residential schools.. This section provides information on residential school systems and the attempted colonization of Queer and Two-Spirit Indigenous Peoples. By contextualizing Canada's horrendous actions towards Indigenous Peoples of many intersecting identities through residential schools, I advance the argument that apologies are not only inadequate, but do not encapsulate Canada's legacy of ethnic cleansing.

Residential Schools: Breaking Spirits

One of the most horrific attempts to erase Indigeneity occurred through residential schools. Even though many Canadians have heard this term, according to the Assembly of First Nations only ten percent understand the brutal, violent, and traumatic experiences (AFN 2021). The first church-run residential school opened in 1831 (NCTR 2023). With the exception of Newfoundland, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island (Canadian Geographic 2023), by the 1880s (NCTR 2023) all provinces and territories in Canada built federally funded, church-run residential schools (Canadian Geographic 2023). Residential schools had clear objectives: the assimilation and colonization of Indigenous Peoples (ibid). To achieve this goal, the Canadian government enacted the *Indian Act*, which forced over 150,000 children to attend residential schools (NCTR 2023). Residential schools operated for over 150 years, as the last residential school did not close until the late 1990s in Saskatchewan (Canadian Geographic 2023).

Drawing on Mi'kmaq lawyer, professor, and activist, Dr. Pamela Palmater, the following section outlines explicit details about the reality of residential schools. There is no ambiguity regarding the purpose of residential schools: they are designed to "eliminate Indigenous Peoples as 'distinct legal, social, cultural, religious and racial entities'" (Palmater 2020, 97). Admittingly, Canada executed a cultural, physical, and biological genocide which resulted in the deaths of more than two million Indigenous Peoples (Palmater 2020, 97). It is important to recognize that Canada wants to remove Indigeneity completely: not only in its physical form by 'educating'[3] Indigenous children in residential schools, but also the absolute removal of "'legal, social, cultural, religious and racial entities'" (Palmater 2020, 97). The types of heinous acts committed towards Indigenous children include, but are not limited to direct killings, serious bodily and mental harm, enticing physical destruction, preventing births, and forced

family transfers (Palmater 2020, 98-9). Simply reading these general categories is not enough to imagine the horrendous and inexplicable acts committed towards Indigenous children, which consist of "deliberately infecting children with smallpox; rape; sodomy; torture; solitary confinement; electric chairs; (sexual) assaults; starvation, beatings and tortures to death; and Indigenous women and girls forcefully sterilized (not to bear children) and subject to abortions" (Palmater 2020, 98-9).

Colonizing Identities: The Case of Two-Spirit and Queer Indigenous Peoples

Given the fact that Canadian apologies have not directly addressed the suppression of Two-Spirit and Queer Indigenous Peoples (Ristock et al. 2019, 770), it is equally important to contextualize their unique settler colonial experiences. Settler colonialism imposes a national, hegemonic identity that is purely heterosexual. Early European settlers targeted Two-Spirit traditions amongst Indigenous cultures (Brayboy 2018) because it was a strong source of identity. All Indigenous societies acknowledged three to five gender roles: "female, male, Two-Spirit female, Two-Spirit male and transgendered" (Brayboy 2018). As scholar and activist Qwo-Li Driskill states, "sexual assault, sexism, homophobia, and transphobia are entangled with the history of colonization" (Driskill 2004, 51). This section will draw upon Driskill's essay, which outlines personal traumas related to settler mentality and violent acts of oppression towards Indigenous identities. In order for the general settler population to understand Indigenous sexual and gender identities, the universal term 'Two-Spirit' was officially adopted from the Ojibwe language in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1989 (Brayboy 2018). It is worth noting that despite the importance of Indigenous identities, a 'universal, English term' was required to classify Indigenous Peoples. This term is not always translatable with the same meaning among Native languages (Brayboy 2018), which the general (White), colonizing population seems to disregard. In simpler terms, the identities of Indigenous Peoples cannot be easily translated into White communities due to the unfamiliarity of Native traditions: for instance, Driskill identifies as a Two-Spirit person, which is the closest description available in English terms (Driskill 2004, 52). The forced creation of a word that loses Indigenous identity significance—in order to satisfy the dominant, (White) English, settler population—is a form of settler colonialism itself. Instead of compromising the integrity of Indigenous identities, emphasis should be placed on learning the traditions that constitute Indigenous identities: one belief being that "some people are born with the spirits of both genders and express them so perfectly" (Brayboy 2018)—to possess the ability to see the world through "the eyes of both genders...is a gift from The Creator" (Brayboy 2018).

It is thus apparent and vital to recognize that Indigenous Peoples are not only colonized by land, but also through their identities (Driskill 2004, 52); as a result, women are not accepted as leaders, and those of extra-ordinary genders and sexualities are oppressed (Driskill 2004, 52). When analyzing apologies, Two-Spirit and Queer identities of Indigenous Peoples are completely disregarded—this is problematic as it

continues to internalize the dominant culture's sexual values, while simultaneously shaming, degrading, and colonizing Queer sexualities and genders (Driskill 2004, 54). For instance, when settler colonials such as Christopher Columbus encountered Two-Spirit people, they were "thr[own] into pits with their war dogs and were torn limb from limb" (Brayboy 2018). These actions are inhumane and are often (conveniently) left out of important conversations regarding redress and reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples. Working towards reconciliation and healing from historical trauma requires the acknowledgment and engagement of Two-Spirit identities: Beth Brant (Bay of Quinte Mohawk) expresses, "'Much of the self-hatred we carry around inside us is centuries old. To deny our sexuality is to deny our part in creation'" (Driskill 2004, 55). It is therefore inconceivable to reconcile with Indigenous Peoples when core aspects of their identities are neglected and continuously subjected to colonialism.

Apologies and Expressions of Sympathy: Malevolent Acts Towards Reconciliation

Offering apologies as a form of reconciliation has become a common practice in the political sphere: in fact, since states, corporate entities, and religious figures are all tendering apologies, many refer to this time as the "'Age of Apology'" (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 467). Before contextualizing apologies with Indigenous Peoples, it is important to address the rather paradoxical nature of apologies as proposed by Nicholas Tavuchis: "... 'an apology, no matter how sincere or effective, does not and cannot undo what has been done. And yet, in a mysterious way and according to its own logic, this is what it manages to do'" (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 467-8). For instance, government apologies for historical injustices are typically formal and "attempt to redress a severe and long-standing harm against an innocent group" (Blatz, Schumann, and Ross 2009, 221).

In addition, "a government is unlikely to offer an apology when it anticipates a major political backlash" (Blatz, Schumann, and Ross 2009, 223). Thus, these calculated apologies are notable for many reasons: first and foremost , reconciliation as an act from the Canadian Federal Government does not necessarily use apologies to "undo" the actions of the past. Instead, this paper argues that apologies are used to reinforce settler colonial ways to "forget" the past, or more specifically, reduce residential schools to a faint memory. This argument is consistent with government apologies as they tend to praise the current laws and dissociate from the injustices that occurred long ago to provide a (false) sense of present, contemporary justice (Blatz, Schumann, and Ross 2009, 223). As Norman Ravvin explicates, "the Canadian past is too often made to go away quietly without struggle" (Norquay 2010, 21). In a similar manner, therefore, by addressing apologies to Indigenous Peoples, the Federal Government attempts to eradicate the truth, history, and reality of residential schools and their remaining effects on Indigenous Peoples, while simultaneously creating the falsehood that justice has been given to the events that occurred "long ago" (Blatz, Schumann, and Ross 2009, 223).

Before outlining the characteristics of an apology, it is worth briefly mentioning a secondary, but nevertheless important factor: the actual delivery of an apology. The delivery of an apology is always on the settler colonial's terms. As Gibney and Roxstrom contend, the state controls *when* the apology will be given, and the manner in which it will be given (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 468). This ironically demonstrates the 'power' and 'control' the nation-state seeks to maintain, even when *trying* to reconcile for the same 'power' and 'control' that continues to drive the unjust treatment of Indigenous Peoples. In fact, this perpetuates the same power imbalances and further places assimilative pressures on the "less powerful group" (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 468). This leads to the question, what constitutes an authentic apology? The following are the criteria Matt James accredits to an authentic political apology:

> recorded officially in writing, names the wrongs in question, accepts responsibility, states regret, promises non-repetition, does not demand forgiveness, is not hypocritical or arbitrary and undertakes efforts to engage with those whom the apology is addressed. (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 468-9)

This framework will be applied to the analysis of Stephen Harper's 2008 apology because each of aforementioned criterion are carefully constructed to induce a premeditated response from the public. The research of Blatz, Schumann, and Ross offers interesting insights into similar patterns of official government apologies from multiple countries (2009, 223-29). For instance, their research yields that a promise of forbearance is present in eighty-five percent of apologies directed towards injustices (Blatz, Schumann, and Ross 2009, 227) and seventy-seven percent of apologies offer a method of reparation (Blatz, Schumann, and Ross 2009, 228). However, when analyzing apologies as acts of reconciliation, it is also important to distinguish the difference between apologies and expressions of sympathy.

Contrary to apologies, expressions of sympathy 'place the blame on the individual.' For example the phrases, "We are sorry you feel this way" and "We are sorry for _____" do not convey the same message. The former is an expression of sympathy and places the burden (or the blame) on the other individual instead of claiming responsibility. In comparison, the latter addresses the wrongful action they committed. In relation to apologies addressed to Indigenous Peoples for residential schools, a statement such as "We are sorry you feel upset about residential schools" is categorized as an expression of sympathy— (although this paper would not consider this sympathetic at all)— because it does not accept any blame, and places the burden of 'feeling upset' on the individual/group to whom this statement is addressed. This is an important distinction because it allows one to identify the authenticity of an apology, while also aligning with Matt James' third criteria for a genuine apology. Despite this criterion seeming self-explanatory, the Canadian government reputedly fails to address these basic foundations for an apology. For instance, an apology administered by Jane Stewart in 1998 used nondescript and guarded language to indicate that residential school experiences are "historical" occurrences (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 473). Through these carefully articulated apologies, the government also distributes their narrative of the Indigenous residential school experience: meaning, not only did[4] Indigenous

children suffer in residential schools, but the government alters their experiences through the settler colonial narrative they seem to appropriate. This paper criticizes the ongoing failed government efforts to address the injustices Indigenous Peoples endured in residential schools and the continuation of their effects experienced today. There is a clear issue in which these apologies are deeply rooted in settler colonial ideals, yet an alternate approach to creating a genuine apology has not emerged . Since the Canadian Federal Government refuses to listen to statements by Indigenous survivors such as Chief Robert Joseph (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 474), perhaps an apology can be created in unison with Indigenous survivors so their narrative (the one that matters) will actually be recognized and addressed. This paper recognizes that this task is difficult, especially considering Canada's rejection of a truth commission strategy for a set of policy recommendations in 1998 (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 473). However, it is imperative to create and implement a new, effective action towards reconciliation. If the Canadian Federal Government cannot formulate an efficacious apology—which is a minor step towards reconciliation—how will Indigenous Peoples ever receive the justice they deserve? The fact that another approach has yet to be implemented further indicates the Canadian Government's lack of interest in genuine reconciliation, therefore proving the fallacious nature of apologies towards Indigenous Peoples.

Apologies: Supporting Settler Colonial Ideals

The apology that will be primarily analyzed was presented by the former Prime Minister of Canada, Stephen Harper, in 2008, which is directed to residential school survivors. The second part of this section will analyze the more recent apology delivered by Pope Francis in 2022, which was meant to address the church's involvement in operating residential schools (NPR 2022). The latter section also discusses the rejection of the Pope's apology by many Indigenous Peoples and scholars as it lacks mention of sexual abuse and does not accept responsibility by the Catholic Church as an institution (NPR 2022).

An Analysis of Harper's 2008 "Apology

When analyzing Stephen Harper's apology on behalf of the Federal Government of Canada, there are many apparent points worth noting[5]. To begin, Harper commences his speech with an introduction that credits the contributors to this apology—an act that is completely inappropriate because it shifts the attention towards "praising" the settler colonials that crafted this apology, instead of focusing on Indigenous Peoples and the effects of residential schools. In fact, this superiority complex that praises the Canadian Federal government is seen throughout the speech in many forms—both semantically and physically. For example, when Harper states for the first time that "Canada recognizes residential schools were 'wrong,'" he receives a rather lengthy applause that he accepts (APTN News 2018, 3:19-26). In addition, Harper uses the past tense of almost all the verbs in the apology—clearly indicating that residential schools

are 'in the past.' More specifically, Harper expresses that residential schools are a "sad chapter in our history" (APTN News 2018, 2-2:03). Not only does this comment dismiss the experiences of residential school survivors, but the usage of "chapter" indicates that Canada's history is continuously being written, and once the reader metaphorically "flips the page," the experiences of Indigenous Peoples disappear. This is further expressed when Harper states, "the abuse they suffered" (APTN News 2018, 6:44-8). Thus, the semantic and syntactic structure of this speech is very contradictory: Harper insinuates that Canada "understands there are lingering effects of residential schools today," yet he repeatedly uses the past tense both in metaphors and in verbs, indicating that the transpired events are "over."

The paradoxical structure of this apology solidifies this paper's contention that this apology, like many others, is not a genuine step toward reconciliation. The type of language used is also worth addressing, as Harper utilizes rather feeble verbal constructions to convey the realities of residential schools. For instance, Harper states that residential schools "separated children from families" (APTN News 2018, 2:25-30) —the employment of "separated" describes the harsh reality of children being torn away from their families, with some never returning home. Moreover, when addressing Indigenous children, Harper repeatedly refers to them as "helpless," which once again, employs the superiority of the government and their responsibility as the "only ones" that can, and should, "save the Indigenous children." The word "helpless," by its very definition, means "unable to defend oneself or to act without help" (New Oxford American Dictionary 2010). Here, it is important to make a clear distinction: Indigenous children were not born "helpless," nor were their parents unwilling to provide aid or protection. As previously mentioned, the Canadian government implemented specific measures through the *Indian Act* that forced children to attend church-run and federally-funded residential schools (NCTR 2023). Indigenous children and parents did not have an alternative choice: this was a deliberate tactic employed by government and church entities to assimilate Indigenous children. In fact, towards the end of Harper's apology, he apologizes for "failing to protect you ['you' referring to Indigenous children in residential schools]" (APTN News 2018, 9:07-9). By using the subject pronoun 'we' to represent Canada and its citizens, Harper creates the façade of a united nation-state, which further represents the malicious intentions of the government by reducing Indigenous sovereignty within Canadian borders.

However, there is one particular segment that completely discredits this apology: "while some former students have spoken positively about their experiences at residential schools, these stories are far overshadowed…" (APTN News 2018, 5:11-30). Similar to the (second) United Church apology of 1991, which states, "we recognize that in spite of the good that came of them, the residential schools caused pain to so many"[6], this section attempts to reduce the harm inflicted by residential schools on Indigenous Peoples by contending there are "positive experiences" that emerged from these establishments—an absolutely absurd allegation! These particular lines specifically indicate that there is no regret, no intention to refrain from repeating the same actions, and no genuine concern for the well-being or healing of the Indigenous Peoples who wrongfully suffered in residential schools. Finally, Harper ends the speech with "God Bless you all" (APTN News 2018, 12:47), which directly refers to Christianity

and reinforces the dominant White-nation culture and religion of Canada. When applying James' criteria of a genuine apology, Harper's apology meets the following criteria: "recorded officially in writing and names the wrongs in question (to a certain extent)" (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 468-9). The apology fails all other criteria as Harper refers to Indigenous Peoples as "Aboriginals," asks for forgiveness, and ultimately apologizes for "failing them" (APTN News 2018, 10:24). A notable point is a reference to "failing" Indigenous Peoples, as Canada "failed" Indigenous children—by implying this responsibility (Canada as the protector of Indigenous Peoples and children, even though it is this very nation that deliberately inflicts tortuous and inhumane acts), Harper is completely discrediting Indigenous Peoples as a sovereign nation, further insisting on Canada's power as a settler colonial state. This is a reoccurring theme throughout the apology. When Harper mentions the location of the deliverance of this apology, " 'The House of Commons', central to our life as a country" (APTN News 2018, 7:26), not only does Harper reinforce the importance of Canadian parliament, but also neglects the Indigenous land upon which the apology is delivered —once again, disrespecting Indigeneity.

Overall, Harper's apology is more of a "history lesson" from the settler colonial narrative—a speech—instead of a genuine apology. While it mentions some of the residential school practices such as prohibiting languages (APTN News 2018, 4:20-41), the apology is vague and does not provide any context or actual details of the events that transpired, and those that still continue to occur in present-day society. This apology embodies the "superiority complex" of Canada as a settler colonial state, and therefore, this paper argues that it does not meet the criteria of an authentic, nor quasi-apology—it is a speech that was delivered for the political sake of addressing residential schools in Canada, but it is not any type of apology: rather, this apology is disrespectful towards all Indigenous Peoples. Not only is this speech inauthentic, it was also delivered by Stephen Harper—the same man who one year later claimed that Canada "'has no history of colonialism' " (Palmater 2020, 97). This statement undisputedly proves the inauthentic nature of this apology, as well as Stephen Harper's stance on residential schools.

In candid terms, Harper's apology does not accomplish any real form of reconciliation. Instead, it supports the central settler colonial ideal of regulating "native identity" (Lawrence 2003, 3). Efforts to obtain this ideology are also seen in the Government's attempts to impose "citizenship" on Indigenous communities by disguising it as a "gift." Citizenship is a necessary factor to a "multicultural" nation. Without the legal distinction between White settler identities and non-White settler identities such as "precarious migrants" ((Maynard 2019, 127), coupled with asserted territorial sovereignty (Speed 2019, 77), the racial logics of White supremacy—and by extension settler colonialism—would be nonexistent. Thus, settler nations such as Canada and the United States employ citizenship as a strategic ploy to maintain White sovereignty on acclaimed territory; meaning, land residents prior to settler colonialism —Indigenous Peoples—are eradicated, while settler colonials establish their sovereignty as a "White Nation." The solicitation of this tactic is present in Indigenous Communities on Turtle Island, which is completely geared towards the "elimination of Indigenous persons, languages, systems of governance and relationships to land"

(Maynard 2019, 129). It is evident that residential schools were constructed to remove any form of Indigenous identity. If Stephen Harper desired to provide a genuine apology on behalf of the Federal Government of Canada, perhaps he should have followed the principles of decolonization, which require the deconstruction and reshaping of Canada's understanding of Indigenous identity (Lawrence 2003, 3). Instead, this apology lacks any form of sincere willingness to learn or understand Indigenous identity. In addition, it aspires to eradicate Indigenous Peoples by removing two fundamental aspects of Indigeneity—language as power and land as life (Alfred and Corntassel 2011, 144). Efforts to abolish these links are ascribable to places of memory and history as they are rooted in land relations, which directly contrasts the notion of multiculturalism. In particular, land for Indigenous Peoples is beyond the White settler views of economic assets (OECD 2020, 137), as it is profoundly connected with spiritual, cultural, and traditional values (ibid, 142). To illustrate, Mohawk seaway land is pervaded with meanings attached to swimming, fishing, and river living from the past, making any seizure of this territory an undeviating violation and disrespect to Mohawk experiences (Simpson 2014, 53). Hence, in establishing White settler regimes7[5] to "manage diversity," North American governments deliberately undertake an approach to ensure the deprivation of a fundamental aspect of Indigenous identity—land. Thus, Stephen Harper's "apology" is one of many that supports settler colonial ideals by not addressing the realities of residential schools as attempts to completely eliminate Indigenous Peoples. Most importantly, it does not address the current intergenerational effects of residential schools, nor mentions their ultimate failure to eradicate Indigeneity, which is attributed to the continuous resilience of Indigenous Peoples!

Pope Francis' Rejected 2022 Apology: Understanding Indigenous Peoples' Perspectives

It is evident that the Catholic Church and the Federal Canadian government attempted to reconcile with Indigenous Peoples in the form of apologies. These apologies differ slightly, making it important to analyze the Catholic Church's tactics independently. However, what is more prevalent is the rejection of these apologies from Indigenous communities. Instead of recreating subpar apologies, the perspectives and responses from Indigenous Peoples must be recognized, understood, and implemented. Recently, Pope Francis delivered an apology in Maskwacis, Alberta (2022) to Indigenous Peoples for "abuses in the country's church-run residential schools" (NPR 2022). Although this was a historic moment—occurring seven years after being requested in 2015 by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) Call to Action No. 58 (Campbell 2022)— this apology has received various emotive responses from Indigenous Peoples, with many rejecting the apology because it did not mention sexual abuse, nor accept responsibility by the Catholic Church as an institution (NPR 2022). To fully understand the sentiments towards this apology by Indigenous communities, it is essential to analyze the Catholic Church's past and the TRC's Call to Action No. 58, which states:

> We call upon the Pope to issue an apology to Survivors, their families, and communities for the Roman Catholic Church's role in the spiritual, cultural, emotional, physical, and sexual abuse of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children in Catholic-run residential schools. We call for that apology to be similar to the 2010 apology issued to Irish victims of abuse and to occur within one year of the issuing of this Report and to be delivered by the Pope in Canada. (Indigenous Watchdog 2022)

This is an important statement, specifically the request of issuing an apology similar to Irish victims of abuse, because it demonstrates the deliberate disregard towards Indigenous Peoples. For context, in the 1990s, investigations into the predatory behaviour of priests and nuns became prominent in Ireland (Formicola 2011, 537). This led to the creation of the Irish Child Abuse Commission (2000) and the publication of the Ryan Report which revealed information of over 14,000 sexual abuse victims (Formicola 2011, 537-8). Notably, this report exposed both the government's and church's "collusion in 'perpetrating an abusive system' towards children" (Formicola 2011, 538). In 2010, Pope Benedict XVI released a seven-page pastoral letter that addressed Irish victims, parents, church leaders, and abusers (CBC News 2010). This letter described the sexual and physical abuse by priests, as well as a "misplaced concern for the reputation of the Church and the avoidance of scandal, resulting in failure to apply existing canonical penalties and to safeguard the dignity of every person" (Pope Benedict XVI 2010). The TRC's Call to Action No. 58 requested a similar apology, yet received one that specifically did not include mention of sexual abuse, nor the acknowledgement of the Catholic Church's profound involvement. Instead, Pope Francis addressed the experiences of Indigenous Peoples and children by stating:

> [...] I think back on the stories you told: [...] the policies of assimilation ended up systematically marginalizing the Indigenous Peoples; [...] through the system of residential schools your languages and cultures were denigrated and suppressed; [...] children suffered physical, verbal, psychological and spiritual abuse; [...] taken away from their homes at a young age, and how that indelibly affected relationships between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren. (CBC 2022)

When reading Pope Francis' apology in its entirety, this is arguably the most descriptive section outlining the effects of the residential school system. In comparing the TRC's Call to Action No. 58 request with Pope Francis' apology, it is evident that it does not adequately address sexual abuse, nor the involvement of the Catholic Church. This is further supported by a later statement where Pope Francis mentions:

> [a]lthough Christian charity was not absent, and there were many outstanding instances of devotion and care for children, the overall effects of the policies linked to the residential schools were catastrophic. What our Christian faith tells us is that this was a disastrous error, incompatible with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. (CBC 2022)

Once again, the Catholic Church is depicted in a "positive perspective"[8], rather than an institution that fostered and actively participated in the assimilation of Indigenous Peoples and their children.

What is most important about the TRC's request is the deliberate disregard from Pope Francis to administer an apology similar to the apology administered to Irish people. Why is this the case? Why can the Catholic Church assume responsibility for the sexual abuse of Irish Catholics, but not Indigenous children? Accordingly, Pope Francis' apology upholds assimilation policies by failing to mention the Doctrine of Discovery [9], not recognizing the sexual abuse and intergenerational trauma that Indigenous Peoples continue to endure, and further protecting the Catholic Church as an institution with 'no-fault.' More specifically, this paper contends that the deliberate disregard to administer a similar apology is due to the receiving community: Irish Catholics (who

share similar religious beliefs and ethnic traits) versus Indigenous Peoples. By using carefully constructed language to shift the blame to "individual Christians," this insinuates that the individual, independent from the Catholic Church, remained autonomous in the unjust actions they perpetrated in residential schools.Once again, this excuses the Catholic Church for orchestrating these inexplicable events. Dr. Pamela Palmater provides an eminent response explaining the rejection of Pope Francis' apology from an Indigenous perspective:

> The Pope skipped over the Catholic Church's complicity and cover-up of the sexual abuse of thousands of Indigenous children over many generations. His failure to acknowledge the church's role — both at the individual level and as an institution and governing body — not only deflects responsibility but also serves to put more children at risk. His failure to also recognize its role in genocide was a glaring omission that hurt many Indigenous Peoples. (Palmater 2022)

On the basis of these extremely valid sentiments, it is important to formulate justice for Indigenous Peoples that addresses each of these factors. Similar emotions are expressed by Lori Campbell, granddaughter of a residential school survivor who spent over twenty-five years searching for her birth mother and siblings (Campbell 2022). Reconciliation requires all Canadians to listen to Indigenous communities and respect their culture—administering subpar apologies that willfully neglect the needs and desires of Indigenous Peoples is completely disrespectful. Indeed, some Canadian politicians and officials such as Prime Minister Trudeau agreed the apology was insufficient (NPR 2022). However, complicit agreement cannot be the only action taken towards reconciliation. In order to progress with reconciliation, those same politicians and officials must act on their acclaimed "accordance" with Indigenous Peoples. For instance, the Vatican must release all residential school records as requested by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2015 (Campbell 2022). The words of these prominent political figures and the Catholic Church must be followed by actions, as the failure to engage in acts of genuine reconciliation will further prove the inauthentic nature of apologies as forms of reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples in Canada.

Redress Through Apologies and its Alignment with Settler Colonialism

In contemporary usage, apologies in Canada as forms of redress align with settler colonialism due to the way redress is pursued as "a liberal politics of recognition and redistribution, apologies, compensations, and even forgiveness for historical injustices" (Yoneyama 2010, 664), which are instrumentalized as objects of exchange in the public sphere. Simply put, redress is meant to remedy or compensate for wrongdoings, "which could positively affect citizen engagement in future state processes" (Borrows 2014, 497). For instance, Borrows sublimely explains that "most arguments against residential school redress do not generally deny that Indigenous Peoples suffered harm in these institutions" (Borrows 2014, 501). Rather, most issues regarding residential school redress are found in determining " [the] scope, cost, fairness, and appropriateness of addressing them [residential schools]" (Borrows 2014, 501). Simply put, these factors are not adequately considered when issuing redress. Although the Canadian government has many avenues of redress available as outlined

in the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action, 2012* (Canada 2023) and the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act, 2021* (UNDRIP) (TRCC 2012), this section will only focus on redress through the form of apologies: in particular, their inability to adequately address residential school systems (Borrows 2014, 501).

When considering the aforementioned discussion of apologies through theis frameworks provided by the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* and *UNDRIP*, the government does mention some form of harm suffered by Indigenous Peoples, but this reference is grossly inadequate. It is evident that redress through apologies is not an effective way to remedy injustices because it often selectively chooses the areas considered "worthy" of acknowledgement. This connects to Gibney and Roxstrom's argument (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 468), where the nation-state controls the manner in which reconciliation is distributed. Perhaps, most importantly, that redress through apologies does not provide genuine efforts to mitigate and mend relationships. This may correlate with the fact that these reports only suggest obligations on the Canadian federal government—it is not legally binding legislation (Government of Canada 2021).

According to Chief Robert Joseph (Kwagiulth Nation), restitution reduces the experiences of residential school survivors and further demonstrates Canada's intention to institutionalize racism once again (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 474). In the case of apologies, this deceitful attempt to 'provide support' and 'reconcile' represents the Canadian Federal Government's distinct position that residential schools are 'an action of the past,' which further supports settler colonial ideals that 'history is over.' Institutionalizing Indigenous Peoples through redress further marginalizes Indigenous Peoples by having them accept the settler state "as the sovereign power that could grant them rights" (Speed 2019, 82). This deceitful tactic is cleverly constructed on the part of the Canadian Federal Government because it allows the nation-state to achieve what it desires most: complete sovereign power. Since Indigenous Peoples generally represent survival and resurgence in the face of ongoing colonialism(Tallbear 2013, 514), it follows that the Canadian Federal Government seeks to dismantle this sovereign nation, thereby achieving total sovereign power.

Indigenous Peoples are in the constant process of explaining their frustration from the treatment they receive from Canadian public and governing institutions. One Indigenous Community Leader explains, "'They're [mainstream society]…always trying to help the Indian…it's everywhere, it's inherent in Western superiority, this kind of need…but they need to change other people'…" (Madariaga-Vigundo 2012, 17). Thus, institutionalizing Indigenous Peoples through redress would exemplify and heighten these sentiments, producing an even more exploited Indigenous population. Although redress is intended to be a tool for minority groups to exercise their civic voice, it is ultimately a tool entrenched within settler colonial ideals of assimilation and "national cohesion" (James 2013).

Conclusion: Canada's Overt Failure to Administer Genuine Reconciliation

Due to their incontrovertible inauthenticity, the Canadian Federal Government's efforts at redress and reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples, specifically through the form of

apologies, qualify as complete failures. According to James' (2013) criteria for an authentic apology (of which there are eight), the Canadian Federal Government's issued apologies thus far only seem to meet the following criteria: "recorded officially in writing" (Corntassel and Holder 2008, 468-9). Most importantly, there is no sense of genuine reconciliation, which is most apparent through the lack of sustained, inclusive, and meaningful engagement with Indigenous Peoples. Although reconciliation takes many forms and is a continuous process, a step towards reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples (in the context of apologies) can focus on the process of storytelling. Drawing on Little, this process involves speaking about narratives that may cause further political disagreement: "as Moon (2006) contends, talking about reconciliation needs to involve narratives which are not reconciled, which are not forgiving, which do not apologize, which call for punishment" (Little 2012, 86). This process differs from previous apologies because it requires addressing unsettled narratives such as sexual abuse towards children and the genocide of Indigenous Peoples (Palmater 2022). Contrastingly, the current policies of redress are ingrained with assimilation and institutionalization, which further promote the marginalization and exploitation of Indigenous Peoples by aligning with settler colonialism. Through the analysis of Stephen Harper's 2008 "apology," this paper proves that the apologies proclaimed by the Canadian Federal Government do not take significant, if any, action to genuinely reconcile with Indigenous Peoples. Rather, these carefully constructed apologies support settler colonial ideals and explicitly disrespect all Indigenous Peoples.

A Genuine and Just Future Requires the Inclusion of Indigenous Peoples

It is important to acknowledge that Indigenous Peoples want to be part of the conversation regarding Canadian policies, but they are deliberately excluded by the Canadian Federal Government (similarly to how they are excluded as a founding nation). For instance, Indigenous Peoples realize the "dominant group holds the policy-making power" (Madariaga-Vigundo 2012, 17); regarding immigration, an Indigenous Service Provider explains that "as the First Nations of Canada, Natives feel it is their right to be informed and involved in shaping public policies, including ones related to immigration" (Madariaga-Vigundo 2012, 17). It is thus apparent that Indigenous Peoples wish to be "better informed, consulted and included in policy-making processes" (Madariaga-Vigundo 2012, 18). However, it is even more discernable that the Federal Government of Canada, in its current state, has no interest in genuine reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples: instead, their proposition of redress is entrenched with iniquitous intentions and their apologies are at best, eminently subpar. Therefore, this paper challenges the Federal Government of Canada to withhold their contentions of a 'meaningful reconciliation' with Indigenous Peoples by including them not only in the processes of reconciliation and redress but policy-making decisions as well. As Chief Robert Joseph states:

> Aboriginal people should be a part of this new reflection and dialogue because they have much to contribute. They have been subjected to genocidal intentions and attempts of ttal assimilation. They have survived and understand how they have made it to this time. In addition, aboriginal people have been multicultural since the beginning of time as they know it. (Robert 2012, 10)

Genuine reconciliation will never be achieved without the inclusion of Indigenous Peoples. Through residential schools, they endure the horrendous actions of settler colonialism, which the dominant White settler population will never fully understand. It is essential to consider these experiences because they are (unfortunately and unjustly) distinct to Indigenous Peoples. An apology and financial redress are certainly not enough to compensate for the intergenerational trauma and continuous effects of residential schools on Indigenous Peoples. If the Federal Government of Canada wants true reconciliation (as they claim), the aforementioned efforts require substantial revisions to be inclusive of the experiences of Indigenous Peoples. Most importantly, the Federal Government of Canada must revise their multicultural framework and break away from its settler colonial ideals. As Borrows suggests, "Indigenous peoples' own laws and political traditions could be applied to further address the responsibilities we have toward one another in Canada" (Borrows 2014, 501). This means incorporating Indigenous law as it has many sources that allow "healthy disagreement and a dynamic source of reasoning" (Borrows 2014, 502). An application is seen in Anishinaabe law, which "demonstrates how one might meaningfully accept responsibility for harms flowing from residential schools" (Borrows 2014, 502). As prominent Anishinaabe leaders recognize that their tone and approach could be altered to address residential schools more effectively (Borrows 2014, 502), the Canadian Government should have no issue following suit. While it is recognized that this stance is perhaps too optimistic, as a Treaty Person[10], the issues of Indigenous Peoples are not just concerns—they are everyone's problems (Mackey 2016). As a collective population, everyone needs to re-think alliances and find respectful and productive ways to have two sovereign nations live together (Mackey 2016). Following the Two-Row Wampum, everyone must focus on the river, not the canoes—respect, reciprocity and renewal are important factors necessary to break out of the cognitive prison and claim responsibility for the unjust treatment of Indigenous Peoples (Mackey 2016).

In the words of Chief Robert Joseph, "We are all responsible and as Aboriginal people, like myself, we can help with the unique experiences that we have. It begins with you and I" (Robert 2012, 10). Being a Treaty Person is a responsibility that every Canadian citizen conveys: it is of the utmost importance to support and alleviate the physical and emotional burdens that residential schools place on Indigenous Peoples—remaining silent only condones, and by extension, approves the unjust behaviour the Federal Government of Canada (and all its institutions) inflict on Indigenous Peoples.

Appendix A

The following excerpt is Stephen Harper's 2008 "Statement of Apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools" in English (Government of Canada 2008).

Note: This excerpt is the official statement found on the Canadian government's website. This paper analyzes the oral delivery of the apology presented by Stephen Harper at the House of Commons on June 11th, 2008.

Statement of Apology – to former students of Indian Residential Schools

The treatment of children in Indian Residential Schools is a sad chapter in our history.

For more than a century, Indian Residential Schools separated over 150,000 Aboriginal children from their families and communities. In the 1870s, the federal government, partly in order to meet its obligation to educate Aboriginal children, began to play a role in the development and administration of these schools. Two primary objectives of the Residential Schools system were to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture. These objectives were based on the assumption Aboriginal cultures and spiritual beliefs were inferior and unequal. Indeed, some sought, as it was infamously said, "to kill the Indian in the child". Today, we recognize that this policy of assimilation was wrong, has caused great harm, and has no place in our country.

One hundred and thirty-two federally-supported schools were located in every province and territory, except Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Most schools were operated as "joint ventures" with Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian or United Churches. The Government of Canada built an educational system in which very young children were often forcibly removed from their homes, often taken far from their communities. Many were inadequately fed, clothed and housed. All were deprived of the care and nurturing of their parents, grandparents and communities.

First Nations, Inuit and Métis languages and cultural practices were prohibited in these schools. Tragically, some of these children died while attending residential schools and others never returned home.

The government now recognizes that the consequences of the Indian Residential Schools policy were profoundly negative and that this policy has had a lasting and damaging impact on Aboriginal culture, heritage and language. While some former students have spoken positively about their experiences at residential schools, these stories are far overshadowed by tragic accounts of the emotional, physical and sexual abuse and neglect of helpless children, and their separation from powerless families and communities.

The legacy of Indian Residential Schools has contributed to social problems that continue to exist in many communities today.

It has taken extraordinary courage for the thousands of survivors that have come forward to speak publicly about the abuse they suffered. It is a testament to their resilience as individuals and to the strength of their cultures. Regrettably, many former students are not with us today and died never having received a full apology from the Government of Canada.

The government recognizes that the absence of an apology has been an impediment to healing and reconciliation. Therefore, on behalf of the Government of Canada and all Canadians, I stand before you, in this Chamber so central to our life as a country, to apologize to Aboriginal peoples for Canada's role in the Indian Residential Schools system.

To the approximately 80,000 living former students, and all family members and communities, the Government of Canada now recognizes that it was wrong to forcibly remove children from their homes and we apologize for having done this. We now recognize that it was wrong to separate children from rich and vibrant cultures and traditions, that it created a void in many lives and communities, and we apologize for having done this. We now recognize that, in separating children from their families, we undermined the ability of many to adequately parent their own children and sowed the seeds for generations to follow, and we apologize for having done this. We now recognize that, far too often, these institutions gave rise to abuse or neglect and were inadequately controlled, and we apologize for failing to protect you. Not only did you suffer these abuses as children, but as you became parents, you were powerless to protect your own children from suffering the same experience, and for this we are sorry.

The burden of this experience has been on your shoulders for far too long. The burden is properly ours as a Government, and as a country. There is no place in Canada for the attitudes that inspired the Indian Residential Schools system to ever again prevail. You have been working on recovering from this experience for a long time and in a very real sense, we are now joining you on this journey.

The Government of Canada sincerely apologizes and asks the forgiveness of the Aboriginal peoples of this country for failing them so profoundly.

In moving towards healing, reconciliation and resolution of the sad legacy of Indian Residential Schools, implementation of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement began on September 19, 2007. Years of work by survivors, communities, and Aboriginal organizations culminated in an agreement that gives us a new beginning and an opportunity to move forward together in partnership. A cornerstone of the Settlement Agreement is the Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This Commission presents a unique opportunity to educate all Canadians on the Indian Residential Schools system. It will be a positive step in forging a new relationship between Aboriginal peoples and other Canadians, a relationship based on the knowledge of our shared history, a respect for each other and a desire to move forward together with a renewed understanding that strong families, strong communities and vibrant cultures and traditions will contribute to a stronger Canada for all of us.

June 11, 2008

On behalf of the Government of Canada
The Right Honourable Stephen Harper,
Prime Minister of Canada

Appendix B

L'extrait suivant est la "Présentation d'excuses aux anciens élèves des pensionnats indiens" de Stephen Harper en 2008 (Government of Canada 2008).

Note: Cet extrait est la déclaration officielle que l'on trouve sur le site web du gouvernement canadien. Cet essai analyse la présentation orale des excuses par Stephen Harper à la Chambre des communes le 11 juin 2008.

Présentation d'excuses aux anciens élèves des pensionnats indiens

e traitement des enfants dans ces pensionnats est un triste chapitre de notre histoire.

Pendant plus d'un siècle, les pensionnats indiens ont séparé plus de 150 000 enfants autochtones de leurs familles et de leurs communautés. Dans les années 1870, en partie afin de remplir son obligation d'instruire les enfants autochtones, le gouvernement fédéral a commencé à jouer un rôle dans l'établissement et l'administration de ces écoles. Le système des pensionnats indiens avait deux principaux objectifs : isoler les enfants et les soustraire à l'influence de leurs foyers, de leurs familles, de leurs traditions et de leur culture, et les intégrer par l'assimilation dans la culture dominante. Ces objectifs reposaient sur l'hypothèse que les cultures et les croyances spirituelles des Autochtones étaient inférieures. D'ailleurs, certains cherchaient, selon une expression devenue tristement célèbre, « à tuer l'Indien au sein de l'enfant ». Aujourd'hui, nous reconnaissons que cette politique d'assimilation était erronée, qu'elle a fait beaucoup de mal et qu'elle n'a aucune place dans notre pays.

Cent trente-deux écoles financées par le fédéral se trouvaient dans chaque province et territoire, à l'exception de Terre-Neuve, du Nouveau-Brunswick et de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard. La plupart des pensionnats étaient dirigés conjointement avec les Églises anglicane, catholique, presbytérienne ou unie. Le gouvernement du Canada a érigé un système d'éducation dans le cadre duquel de très jeunes enfants ont souvent été arrachés à leurs foyers et, dans bien des cas, emmenés loin de leurs communautés. Bon nombre d'entre eux étaient nourris, vêtus et logés de façon inadéquate. Tous étaient privés des soins et du soutien de leurs parents, de leurs grands-parents et de leurs communautés.

Les langues et les pratiques culturelles des Premières nations, des Inuits et des Métis étaient interdites dans ces écoles. Certains de ces enfants ont connu un sort tragique en pension et d'autres ne sont jamais retournés chez eux.

Le gouvernement reconnaît aujourd'hui que les conséquences de la politique sur les pensionnats indiens ont été très néfastes et que cette politique a causé des dommages durables à la culture, au patrimoine et à la langue autochtones. Bien que certains anciens élèves aient dit avoir vécu une expérience positive dans ces pensionnats, leur histoire est de loin assombrie par les témoignages tragiques sur la négligence, l'abus émotif, physique et sexuel d'enfants sans défense, et ainsi que la séparation de leurs familles et communautés impuissantes.

L'héritage laissé par les pensionnats indiens a contribué à des problèmes sociaux qui persistent dans de nombreuses communautés aujourd'hui.

Il a fallu un courage extraordinaire aux milliers de survivants qui ont parlé publiquement des mauvais traitements qu'ils ont subis. Ce courage témoigne de leur résilience personnelle et de la force de leur culture. Malheureusement, de nombreux anciens élèves ne sont plus des nôtres et sont décédés avant d'avoir reçu des excuses du gouvernement du Canada.

Le gouvernement reconnaît que l'absence d'excuses a nui à la guérison et à la réconciliation. Alors, au nom du gouvernement du Canada et de tous les Canadiens et Canadiennes, je me lève devant vous, dans cette Chambre si vitale à notre existence en tant que pays, pour présenter nos excuses aux peuples autochtones pour le rôle joué par le Canada dans les pensionnats indiens.

Aux quelque 80 000 anciens élèves toujours en vie, ainsi qu'aux membres de leurs familles et à leurs communautés, le gouvernement du Canada admet aujourd'hui qu'il a eu tort d'arracher les enfants à leurs foyers et s'excuse d'avoir agi ainsi. Nous reconnaissons maintenant que nous avons eu tort de séparer les enfants de leur culture et de leurs traditions riches et vivantes, créant ainsi un vide dans tant de vies et de communautés, et nous nous excusons d'avoir agi ainsi. Nous reconnaissons maintenant qu'en séparant les enfants de leurs familles, nous avons réduit la capacité de nombreux anciens élèves à élever adéquatement leurs propres enfants et avons scellé le sort des générations futures, et nous nous excusons d'avoir agi ainsi. Nous reconnaissons maintenant que, beaucoup trop souvent, ces institutions donnaient lieu à des cas de sévices ou de négligence et n'étaient pas contrôlées de manière adéquate, et nous nous excusons de ne pas avoir su vous protéger. Non seulement vous avez subi ces mauvais traitements pendant votre enfance, mais, en tant que parents, vous étiez impuissants à éviter le même sort à vos enfants, et nous le regretons.

Le fardeau de cette expérience pèse sur vos épaules depuis beaucoup trop longtemps. Ce fardeau nous revient directement, en tant que gouvernement et en tant que pays. Il n'y a pas de place au Canada pour les attitudes qui ont inspiré le système de pensionnats indiens, pour qu'elles puissent prévaloir à nouveau. Vous tentez de vous remettre de cette épreuve depuis longtemps, et d'une façon très concrète, nous vous rejoignons maintenant dans ce cheminement.

Le gouvernement du Canada présente ses excuses les plus sincères aux peuples autochtones du Canada pour avoir si profondément manqué à son devoir envers eux, et leur demande pardon.

Entrée en vigueur le 19 septembre 2007, la Convention de règlement relative aux pensionnats indiens s'inscrit dans une démarche de guérison, de réconciliation et de règlement des tristes séquelles laissées par les pensionnats indiens. Des années d'efforts de la part des survivants, des communautés et des organisations autochtones ont abouti à une entente qui nous permet de prendre un nouveau départ et d'aller de l'avant en partenariat. La Commission de vérité et de réconciliation est au cœur de la Convention de règlement. La Commission constitue une occasion unique de sensibiliser tous les Canadiens et Canadiennes à la question des pensionnats indiens. Il s'agira d'une étape positive dans l'établissement d'une nouvelle relation entre les peuples autochtones et les autres Canadiens et Canadiennes, une relation basée sur la connaissance de notre histoire commune, sur un respect mutuel et sur le désir de progresser ensemble, avec la conviction renouvelée que des familles fortes, des communautés solides et des cultures et des traditions bien vivantes contribueront à bâtir un Canada fort pour chacun et chacune d'entre nous.

Au nom du gouvernement du Canada,
le très honorable Stephen Harper,
premier ministre du Canada

le 11 juin 2008

Notes

[1] The Indian Act (now R.S.C. 1985, c. I-5) is a coercive piece of federal legislation that governs Indigenous people in Canada and the "associated onslaught of so-called 'civilizing' programs" such as residential schools, child welfare policies and restricting Indigenous people's traditional governance (Borrows and Rotman 2023, 3).

[2] Settler colonial ideals refers to practices of "assimilation through elimination" of Indigenous people by the Canadian Federal Government. This includes, but is not limited to practices of enfranchisement, forceful citizenship, "bleeding out the native" through Blood Quantum, and creating "Indian Reserves" (Lawrence 2003).

[3] 'Educating' is placed in quotations as a criticism of this term: Indigenous children were raped, tortured, and killed, yet these realities are masked by the term "education."

[4] Past tense is used here because it is referring to a specific event in time. It is understood, acknowledged, and argued that these sentiments and effects remain present today.

[5] See Appendix A for the English excerpt of this apology and Appendix B for the French version of this apology (la version française se trouve à l'annexe b).

[6] Personal conversation with Dr. Lisa Davidson on March 23rd, 2022.

[7] Such as multiculturalism in Canada and the notions of "salad bowl" and/or "melting pot" in the United States.

[8] Through the following phrase: "…there were many outstanding instances of devotion and care for children…" (CBC 2022), Pope Francis tries to diminish the Catholic Church's involvement.

[9] Where non-Christian individuals did not have the same rights to land and sovereignty as Catholics (ICP, 2020).

 [10] This includes a personal reference to myself.

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Issues of Nationality within Online Spaces: Online Live Streaming Platforms

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This ethnographic report offers insights into the understanding of online communities through the study of the concept of the nation, as discussed by Benedict Anderson (2006). Ethnographic research explores the narratives of nationality that are experienced within an online community that is associated with the practice of online live streaming. This paper also discusses anthropological and non-anthropological methodologies and their importance and usability online. Interaction with interviewees brought to light an understanding of online live streaming as a media product capable of influencing the processes of identity construction in terms of national values. This research thus proves that nations as 'imagined communities' are to be found and analyzed in online communities, where icons such as emotes and memes are used and disseminated as part of the everyday interactions that users undertake in their positions as spectators of live streaming. Nonetheless, this research also struggles with paradoxical understandings of online nationalism, which renders necessary an adaptation to the online setting of established knowledge on the matter.

KEY WORDS Nation, Nationalism, Imagined Communities, Live Streaming, Online Community

T his ethnographic report sets out to discover the ways in which narratives and discourses around nationality, and therefore expressions of nationalism, may play out in online settings, particularly within online live streaming platforms. The themes surrounding the concept of the nation-state have been, and still are, central in the discipline of Anthropology, especially in regard to macro-themes such as the cultural construction of identity and the building of communities. I believe that the advent of digitalization, specifically the advent of Web 2.0, has changed, or even subverted, the boundaries of the traditional definitions of nationality, nationalism, and community. To explore these themes, I decided to conduct three-month-long fieldwork on online live streaming, a kind of digital instrument that has seen an incredible increase in its usage over the last decade, being easily accessible from everywhere in the world through the Internet. Throughout this fieldwork period, I drew from traditional literature the necessary definitions and modes of expressions of nationality to discuss how common use of live streaming platforms may potentially support and reinforce narratives of the nation-state and performances of national identity. In other words, my research is intended to explore if online expressions of nationhood can be found in the context of online live streaming and if the already

existing theory on nationalism can clearly explain those expressions.

While designing and conducting my research, the main issue I intended to explore varied greatly in its sub-questions. When I first planned out fieldwork, I originally intended to explore online communities as a whole, but I later restricted it to only live streaming platforms and their communities. The question that I set out to study included not only issues of nationality and expressions of nationalism but also other concepts, such as transnationalism. While researching, however, in discussions with informants and in reading more academic literature, I realized not only the vastness of the question that my research was trying to address but also the inherent complexity of the sub-questions being discussed. From first believing that expressions of nationalism and transnationalism in online contexts were two sides of the same coin, I was gradually brought to reconsider my beliefs and realize that these two constitute two different phenomena which must be centred within different frameworks. This piece will thus focus only on how national narratives may be reinforced through online live streaming, leaving the question of how live streaming may deconstruct these same narratives.

The question of fieldsite was also an element subject to change in the conception of my research. Depending on the conceptualization of online spaces, the field site may be considered single-sited and multi-sited. Nonetheless, considering the common features of live streaming platforms, I initially understood them as a single site and a broad site of study. While conducting research, however, I navigated through the different connections that support cyberspace: from Twitch.tv, arguably the most popular online live streaming service, to YouTube, the famous video-sharing platform, looking at VODs (Video on Demand recordings of previous live streams that users can rewatch) or compilations of highlights from famous streamers. I then read and researched public discussions about these forms of media, including Twitch, on the social media Reddit, a platform that enables users to post digital content in thematic groups or forums (subreddits) while other users engage with them by voting up or down, commenting, or reposting them. I conducted this research while discussing with my informants, members of a small multi-gaming community named "Vault" (the name is imaginary) and all consumers of Twitch, YouTube, and Reddit content. While doing my fieldwork, I realized that the platforms' sharing of features and contents was valuable to my research and that they were to be considered separate in their locality but interrelated in the wider perspective that my fieldwork held. In this sense, I reflected on "the translocal linkages, and the interconnections between those and whatever local bundles of relationships which are also part of the study" (Hannerz 2012, 402). Ulf Hannerz's reflections on multi-sited ethnography accompanied my thoughts on the nature of my fieldwork's site(s), and the considerations I made in conducting my fieldwork reflect his conclusion. Moreover, Hannerz (2012) argues that to do multi-sited ethnography, it is necessary to select some sites from the many that could be included, something that I also found myself doing, as I restricted my research to the platforms that I have already mentioned, while I could potentially have included a set of other online spaces.

Additionally, the main criteria of the informants for this research were their familiarity with Twitch.tv or related platforms and their availability to be interviewed. During the first month of fieldwork, I struggled to find interviewees, a desolation of data that was eventually interrupted by finding a Discord server. Discord is a platform that allows users to join groups, which are usually called servers, where they can talk, chat and share images and videos along with other minor features. This server was recommended to me by an acquaintance who suggested that this community may be interested in being interviewed. At the time of this research, the "Vault" server has a total of 103 members, out of which around twenty are everyday active users of live streaming platforms. Throughout my fieldwork, I was able to interview six members of the community. Being based in Italy, most of the users of "Vault" identified themselves as Italians; nonetheless, there was still a minority presence of members from various countries, such as Romania, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, the United States, and Canada.

Literature Review

When reflecting upon the concept of the nation-state, we must consider Benedict Anderson's definition as widely accepted within the social sciences. Anderson (2006) argues that the nation is constantly being imagined and reconfigured during everyday life; in particular, he states that "[the nation] is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson 2006, 6). Anthony D. Smith (1998) similarly highlights the idea of the modern state as a force that can shape and define the attachment to a territory, and the self-identification with a territory, through the use of elements such as census and maps, as argued by Anderson (2006), but also through "symbols, images and concepts of nationalism, the ideology and language" (Smith 1998, 92). The construction of a national identity is thus described as a cultural construct forged through an ideology that promotes unique cultural values tied to a 'limited and sovereign' territory, mostly through semiotic processes. But does this apply when this cultural process happens online? In this sense, Danah Boyd's definition of 'networked publics' can be best applied. She states that "networked publics are publics that are restructured by networked technologies" (Boyd 2010, 39). In being so, they constitute both the space defined by those technologies and the "imagined collective that emerges as a result of the intersection of people, technology, and practice" (Boyd 2010, 39). This imagined collective that Boyd speaks of clearly resembles Anderson's notion of 'imagined community' (2006). This correlation between the two concepts is a basis on which my research makes novel inquiries about nationalism.

One piece of literature that has a crucial role in online nationalism is Daniel Miller and Don Slater's *The Internet* (2000). In this book, the authors explore the nuanced connections between offline and online presence, looking at multiple forms of media and touching upon the theme of nationalism. The authors recognize that in engaging with Internet media, people position themselves "within networks that transcend their immediate location, placing them in wider flows of cultural, political and economic resources" (Miller & Slater 2000, 18). In this 'dynamic of positioning,' the authors

recognize nationalism as the most strengthened aspect of identity. Nonetheless, according to the authors, this sense of nationalism and national identity is deeply affected by online processes and is, therefore, much different from nationalism as traditionally understood (Miller & Slater, 2000). On top of this, in Matthew F. Palmer's 2012 study of online nationalism, he recognizes the augmented effects that recent development in online communicative technologies create, especially when engaging with nationalist rhetoric. Palmer speaks to a sense of immediacy enabled by the online medium and works subtly to build emotional responses, even when the rhetoric expressed is simply "reproducing emblematic signifiers of the state" (Palmer 2012, 126).

Within the online setting, scholars have defined nationalism online as cyber-nationalism. Cyber-nationalism is imbued in the consumerism of digital media, for example, eSports broadcasting (the live streaming of professional videogame tournaments), and has been the focus of a number of authors. T. L. Taylor's Watch Me Play (2018) has often been seen as a central text in the discussion of online live streaming. In particular, she argues that the aspect of liveness of online broadcasting is a powerful affective device that pushes people to bond, share experiences and construct identities (2018). While she argues that the experience of online broadcasting may not constitute a pure expression of nationalism in itself, other scholars have identified the issue of eSports as a fundamental element of national identity building (Szablewicz, 2016, Turtiainen et al., 2020). Some have argued that nationalist narratives are interconnected with community usage of 'memes', usually an image, video, or text, generally of comical nature, that spread rapidly among community members (Ismangil, 2019).

On a broader note, the recently identified phenomenon of online media consumerism, as analyzed by Ying Jiang (2012) in China, has pushed for further understanding of new forms of nationalism, promoting concepts such as 'cyber nationalism,' first described by Xu Wu in 2007. Cyber-nationalism has been defined as a "non-government sponsored ideology and movement" (Xu Wu 2007, 155), to which Ying Jiang (2012) adds the idea of consumerism and self-management of communities that may reinforce national values in an inherently international context. We have thus come to understand how the traditional concept of the nation may face the need to be re-evaluated when confronted with newer understandings of cyberspace and online communities. Analyzing the theoretical context in which this research fits is, therefore, necessary to understand not only the methodology used for the fieldwork process but also to place the findings more clearly within the ongoing debate of online nationalism.

Methods

In her "Figuring Out Ethnography," Kim Fortun (2009) states that "research design is conceived as preparatory without being deterministic" (2009, 171), and in fact, despite the careful design of how fieldwork was to be conducted for this project, I found myself experimenting in many ways. As Malinowski (2012) states, participating in the daily life of the observed group is a crucial aspect of doing anthropology; reflecting upon the idea

of participant observation, I carefully approached the different techniques in which this method of research can be applied online, especially in the setting of live streaming. This is the reason why part of my methodology included participation in the process of live streaming both in terms of consuming and producing. I spent several hours partaking in the dynamics of spectatorship of different streamers, all the while gaining familiarity with the streaming tools to stream myself. Fortun's suggestion that research design is never deterministic becomes an example of the adaptation of participant observation that I carried out, a characteristic of the method (its adaptability) that renowned digital anthropologists such as Boellstorff (2012) or T.L. Taylor (2018) have already praised. Despite my attempts to participate in the live-streaming context, I believe I couldn't fully immerse myself in the process. On a reflective note, my participation in a spectatorial position during live streams was always limited by my search for insights. I limited my view and my self-inclusion in the online setting to the extent of gathering what would be of interest to my research, only partially and superficially grasping the 'powerful' feeling of the online spectatorial position discussed by Taylor (2018). Moreover, during my attempt to live stream, I found myself staring at the viewer counter of my stream, remaining 0 for hours, forcing myself to reflect on the implications of the phenomenon. I thus believe that using Julian M. Murchison's words, I wasn't fully able to "abandon [...] [my] practiced, objective stances" (2010, 85). The feeling of distance from the longed-embodied experience of spectatorship and streaming remained with me for the entirety of my fieldwork.

Part of the observational process that I undertook was also made of thread research in the official subreddit of Twitch. The process, which I have drawn from Ruberg et al.'s (2019) study of harassment in video game live-streaming settings, consisted of employing the search tool of the social platform Reddit to look for threads and discussion posts regarding the main topics of this research: nationalism, nationality, cyber-nationalism or otherwise online nationalism, eSports, tournament, and other keywords. I was thus able to gain a framework of how and if a general debate on the issue of national identity was carried forward. However, as Emma Louise Backe states, "lurking is a great practice for preparatory research, but it is a poor ethnographic methodology" (2020), and indeed I found that the discussions were useful to direct my general understanding of the topic but were nowhere near effective in addressing my research question.

The addition of participant observation in the online setting and thread research was not the only methodological approach that I considered. While reflecting upon the possible reasons why I couldn't find any participants in my research, I was led to believe that the offer of an in-depth interview could be seen as unappealing for a main reason: the inherent aspect of the interview is interacting with a stranger. Anonymity is a crucial aspect of Internet relations with strangers. Deciding to participate in an online interview may reveal itself as a more difficult choice than in a physical setting. The reassurance of an embodied presence is not an option when presenting oneself in an online discursive setting such as a forum. For this reason, I believe that potential participants see the exposure to a stranger as an obstruction to their possible desire to

take part not only in academic research but in a simple conversation as well (especially considering the prevalent population of younger individuals that use live streams and video games). This doesn't preclude the fact that some individuals online may be less susceptible to wariness than others. However, I still believe the online setting amplifies this sense of wariness towards strangers, particularly when such strangers want to discuss personal habits and opinions in one-on-one conversations.

Because of the issue with online anonymity, I decided to prepare a simple survey of ten questions, mixing multiple choice with more open-ended queries. The questions ranged from requiring simple answers, like "Do you consider online live streams as a media product?" to more complex questions, including, "Do you think that online live streaming may reinforce ideas like nationality? In what ways?". The preparation of the survey happened almost at the same time that I was brought to discover the Discord community "Vault," so that I was able to share it among the members of the community. Following Taylor's argument that "quantitative measures often don't fully capture varying contexts along with nuanced behaviours and attitudes" (Taylor 2018, 189), I opted to use only the more articulated answers as the source of information from the survey, mainly using it as an element that might arouse interest within the members of the community, kindling appeal in my project where there was little or none at all in the beginning. Through this stimulation, I was able to break barriers to participation, pushing two of my respondents to voluntarily ask about further involvement.

It is important to address the fact that the survey questions reflect the biases and constructs that are the result of the researcher's background. In my fieldwork, I recognize the deep emphasis that I put on the concept of nationality as a fundamental aspect of an individual's identity. In trying to discover how nationality and the concurrent expressions of nationalism play out while engaging in online live streaming, I assume that it has a role to play and word my questions in that direction. By wording the survey this way, I recognize that I present a topic that is already neatly defined and conceptualized to my participants without any initial discussion that may have redirected this research toward other ends.

The selection of interview participants from only one community of users fostered insights into the limitation of access to what Gerald D. Berreman (2012) calls 'backregions.' Berreman uses 'backregions' to refer to the way informants may manipulate information to give a favourable impression of themselves to others. The 'backregions' describe what is kept secret, or behind closed doors, from the eyes and questions of the researcher. Reflecting on his work in Sirkanda, a village in the lower Himalayas, he states that "more than one definition of the village situation is presented or may be presented to the outsider" (Berreman 2012, 174). This potential difference in how a community presents itself to an outsider, which is not as relevant to my research as much as to the caste system which Berreman was studying, was nonetheless crucial when thinking about the sheer amount of diversity that could have been included in the study of national expressions of identity. The lack of access to this diversity happened for various reasons. Among them, I spent limited time doing fieldwork, and I faced language barriers that impeded communication with others that didn't speak English or

Italian. These restricted the academic value of the outcomes of this research. This reflection is not intended to, as Boas describes it, "attempt to solve the fundamental problem of the general development of civilization" or, in my words, attempt to solve and describe the entire picture of the issues of expressions of nationalism online (Boas 2012, 66). It is worth noting that my interviews were restricted to a single online community, and thus, the outcome of this research is limited, especially in the face of the bigger dynamic processes that happen during online live streaming. The need to historicize the moment and highlight the limitations of doing fieldwork in a single community of one hundred individuals was kept in mind while undertaking the interviewing process. To summarize the main methodological approaches that I undertook during my fieldwork, I conducted participant observation of online live streaming settings, preparatory thread research of the Twitch main subreddit, the involvement of participants through an online survey and the traditional method of interviews.

Findings

During the interviews, the participants considered online live streaming a media product, and as a media product, it can have powerful implications in constructing the identity of who is watching. While there is no clear definition of what a media product is, it will be understood hereafter as any piece of media (or mean of communication, especially when it happens in mass) that can be clearly defined with boundaries or a beginning and an end, such as a TV episode, a magazine, a YouTube video, pictures, etc. Participants found that live streaming is most fitting among these examples. The reason why it possesses implications in identity building is to be found in the potentiality of meaning that it can transmit to its consumers. All interviewees also recognized the possibility of expressions of national values and narratives in the live-streaming setting, but there was a stark divide between respondents on the origin of these potential expressions of nationalism. During separate calls, two participants argued that, as media products, live streaming might support and reinforce the ideas and agendas of the institutions that promote and control advertisement on live streaming platforms or the ideas and agendas of the organizers of tournaments to which live streamers often participate. While this consideration is crystal clear, the place of nationalism within the mentioned agendas was much more confused and obscure. The majority of participants, however, believed that it was the community itself that reinforced concepts of national identity, for example, through the use of 'memes,' copy and paste text messages (so-called copy pasta), or emotes, in the same way, that Milan Ismangil (2019) had found in his research of grassroots nationalism within the videogame Dota 2. Despite these concerns, almost everyone expressed a sense of distance from these debates, meaning that the perceived importance of such discussions on the bottom-up reinforcement of national identity was not directly applicable to their experience of live streaming, especially within the Italian the Italian national context. LiZico (the nickname of one of the participants), who comes from a small town in a mountainous region in Italy, argued that his fellow countrymen often

lack the digital infrastructure to participate in live-streaming contexts where national identity might be of importance (referring to gaming tournaments). He argued that the lack of organizers, sponsors, and support of various sorts, especially for the live streamers coming from small towns such as his, is a crucial factor in deciding how and who can take part in the media production that is live streaming, thus also deciding how and where national values can be expressed.

While discussing digital communities in the interviews, Anderson's (2006) definition of the nation was central. Twitch channels were thus brought to be understood, in my conversations with participants, as 'imagined communities' that are 'limited' by the boundaries of the channel itself, the chat box or even the link of the channel. They are also 'sovereign' in that, as LiZico puts it, "the chat reigns." What this means is that the interactions happen through the chat box, where individuals can write any form of comment and thus influence the course of the live stream. Also, in this sense, other participants highlighted how badges (given to subscribers of the channels, often having different forms based on how long one is subscribed) or emotes may become nation-like imagery, like a badge of honour or a medal. This insight points out how generally speaking, the semiotic relationships of badges, emotes, memes, and so on are of fundamental importance in understanding the cultural dynamics of the digital spaces wherever they can be found, whether in live streaming or somewhere else on cyberspace. On this note, Ismangil (2019) describes how memes, both when they are and aren't understood, are fundamental in defining the boundaries of the community and acting as gatekeepers. In doing so, Haynes (2020) points out how they reinforce hegemonic ideas in intricate expressions of gender, race, and nationalism. These authors provide one framework to better understand how the Twitch users that I interviewed felt not only about memes but also badges and emotes: as gatekeepers of online imagined communities.

Thinking in terms of Ying Jiang's (2012) debate on consumerism, Ferguson (2015) states how directing attention towards national cultural products (in our case, online live streaming) may be considered an expression of nationalism. While discussing this possibility, one of the participants described its similarity with his perception of preference toward national products, especially in terms of food, he argued, and diffidence toward foreign products as a form of reaction to globalization. While trying to translate this into the online setting within which our conversation was taking place, he argued that the language barrier prevented him from spectating non-Italian live streams. Nonetheless, when the participant was questioned if he knew other languages and whether he would still consume mainly Italian live streams, he responded affirmatively, arguing that there is a certain sense of pride in watching members of the same nationality play games at pro levels, especially during tournaments. This latter statement prompted the question, which I directed toward other participants as well, of whether witnessing a hypothetical Italian team of live streamers competing in an international tournament would be a source of pride for them. The question was answered affirmatively by almost every participant, often accompanied by laughs and comparisons with other sports environments such as football or the Olympics.

Overall, the general belief was that live streaming in itself, despite being a media product, is not a platform for the expression of national values and narratives. Despite this belief, the idea of broadcasted tournaments, in which popular live streamers participate, was seen as contexts in which national identity was important, especially when associated with sports events. Szablewicz (2016) reinforces this idea of a connection between eSports tournaments and Olympic metaphors, through which live-streamed matches are constructed around concepts such as "'international understanding' and the cultivation of a 'peaceful world'" (2016, 259). This seemingly inconsistent perception of live streaming as both a national and non-national space of expression can be explained by the context in which a live stream is situated. A participant named Alessandro explained that small streamers and tournaments have a tendency to be ignored by sponsors or corporations. For this reason, he continued, "they don't have the importance and visibility that is needed when we talk about international confrontations." For Alessandro, therefore, the lack of visibility and importance, or in other words, the difference in scale, was a crucial aspect in defining whether live streams may be a source of national narratives, especially in consideration of the Olympic comparison and the idea of global diplomacy that can be developed from it.

Throughout my fieldwork, I noticed a significant difficulty in translating a static notion of nationalism that was already present in my informants' minds into a dynamic concept that can be applied to online contexts. The view of live streaming as a potential instrument in the reinforcing of national values was welcomed but was a foreign concept, as something that doesn't happen within their own national context, but that may happen in others. The example of China was often made in this regard, perceived as one of the few places where online live streaming actively works towards the construction of national identities and nationalistic values, and this clearly reflects the interest throughout the academic literature, with the main texts on cyber-nationalism focused on China, and the particular nuances of Chinese cyber nationalism (Xu Wu, 2007). Nonetheless, the possibility of this phenomenon being observed and presenting common characteristics, also in other national contexts, was not discarded, and, more importantly, the notions themselves of nation and nationalism were applied to other non-purely national contexts such as those of online communities and Twitch channels, or at least, an attempt was made.

This research is not intended to provide a clear and defined picture of the issue at hand. Nonetheless, the research presents itself as a report of insights from an online community of everyday Twitch users within a defined national context. This may reveal useful considerations on how national values can present themselves in non-explicit ways and influence the identity-construction processes that these users undertake when participating in online spectatorial positions. One of the main issues in my findings was the paradoxical situation in which the informants discarded the possibility of their favourite channels being a medium of expressions of national values but promptly argued in favour of feelings of pride when hypothesizing about Italian participation in a tournament, a feeling that might be enhanced if the participating streamer was one of their favourites. One of the factors that, I believe, made this

paradoxical situation possible was a fundamental misunderstanding of how nationalism plays out. My informants, when talking about nationalism, easily associated it with the fascist regime. The reason for this, as Alessandro explained, lies in the education that the Italian participants received. In history classes at school, it is common for students to discuss nationalism during the lessons on the fascist period, a very important milestone in the historical education of young Italians. This is an association that Anderson addresses, stating that "one tends unconsciously to hypostasize the existence of Nationalism-with-a-big-N [...] and then to classify 'it' as an ideology" (Anderson 2006, 5); this classification process is comparable to the quick nationalism-fascism association that participants made. This classification and perception of nationalism as an ideology, and even a historical reality, pushed the informants to avoid recognizing forms of expression of national values within the context that they take part in every day. A lack of recognition is rendered even more important by Ismangil's statement that "it is through everyday usage that these normalizing discourses [large-scale narratives of nation-state framed by the media] become (re)articulated through the individual" (Ismangil 2019, 234). This statement is explicative of the ways in which a specific narrative about nationalism in the live-streaming context may be part of normalizing discourses that take nationalism up as something completely different and incompatible with the actual perception of everyday users.

According to Anderson, one of the crucial moments in the origin of nationalism was the introduction of the printed word into the lives of individuals (2006). It was the advent of print capitalism that made it possible for individuals "to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways" (Anderson 2006, 36). This argument brings us to a similar discussion Xu Wu makes about the medium. In particular, Wu (2007) articulates that the medium is effectively the message rather than being only the messenger. Now, it must be taken into consideration the fact that Xu Wu's work deals with online spaces in general, meaning that there is no specific discussion of particular ways of engaging online (as we are doing with live streaming), but nonetheless, these considerations about the importance of the medium are central in our analysis of live streaming as a medium. What are the implications of stating that the medium of live streaming is, in fact, the message of nationalism itself? I argue that through online live streaming, users interact in a context where normalizing discourses and behaviours sustain national values. This was proven on many occasions where participants expressed feelings of pride or had clear preferences in how they interacted with online live streams. The fact that these expressions tended to be overlooked when compared to how nationalism is imagined in its ideological and historical perceptions is not of decisive importance. The reality is that through a particular medium, users are enabled to feel and interact in particular ways that sustain preferences and unarticulated senses of interaction with each other, which are similar to how Anderson describes the significance of the printed word. This is even more credible when we apply Anderson's (2006) description of reading the newspaper as a 'mass ceremony' and the liveliness and ritualistic nature of live streaming.

Introducing the idea of the medium as the message is particularly important for my last argument. An understanding of online communities as potential semi-national entities was surprisingly recognized and articulated in the settings that the informants frequented every day. In particular, the participants all reflected the idea expressed by Arfini et al. (2019) that online communities are 'cognitive niches' in two main senses. The first sense is that online communities "implement networks of social connections that spur information-sharing activities among agents linked by similar interests" (Arfini et al. 2019, 394). Respondents critically analyzed online communities in the same sense; helped by my introduction of Anderson's definition of the nation, they identified the 'imagined' part of the community as a 'network of social connections' created by shared interests. Related to the second sense, respondents reflected on Arfini et al.'s idea that in online communities, "information-sharing activities are developed by epistemically defected mechanisms [...] and exploit problematic fallacious reasoning" (2019, 394) in the form of reasoning that one of the respondents described as "the hive mind." Through this definition, the respondent was trying to describe the way in which online communities, such as live streaming communities, fallaciously reflect a mode of reasoning in which truthfulness or correctness didn't matter, as long as it respected the mechanics of social interactions that were put in place by the community itself. The same respondent connected the idea of "the hive mind" to the notion of a 'sovereign' state. Through this analysis, enhanced by the identification of emotes and memes with maps, flags or national songs, live-streaming communities (and transcending the specific, online communities) were associated with nation-like entities.

This report describes online live streaming as a media product capable of influencing the processes of identity building of its audience, and thus also capable of carrying and reinforcing national values according to the idea that the medium is the message (Wu, 2007). The fieldwork shed light on a particular paradoxical situation in which respondents didn't recognize the possibility of a nationalistic value of live streaming but still brought forward feelings associated with a national identity when thinking about it, especially at higher professional levels, such as broadcastings of eSports. In this sense, this research discusses live streaming as a medium through implications of stating that the medium of live streaming is, in fact, the message which nationalism can be expressed through normalizing discourses and practices in which users engage. During these engagements, criteria of truthfulness or correctness don't matter as long as the user respects what has been termed by an interviewee as 'the hive mind,' and makes use of all those elements considered to be gatekeepers, such as memes. This suggests that Benedict Anderson's definition of nations as imagined political communities, may reflect itself as a reality of online communities as well, where the medium of the printed word is seemingly reproduced in the live streaming process through its ritualistic consumption and intrinsic mass interaction. Nationalistic elements are sure to be found, but the definitions through which we explain them are inneed of a slight adaptation to the intricate and complex spaces and modes of interaction of the online world, where, as attested in the conversations with participants, nationalism is neither comprehended nor perceived.

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Book Review: Joseph Pugliese's *Biopolitics of the More-than-Human* and Indigenous Subversion in the Canadian State

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How does a new approach to biopolitics, the biopolitics of the more-than-human, help our understanding of Canada's relations with Indigenous peoples? This paper will review Joseph Pugliese's book, Biopolitics of the More-than-Human (2020). Pugliese connects the practice of Western biopolitics, a power derived from making life and letting die, with the operation of speciesism, settler-colonialism, racism and environmental degradation in the Western state. After exploring his theory, this paper will draw on points raised by Paul Nadasdy in his earlier anthropological study, Hunters and Bureaucrats (2003), which characterizes the Canadian state as attempting to exert biopolitical power over the Kluane First Nation. Comparing these works expands on Pugliese's theory of biopolitics of the more-than-human and his corollary argument that outside this form of Western power, Indigenous cosmo-epistemologies have existed and remained radically untouched by the biopower. Pugliese's claim is richly showcased in Nadasdy's book, suggesting that the Kluane worldview and practices are ways of resistance that defy a simpler theorization of biopolitics. Reading these books together helps illustrate the complex relationship between the environment, Indigenous nations and the Canadian government while also fleshing out biopolitical ecology theorizations.

KEY WORDS Biopolitics, Indigenous Studies, Settler-colonialism, Ecology, Nation-state, More-than-Human

Discussions about how power operates in the modern state have largely been dominated by reflections on Michael Foucault's concept of biopolitics. Foucault's theory holds that since the eighteenth century, the modern Western state has been governed by encouraging humans to live away and let them die according to a particular ideal life. Since Foucault, the conversation around biopolitics in the modern state has taken many forms. Around 2014, Achille Mbembe emerged with his theory of necropolitics, modifying Foucault's concept of biopower to argue that Western governance makes life, let's die and, in some (racialized) cases, makes die subjects. Theorization along these lines has questioned if it is only racialized human lives that are targeted for letting or making die, suggesting that power also targets non-human or more-than-human lives. Biopolitical ecology is an emerging field that links Western sovereignty with race, speciesism, and the environment (collectively, the more-than-human) to argue that the state seeks to make live life forms that support a certain kind of human and that it lets or makes die lives that do not support the idealized human life.

The latest addition to this field is Joseph Pugliese's book, *Biopolitics of the More-than-Human* (2020). Pugliese presents a theory of biopolitical ecology that argues Western states make live entities that are or support a certain type of human life and lets (or makes) die lives that are more than human. Pugliese elaborates on this theory by linking speciesism, settler-colonialism, racism, environmental degradation and health inequalities to a dense network of Western power. Pugliese argues that although this network is extensive and intricate, Indigenous cosmo-epistemologies exist, and Indigenous peoples practice them. To lay out the key parts of Pugliese's theory and to review the book, this paper will summarize the theory and select case studies alongside an earlier ethnographic study by Paul Nadasdy, Hunters and Bureaucrats (2003). Nadasdy's book is about how the Canadian state used biopolitics to govern the Kluane First Nation in a rural and remote section of the country, and it is a book that is implicitly about the struggle of a Western state to impose biopolitical governance on an Indigenous nation.

What is remarkable about Nadasdy's book is that he, like Pugliese, suggests that while the Western state uses biopower, there are practices of living (and dying) that are unaffected by this power. To open up the discussion about how biopolitics and its resistance can be (re)conceived as operating in a Western state, this paper will review Pugliese's book and suggest that a theory of the more-than-human biopolitics can be supplemented by Nadasdy's anthropological study. Such a reading helps articulate a biopolitics that captures the Western state's attempts at governing certain human lives and letting (or making) die more-than-human lives, all while Indigenous cosmology-based legal and political orders persist.

To explore this claim, this paper will begin with a summary of Pugliese's theory of governance through the biopolitics of the more-than-human. Then, it will move to explain Pugliese's idea of Indigenous cosmology, which operates alongside this biopolitics, and compare this with Nadasdy's research about this cosmology in the Kluane First Nation. To apply Pugliese's theory, his case study on the United States' campaign of drone strikes using biodata will be contrasted with Nadasdy's discussion about the Canadian government's use of biodata to govern the sheep population in the Indigenous territory. Finally, the review will conclude by suggesting future research areas for theorizing the biopolitics of the more-than-human.

Biopolitics of the More-than-Human

Pugliese's book uses a "forensic audit" methodology to explore the early 2000s military campaigns at the 'fringes' of the Empire, places that include the attacks in Gaza, the Middle East, and the encampment of Guantanamo Bay. Pugliese argues that by examining how the violence unfolded in these areas, he can uncover how power operates in the larger area. These areas are where power is colonizing, as it attempts to secure control over a territory or people it sees as needing domination. As Pugliese explains: "the possibilities of political life for the settler subject are indissociably predicated on infrastructural foreclosures of political life for the broad spectrum of more-than-human entities attempting to survive within regimes of settler occupation

and military violence" that is inscribed with the speciesist based legal and political orders (Pugliese 2020, 5).

Using this methodology, Pugliese argues that military campaigns create 'zones of indeterminability' between the flesh of humans, animals, and more-than-humans, and this constitutes the modern subject. To begin theorizing biopolitics as operating in the binary, Pugliese suggests that Michel Foucault's concept of state power was meant to govern man "not as man-as-body but man-as-species" (Pugliese 2020, 5). From here, Foucault argues that society increasingly uses a discourse of biological degeneracy through race, operating to eliminate one race to improve the human species. For Pugliese, Foucault's argument is an opening to explore biopower's "foundational, but unspoken, dependence on speciesism" (Pugliese 2020, 6). To conceptualize this connection, Pugliese introduces the term "racio-speciesism" to describe how the human/more-than-human binary is mobilized in settler-colonial environments to 'make live' subjects designated as human and to 'make die' those colonized 'more-than-human' subjects. Pugliese argues that understanding the racio-speciesism connection is vital to reconceptualizing biopolitics as a framework that "transmutes the race struggle into distinct racio-anthropocentric registers designed to impact diverse targets that are scripted as deviating from the norm" (Pugliese 2020, 6).

Pugliese formulates his concept of racio-specieism by extending Jacques Derrida's response to Giorgio Agamben. Agamben argued that biopolitics emerged from the political structures of Ancient Greece, where sovereign power was constituted through the separation between zoe (human life, or participation in the home and farm outside of the city) from bios (political life, or participation in the city). This separation constitutes the sovereign and the exalted subject, a proposition that Carey Wolfe uses to conceptualize 'zoopolitics': the use of biopolitical power to use a discursive dispositif to interpellate a subject in the human/animal binary. Pugliese argues that the constitutive nature of the binary means that both the human and the more-than-human categories are politicized, producing what Neel Ahuja calls "the interspecies zone of the political" (Pugliese 2020, 64). Thus, Pugliese redefines politics as that which "exposes what biopolitics continues to elide and disavow: that the conditions of possibility of the very concept of the 'the human' are founded on the occlusive operations of this originary ruse" between zoe and bios, human and more-than-human (Pugliese 2020, 64).

Pugliese sees zoo politics as insufficiently accounting for the logic of the settler state. To illustrate this, he draws on Israel's 2014 military campaign against Gaza, called 'Operation Protective Edge'. Israel justified the campaign by claiming that Israel had to 'mow the lawn' and pre-emptively attack Gaza to ensure the people did not grow too strong to potentially attack. By referring to Palestinians' lives as if they were mere grass, , Pugliese argues that the campaign illustrates the hierarchization of life and more-than-life because Israel did not just target Palestinian lives but the non-human lives that supported Palestinians. It conducted the military campaign by doing things like shooting up orchids, bulldozing trees and vegetative life, killing pets, bombing houses, and targeting sewage and water systems. Pugliese argues that the campaign reveals that the settler state does not just seek to make settler (human) lives live but that the logic of colonialism is a process that aims to eliminate Indigenous human and

non-human lives. Thus, he suggests that the settler state operates not just on zoo politics but the biopolitics of the more-than-human.

Settler-Colonialism, Slow Violence and Indigenous Cosmology

Pugliese also argues that the settler state uses slow violence to reinforce the biopolitical ends of the human/more-than-human binary. Pugliese focuses on the Israeli state, whose military campaign included digging up aquifers, shooting up orchards, and bombing the land. Long after the initial violence ends, the environmental and health damage these acts cause lingers in a way that operates at the "nucleic level" as heavy metals and poisoned bacteria enter waters and air, causing sickness and even death. In these acts, biopolitics becomes atomized, "in a capillary-like fashion, gnawing at the body in question and weakening it" as the settler state aims to 'make live' one population (the Israeli state) and 'let die' (or also make die) the colonized population (Pugliese 2020, 101). Slow violence makes it difficult to locate the perpetrator, as the nature of pathogens "may defy categorical medico-legal identification of the causal agent" (Pugliese 2020, 103). Pugliese argues that the settler state targets more-than-human subjects because of their life-giving means, which affects the colonized subjects' health. Pugliese's 'atomization of biopolitics' reframes the concept of slow violence as occurring in ecology to turn the colonized bodies against them, reconceptualizing the need for land and 'environmental' rights in settler-colonial states.

Pugliese's more-than-human biopolitics theory, as it operates in the zoopolitical modality of the settler colonies and as it unfolds in the slow violence of the state, can be used to explore other aspects of power in the Western state. For instance, the research could apply the theory to First Nation reserves in Canada to understand how many cannot access clean drinking water and adequate housing and are located near toxic industries (Canada 2019, Cecco 2019, Liao n.d.). Similarly, research can use the more-than-human biopolitical lens to explore the difficulties that Black and Latinx communities in the United States have with accessing food or clean water (Brones 2018, Ewing-Chow 2021, Potter et al. 2017). Jasbir Puar has recently argued that the more-than-human biopolitics would also offer a salient argument for the global and domestic response to the COVID-19 pandemic (Puar 2020).

This concept of slow violence is not directly addressed in Nadasdy's book, but the theory brings an interesting dimension to his arguments. As will be discussed, Nadasdy contends that the settler state is trying to govern Indigenous people and the lands that make them live more like settlers (or bureaucrats) and live less traditional Indigenous ways (or hunters). The government's fumbling of wildlife management in the Kluane nation results in a decline in the sheep population that threatens Indigenous ways of life, pushing the Indigenous people to live more like settlers. Thus, Nadasdy argues that the Kluane people tried to engage with the state to change this declining population, but the state did not take their concerns seriously. If Nadasdy's research is read through Pugliese's more-than-human biopolitics, then what emerges is a claim that the settler state is making traditional Indigenous ways of living untenable. This pushes the Indigenous people into lifestyles that are foreign to them; it is dispossession that makes

them live closer to a settler life and further from the non-settler life. This type of theorization suggests that the settler state engages in the form of slow violence to govern the lands, and this idea is useful for further theorizing in the Canadian context.

This is not to paint biopolitics as a totalizing power. In these chapters and throughout the book, one of Pugliese's deft theoretical moves is to assume that Indigenous epistemologies exist outside of Western thought, despite ongoing attempts at colonization. Pugliese makes this assumption because he relies on the arguments by Indigenous scholars like Vine Deloria Jr, Gregory Cajete, Winnona Le Duke, and Robin Wall Kimmerer. He argues that these works present an Indigenous cosmology that premises existence as part of the natural world. This existence is ruled in a way that is unknowable to humans, but humans can benefit from learning to live within this web of being if they observe nature and participate thoughtfully. Unlike other Western aesthetic, and political theories, Pugliese centers on Indigenous cosmo-epistemology. In so doing, Pugliese is replying to a call from Jacques Derrida, who suggests that Western thought does not yet know of political aesthetics outside of European thought (Derrida 2000, 11). Pugliese's reply is: that we can know aesthetics by listening to Indigenous people. His book is a demonstration of this reply.

However, Pugliese does not mean to suggest, and neither do the Indigenous scholars he draws on, that colonization has not had a violent impact on Indigenous nations. Pugliese is dealing with an aesthetics of a political philosophy that is grounded on Indigenous epistemology, where the impacts of this violence do not necessarily reach the foundational worldviews and legal orders of Indigenous people, especially since they are de-anthropomorphized. Pugliese's argument suggests that 'working with' Indigenous nations can only be done if the Western state is ready to de-anthropomorphize its legal and governance structures or at least give Indigenous nations the autonomy to enact their own laws and political order. Thus, peaceful co-existence happens only when the settler state can respect the autonomy of the Indigenous nations, a major implication of Nadasdy's research. In Hunters and Bureaucrats (2003), Nadasdy illustrates how Canada's attempts at co-governing Indigenous lands with Indigenous nations often frustratingly fail because Canada co-governs to uphold "Euro-North American assumptions about land and animals" (Nadasdy 2003, 8). For a detailed explanation of how these two arguments are llustrated, a turn to Pugliese's theorization of biopower through data and Nadasdy's case study of the settler state co-managing wildlife with the Kluane First Nation.

Biopower and Biodata: Drone Strikes and Hunting Licenses

Nadasdy's book was one of the first to look at Canada's governance of Indigenous land through 'co-management' boards, and since the book, Canada has increasingly used this co-management approach in other aspects of Indigenous governance. Political scientists call this 'multilevel governance, and it is meant to bring the Canadian state and Indigenous nations together to decide what happens on Indigenous lands (Pasternak 2020). To unpack how the theory of biopolitics of the more-than-human can be applied in Canada, I will look at Pugliese's theorization of the bioinformational-

ization that propels the more-than-human biopolitics operating in the United State's drone strike campaign in the Middle East (chapter 3). Similar to the United States 'War on Terror', Canada's multilevel governance has increasingly used data collection and analysis to justify interventions on Indigenous land, sidelining Indigenous claims and rights based on the superiority of scientific knowledge (Burman 2016, Pasternak 2020, Pasternak and King n.d.). Nadasdy's book was one of the first to explore Canada's reliance on governance with data and argue that this was determinantal to Indigenous nations and the environment.

In Chapter 3, Pugliese argues that the settler-colonial state utilizes data and algorithms to govern more-than-human biopolitics. As an example of this, Pugliese examines the drone strikes that the United States conducted in parts of the Middle East as part of the "War on Terror". Pugliese argues that these drone strikes used data to determine where to strike, and such decisions reinforce anthropocentric hierarchies of life that attempt to place the settler state. The United States has a mandated drone strike policy because it needs to 'end' terrorism. Each drone strike kills humans, animals, plants, and other more-than-humans, and this killing is made extrajudicially as no legal permit is issued for that particular killing. This 'divine' killing, where the United States kills based on who it thinks is there but does not actually 'know' who is there, occurs because the United States collected data about life in that territory that is then converted to integers that it uses in an algorithm. The United States issued drone strikes based on a combination of algorithmic formulas, probability stakes, and outright guesses – what Pugliese calls the "drone casino mimesis" (Pugliese 2020, 177). The United States justifies these attacks based on the statistical probability that terrorists are there, and the non-terrorist kills are classified as 'non-combatant deaths' and not 'person deaths' (Pugliese 2020, 177). Research indicates that drone strikes hit suspected terrorists about 4% of the time.

Nadasdy's book focuses on how the Canadian government came to the co-management wildlife board to address the declining sheep population in the area. The Kluane believed that the sheep were declining because of overhunting and changes in the weather patterns, which today would be recognized as global warming. The settler population in the area largely depended on hunting for the tourism industry, the main economic source for the settler population. The Kluane argued that the state should decrease these licenses to halt the declining sheep population. The government resisted this suggestion and chose to rely on the data that they collected. The data came from the government workers who counted sheep through ariel surveys and by counting newborn lambs in the spring. Canadian biologists then converted the sheep's lives into integers that were then calculated using algorithms to decide how many hunting licenses the state could issue.

Similar to the high rate of failure in the drone strikes, Nadasdy argues that Canada's reliance on data to manage the declining sheep population was unsuccessful. For instance, the government decided to focus its hunting licenses on mature male sheep but did not decrease the number of licenses, arguing that the older males did not affect the sheep population. Nadasdy points out that this angered the Kluane elders, who argued with the government that this approach was wrong because older male sheep

played an important role in managing the population. The elders had this knowledge because they spent time on the land and observing nature, and they understood that older male sheep taught younger sheep how to attract a mate, how to prepare for winter, and how to eat – they played important roles in the reproduction of the sheep population. Nadasdy argues that when the elders presented their knowledge to the government, the government reduced the knowledge into statistical data that was coded as "traditional ecological knowledge" (TEK). Government biologists used TEK because they were required to collect and store TEK under the co-management agreement, but the government biologists did not have to value TEK over their data and assumptions. Nadasdy argues that the government frequently devalues TEK in favour of scientific-based data. As the Kluane people and elders realize this in their meetings with government officials, Nadasdy argues that their participation in the co-management board became less enthused, and eventually, they lost hope that the government would change. For their part, the government barrelled ahead with issuing hunting licenses that emphasized killing the older male sheep. Ultimately, the sheep population continued to decline substantially.

Nadasdy's case study illustrates how the settler state uses biodata to make live more-than-human lives. The state sought to make live the sheep lives because they supported the settler tourism industry. They managed using ariel counting and sheep birth, translating the sheep lives into integers that the government then used to determine how many hunting licenses it should issue. Nadasdy suggests that the sinister side of Canada's governance by data is that it allows Canada to feign participation from the Indigenous nation. He argues that true co-management is not possible until there is a shift in Western epistemologies that restructure the way 'data' is viewed, collected, valued, and utilized by the Canadian state. It is striking that Pugliese's account of the drone strikes relies on satellite information in a way that is similar to how Canada collects data by conducting aerial surveys to count sheep. The Kluane was appalled by this practice of data collection, arguing that it is disrespectful for Canada to treat the animals "as objects of study, as non-sentient beings with whom social relations are impossible. Many Kluane people, however, refuse to make such a distinction between the proper treatment of animals and people" (Nadasdy 2016, 10). As Pugliese would say, the Kluane rejected the practice of data collection that translates lives into integers. Nadasdy calls on sweeping changes in the collection and use of data, but I suspect that Pugliese would advocate for an even more radical approach. As Nadasdy describes the Kluane people as believing that decisions about the sheep population can only be made by living on the land and participating in a relational ecology, perhaps Pugliese will favour one Kluane elder's solution: "it is not enough to know about only bears and moose; one must know about all the animals out there – how they behave, what they eat, how they interact with one another, how they think… biologists do not know as much about the environment as they think they do because, if you put them out in the bush alone, they would not be able to survive" (Pugliese 2020, 124).

If Pugliese was writing Nadasdy's book, he would likely argue that the elder's comments reveal a way of governance that is based on an Indigenous cosmo-epistemology. The elders that Nadasdy speaks to gathered their knowledge of the sheep

because of the time they spent living on the land, hunting and observing them. These elders observed that the sheep population was declining because of the changing migration patterns they speculated were caused by the warming weather patterns and nearby resource extraction activities. At the time of Nadasdy's book, the Canadian government did not heed these concerns. In another article, Nadasdy emphasizes the unknowing aspect of Klaune ontology. He writes that the Kluane sees humans as the "most pitiful" creatures who need the most help to survive, and it is only by the graciousness of nature and animals that the Kluane can learn some things (but not all) about how to live. Therefore, Nadasdy describes how the Kluane believe that it is important to live on the land and to observe nature, as these are opportunities to learn important lessons about how to live (Nadasdy 2016, 8). Further, Nadasdy argues that the Kluane see animals as political actors who "understand human speech (whether spoken or merely thought), and it is they, not humans, who authored many of the laws that still govern not only human-animal interactions but also social relations among humans" (Nadasdy 2016, 9). This characterization of the Kluane epistemology is similar to how Pugliese characterizes Indigenous cosmo-epistemologies, suggesting that this is a useful source of knowledge.

Although Pugliese's theorization of bioinfromationalization was not present when Nadasdy was writing the book, this is a rough sketch of how I would want to apply Pugliese's theory in the context of Canada-Indigenous relations. Further research is warranted, especially as Canada increasingly uses co-management boards and private contracts, called Mutual Benefit Agreements (MBAs), that seek to involve Indigenous nations in governance to reconcile and manage the lands better. Scholar Shiri Pasternack argues that Canada's larger strategy of multilevel governance agreements is to force Indigenous nations to consent to resource extraction (Patzer 2019). Pugliese's more-than-human biopolitics offers a nuanced understanding of power dynamics in the settler-colonial state that led to this coercion under multilevel governance.

Theorizing Resistance and Closing Thoughts

I want to close this book review by looking at Pugliese's chapter on Guantanamo Bay, where he argues that biopolitics of the more-than-human can also give racialized subjects access to a type of freedom through a re-imagined concept of The Open. In this chapter, Pugliese describes the more-than-human biopolitics that operates in the Camp, where the detainees are treated like 'pieces of furniture and have a legal status as 'not persons'. This moves the detainees from their previous identities as humans to a more-than-human position. Without any other avenues for intimacy or relationships, the detainees choose to relate and intimate with other more-than-human subjects that move in and out of the Camp. Pugliese draws on several such examples of detainees forming moments of relations with iguanas, cats, ants, flies, and banana rats, which are all beautiful vignettes. In each case, the detainee approaches the more-than-human subject with humility, curiosity, and kindness that allows both subjects to connect to each other. One detainee, Mansoor Adayfi, who was imprisoned from the ages of 14 years old to 31 years old, says that the longest relationship of his life was with an iguana

at the Camp. Mohammed Bashmilah, another detainee, described visits from feral cats and crows as vital to his survival at the Camp, saying that these relations "make you come out of Guantanamo completed" (Pugliese 2020, 146). Pugliese theorizes that while biopolitics places the colonized subject in a state where they have a doubled existence, the colonized can find solace in their exchanges and relations with other more-than-human subjects.

From here, Pugliese theorizes that such solace means that the detainees can experience "an encounter with animal alterity that establishes the conditions of possibility to be enveloped by the transient space of the Open and to be elevated, momentarily, beyond the binding shackles of the cage" (Pugliese 2020, 139). At this moment, the detainee uses his interpellated position to relate with another more-than-human entity that exists outside Western spatial and temporal confines. Pugliese re-draws the idea of The Open to describe this relation and theorizes a type of resistance. Heidegger theorized that humans could confront The Open to access the place of Being in which things first appeared as what they are; for Heidegger, this place could only be accessed by a unique balance of human language, poetry, and the everyday. Heidegger assumed that only humans have language. Contra Heidegger, Pugliese suggests that language is not exclusive to humans and that interspecies language is possible. Further, the detainees at the Camp are one example of this interspecies communication. The other evidence for this is Indigenous cosmo-epistemology, which acknowledges the importance of interspecies communication as illustrated in the work of Catej and Deloria. Thus, Pugliese argues that "across a number of Indigenous worldviews, animals and other-than-human entities have always responded [to humans]. It is Westerners who have been inattentive to their voices" (Pugliese 2020, 146).

Pugliese draws on Agamben to theorize about The Open, which brings into his theory of biopolitics a way that the subject can gain agency. Pugliese illustrates this in his account of the life of detainee Adan Farahan Abdul Latif, whose tortured life and tragic death could easily be characterized as a totalizing account of biopolitical and necropolitical power. Although these powers were likely at work in Latif's life, Pugliese's theory suggests that Latif also experienced moments of 'freedom' in his relations and moments of intimacy with the crows, feral cats, and other wildlife that he encountered while imprisoned. This conception of The Open reinforces an argument he makes earlier in the book, which is that Patrick Wolfe's theory of settler-colonialism cannot assume that colonialism's structure is complete and totalizing. As Pugliese suggests and as The Open indicates, there are parts of the Empire that are unknown and uncontrolled by Western biopolitics (Pugliese 2020, 107). Even more striking, Pugliese's theory suggests that subjects can engage in The Open in moments of colonial violence, under intense and violent power, even if the subject does not know about Indigenous epistemologies or worldviews.

Pugliese is right to highlight the importance of human and more-than-human communication in Indigenous theory, but I wonder if his theorization here can be bolstered by a more nuanced understanding of what this role entails. For this, I turn to the work of Nadasdy, who argues that the settler state's inability to appreciate interspecies communication is one barrier to successful co-management with Indigen-

ous nations (Nadasdy 2016). Nadasdy's work is limited to the Kluane and other Indigenous nations in Northwestern Canada, and for them, interspecies communication is how Indigenous legal and political orders can be known:

> It is they [animals], not humans, who authored many of the laws that still govern not only human-animal interactions but also social relations among humans... human people depend for their very survival on the goodwill of their animal benefactors, and if animals are offended they may refuse to give themselves to hunters in the future. Recognizing their indebtedness to the powerful other-than-human persons upon whom they depend for their very existence, northern Indigenous people cultivate a sense of humility in their dealings with them. Indeed, many northern Indigenous people believe that animals are moved by pity to help humans. (Nadasy 2016, 7)

Nadasdy's argument is that interspecies communication is the only way that humans can understand how to survive on Earth. The Kluane believe that without this communication, humans would not know how to live sustainably and for a long time – and this is a point that seems important as we contemplate life in the Anthropocene. Perhaps we can then suggest that interspecies communication is not just a vehicle to confront Being; it is the only way for Humans to exist. Turning back to Pugliese's theorization, it seems like the detainees approached the animals with humility, curiosity, and a sense of care, which accords with Indigenous teachings. I wonder if we could also say that the detainees' relations with the more-than-human entities also taught them about a legal and political order that helped keep them alive, as Nadasdy writes: "most Kluane people believe that maintaining proper social relations with animals is essential to their survival" (Nadasdy 2003, 85).

The final question that I have about Pugliese's work concerns the idea of 'flesh-of-the-world', which is a critical part of the more-than-human biopolitics. Pugliese sees flesh as the basis for transcending the human/more-than-human binary by creating a subject that is deanthropromorphized. A question I have comes from a point raised by Catherine Malabou, who argues that the problem with biopolitics is that "for Foucault, as well as for Agamben, or Derrida, although in different ways, biology is always presented as intimately linked with sovereignty in its traditional figure" (Malabou 2014, 100). This leads me to ask: is Pugliese's more-than-human biopolitics making flesh the sovereign? I see this illustrated in how Pugliese theorizes that the more-than-human subject (the Arab detainee) is able to participate in The Open because the West has interpellated him in the more-than-human category. In making this move, is Pugliese foreclosing an identification or participation that the detainee may have with his own culture or race, a connection that might not be as easily observable as the relations with more-than-humans? What I wonder is: if we only recognize flesh that is not racialized, are we closing off a decolonial approach that recognizes Black epistemologies?

Fred Monton argues that Western theories of biopolitics may think of flesh as between the symbolic and the biological (or the human/more-than-human binary), but Black studies are concerned with "forging an understanding between" (Moten 2015, 28). Perhaps this applies to Pugliese's theorization if he cannot capture the in-between Black experience that is fundamental to the Black subject's experience with the flesh of

the world. For Pugliese, Western thought is haunted by the "zoopolitical phantom", which is the "dogma of human exceptionalism" (Pugliese 2020, 6). As Achille Mbembe points out, Afrofuturism sees Western thought as haunted by the phantom Negro that "put paid to the idea of the human species" (Mbembe 2019, 163). While it may be that the West has at least two ghosts outside Its doors, I would be interested in theorizations about this shared haunting ground.

Although Pugliese does recognize the connection between slavery and colonization in earlier sections of the book, I do not know if he fully reckons with this connection in his theorization of the more-than-human biopolitics. One indication of this is in Pugliese's dismissal of Fanon, who he says bemoaned the colonized subject's more-than-human position and wanted to make the colonized human. Thus Fanon's argument is "ineluctably entrenched in the locus of an unthought anthropocentrism that effectively operates to reproduce the very epistemic violence it desires to expose" (Pugliese 2020, 62). I suspect that it is possible that Pugliese may have misread Fanon. Mbembe describes Fanon as striving to emplace the Black man in a category outside that binary where "humanity is forever in creation" (Pugliese 2020, 175). Mbembe suggests that this 'humanity-in-creation' position means that the Black subject must co-exist in a relational network of humility and affect, creating a 'new' community as well as a 'new' man. To me, this suggests that Fanon's theorizations might be more similar to Pugliese's theory than he realizes, and this has interesting implications for a racial, Indigenous, and decolonial approach to biopolitics. This kind of research is outside the scope of Pugliese's book, and it does not weaken his strong theoretical strengths, but it warrants future work.

There are ongoing discussions in the scholarship about the connection between Black and Indigenous decolonial practices. Pugliese's *Biopolitics of More-than-Human* clearly illustrates a profound epistemological shift that must happen in Western governance to counter the violence that Western settler-colonialism inflicts. Indigenous epistemologies are a way to envision these alternative legal and political orders, and there is evidence that they are practiced by Indigenous and non-Indigenous subjects throughout the world. Pugliese's more-than-human biopolitics theory can also help explain why current research suggests that Indigenous nations are better at managing natural disasters and protecting against climate change than Western states (Sengupta, Einhorn, and Andreoni 2021). The challenge ahead is to understand how to support this radically different kind of stewardship, and Pugliese's book provides insight into why this is necessary and how this can be done.

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The Impending Future of an Uprooted Generation:
An Experimental Semi-Fiction

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This semi-fiction piece begins with a personal story about Syria and the Syrian migration crisis, then moves to shed light on the lives of the Marshall Islands residents, who will become climate migrants in the near future if Climate Change advances at the current rate. The following section explores the life and struggles of a real Marshallese activist. It is followed by a future-casting narrative 30 years into the future, when her child (now grown up) has to tackle migration issues on her own, along with other Climate-Change-induced havoc in society.

KEY WORDS   Displacement, Syrian Migration Crisis, Climate Change, Forced Migration, Climate Refugees, Marshall Islands

In many social science disciplines, skewed structural relations have dictated the academic valuation of art producers higher than/over art thinkers. Many academics still regard artistic practice, though capable of serving as a "vehicle for for research or thinking" that creates impactful impressions of social experience/dysfunction, as an illegitimate method of knowledge production (Loveless 2019, 12). However, more recently, in the Canadian context, research–creation as a methodology for qualitative research has been popularized by provincial and federal funding agencies (Truman 2021, xvi), which recognize its potential to support knowledge production and innovation "through artistic expression, scholarly investigation, and experimentation" (Loveless 2019, 6; Truman 2021, xvi).

The exceptional potential of research creation lies in its demand for an interdisciplinary approach that extends beyond the domain of any one discipline, aiming to reconfigure traditional academic and pedagogical training (Loveless, 20291, 7). Since my curiosities and passions overlap at the intersection of environmental studies, creative writing, and anthropology, I adopt the neologism of polydisciplinamory to describe my approach to interdisciplinary research in composing this essay. Polydisciplinamory, a concept coined by Natalie Loveless (2019), is a disruptive practice of establishing connections through content and form (Loveless 2019, 63), utilizing curiosity and love as guides for the scholar to choose positionality

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and disciplines to transgress, and thus challenge practice/theory divides (Loveless 2019, 70). Loveless states that research-creation practiced through a polydisciplinamorous approach "follows desire and builds spaces and contexts that allow the time and space to experiment in unpredictable directions" (Loveless 2019, 70).

At this unique juncture, the urgency of taking Climate action requires us to employ alternative art-based methods of engaging broader non-academic audiences. As such, in the conception of the following experimental essay, I use polydisciplinamorous research-creation as the cornerstone of my research methods. Along the way, I use a variety of submethods, such as Melanie L. Harris's (2017) eco-womanist method of Mining Ecomemory – critical reflection on personal and ancestral experiences (Harris 2017, 49) - employing personal anecdotes as feminist storytelling forms that transform "inherited modes of scholarly vocality" (Loveless 2019, 65), and experimental narrative. I have thus devised a route of discovery for the readers' imagination that takes them on a tumultuous journey through time and space, over the cultural contours that ethnography lays out, first to the past, to a pleasant childhood memory in the Middle East, and then to the opposite side of the globe, to an archipelago in the middle of the Pacific Ocean with a plausibly disheartening future. As distant as the destinations may be, as foreign as some characters may seem, and however believable the plotline, my advice to you, fellow traveller, is to make sure to roll down your windows at every stop and relish the scent of the fresh air you are about to encounter.

Dislocation 1 - Mint Tea and Road Dust

When I travelled to Damascus, Syria as a child, I was fascinated by the historical monuments and delectable food. I made a friend one day while playing in a park, and as a six-year-old, it was fascinating that this friendly little girl of different ethnicity looked just like my friends back in Iran. Now 29 years later, 3.6 million Syrians have been compelled to leave their homes and flee their country due to the violent civil war (Alkan 2021, 180). That little girl and I walked the same streets, breathed the same air, and enjoyed the same traditional mint tea, yet it breaks my heart that we live in very different realities today. Now, while I live in a wealthy country, irritated about my drive-through latté not being hot enough, she is probably stuck in a refugee camp in Turkey with thousands of other Syrians, with no access to clean water or struggling to get by living in a derelict structure somewhere in Lebanon.

As I read more articles on the exodus, I learned that Syrian migrants were gradually moved from Turkish camps into cities, promoted by a state discourse of hospitality and generosity (Alkan 2021, 181). This humanitarian governance was especially effective because it influenced the "dense fabric of relationships" that evolved between Syrians and the locals (Alkan 2021, 181). However, there is a dark side to hospitality. Jacques Derrida (2005; qt. in Alkan 2021, 181) identifies an inherent paradox in the latter, where the act of welcoming creates power imbalances between the host and the guest, creating a capacity for hostility as well. The word "guest" also implies an eventual departure, which is not possible for such forced migrants; this hospitality may not produce equal

citizens and rather deepens the prevalent power inequalities (Alkan 2021, 181-184). This displacement into a new shelter may have been only temporary, and they may never settle into a new home again. Sadly, many people lose their homes and are forced to migrate every year due to war, but not all forced migration happens due to civil unrest. Syria's exodus is the biggest migration crisis we have seen in our generation, but what about the next generation? A yet more devious and stealthy force is taking charge, slowly driving people out of their homeland and into the unknown: sea levels rising. More land will continue to be submerged underwater as the glaciers melt due to climate change, and some of the most vulnerable are the inhabitants of the low-lying Pacific Islands, such as the people of the Marshall Islands (Davenport, Coral, and Haner 2015). Unfortunately, in The West, we rarely hear about them, perhaps since these islands are so secluded, and changes in the sea level are incremental and inconspicuous in the short term.

Dislocation 2.1 - Bikini Bombs and Mirrors of Horror

A nation in the middle of the Pacific Ocean - far North East of Australia, the Republic of Marshall Islands consists of 24 coral atolls totalling 1,156 individual islands and islets sitting just a few feet above sea level (World Atlas 2016). The nation has a population of 50,000 people, and Majuro - the Islands' capital city - has one of the highest population densities in the Pacific (World Atlas 2016). From 1946 to 1958, in a few of those islands, the United States performed nuclear and hydrogen bomb testing, the effects of which still haunt the population (Hodge 2018; Nuti 2007, 42). A group of anthropologists played an integral role in collecting the narratives of what happened in Bikini, Enewetak, Rongelap and Utrik (Nuti 2007, 42). Because of their efforts, the voices of the Marshallese were amplified, and their lived history of this experience was documented in great detail (Nuti 2007, 42). As such, there are accounts of impacted communities witnessing skin peeling off their animals, countless anecdotes of women giving birth to "stillborn creatures resembling jellyfish, intestines and grapes", and many victims developing radiation-induced blood disorders (Nuti 2007, 42; Hodge 2018).

As if that history did not bring about enough torment, the Marshallese have faced a new horror in the recent decade. The sea-level rise resulting from Climate Change-induced melting of the glaciers has caused the island inhabitants to be hit by high-tide floods, destroying homes, roads and water sources, and agriculture (Davenport, Coral, and Haner 2015). As the climate continues warming in the Pacific, it is estimated that by the year 2050, these Islanders will be left with no land and no country to call their own (Davenport, Coral, and Haner 2015).

As a dim glimmer of restorative justice for the immense damage from the nuclear testing, the Marshallese and the people of the Federated States of Micronesia and Palau are allowed unrestricted access to the United States to work, study, and reside as habitual residents. The loss of these lands to rising sea levels in the upcoming years creates about 200,000+ climate change-forced migrants (World Atlas 2016; Davenport, Coral, and Haner 2015; Duke 2017, 424). In return, the US military holds exclusive

control over the wide span of the ocean that engulfs the archipelago, in which Anthropologist Michael Duke sees vestiges of previous colonial practices, compelling him to label it "neocolonialism", considering the nation's sovereignty and dependency on the US military (Duke 2017, 424). Colonialism has a track record of wiping out entire national identities, but what happens when rising sea levels wipe out entire islands? One cannot help but question what will happen to national identities when a country no longer physically exists. (Kirsch 2020, 828).

The relationship between the Marshallese and their identity is complex. From one perspective, the US military control and the unconsented longitudinal "surveillance" of Marshallese bodies as test subjects for nuclear exposure - what Duke calls "a reproduction of the US' securityscape' " - has resulted in the transformation of their nature, both in the context of biology and cultural imaginary (424-425). Amplifying this perplexity, he affirms that the nuclear legacy and the ongoing ramifications of this trauma have implicated their "collective sense of personhood" (Duke 2017, 425).

Part of this collective sense of personhood is the Marshallese's connection to their land in relation to their identity. According to Barbara Johnston's research (qtd. In Nuti 2007, 42), they hold a spiritual connection to the land as their tenet and assume moral responsibility for stewardship of the natural environment (Nuti 2007, 42). This worldview is eloquently illustrated in the words of the late Tony de Brum, one of the key spokespersons of climate change activism in the Marshall Islands, when he declared, "the English language doesn't have [the right vocabulary] and doesn't fully convey the true meaning of the land as our…identity. It is [who we are] as individuals [and] as [a] people, and we will never let it go" (Kirsch 2020, 830). Many Pacific Islanders share this sentiment, rejecting the imagery of disappearing islands and an impending uprooting that would render them climate refugees since they believe in a "cosmopolitan vision" (Kirsch 2020, 828-829). The late Tongan anthropologist Epeli Hau'ofa defined the "cosmopolitan vision" as encouraging viewing Oceania Oceania in a more comprehensive way, as a community that expands beyond borders dictated by imperial legacies, and instead, one that allows people and cultures to move, intermingle, trade, marry, and thus expand networks of economic and social wealth, similar to the practices in the pre-colonial past, rather than a group of "islands in a far sea" (Kirsch 2020, 828). The following is the real-life story of a Marshallese poet-activist who, although they may not ascribe to this way of thinking, may become a climate migrant if fossil fuel consumption stays at the current rate.

Dislocation 2.2 - Trochees on Tides

Her name is Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner. She is a Marshallese mother, poet, and climate activist. She has recited her bone-chilling poetry about the devastating effects of Climate Change on the Marshallese lives at numerous Climate Summits to raise awareness about the dire necessity of divesting from fossil fuels (Goodman 2015). At COP 21 in Paris, she read her poem, Tell Them, about a pair of earrings she sends to a friend in the US. In this poem, she asks her friend to wear the earrings everywhere, and when asked where she acquired them, she is to tell them about the Marshall Islands and

show them on the map where they are; Kathy tells her friend to tell them about the Marshallese way of life and history, and how the rising sea level has affected their livelihood and future (Goodman 2015).

It was so heart-wrenching to read in her blog that three weeks after she came back from the Climate Summit, her city was flooded by high tides, although it was not high-tide season yet, damaging many homes and roads (Jetnil-Kijiner 02 Nov 2014). In that blog post, she tells the story of her cousin, whose home of 20 years, along with the homes of 600 other residents, were destroyed by the high tides of 2014 (Jetnil-Kijiner 02 Nov 2014). She explains that since then, her cousin's family has had no other way but to move from rental to rental and has desperately looked for loans to build a new house on her small teacher's salary (Jetnil-Kijiner 02 Nov 2014). She expresses that her cousin was becoming so hopeless with this predicament that she sometimes did not even see the point in building a new house anymore as she was unsure how long it would keep them dry and warm (Jetnil-Kijiner 02 Nov 2014).

In another blog post I found, Kathy writes a poem to her toddler daughter, Matafele Peinem, called A Letter to My Daughter (Jetnil-Kijiner 24 Sep 2014). In this touching poem, she tells her daughter that despite hearing the islanders say the ocean will take their home away and her children will be rootless, none of that is true (Jetnil-Kijiner 24 Sep 2014; Kirsch 828). She tells her daughter to be assured that she will do everything possible to fight to divest from fossil fuels (Jetnil-Kijiner 24 Sep 2014). Flipping through hundreds of pages in her blog, looking for more of her potent poetry, my eyes started getting heavy, my head slowly dropped, and I momentarily dozed off.

Dislocation 3 - A Luggage Full of Dreams

After being stuck in hellish rush-hour traffic on a hot April morning, I finally arrived at the Buffalo International Airport. I parked my car and headed to the international arrival hall. I was thirsty, so I thought to stop and get two bottles of water for Matafele and me from a convenience store, but then I remembered the freshwater shortage and the soaring prices of bottled water, and I changed my mind. When I got to the arrival hall, I held my sign up so she could locate me in the crowd. I waited anxiously for about 20 minutes until I saw a woman in her mid-30s whom I recognized from our video chats. I approached the gate so she would see my sign with "Matafele" written on it and recognize me. After a few seconds, she finally saw the sign and rushed toward me. We greeted and hugged, and I asked her about the flight. She was exhausted as the flight and the layover totalled about 30 hours. We walked to my car, and I helped her put her luggage in the trunk. After arriving at my house, I let her nap to re-energize.

While I was preparing the afternoon tea, she walked into the kitchen. As we sat at the kitchen table, I thought it was finally a good time to ask about the conditions in Majuro. She said the sea level had risen so much that even the highest points of the atolls were starting to go underwater. She explained that over the recent decades, the Pacific Ocean has become so polluted that there was more plastic floating in it than fish to catch. Since one of the main economies in the Islands was fishing, people suffered tremendously. Similarly, during the past 15 years, groundwater became salinized due to

rising sea levels and destroyed agricultural lands. Hence, the Islands' economy plummeted, and people's livelihoods severely diminished over the last two decades.

I asked about her life and family and her plan for them. She told me her childhood home, where she used to live with her mother, Kathy, had flooded a few years ago, and she had to leave it behind. She explained that her husband and children were staying in a temporary rental in Majuro until she could find an apartment in Buffalo for them to settle in. She also aimed to find schools for them in advance, so they could transition smoothly in this difficult migration from the Marshall Islands to the United States.

Then she grew rather morose and expressed that when she set foot on US soil for the first time, she felt resentment towards "these Americans". She felt they were the ones that destroyed a number of the islands for nuclear testing in her grandparents' time. And, of course, she felt that her mother's blood disorder, which eventually led to her passing, was caused by the residual radiation originating from American Nuclear testing in the 1950s. Matafele was heartbroken that Kathy's lifelong efforts of climate activism did not accomplish much in the end. She felt cursed that she was part of the generation forced to bear witness to the demise of their native land and culture. She felt guilty that now she lived among the people who, although they were responsible for almost half of the Greenhouse Gas emissions in her mother's time, refused to change their lifestyle; people who refused to think of the future generations; hence, Climate Change intensified further, and most of the glaciers melted, and the sea levels rose so much to cover most of her native land in a matter of 30 years, right before her eyes. Then, with tears in her eyes, she said that her grandpa would never approve of them moving if he was still alive. As those tears rolled down her cheeks, she explained that Grandpa John always believed that mother nature would help them somehow. If he was alive today, he "would rather have the freedom of staying in his own place...he would stay there and float... in his boat" rather than move away permanently[1].

I could see the worry in her eyes, worry for her children's future in an unknown environment. She wanted to work on learning Standard English (which was quite different from the Pidgin version most islanders spoke) to be able to teach it to her children before they started school in the fall, so other children wouldn't make fun of their accents. She told me she was grateful that she knew me in Buffalo and was able to come here for more abundant job opportunities. Since about 180,000 other immigrants had travelled to the US recently from the Marshall Islands, Palau, and the Federated States of Micronesia, most cities on the American West Coast were saturated with Pacific Islander migrants. Also, unlike a friend of hers who had left Majuro for Springdale, Arkansas, a few months ago, she didn't know anyone in the Marshallese diaspora community[2] there to join her.

Matafele also asked me if I could help her learn the American ways and mannerisms to find a decent job to support her family in these difficult times. With the recent droughts, freshwater shortages, and the sky-rocketing price of fruit and vegetables due to the significant decline of bees in the past two decades, living a decent life in the US was very costly. I promised to help her find employment and everything else they would need to get back on their feet. Then, I took her to a shopping center to buy some essential items for her stay at my house. In the evening, she helped me with cooking, and I started to really enjoy her company over dinner.

That night when I went to bed, I felt a lump in my throat because of seeing Matafele uprooted like this. When I was in university three decades ago, I had heard of her mother, Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner's poetry and activism. Alongside her, many went on climate marches and rallies, yet why wasn't anything significant achieved in the end? I tried to vote for the politicians who cared about the planet, and I traded my old Ford for a newer electric Tesla. But I could have done more. I should have done more...something way more radical, like gathering all my classmates and chaining ourselves to trees at risk of being razed in the Amazon, to gain the attention of all those who are apathetic to the climate crisis for their own financial gains. But would civil acts of disobedience like that have resulted in structural changes?

Dislocation 4 - Back to the Hot Seat

I wake up panting, perplexed at why I am at my desk, as my mind is still troubled with all the overwhelming anxieties from the dream. Remembering little Matafele's face from the pictures on Kathy's blog, I am sickened by the terrible dream as a possible fate for her. If we don't take the climate crisis seriously now, by the year 2100, those of us who live on islands or in most coastal cities (IPCC 2019) will be losing "the only home we've ever known" (Sagan 1997, 13). As Carl Sagan famously said, "our planet is a lonely speck in the great enveloping cosmic dark. In our obscurity, in all this vastness, there is no hint that help will come from elsewhere to save us from ourselves" (13). Maybe civil acts of disobedience could raise awareness and mobilize the masses, but to create lasting change, the oppressive structures and systems that reinforce social and environmental inequalities have to be dismantled (Amorim-Maia et al., 13).

Climate justice has often been framed and implemented on an international scale, mostly focused on balancing rights and responsibilities (Bulkeley et al. 2014, 31). Other scholars have focused on considerations of environmental justice at the individual level. One scholar, in particular, Paul Harris (2010), argues that rather than addressing environmental justice at the international level, it is more constructive to focus on cosmopolitan justice in which the responsibility for emissions is assigned to 'people' rather than states, to avoid "a misalignment between the political geography of climate change and its environmental geography" (Bulkeley et al. 2014, 32). If we extend Harris's notion of Climate justice to the urban scale, we will recognize that inequalities are produced by the same social, political and economic processes that define 'fairness' (Bulkeley et al. 2014, 33). As such, a re-evaluation of the conceptual framework behind our approach to climate justice is required. Instead of focusing on a simplistic, two-dimensional framework of rights/responsibilities, Bulkeley et al. urge us to widen our gaze and incorporate a third dimension of recognition to the Climate justice imperative. Recognition will provide the lens through which to analyze how urban development processes create forms of social, political and economic inequality and recognize avenues through which they produce vulnerabilities and greenhouse gas emissions (Bulkeley et al. 2014, 33). From this lens, socio-economic injustices are fundamentally interconnected to cultural or symbolic injustices which fail to recognize the needs of certain groups, namely women, the working class, or marginalized racialized commun-

ities (Bulkeley et al. 2014, 33). An extension of this multidimensional approach has been named intersectional climate justice by Amorim-Maia et al. Utilizing the intersectional approach in urban climate adaptation would enable urban leaders to gain an understanding of the compounding and overlapping inherent social, political, and structural inequalities across time and space, with the goal of arriving at holistic, interconnected and multiscale approaches to climate justice (Amorim-Maia et al. 2022, 3-4).

Another constructive step would be to scale down further and refocus on taking action on the individual scale: to take on speaking in different venues, perhaps in our own respective professional capacities, on the insufficient measures implemented by business and political elites to take action towards climate justice and mitigation. As a future urban planner, I aim to be proactive about addressing foundational environmental issues in my locale and avoid providing mere lip service to satisfy suboptimal environmental protection policies.

Notes

[1] This quote is taken from Kirsch (835), who quotes a master mariner and former head of the Environmental Protection Agency in Majuro whom he interviewed.

[2] Brown 2021

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